Transnational Associations
The review of the Union of International Associations

1/99

The Emerging Sector Revisited

Les associations et Internet

Associations transnationales
La revue de l'Union des associations internationales
Transnational Associations
Associations transnationales

Transnational Associations is a unique bilingual journal whose aim is to deal with major current problems within the perspective of international nongovernmental organizations. It is intended to provide a forum for authoritative information and independent reflection on the increasing role played by these organizations in the international system, and on its philosophical, political, economic or cultural implications.

The approach is intrinsically interdisciplinary, and calls for both specialist expertise and practitioner experience in transnational association matters. Transnational Associations provides background information about the actions and achievements of international associations, and insight into their interrelations with intergovernmental organizations. It covers a wide range of topics, among which social organization, humanitarian law, scientific cooperation, language and culture, economic development, to cite just a few.

The programme of the review, in accordance with the principles of the UIA, clarifies general awareness concerning the association phenomenon within the framework of international relations and, in particular, informs associations about aspects of the problems which they tend to share or which are of common interest to them. Contributors to the journal review include association officers, research workers and specialists of association questions who engage only themselves.

Founded in Brussels in 1907 as the Central Office of International Associations, the UIA became a federation under the present name in 1910 at the 1st World Congress of International Associations. Activities were closely associated with the Institut international de bibliographie; which later became the International Federation for Documentation. Its work contributed to the creation of the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (the predecessor of UNESCO). During the 1920s, the UIA created an International University, the first of its kind.

The UIA has consultative relations with UNESCO, ILO and ILO, and collaborates with FAO, the Council of Europe, UNITAR, and the Commonwealth Science Council.

Associations transnationales est la seule revue traitant des grands problèmes contemporains dans la perspective des organisations internationales non gouvernementales. Elle se propose d’apporter des éléments d’information provenant des sources les plus authentiques, propres à susciter une réflexion indépendante sur l’affirmation du rôle joué par ces acteurs dans le système international et sur les aspects philosophiques, politiques, sociaux et culturels de cette évolution.

La visée adoptée est essentiellement interdisciplinaire et fait appel au savoir comme à la pratique des spécialistes du champ d’action des associations transnationales. Les documents, articles et études publiés par Associations transnationales traitent également des liens établis entre celles-ci et les organisations intergouvernementales. Les domaines couverts tiennent aux problèmes de société, au droit humanitaire, à la coopération scientifique, aux questions linguistiques et culturelles, au développement économique ou à tout phénomène affectant la vie de ces associations.

Le programme de la revue, conformément aux buts de l’UIA, vise à éclairer l’opinion sur la signification de la dimension associative des relations internationales, notamment en informant les associations au sujet des questions qui relèvent de leurs domaines ou affectent leurs intérêts communs. Les textes des auteurs publiés par la revue (dirigeants d’associations, chercheurs et spécialistes des questions associatives) n’engagent que leur opinion.


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Transnational Associations
Associations transnationales
Towards a new partnership for African development: the collective response of NGOs to TICAD II

We the Citizens and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) coming from Africa, Canada and Japan and working for African development, welcome the opportunity to participate in TICAD II. In this respect we recognize the important role that Japanese NGOs have played in facilitating our participation in order to evolve the views and recommendations that follow. We also take this opportunity to thank the Government of Japan and the co-organizers of TICAD II for providing the resources that have made our participation possible.

We have met on several occasions as civil society organizations and communicated with one another since the beginning of the preparation for TICAD II. Our final deliberations were held in Osaka at the International NGO Symposium entitled, "NGOs' Visions and Proposals for African Development" on 16 October 1998 which was organised by Japanese NGOs and the private sector.

This final declaration contains the views and comments that evolved from our several deliberations. In the preparation of this document we have had the opportunity to review the draft of the Agenda for Action prepared by the Preparatory Committee of TICAD II. We are encouraged by the convergence of views in our document and in the draft of the Agenda for Action.

While taking note of this convergence, we emphasize the following:

- We believe the key to Africa's recovery and development lies with its people. However, we observe that the vast energies and expertise of African people, particularly women, have not been fully tapped. Whereas African governments and the international community have, in numerous meetings and documents, recognized the importance of supporting and strengthening African civil society, this acknowledgment has however not yet been fully implemented.
- We consider poverty to be the primary challenge facing African people. Consequently, poverty eradication in Africa must be our primary goal.
- While poverty affects both rural and urban populations, we recognize that urban dwellers who constitute the majority of the population in African countries are the most affected. However, while African countries have posted marginal economic growth in recent years, the development of rural people is still neglected. Consequently, poverty eradication in rural areas remains a critical priority.
- It is our view that there are enough resources both within and outside Africa to eradicate poverty. In this context we suggest the following measures:

1. There has to be an immediate solution to the debt problem facing African nations.
2. Immediate measures have to be taken to improve the management of national resources.
3. Immediate measures have to be initiated by African governments to create and maximize the opportunities, and to minimize the disadvantages and constraints of globalization in order to eradicate poverty.
4. Food self-sufficiency and security, personal security, education and health care delivery have to be improved.
5. African people have to be empowered to become effective partners with their governments in the governance of their affairs as stated in the "African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation, Addis Ababa 1990."

We view the following factors as obstacles to achieving the above:

1. The problem of debt is exacerbated by the unfair terms of trade, the present Structural Adjustment Programs, the reductions in ODA to Africa and a lack of political will on the part of the creditors to solve the debt problem.
2. The poor management and equitable distribution of national resources are hampered by the poor management of these resources and the corruption of many African governments. In some cases these practices are encouraged directly and indirectly by certain international actors.
3. Undemocratic practices of governments coupled with a lack of capacity within civil society are a serious obstacle to popular participation.
4. The slow pace of regional economic integration in Africa coupled with the unfavorable international trade system.
5. Existing and recurring civil wars exacerbated by continuous military expenditures and the flow of arms coupled with the poor management of conflicts, threaten food security, personal security and diverse valuable resources from social spending hindering all aspects of development.

In this context we recommend the following:

1. Review of the debt problem between creditors and debtors with the full participation of civil society organizations. This includes debt research to
establish shared loan responsibility, debt cancellation, debt swaps, management and monitoring of loan resources and delinking of HIPC from SAP.

2. African countries must establish appropriate and adequate governance institutions as well as pluralistic and inclusive democratic elections (i.e. the right of independent candidates to contest each election).

3. African Governments must create mechanisms to establish and improve regular consultations with authentic civil society organizations throughout the process of governance and to practice open, transparent and accountable government.

4. For Africa to reap the full benefits of integration into the global economy, African governments must demonstrate political will in accelerating the process of regional economic integration by the speedy implementation of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. Africa’s development partners should take note that the integration of Africa’s economies will be for the mutual benefit of Africa and its development partners and they should therefore, support these efforts.

5. Governments must respect and strengthen existing mechanisms for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa, and review and reduce their current military expenditures. Resources that are saved from reduction in military expenditures and through the improved management of conflicts, should be re-directed towards meeting other social needs especially food self-sufficiency, education and health care.

6. TICAD II should establish a mechanism for follow-up in order to:
   i. Organize five sub-regional meetings of African governments, civil society organizations and their international counterparts to review implementation of the African Charter for Popular Participation, towards strengthening dialogue among the development partners.
   ii. Clearly identify, launch and implement projects based on the TICAD II principles of ownership and global partnership.
   iii. Disseminate information with regard to the implementation of the Agenda for Action and review after 3 years.
   iv. Support African NGOs' development initiatives.

7. The cooperation between African and Asian NGOs must be strengthened.

Our views and recommendations stated here are further amplified in the attached supplementary.

Finally, we reiterate our thanks to the co-organizers of TICAD II, in particular the Government of Japan, for this initiative. We urge the Government of Japan, in collaboration with Japanese NGOs and the private sector, to continue to play the leading role in the implementation phase of TICAD II.

A. NGOs and government relations:

Sustainable social development heavily depends on how grassroots-based initiatives are protected and continue to be empowered by the public administration. To make it possible, there should be an appropriate NGO/NGO bill established by civilian initiatives, and negotiated and passed following a meaningful dialogue with their governments. This process should enhance the self-disciplinary component for NGOs/NGOs themselves to promote the sense of public accountability. It should be widely recognized that NGOs could play a most effective role in these processes, as coordinator for mutual learning (both North-South and South-South) as well as arbitrator in times of conflict.

Cross-cutting theme

B. Gender mainstreaming:

Empowerment and Health Status of Women

African civil society needs to be strengthened. In this context, we recognize that the empowerment of women is a cross-cutting theme with regard to the development of the African people. The empowerment of women, in particular their full participation and decision making within the social, economic and political spheres is required to bring about the development of the continent. Moreover, for women to participate effectively, their personal health as well as the health of their families and the nation is vital.

While education, health and population are priority areas, it is crucial to study these issues from the aspect of gender equality and women's empowerment. The social empowerment of women and their economic security contribute to and depend on good health. We therefore urge the TICAD II conference to consider the following:

1. Research and documentation;
2. Formulation of national laws and policies;
3. The promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment;
1. Legal reforms
   a. Better enforcement of existing laws
   b. New procedures to document violations
   c. Education on human rights

4. Promotion of information, education, and advocacy on reproductive health
   Information, education, and advocacy activities for the promotion of reproductive and sexual health for all age groups, particularly adolescents, is important. Existing health education curricula should incorporate reproductive and sexual health including prevention of STDs/HIV/AIDS and harmful traditional practices, such as female genital mutilation (FGM), and safe motherhood and responsible parenthood.

5. Education on contraception:
   Many lives could be saved if more women were given a full range of contraceptive choices in order to avoid pregnancy as teenagers or after 35, or soon after having given birth. Health services should focus on the reproductive and sexual health needs of patients, including under-served groups. NGOs can greatly help governments design, implement, and monitor programs at the grassroots levels.

ACTION PLAN

C. Social development and poverty eradication:

1. Poverty Eradication
   Poverty eradication must be our primary goal. In this respect, we suggest the following:

   i. Savings & Micro-credit:
      We believe in the potential of micro-credit-based economic development, which will provide opportunities for income-generating activities and self-employment. However, we would like to stress that formation of a mutual assistance system with domestic savings (both money and products) is the basic foundation for credit-based economic development especially for rural subsistence farmers. International funds should be in line with and strengthen the domestic savings and credit delivery. When introducing saving and micro-credit, traditional values and actual improvement in living conditions must be taken into consideration. The role of CBOs and NGOs can be valuable here, too.

   ii. Infrastructure: Implementation of development activity based on people's requests.
      Bilateral and multilateral aid plays the most important role in the infrastructural development for the poor. However, if the decision-making, implementation, and evaluation is left to the top-down bureaucracy, the primary objectives for poverty alleviation will not be met and will cause large-scale corruption and ineffective resource mobilization and diminish the people's faith in the public administration and the society as a whole. Appropriate bottom-up management approaches such as PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) should be aggressively applied throughout this sector. This requires the commitment of African governments to delegate power in public administration located closer to the grassroots, to effectively collaborate with people's initiatives, CBOs and NGOs.

2. Education: Development policy emphasizing "soft-Africa seriously lacks infrastructure in this sector. However, conventional aid approach tends to be biased only to unsustainable infrastructure, such as buildings and heavy equipment. There should be more emphasis on:

   i. "Software," such as teacher training and curriculum development:
      a. Curriculum development focused on gender equity right from primary education, and the skills appropriate to the reality of domestic market and job opportunities especially in vocational education
      b. Capacity building of universities and research institutions so that they can be involved in the research of African development
      c. Heavily westernized curricula should be further reviewed
      d. Involvement of international printing industries should be minimized. External aid should concentrate on empowering domestic capacity to produce educational consumables, such as textbooks
      e. Functional literacy and leadership programmes should primarily focus on the poor for capacity building to enable bottom-up management of domestic and external aid resources

3. Health: Cost recovery and respect for traditional culture:
Affordable and sustainable infrastructure should be questioned in this sector, too. Various initiatives for "cost recovery" have to be openly shared in promotion of South-South cooperation:

i. The flow of hazardous chemicals and medical supplies (including those expired and close-to-expiry products) must be watched.

ii. Impartial watch-dog networks of NGOs should be established both in North-South and South-South cooperation.

iii. Intervention of such traditional practices as FGM should be carried out in the name of empowering women and integrated with other sectors of education and economic development for women.

iv. More funds need to be allocated to develop African traditional medicines, since 80% of the African population don't have access to modern medical facilities and depend on traditional medicines.

v. Many women die and many more become sick or disabled every year from pregnancy-related causes. However, complications of research pregnancy can be reduced dramatically by prenatal examinations and wider availability of trained birth attendants.

D. Economic development:

1. Private Sector Development

There is no doubt that the private sector can play the crucial role in African development. The current manner in which privatization is practiced in Africa does not support the development of the domestic private sector. Emphasis should be placed on the promotion, encouragement, assistance, and development of the domestic private sector to make it competitive in the global market. The concept of the private sector shall be defined in a broad sense. It includes not only profit-oriented enterprises but also non-profit organizations (NPOs). In this respect, the private sector organizations will act at all levels ranging from grassroots to the international. Also from the aspect of the long-term development of the continent, private sector activities shall cover all sectors including the industry/manufacturing. The public sector also has an important contribution to make to the social and economic development of Africa.

i. International economic environment

It was declared at Denver Summit that increased prosperity ultimately depends upon creating an environment for domestic capital formation, private sector-led growth and the successful integration into global markets (Communique, June 22, 1997). We recognize that some of Sub-Saharan countries made progress in this regard. However, it also means that African economies have been integrated into the world trading and investment system. We are concerned with negative impacts by which African national governments and its private sector will be affected under the WTO regime and an agreement like MAI. We once again emphasize the need for the creation of an enabling international economic environment to secure the sound development of the African private sector.

ii. Fostering domestic private sector and industrialization capacity-building

We need to focus on the issue of strengthening the private sector and improving its capacity. In spite of the existence of viable ideas and entre-
entrepreneurship among African people, the performance of the domestic private sector has not been favorable in many countries. Institutional and legal arrangements shall be reconsidered to ensure a conducive environment for business. Industrial development, among other economic sectors, is central to the structural changes and transformation of African economies. In order to achieve a certain level of economic growth we should mobilize resource-based industries in which African societies have comparative advantages. In this regard, various arrangements shall be implemented by African countries and Africa's development partners to strengthen entrepreneurial capabilities.

We shall pay keen attention to the creativity and entrepreneurship of African women and their capacity to improve their skills and productivity. It is required to secure their access to business resources (both human and financial), management and marketing skills and so on.

ii. Relations Between Governments and Business: We stress the need for collaborative efforts between governments and civil society organizations, which includes business entities, in order to efficiently utilize the limited resources so as to strengthen the private sector in human rights and the environment but to also contribute towards the socio-human developments as part of corporate philanthropy. We call on governments to create the necessary environment, through promulgating legislative measures like tax write-offs, so as to encourage corporate philanthropy.

2. Agricultural Development

From our experience in working with people at the grassroots level we propose the following:

i. Food self-sufficiency and security:
Our primary goal should be to produce food for domestic consumption rather than for export. The present food security system, which relies on imported food or imported agricultural input, should be reviewed and priority should be given to the conservation of the ecosystems that sustain life. In this context, assistance should be given to small scale domestic farmers to enable them to produce food for domestic consumption and to export surplus production.

ii. Provision of access to land for the landless:
Also needed are: urgent land reforms to provide land to the landless; the recognition of indigenous people's right to land; and a participatory approach to land use and land management.

iii. Agriculture and the Environment:
We call for sustainable and ecological food production and distribution systems to protect the environment, to contribute to the well-being of human and non-human inhabitants of the earth, and to ensure that the human right to food, including access to land, for all women, men, youth, and children. In particular, vast areas in Africa will be confronted by the problem of soil erosion every year. In order protect the soil, traditional African agricultural methods of not relying too heavily on chemical pesticides/chemical input should be emphasized. Consideration of conservation/restoration of the environment should be stressed both in the preamble and the chapter of Environment and Agriculture of the Agenda for Action.

iv. Ratification and promotion of the Convention to Combat Desertification
The promotion of continued implementation and global ratifications—particularly by developed/OECD countries—of the Convention to Combat Desertification in countries experiencing serious drought and/or desertification, particularly in Africa.

3. Debt

Over the last six years, 38 million people in sub-Saharan Africa have sunk further into poverty due to their governments' international debt and the structural adjustment programmes imposed by international financial institutions. Africa spends four times as much on debt repayment as it does on healthcare.

Structural Adjustment programs (SAPs) designed by the World Bank and IMF have now shifted the burden of economic adjustment to the poor and increased social inequalities and political instability. In effect, the poor have been made to pay for servicing external debt, and this has been paid for by the lives, health and impoverishment of many millions of people.

To stop this vicious circle, we call on the international community to fulfill its commitment to take
immediate and decisive action on the debt crisis at the stage of TICADII. More information on debt should be opened to the public, both in debtor countries and creditor countries. TICADII should also encourage the international community to find a comprehensive solution to Africa's debt crisis, enabling the poorest countries to exit from the debt problem and reach a more acceptable level of debt by the year 2000. It is essential that these process should involve people – the stakeholders, particularly NGOs who are working with people at grass roots level.

We therefore recommend the following:

i. More transparency:
   •   More transparency on debt record is required both in debtor countries and in creditor countries
   •   Evaluation of past loans’ effectiveness: How was past loans made use of for development?
   •   Enhancement of discussion among governments of debtor countries and of creditor countries, with consultation by the citizens of each country
   •   Monitoring by citizen’s groups both in debtor countries and in creditor countries
   •   Solidarity of citizens through NGOs between creditor countries and debtor countries
   •   More transparency in the Paris Club is required in the negotiation process

ii. Immediate and decisive action by the end of this century:
   •   The HIPC initiative should be implemented more quickly
   •   Debt cancellation with following conditions: transparency, Environmental SWAP, SWAP with NGO Support
   •   The Debt Sustainability Analysis should be participatory to involve the primary stakeholders such as producers, growers, traders and consumer representatives, in the affected countries
   •   Commitment of African Governments to liaise with African NGOs on debt issues

E. Foundations for development: from conflict to peace:

1. Good Governance

   Democracy, respect for human rights and good governance are universally accepted principles. However, the current institutionalisation in Africa of these principles is inadequate as it does not take into account the socio-economic and cultural reality of the African people. Therefore NGOs realise the following:

   •   the need for inclusive political processes and institutions
   •   the need to protect minority communities in Africa while respecting the mandate of the majority
   •   the need to strengthen mechanisms that protect the rights of individuals and prevent abuse of power with impunity
   •   the need to encourage Institutional Applied Research in the areas of governance, democracy, transparency, local governance as well as regional integration

2. Conflict Prevention and Post-Conflict Development

   The structural distortion in African politics, economies, and society, which have developed over the centuries through colonialism, imperialism, and the Cold War, are the key factors impeding the resolution of conflicts in Africa. While we commend current African and international efforts at preventing, managing, and resolving Africa’s numerous conflicts, we recognize the urgent need for African governments to respect continental and sub-regional mechanisms that exist for dealing with these issues and we call on the international community to increase its assistance to Africa in this area. In addition, we propose the following:

   i. Research on the Conflict Prevention System Adapting an African Point of View:
      We propose a number of concrete methods and systems for conflict prevention in Africa by combining traditional resources, such as the Peace Keeping Operations (PKO) by the UN, and influential powers, with resources of emerging actors, such as the regional organizations (OAU) and NGOs (both international and local), and peer efforts by the neighboring friendly nations.

   ii. The Asian Approach:
      We propose the sharing of African and Asian experiences and wisdom to compliment conflict resolution and the peace building in Africa. Consequently we strengthen the existing relationship between Africa and Asia.
iii. Promotion of Post Conflict Peace Building (PCPB):

We propose closer cooperation between African governments and NGOs towards the implementation of programs aimed at post conflict peace building. In this respect we suggest the following concrete initiatives:

a. Promotion of Regional Disarmament
   - Collection and destruction of weapons, and the supervision of the trade and transfer of arms,
   - De-mining and rehabilitation of victims of APM (Anti-Personnel Mines)
   - Demobilization of soldiers, dissolution of guerrillas or militia, and provision of training for their re-integration to the society.

b. Support for National Reconciliation
   - Rehabilitation and re-integration of refugees
   - Reconstruction of rural communities and farmland
   - Support and special assistance programmes for
   - Support for legal and security systems

- Peace education
- Economic reconstruction (micro-finance, small enterprises, village industries, etc.)

iv. Cooperation with the Aid Agencies of Governments and International Organizations:

Alternative usage of conventional aid systems of government (e.g., ODA) and international financial institutions (IBRD, IMF, etc.) for conflict management and PCPB. For instance, providing pecuniary compensation to assist in demobilization of conflicting groups and to provide financial support for de-mining can be useful for PCPB.

v. Construction of the Cooperative Network:

We propose the establishment of an effective mechanism to give all those stakeholders who are involved in finding solutions to African conflicts, a forum through which they can share their individual and collective experiences and expertise towards the better prevention, management and resolution of African conflicts.

(Tokyo, 19 to 21 October 1998)
The emerging sector revisited: a summary

by Lester M. Salamon, Helmut K. Anheier, and Associates*

Background

Recent years have witnessed a considerable surge of interest throughout the world in the broad range of social institutions that operate outside the confines of the market and the state. Known variously as the “nonprofit,” the “voluntary,” the “civil society,” the “third,” or the “independent” sector, this set of institutions includes within it a sometimes bewildering array of entities hospita-

larities, universities, social clubs, professional organiza-

tions, day care centers, environmental groups, family
counseling agencies, sports clubs, job training cen-
ters, human rights organizations, and many more.

Despite their diversity, however, these entities also share some common features. In particular, they are:

- Organizations, i.e., they have an institutional presence and structure;
- Private, i.e., they are institutionally separate from the state;
- Not-for-profit distributing, i.e., they do not return profits to their managers or to a set of “owners;”
- Self-governing, i.e., they are fundamentally in control of their own affairs;
- Voluntary, i.e., membership in them is not legally required and they attract some level of voluntary contribution of time or money.

The “global associational revolution”

That these organizations have attracted so much attention in recent years is due in large part to the widespread “crisis of the state” that has been under-
way for two decades or more in virtually every part of the world, a crisis that has manifested itself in a seria-
lous questioning of traditional social welfare policies and programs, and their newly rediscovered contributions to building “social capital,” civil society organizations that also operate in soci-
cies throughout the world.

Also contributing to the attention these organizations are attracting is the sheer growth in their num-

ber and scale. Indeed, a veritable “global associational revolution” appears to be underway, a massive

up surge of organized private, voluntary activity in liter-

ally every corner of the world.” Prompted in part by growing doubts about the capability of the state to cope on its own with the social welfare, development-
tal, and environmental problems that face nations today, this growth of civil society organizations has been stimulated as well by the communications rev-
olution of the past two decades and by the striking expansion of educated middle-class elements who are frustrated by the lack of economic and political expressive freedom that has confronted them in many places.

Finally, a new element has surfaced more recently to increase further the attention that has been focused on nonprofit or civil society organizations. This is the growing questioning of the “neo-liberal consensus,” sometimes called the “Washington con-

sensus,” that has guided global economic policy over the past two decades. This consensus essentially held that the problems facing both developed and developing societies at the present time could most effec-
tively be approached through the simple expedient of unshackling and encouraging private markets. In the wake of the worldwide financial crisis and continu-
ing social distress in many regions, however, this con-

sensus has come under increasingly severe attack, even from some of its most ardent advocates. As World Bank Chief Economist Joseph Stiglitz recently put it:

“The policies advanced by the Washington consensus are hardly complete and sometimes misguided. It is not just economic policies and human capital, but the quality of a country’s institutions that determine economic outcomes.

Reflecting this, political leaders in many parts of the world have begun searching for alternative ways to combine the virtues of the market with the advan-
tages of broader social protections, a search that is evident in Mr. Tony Blair’s emphasis on a “Third
Way” in the U.K., Gerhard Schröder’s “New Middle” in Germany, and French Prime Minister Lionel
Jospin’s summary declaration: “Yes to a market econ-
omy, no to a market society.”

Because of their unique position outside the mar-

ket and the state, their generally smaller scale, their connections to citizens, their flexibility, their capaci-
ty to tap private initiative in support of public pur-

poses, and their newly rediscovered contributions to building “social capital,” civil society organizations have surfaced as strategically important participants in this search for a “middle way” between sole reliance on the market and sole reliance on the state that now seems to be increasingly underway.
The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project

The nonprofit sector's ability to participate in this search as a full-fledged partner has been seriously impeded, however, by a gross lack of basic information about this sector and how it operates. Despite some considerable improvement over the past five years, including the completion of the first phase of the present project and the launching of empirical studies by Eurostat in response to the Commission of the European Union, the nonprofit sector remains the "lost continent" on the social landscape of modern society, invisible to most policymakers, business leaders, and the press, and even to many people within the sector itself.

Table 1
Country Coverage of Phase II of the Johns Hopkins Comparative

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Objectives. It was to fill this gap in basic knowledge that the present project was launched. More specifically, this project seeks to deepen our knowledge of the nonprofit sector in a variety of ways:

- By describing the sector more precisely than has yet been done to document its size, structure, revenues, and composition;
- By explaining why the sector takes the form it does and what factors seem to encourage or retard its development;
- By evaluating the impact these organizations have and the contribution they make;
- By publishing the resulting information so that public awareness of the sector can be improved; and
- By advancing the capacity to carry on this work into the future.

Approach. To pursue these objectives, we have adopted an approach that embodies six key features:

- Comparative, covering a wide assortment of countries. A first phase of the project, completed in 1994, focused on eight countries (the U.S., the U.K., France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Hungary, and Japan). The current phase is updating information on many of these original countries and has extended the analysis to 26 countries in all. Of these, 22 have completed the basic data-gathering and are covered in this report, including nine Western European countries, four other developed countries, four Central and Eastern European countries, and five Latin American countries (see Table 1);
- Collaborative, enlisting local analysts in each country to carry out the data gathering and analysis (see inside front cover). Altogether approximately 150 researchers have been involved in the effort;
- Consultative, utilizing an International Advisory Committee of prominent nonprofit, philanthropic, and business leaders (see inside back cover) and relying on local advisory committees in each country to help interpret and publicize the results. Altogether, more than 300 nonprofit, philanthropy, government, and business leaders are taking part in the project through these committees;
- Use of a common approach, based on a set of collaboratively developed field guides and a modular approach that relies heavily on existing national income data sources; and
- Quantitative, seeking not just general impressions but solid empirical data on this set of organizations, including data on employment, volunteers, expenditures, and revenues.

The present report summarizes the preliminary results of this second phase of project work, focusing on the major empirical findings of the descriptive portion of the effort in 22 countries. Unless otherwise noted, all data here relate to 1995 and monetary values are expressed in U.S. dollars. In addition, because data on religious congregations are not available on all countries, unless otherwise noted the data here do not cover religious congregations. Subsequent publi...
Fields of Nonprofit Activity Covered by Phase II of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project

1. Culture
2. Education and Research
3. Health
4. Social Services
5. Environment
6. Development
7. Civic and Advocacy
8. Philanthropy
9. International
10. Religious Congregations
11. Business and Professional Unions
12. Other

Citations will include data on the remaining countries and subsectors and go behind the basic descriptive statistics to explain the patterns that are apparent and to evaluate the contribution that nonprofit organizations are making.

Principal findings

The major findings emerging from this work on the scope, structure, financing, and role of the nonprofit sector internationally can be grouped under five major headings.

1. A major economic force

In the first place, aside from its social and political importance, the nonprofit sector turns out to be a significant economic force in most of the regions we have examined, accounting for significant shares of employment and of national expenditures.

More specifically:

- A $1.1 trillion industry. Even excluding religious congregations, the nonprofit sector in the 22 countries we examined is a $1.1 trillion industry that employs close to 19 million full-time equivalent paid workers. Nonprofit expenditures in these countries thus average 4.7 percent of the gross domestic product and nonprofit employment is nearly 5 percent of all nonagricultural employment, over 9 percent of all service employment, and 29 percent of all public sector employment (see Table 3).

- The world’s eighth largest economy. To put these figures into context, if the nonprofit sector in these countries were a separate national economy, it would be the eighth largest economy in the world, ahead of Brazil, Russia, Canada, and Spain (see Table 4).

- More employees than in largest private firms. Put somewhat differently, nonprofit employment in...
Figure 1 Employment in Nonprofits vs Largest Firm (22 Countries)

Figure 2 Nonprofit Employment in Context, 1995 (Millions)

these countries easily outdistances the combined employment in the largest private business in each country by a factor of 6:1 (18.8 million nonprofit employees vs. 3.3 million combined employees in the largest private enterprise in each of these 22 countries) (see Figure 1).

Outdistances numerous industries. Indeed, more people work in the nonprofit sector in these 22 countries than in the utilities industry, the textile manufacturing industry, the paper and printing industry, or the chemical manufacturing industry in these countries, and almost as many work in the nonprofit sector as work in transport and communications (see Figure 2).

- Volunteer inputs. Even this does not capture the full scope of the nonprofit sector, for this sector also attracts a considerable amount of volunteer effort. Indeed, an average of 26 percent of the population in these countries contribute their time to nonprofit organizations. This translates into another 10.4 million full-time equivalent employees, which boosts the total number of full-time equivalent employees of the nonprofit organizations to 293 million. With volunteers included, the nonprofit sector thus represents, on average, 7.1 percent of the total nonagricultural employment in these countries, 13 percent of the service employment, and a striking 43 percent of the public sector employment (see Figure 3).
• Religion. The inclusion of religious congregations, moreover, would boost these totals by another 2 million employees, and another $77 billion in expenditures.

2. Great variations in size among countries and regions

While the nonprofit sector is a significant economic force, it nevertheless varies considerably in size from place to place.

• Larger in more developed countries. Generally speaking, the nonprofit sector is larger in the more developed countries and much less in evidence in Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe. Thus, compared to an average of 3 percent for all the countries, nonprofit organizations account for close to 7 percent of the nonagricultural labor force in Western Europe and in the other developed countries we examined, but only 2.1 percent in Latin America and 1.3 percent in Central and Eastern Europe (see Figure 4). Evidently, the scale of the nonprofit sector may have as much to do with the availability of resources as the presence of social or economic needs.

• Margins widen with volunteers. This picture does not change much, moreover, when we add volunteers. Indeed, to some extent the margin widens, at least between the developed countries and Latin America, and between Western Europe and other developed countries. Thus, with volunteers included, nonprofit organizations account for 10.1 percent of total employment in Western Europe, 9.4 percent in other developed countries, 2.5 percent in Latin America, and 2.4 percent in Central Europe (see Figure 5). Viewed in perspective, therefore, with volunteers included, Western Europe emerges as the region with the most highly developed voluntary and nonprofit sector. Also striking is the relatively lower level of formal volunteering our data reveal in Latin America.

• End of the myth of U.S. dominance. This point is even more apparent in Figure 5, which records the level of nonprofit employment as a share of total nonagricultural employment for each country. As this figure shows, several Western European countries (the Netherlands, Ireland, and Belgium), as well as one other developed country (Israel), have larger nonprofit sectors measured as a share of total employment than does the United States. In other words, the activity does not have the world’s largest nonprofit sector after all, at least when measured as a share of total employment. At the same time, while a number of Western European countries exceed the United States and the all-country average in nonprofit employment as a share of total...
employment, several others (Finland, Austria, Spain, and Germany) and at least one other developed country (Japan) fall at or below the all-country average.

- Impact of volunteers: The inclusion of volunteers would lift two of the Western European countries (France and Germany) above the all-country average, but the rest of this pattern would remain largely the same.

- Government social welfare spending and nonprofit size: One possible explanation of these variations is the presence or absence of sizable government social welfare protections. According to one line of thought, the greater the scale of government social welfare protections, the smaller the nonprofit sector that can be expected. In fact, however, our data give limited support to this theory. Among the 10 countries we studied that have relatively low levels of government social welfare protections, only four (Ireland, Austria, Argentina, and the U.S.) had relatively large nonprofit sectors. By contrast, seven of these countries had relatively small nonprofit sectors. On the other hand, among the 9 countries with relatively high levels of government social welfare spending, four (the Netherlands, Belgium, Israel, and the U.K.) also had relatively large nonprofit sectors while five had relatively small ones (see Table 5). Evidently, something more complex than the relationship posited in this theory is determining the variation in nonprofit scale from place to place.

3. Welfare services dominate

Despite differences in scale from place to place, the nonprofit sector has certain broad similarities in internal structure and composition, though these, too, differ somewhat from place to place:

- Two-thirds of employment in three fields. In the first place, it turns out that two-thirds of all nonprofit employment is concentrated in the three traditional fields of welfare services: education, with 29 percent of the total; health, with 20 percent; and social services, with 18 percent (see Figure 6). The field of recreation and culture, moreover, is not far behind with 15 percent of total nonprofit employment.

- Patterns shift with volunteers. This pattern changes considerably when volunteer inputs are factored in. Three-fifths (60 percent) of volunteer time goes into two principal fields: recreation, including sports; and social services. In addition, environment, civic, and development organizations attract a disproportionate share of the time of volunteers. With volunteers included, therefore, the proportion of all nonprofit employment in the three fields of health, education, and social services falls from 67 percent to under 60 percent while the share in culture and recreation, environment, development and advocacy increases from 25 percent to 31 percent (see Figure 6).

- Significant variations by region. Despite some general similarities, the composition of the nonprofit sector also seems to vary considerably by region.
Thus, as shown in Figure 7:

In Western Europe, the dominance of welfare services in nonprofit employment is particularly marked. On average, three-quarters of all nonprofit employees in the Western European countries we examined work in education, health, or social service organizations. This reflects the historic role that the Catholic and Protestant churches have long played in the provision of social services in Western Europe. In Ireland, for example, where Catholic influence is particularly strong, employment in nonprofit schools alone accounts for 6 percent of the nonagricultural employment in the country. Elsewhere the Catholic Church-inspired doctrine of "subsidiarity," coupled with strong worker pressures for expanded social welfare protections, helped shape the evolution of social policy. Under this concept, which is especially influential in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and, to a lesser extent, Austria and Spain, nonprofit associations are assumed to be the first line of defense for coping with social welfare problems, and state involvement, when it occurs, is expected to take place within and through such groups to the extent possible. Significant nonprofit organizations have consequently grown up in these fields, many of them affiliated with religious groups, and, in some places, the worker movement. While nonprofit organizations operate in other fields as well, such as culture and recreation, environment, development, advocacy, and business and professions, their share of total nonprofit employment in these fields in this region is considerably smaller (for further detail, see Appendix Table 1).

With volunteers factored in, however, the welfare services dominance declines somewhat in Western Europe. This reflects the substantial involvement of volunteers in sports and recreation, as well as in civic and advocacy activities in this region. Thus, with volunteers included, the welfare services share of total nonprofit employment declines from 76 percent to 62 percent, while the culture and recreation share nearly doubles from 10 percent to 19 percent and the environment/civic advocacy share goes from 3.2 percent to 6.1 percent.

In Central Europe, a quite different dynamic seems to be at work. In this region, recreation and culture play a much more important part in the employment base of the nonprofit sector. As shown in Figure 7, a third of the full-time equivalent workers in the nonprofit sector in these countries is employed in culture and recreation associations. This very likely reflects the heavy subsidization of such associations during the Communist era. The resulting organizations thus had a comparative advantage in making the transition to the post-Communist era. Indeed, they have often managed to retain their prior state assets. Also notable is the sizable 10 percent of all nonprofit employment in Central and Eastern Europe in business and professional associations, again partly a reflection of the Communist past, which encouraged the formation of writers' unions, engineers' associations, and many other professional groups. Finally, Central Europe is also notable for the significant scale of employment in nonprofit environmental and advocacy organizations. These seem to be newer organizations that emerged as part of the transition to democracy and attracted Western funding. Many of the earliest nonprofit organizations in this region, in fact, were environmental groups mobilizing...
ing mass support to deal with the deteriorating environmental conditions in the region. By con-
tact, the traditional welfare services-health, educa-
tion, and social services-still engage much smaller
dshares of the nonprofit workforce in Central and
Eastern Europe. This is because the state remains a
much more favored vehicle for social welfare provi-
sion in this region and the tradition of subsidiarity
so evident in Western Europe retains only a faint
echo in Central Europe.

When volunteers are factored into the equation, this
Central and Eastern European pattern changes only
marginally. This is so because most of the volun-
teeer input goes into culture and recreation organi-
izations, which also absorb the largest single part of
the employed workers. The one major deviation is
in the area of social services, which absorbs 27 per-
cent of the volunteer time in the region as com-
pared with only 13 percent of the paid employ-
ment. With volunteers included, therefore, the
social services share of nonprofit employment in
Central and Eastern Europe rises from 13 percent
to 19 percent, close to what it is, as a share of the
total, though not in absolute scale, in the
Netherlands and the U.K.

In Latin America, education dominates the
employment base of the nonprofit sector whereas
nonprofit employment in the other fields of social
welfare is more limited (see Figure 7). This reflects
again the prominent role of the Catholic Church in
the education field in this region, but also the mid-
ddle and upper-class tilt to the more formal compo-
nents of the nonprofit sector in the region, since
private education has tended to be heavily financed
by fees and therefore available mostly to the upper
and middle classes. The unusually large share of
nonprofit employment in professional, business,
and labor organizations also supports this interpre-
tation.

At the same time, an above-average component of
development organizations is also evident in the
Latin American data. What is more, with volun-
teeering included, this component turns out to be
even larger. Thus, on average over 40 percent of all
volunteer time in the Latin American countries we
examined goes for social service activities, some of
it through religiously affiliated assistance agencies,
but increasingly through community-based devel-
lopment organizations. Another almost 15 percent
of volunteer time goes into development organiza-
tions per se. With volunteer time included, there-
fore, the social service share of total nonprofit
employment increases from 9 percent to 16 per-
cent, and the development share increases from 7
percent to 8.4 percent. What this suggests is a dual-
istic nonprofit sector in this region, with a more
formal component oriented to middle class profes-
sionals, and a smaller, more informal segment ori-
cinated toward the poor.

Finally, in the other developed countries covered
by our project (the United States, Japan, Australia,
and Israel), the major area of nonprofit employ-
ment is in the health field, which accounts, on aver-
age, for 35 percent of the total, followed closely by
education with 29 percent. This result is largely a
reflection of the situation in the U.S. and Japan, in
both of which nonprofit activity is heavily concen-
trated in health and higher education. Thus in
both of these countries, health alone accounts for
nearly half (46 percent) of all nonprofit employ-
ment and education, mostly at the higher educa-
tion level, for another 22 percent. By contrast, the
social service field, which accounts for 26 percent
of nonprofit employment in Western Europe,
absorbs only 14-16 percent in the U.S. and Japan.
This suggests a fairly strong amenities and middle-
class orientation to the nonprofit sector in these
two countries. The situation in the other two coun-
tries included in this grouping-Israel and

Table 6
Patterns of Nonprofit Structure, By Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health-Dominant</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belgium</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japan</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health-Dominant</td>
<td>Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services-Dominant</td>
<td>Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Services-Dominant</td>
<td>France</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Services-Dominant</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services-Dominant</td>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture/Recreation-Dominant</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture/Recreation-Dominant</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Finland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Australia differs somewhat from this U.S. and Japanese pattern. In Israel, the relative positions of education and health in the employment base of the nonprofit sector are reversed, with education-mostly elementary and secondary-accounting for 30 percent and health for 27 percent. In Australia, the social welfare complex also dominates the nonprofit scene, but here the three main components—health, education, and social services—are closely balanced, with 22-28 percent of the total employment embraced within each.

With volunteers included, the amenities focus of the nonprofit sector, particularly in the U.S., is moderated considerably. Nearly 40 percent of the considerable volunteer activity that takes place in the United States flows to the social services area, and another 10 percent to civic and advocacy activity. With volunteers included, therefore, the health dominance of the American nonprofit sector declines somewhat and social services emerges as the second largest type of nonprofit activity as measured by full-time equivalent employment. Australia, too, exhibits a substantial amount of social service volunteering, but here sports and recreation absorbs the largest share of volunteer time.

Five patterns. More generally, it is possible to discern five more or less distinct patterns of nonprofit structure among the 22 countries we examined, as reflected in Table 6. To some extent, these patterns follow regional lines. But they also reflect special national particularities that go beyond regional norms. In particular:

- Education-dominant model. Perhaps the most common pattern of nonprofit activity is that embodied in the “education dominant” model. Eight of our 22 countries adhered to this model, including 4 of the 5 Latin American countries as well as Belgium, Ireland, Israel, and the U.K. The distinguishing feature of this model is the heavy concentration of nonprofit employment in the educational sphere. An average of 47 percent of all nonprofit employment in this field among these countries. For the Latin American countries as well as Belgium and Ireland, this reflects the prominent presence of the Catholic Church and its involvement in elementary and secondary education. Religiously affiliated education also explains the substantial nonprofit presence in the education field in Israel, though here it is Judaism rather than Catholicism that is responsible. In the U.K., by contrast, the concentration of nonprofit employment in the education field occurs at the higher education level and reflects the recent transformation of significant segments of the U.K. higher education system from public into private, nonprofit status during the Thatcher era.

While the countries that adhere to this pattern share a common concentration of nonprofit employment in the education field; however, they differ in terms of where the balance of nonprofit employment is concentrated. For Argentina and the U.K., for example, culture and recreation absorbs a quarter or more of the employment. For Ireland, Israel, and Belgium, however, health accounts for 25-30 percent of the employment. And for Mexico, business and professional organizations are the second largest field of nonprofit action. In short, while these countries have some key features in common, they also diverge along other dimensions.

- Health-dominant model. A second distinguishable model of nonprofit structure is that evident in the United States, Japan, and the Netherlands. What distinguishes this model is the extent of nonprofit employment in the health field. On average, 45 percent of nonprofit employment is concentrated in this field in these countries. This reflects the unusual private character of health care in these countries. In addition, these three countries also share a sizable nonprofit presence in the field of education, though this is largely in higher education in the U.S. and Japan, and in elementary and secondary education in the case of the Netherlands.

- Social-services dominant model. A third pattern of nonprofit activity finds expression in the four Western European countries of Austria, France, Germany, and Spain. These countries, too, share a common background of extensive Catholic influence. However, for a variety of reasons, religious influence has been weakened in the education sphere and remains strong chiefly in the field of personal social services. On average, over 40 percent of all nonprofit employment is thus in the social services field in these countries, though in two of the countries (France and Spain) a sizable nonprofit presence is also evident in education, and in a third (Germany) health almost equals social services as a focus of nonprofit employment.

- Culture/recreation-dominant model. Much different yet is the model of nonprofit structure evident in the four Central European countries we have examined. As noted above, the largest portion of nonprofit employment in these countries is concentrated in culture and recreation. This reflects the heritage of the Communist era in these countries, during which sport and recreational associations were actively encouraged. In addition, this pattern also grows out of the transformation of cultural
Rinds into foundations in the immediate aftermath of Communist control in several of those countries. The largest and most established nonprofit organizations in many of those countries, therefore, are traditional organizations with roots in the old order.

* Balanced model. Finally, three countries exhibit a more “balanced” pattern of nonprofit employment, with no subsector clearly in the ascendance. In each of these countries (Australia, Colombia, and Finland), anywhere from 16 to 25 percent of total nonprofit employment is dedicated to the three fields of education, health, and social services; but no one of the fields claims more than 25 percent of the total.

In short, the nonprofit sector is not a single thing. Rather, it takes different forms in different places reflecting the particular constellation of cultural, historical, political, and economic forces that are at work. At the same time, these patterns are not wholly random. Rather, they take definable shapes where circumstances are similar.

4. Most revenue from fees and public sector, not philanthropy

Not only does the nonprofit sector take similar forms in different places, it also has a distinctive revenue structure. However, this structure differs from what conventional thinking often assumes. In particular:

- Limited support from philanthropy. Private philanthropy is hardly the major source of nonprofit sector income. To the contrary, as Figure 8 shows, private philanthropy—from individuals, corporations, and foundations combined—accounts for only 11 percent of nonprofit income on average.
- Fees and public support. By contrast, the major source of nonprofit income are fees and public support. Fees and other commercial income alone account for nearly half (47 percent) of all nonprofit revenue, while public sector payments account for 42 percent (see Figure 8).
- Variation among countries. This general pattern holds up across most of the countries we examined, though some significant variations are also apparent. In particular, as shown in Figure 9:
- Fee-dominant countries. Fee income is the dominant source of income for 10 of the 19 countries on which we were able to assemble detailed revenue data. The fee share of total revenue in these countries ranged from a high of 85 percent in Mexico to 49 percent in Spain. Generally speaking, fee income was especially important in Latin America, in Central and Eastern Europe, and in the developed countries outside of Western Europe (e.g., Australia, Japan, and the U.S.). This reflects, in part, the composition of the nonprofit sector, as will be noted more fully below. In addition, reliance on fee income is naturally most pronounced where private giving is limited and government support is unavailable for political or other reasons. Under these circumstances, the scale of the nonprofit sector comes to depend on the scope of a private market for the services that nonprofits can provide. A fee-dominant revenue structure is thus consistent with both relatively large and relatively small nonprofit sectors. Where the market is small, as in Central Europe and Latin America, dependence on fees translates into a small nonprofit sector. Where the market is large, as in Australia and the U.S., the nonprofit sector can be relatively large even though fees are the major source of income. To the extent that this model prevails, however, it puts serious limitations on the scope and nature of the nonprofit sector, pushing it in the direction of market forces.
- Public sector-dominant countries. A significantly different pattern of nonprofit finance is apparent in the remaining nine of the 19 countries on which we were able to assemble revenue data (see Figure 9). In these countries the major source of nonprofit revenue is not fees and payments but public sector grants and contracts. Included here are third-party payments from public sector social security and health programs. Every one of the Western

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Figure 8
Sources of Nonprofit Revenue, 1995
(19-Country Average)
European countries except for Spain and Finland exhibit this pattern. As noted earlier, this reflects the tradition of subsidiarity built into European social policy, a tradition that acknowledges the important role of the state in financing social welfare services, but turns extensively to private, nonprofit organizations to deliver many of the services that result. A similar pattern is also evident in Israel, where publicly enforced health benefits are channeled to essentially private health care providers. While similar relationships are evident in other countries (e.g., in the federally operated health insurance program for the elderly in the United States), the relative scope is far more extensive in these countries, where the public sector share of nonprofit revenues exceeds 50 percent, and often 60 percent, of the total. Significantly, moreover, the countries that have the largest nonprofit sectors seem to adhere universally to this pattern. This is true, for example, of Iceland, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Israel, the four countries that surpass the United States in the relative scope of nonprofit activity. Evidently, public sector support is a critical factor in the growth of nonprofit action.

• Private philanthropy. Significantly, in no country is the nonprofit sector supported chiefly by private philanthropy. At the same time, private giving is quite important in a number of settings. Interestingly, this is particularly true in Central and Eastern Europe, where private giving generally accounts for about a quarter of nonprofit revenue, considerably higher than for other regions. This paradoxical result likely reflects the result of a long tradition of enterprise financing of key services for employees under the Communist era and the relatively limited scope of other support for nonprofit action in this region. Also at work in all likelihood is a significant level of outside philanthropic support to the incipient Central European nonprofit sector. Among the more developed countries, private giving is higher in the U.S. and Israel than in most of the other countries, but even here it does not exceed 13 percent of total income.

• Variations among fields. That the pattern of nonprofit finance varies among countries is at least partly a result of the fact that revenue sources vary considerably among different fields of nonprofit action, and these different fields are more or less prominent in different places. In particular:

• Fee-dominant fields. In five of the 10 fields we examined in depth, fees and service charges are the dominant source of nonprofit income (see Figure 10). This is understandable enough in the cases of business and professional organizations and recreation and culture. In the case of the development organizations, the explanation lies in the substantial number of housing organizations that are included within this category. So far as foundations are concerned,
concerned, the chief source of revenue is earnings on endowments, which are treated here as earnings. Finally, the significant fee income for environmental organizations likely reflects the membership fees often collected by such organizations.

- Public sector-dominant fields. In four of the 10 major fields of nonprofit action we have examined, by contrast, the major source of nonprofit income is not fees and charges but public sector support. This is especially true of the major fields of social welfare—health, education, and social services—where public sector support ranges anywhere from 62 percent to almost 80 percent of the total. Interestingly, however, public sector support also turns out to be quite important to civic and advocacy organizations, which also receive nearly 40 percent of their funding, on average, from public sources. This practice is particularly striking in the welfare state of Western Europe, where a tradition of public funding of political organizations has long existed, but a similar pattern is evident as well in Peru, where foreign assistance in support of democracy-building seems to be at work.

- Private philanthropy-dominant fields. In at least one field—international assistance—private philanthropy is the dominant source of income, though it is a close second in one other foundations. What is more, private giving is also the principal source of income of religious congregations, which are not covered in depth here.

- Revenue structure with volunteers. The pattern of nonprofit revenue portrayed here changes significantly when volunteers are factored into the picture. Although the relative ranks of the three major sources of income do not change with volunteers included, the philanthropy proportion increases substantially, from 11 percent to 27 percent, and the fee and public sector proportions decline proportionally, to 39 percent and 34 percent, respectively, as shown in Figure 11. Because much of the volunteer input flows to essentially sports and recreation organizations, the relative rankings of funding sources do not change significantly among the different fields. At the same time, the fee dominance of the culture and recreation field declines significantly, from 63 percent to 44 percent, while the private giving share grows from 14 percent to 48 percent. In addition, four additional fields become philanthropy-dominant once volunteers are included: environmental, civic and advocacy, philanthropic intermediaries, and social services.

5. A major employment generator

Not only is the nonprofit a larger economic force than commonly recognized, but also it has been an
This exceeded substantially the shares of total employment with which these fields started the period. Nonprofit education organizations also absorbed a considerable share of employment growth, though here the share was smaller than the one with which these organizations began the period. Finally, development organizations accounted for a substantial 6 percent of the nonprofit job growth.

- Social services the dominant source of growth in Western Europe. The composition of nonprofit job growth in Western Europe deviated significantly from the overall average. Instead of health, social services accounted for the largest share of nonprofit job growth in Western Europe (40 percent vs. 18 percent). In addition, development organizations in Western Europe experienced a 40 percent increase in employment and accounted for 13 percent of the nonprofit job growth. In all likelihood, these figures reflect the investment that the European Commission, as well as national governments, have been putting into job training and development programs in the European region.

- "Marketization." More generally, the growth in nonprofit employment evident in these figures has been made possible not chiefly by a surge in private philanthropy or public-sector support, but by a substantial increase in fee income. As shown in Figure 14, in the seven countries for which we have unusually dynamic one in recent years, outdistancing the general economies in most project countries in generating employment growth.

- Nonprofit vs. overall employment growth
  Nonprofit employment in the nine countries for which we were able to assemble time-series data grew by an average of 23 percent, or more than 4 percent a year, between 1990 and 1995 (see Figure 12). By comparison, overall employment in these same countries grew during this same period by a considerably slower 6 percent, or barely 1 percent a year. The nonprofit sector therefore outpaced the overall growth of employment in these countries by nearly 4:1.10

- Nonprofit employment growth especially robust in Western Europe. The growth of nonprofit employment was especially strong in Western Europe, where it expanded by an average of 24 percent in the four countries for which we have longitudinal data (Belgium, France, Germany, and the U.K.). By contrast, in the three other developed countries for which we have data (Japan, Israel, and the United States), the increase averaged 13 percent.

- Health and social services the dominant sources of nonprofit growth. The overwhelming majority of nonprofit job growth between 1990 and 1995 took place in two fields: health and social services. The former of these absorbed 40 percent of the job growth and the latter 31 percent (see Figure 13).
and 4:1, respectively.

absolute growth in philanthropic support by 7:1 absolute growth in fee income outpaced the where it gained ground (Japan and France) the declined during this period, and even in the two tries for which we have time-series data, the philan-
ed 200 percent. Indeed, in five of the seven coun-
tries for which we have time-series data, the philan-
thropy share of total nonprofit income actually

To be sure, this general trend was not evident every-
where. In Israel, Hungary, and the U.K., for exam-
ple, substantial increases took place in the levels of public sector support to nonprofit organizations. In the four other countries, however, such support, while growing in absolute terms, nevertheless, declined as a share of total nonprofit revenue, forc-
ing nonprofit organizations to turn more extensive-
ly to fees and other commercial income. Moreover, this marketization trend was not only apparent in the United States and Japan, where it has long been in evidence, but also in Western Europe. Thus in both France and Germany as well, fees and service changes grew faster than overall nonprofit income and thus boosted their share of total income:

• Tepid growth of private giving. The record of pri-
vate giving during this period was varied. Some growth in private giving occurred in every country, and in at least three (Japan, Hungary, and France) the growth was substantial, exceeding 25 percent. In the case of Japan, this was probably due to the Kobe earthquake, which stimulated an outpouring of charitable activity; whereas in France the general increase in awareness of the nonprofit sector may have played a role. Because of the small base from which such growth is measured, however, it still did not add very much to overall nonprofit revenue, even where the percentage change exceed-
ed 200 percent. Indeed, in five of the seven coun-
tries for which we have time-series data, the philan-
thropy share of total nonprofit income actually
decreased during this period, and even in the two where it gained ground (Japan and France) the absolute growth in fee income outpaced the absolute growth in philanthropic support by 7:1 and 4:1, respectively.

Conclusions and implications

The nonprofit sector thus emerges from the evi-
dence presented here as a sizable and highly dynam-
ic component of a wide assortment of societies throughout the world. Not only does this set of institutions serve important human needs, it also constitutes a major, and growing, economic force and a significant contributor to economic as well as social life.

At the same time, this sector is hardly equally de
dveloped everywhere. While it has taken its place as a full-fledged partner with government and the busi-
ness sector in many countries, in far more it remains a highly fragile organism whose future is very un-
sure. Under these circumstances, no single set of implications will apply equally in all places. Under these circumstances, it may be appropriate to outline the implications that seem to flow from the discus-
sion here, and from the broader evidence this project is generating, for the different regions we have exam-
ined.

Central and Eastern Europe: an ambiguous sector

Ambiguity is perhaps the principal characteristic that emerges from the picture of the nonprofit sector that our data reveal in Central and Eastern Europe. To be sure, the period since the fall of Communism in 1989 has been aptly termed the “rebels of civil society,” but this rebel has not been without its delivery pains and the offspring, despite some remarkable energy, has hardly attained full maturity. Indeed, one of the more striking features of the post-
Communist nonprofit sector as it appears in the data we have assembled is how fully it still reflects the Communist legacy, as evidenced by the comparative-
ly strong position of culture and recreation and pro-
fessional organizations and unions, the two main types of activities that were tolerated and even sup-
ported by the Communist regimes. This coexistence of the old and the new creates a pervasive tension that has hardly been addressed, let alone overcome.

At the same time, and in striking contrast to the developed world, nonprofit activities in the core welfare state areas of social services, health and edu-
cation are still limited. This reflects the expectation that Central and Eastern Europe citizens still have about the state’s obligation to provide for citizen wel-
fare, an expectation that is all the more paradoxical in view of the abuses of state power under the Communist regimes.

This persisting ambiguity suggests the need for continued concerted effort to nurture a truly effec-
tive private, nonprofit sector in Central and Eastern Europe. Among the tasks that must be addressed, moreover, three seem especially important:

• Fostering legitimacy. The persistent ambiguity of the Central and Eastern European nonprofit sector is due in important part to the legitimacy problems that the sector continues to face. For better or worse, the early evolution of the sector in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Communism produced a limited, but highly publicized, number
of scams and scandals in many countries. These were due, in many instances, to early loopholes and uncertainties in the law, which enabled unscrupulous operators to utilize the nonprofit form for personal financial gain. Fortunately, many countries across the region have since passed new legal frameworks that spell out the functions and purposes of various types of nonprofit organizations more clearly, and some have also improved the tax treatment of both organizations and donations. Indeed, in many ways, the new legal frameworks emerging in the region appear to be superior to those in the West, which developed in far more haphazard fashion. Nevertheless, public attitudes still lag behind this legal development and the public at large seems disillusioned with the promise of the sector. To overcome this, a significant investment in public education will be needed along with the development of effective codes of conduct among nonprofit organizations themselves.

- Capacity building. A second key conclusion that emerges from the data presented here concerns the time frame required to build a truly viable and self-sustaining nonprofit sector. As we have seen, despite considerable growth, the nonprofit sector in Central and Eastern Europe, five years after the fall of Communism, remains a pale reflection of its counterparts elsewhere in the world, including Latin America as well as Western Europe. To grow and nurture a sustainable nonprofit sector and civil society obviously takes more than just a few years of investment. Accordingly, it seems crucially important to continue the training and capacity-building efforts that marked the first years of Western assistance at significant levels in the foreseeable future. So, too, with the efforts to build an institutional infrastructure for this sector in the region to facilitate training efforts and information-sharing and provide a unified voice vis-à-vis the government, especially at the national level. Such efforts have made important headway, but they regularly run into resistance on the part of nonprofit leaders fearful of "umbrella organizations" that seem to resemble what existed under the previous regime.

- Resource development. Finally, in this regard, there remains a significant need to create a sustainable financial base for the sector in this region. In part, this will require nurturing a culture of philanthropy and giving. Fortunately, there is a long tradition of enterprise giving, but this has yet to translate into sizable individual donations capable of financing these organizations from dependence on fees and corporate support. In addition, however, progress is also needed in allowing nonprofit organizations to tap into public funding, which has been a significant engine of nonprofit growth elsewhere in Europe.

Latin America: the problem of duality
If ambiguity is the central reality of the nonprofit sector in Central and Eastern Europe, "duality" is the central feature in Latin America. In a sense, two separate nonprofit sectors exist in this region—one composed of more traditional charitable organizations and other agencies linked to the social and economic elite and the other associated with the relatively newer forms of grassroots organizations and so-called "non-governmental organizations" (NGOs) that support them. As we have seen, the former of these remains quite prominent so far as the formal picture of the sector is concerned, but the latter is clearly gaining ground and comprises an increasingly prominent "informal" or less formal component.

Given this situation, the challenges facing the Latin American nonprofit sector therefore take the following forms:

- Making "sector" a reality. In the first place, serious steps are needed to bridge this divide between the profit sector and foster a common understanding of a "sector" sharing common interests and needs. The emergence of the concept of "civil society" has been useful in this regard, but much more dialogue and interaction will be required.

- Capacity building. One way to foster a sense of a distinctive nonprofit sector in Latin America is to invest in the capacity of this sector through improved training and infrastructure organizations. Although considerable effort has been put into training nonprofit personnel in this region, indigenous capacity to provide such training, and indigenous infrastructure organizations, has been lacking until recently. Building these capabilities thus seems a high priority for the region. Equally important is encouraging indigenous philanthropic institutions to buttress the financial foundation of the sector. In short, with the significant base that has now been built, Latin America is ripe for a major nonprofit sector capacity building campaign to bring the less formal part of the region's civil society sector more fully into a position to operate on a par with the more traditional part, and with partners in government and the business sector.

- Building partnerships with government and business. Government has emerged in recent years as an important source of support for nonprofit organizations in many parts of Latin America. At the same time, the relationships between the nonprofit sector
and the state remain strained. In part, this reflects the lack of transparent procedures for regularizing contacts between these two sectors and the long tradition of clientelistic politics under which the funding and operation of nonprofit organizations are subjected to the whims of local or national political elites. A significant priority for the future, therefore, is to build a firmer foundation for cooperation between these two sectors to ensure a reasonable degree of autonomy for the nonprofit sector. Similarly, the nonprofit sector must find ways to build cooperative ties with the business sector in the region if for no other reason than as a counterpoise to excessive dependence on the state.

• Making room in the public space. One way to foster a greater partnership between nonprofit organizations and the state is to ensure nonprofit organizations a more secure place at the table in the so-called “public space” that is opening in most countries in the region, in which dialogue among social and political actors should occur. Clearly, advances have been made in many countries in bringing nonprofit organizations into the process of public policy formulation and implementation, but much has yet to be done.

Developed countries: the challenge of renewal

If basic capacity building and resource are the central challenges facing the nonprofit sectors in Central Europe and Latin America, in the more developed regions of the world the central challenge is one of “renewal.” The 1990s, as we have seen, was a period of considerable growth for the nonprofit sector. A heightened demand for social services of all kinds and a generally reduced role for governments, among other factors, increased the importance of the nonprofit sector. At the same time, however, this growth has not been without its challenges, though the challenges have been as much to the heart of the sector as to its stomach. Long accustomed to significant levels of public support, and critical by the promise of greater fee income, nonprofit agencies in the developed world are in heightened danger of losing touch with their citizen base. On the one hand, many of these organizations have long since been transformed into large bureaucracies seemingly indistinguishable from the government bureaus with which they interact; on the other hand, they face a growing danger of becoming ever more like the business firms with which they frequently compete. Negotiating the dual challenges of over-bureaucratization and over-commercialization becomes thus the true challenge for nonprofit managers and policymakers in these areas.

• A renewal strategy. To help preserve and regain the sectors true identity and core values, serious effort needs to be made to reinvigorate the nonprofit sector on a regular basis. This can be done through regular strategic planning, through improved training and management models that reflect the central values this set of institutions is supposed to promote, and through a critical dialog that engages a wide range of societal actors in a discussion of the sectors appropriate social role. Clearly, citizens cannot be expected to defend this sector’s worth if the sector does not make itself worthy of their support.

• Accountability and effectiveness. In order to ensure their claim on citizen loyalties, nonprofits also need to be able to demonstrate the worth of what they do, and to operate both efficiently and effectively in the public interest. This will require something more than traditional management training, or the wholesale adoption of management techniques imported from the business or government sector. Rather, continued effort must be made to forge a distinctive mode of nonprofit management training that takes account of the distinctive values and ethos of this sector while ensuring the effectiveness of what it does. Important progress has been made along these lines in a number of countries, but significant steps remain to be made in building up the training capability in numerous places, especially in Western Europe.

• Expanding philanthropy. Important as the development of organizational and leadership capacities are for the future of the nonprofit sector, the expansion of private philanthropy continues to be vital to ensure a meaningful level of independence from both government and business. Yet, as we have seen, such support is marginal in many countries. What is more, it has not kept pace with the overall growth even in the countries where it has historically been more substantial. Over the long run, therefore, serious efforts are needed to encourage private philanthropy. The recent increases in the number of grant-making foundations in many developed countries suggest a positive trend toward greater philanthropic input into the nonprofit sector—a trend that needs the active encouragement of policymakers and nonprofit leaders. Moreover, changes in demographics and the labor force suggest that in many countries large reservoirs of potential volunteers remain “untapped” for the expansion of philanthropy’s share of nonprofit operations. However, this will require public education efforts on behalf of the sectors leadership, and creative models for combining paid and unpaid work, particularly in countries with high levels of unemployment.
Conclusion

More generally, the discussion here points up the vital need to improve the general awareness of this set of institutions in virtually every part of the world, and to monitor the trends affecting it on a more pervasive, and more sustained, basis. The existence of a vibrant nonprofit sector is increasingly being viewed not as a luxury, but as a necessity, for peoples throughout the world. Such institutions can give expression to citizen concerns, hold governments accountable, promote community, address unmet needs, and generally improve the quality of life. Putting this sector firmly on the mental map of the world is therefore a matter of some urgency. However incomplete, if the work reported here has contributed to this goal, it will have served its purpose well.
### Appendix Table 2: Nonprofit Sector FTE Employment, by Country and Field of Activity, 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Nonprofit Sector</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(excluding volunteer input)</td>
<td>(including volunteer input)</td>
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<td>(thousands)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-agricultural</td>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>FTE</td>
<td>FTE</td>
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<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developed</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>57.3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>52.0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>France</td>
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<td>31.3</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>52.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>48.0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>46.4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Other Developed Countries</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Appendix Table 3: Nonprofit Revenue with and without Volunteer Input, by Revenue Source and Country, 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Nonprofit Sector</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
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<td></td>
<td>Excluding Volunteer Input</td>
<td>Including Volunteer Input</td>
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<td>Revenue Millions US$</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(thousands)</td>
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<td>FTE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Developed</td>
<td>UK</td>
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<td>48.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Developed Countries</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Region</td>
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<td>CEE</td>
<td>EU</td>
<td>CE Avg*</td>
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<td>20.4%</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
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<td>Latin America Average* / Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
<td>1,932,320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Unweighted average
** Volunteer input has been included in the private giving column, public sector and private giving shares may include other forms of in-kind contributions.

Source: Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project Phase II
Représentations et usages d'Internet
Enquête sur l'usage des technologies de la communication et de l'information par les associations*


Introduction : Contexte, questions et méthode de travail

A/ Contexte : la demande d'un état des lieux, avant la définition d'un programme de la Fondation de France. De plus en plus d'associations demandent le soutien de la Fondation de France pour des projets mettant en œuvre des nouvelles technologies, en particulier Internet. De ce fait, il paraît utile de positionner la Fondation vis-à-vis des nouvelles technologies de leur usage, pour préciser la place qu'elle peut y prendre, conformément à ses missions.

Deux constats et deux principes d'action ont été posés par la Fondation de France qui serviront de "fil rouge" pour la définition d'un programme d'action, après l'examen des initiatives de terrain.

- Deux constats :

  1- d'abord le fait que "la révolution technologique" ses traductions dans le monde du travail, la dérégulation qu'elle produit renforce le processus d'exclusion : il y a moins de travail, et l'accès au travail existant se trouve de plus en plus conditionné par la maîtrise d'outils (informatiques, de connaissance)... qu'on apprend à maîtriser surtout dans un cadre professionnel. Dans le même temps, l'outil nouveau (les nouvelles technologies de la communication) est, potentiellement, vecteur d'un projet social collectif : parce qu'il est mobilisateur (les gens s'y intéressent, ont le désir de s'en servir), et parce qu'il multiplie les connexions (accès à l'information, à d'autres personnes, etc.). Ce premier constat fait naître une question : les nouvelles technologies de la communication, outils de la dérégulation du travail, ont-elles aussi un outil pour contrebalancer les effets de cette dérégulation - en multipliant les liens sociaux, en renforçant l'autonomie des personnes, etc. ?

- 2- Second constat, les associations, qui paraissent les plus à même de porter un tel usage "compensateur", sont encore marginales dans la sphère des politiques publiques, et sont faiblement structurées : les institutions les soutiennent peu - l'État, les collectivités locales, l'Union européenne... et leur propre organisation : l'autonomie, la dispersion - les rend peu efficaces sur le plan général. D'où ces questions, posées dans la note d'intention de la Fondation de France : quels sont les modes d'organisation utiles à l'émergence d'un usage "solidaire" des nouvelles technologies ? Les associations participent-elle de ces modes ? A quelles conditions peuvent-elles être les médiateurs d'un usage solidaire des nouvelles technologies ?

- Deux principes d'action posés par la Fondation de France :

* d'abord "aider ceux qui veulent aider", c'est-à-dire soutenir les projets visant à faire accéder aux nouvelles technologies les personnes défavorisées pour qui cet accès est difficile.

* Ensuite, "agir ensemble", c'est-à-dire relier les initiatives, faire prendre conscience de l'existence d'une communauté de sens (de signification, de direction) entre une diversité d'acteurs, soutenir les projets orientant les initiatives... puis passer d'une communauté de sens à une communauté d'action.

Sur ces bases, la Fondation de France a confié à l'association VECAM une mission en deux volets :

- Une enquête pour dresser un état des lieux des initiatives reliant nouvelles technologies et "insertion"

- L'organisation d'une réflexion, sous forme de séminaire, pour préciser ce que pourrait être un programme de la Fondation.

Trois groupes de questions ont été posés :

1/ Quels sont les besoins en matière de nouvelles technologies ? Pour quels publics, pour quels types de projets intervenir en priorité ?

La note d'intentions communiquée par VECAM à la Fondation de France constate la diversité des besoins et fait l'hypothèse d'un soutien utile dans deux directions : les micro-projets, qui demandent le moins de moyens pour être réalisés, mais assurent certains projets plus larges, qui peuvent avoir une force d'entraînement.
2/ Sur quels critères peut-on apprécier les projets liés aux nouvelles technologies - quels sont les "bons" projets, compte tenu des spécificités de l'outil "nouvelles technologies", et des objectifs de la Fondation de France ?

Ici, la note d'intentions avance plusieurs critères : l'innovation, la reproductibilité, l'implication d'un public défavorisé, des effets visibles à court terme, directement utiles aux publics... ces critères pouvant nous servir de grille d'analyse des projets.

3/ Quel soutien la Fondation de France peut-elle apporter, selon quelles modalités, et avec quelles conséquences pour sa propre organisation ?

Ici, la note d'intentions, - passé le préalable de ne pas saupoudrer ses moyens, et d'ancrer le soutien sur la réalité du terrain -, est très ouverte à l'examen : est-il préférable de faire des appels à projet ? des concours d'idées ? de constituer un groupe d'experts, mis à la disposition des projets ? d'agir d'abord par les têtes de réseau (ou surtout vers les micro-projets) ? Pour chacune de ces options, quelles sont les conséquences matérielles pour la Fondation de France (nombre de postes, enveloppe budgétaire, répartition des moyens internes/externes) ? Comment les autres institutions - Etat, collectivités locales, Union européenne, Fondations, etc. - répondent-elles à ces questions ?

B/ Présentation de l'enquête auprès des associations : deux niveaux d'investigation:

L'enquête auprès des associations vise à dresser un état des lieux des initiatives, à connaître les usages des nouvelles technologies (par les publics "en insertion", par les associations elles-mêmes), ainsi que les soutiens utiles apportés (ou défaillants) par les institutions.

Nous avons interrogé les opérateurs sur quatre axes :

1/ les matériels informatiques et connectiques : de quel équipement disposent les associations ? Quelle est la satisfaction, quels sont les projets ?
2/ la décision de se connecter à Internet (pour les associations non connectées, la connaissance d'opérateurs connectés) : quand et comment a été décidée la connexion ? Avec quels soutiens pratiques ? Quels ont été les catalyseurs de la connexion ?
3/ les usages d'Internet (pour les associations non connectées, la perception des usages) : qui utilise Internet au sein de l'association ? Pour faire quoi ?

L'exhaustivité ou l'enquête représentative (au sens de l'échantillonnage statistique) ayant peu de chances d'être atteinte dans les délais impartis (dix mois), VECAM a conduit son enquête par deux moyens :

* Une enquête par questionnaire auprès d'environ 200 associations travaillant notamment dans le domaine de l'insertion (voir questionnaire et liste des associations en annexe). L'objectif est de repérer des projets, et des fréquences dans les réponses à quelques questions génériques : nature de l'équipement informatique, usage de cet équipement, idem pour Internet, perception de l'environnement institutionnel pertinant pour la réalisation de projets utilisant des nouvelles technologies, satisfaction d’ensemble vis-à-vis de ces équipements, nature des besoins et des demandes de soutien.

* Une enquête par entretiens auprès d'un vingtaine de structures - et autant de projets. L'objectif est ici de décrire plus finement l'usage et le positionnement vis-à-vis des nouvelles technologies et en particulier d'Internet. L'entretien permet de saisir la genèse du projet, d'expliquer les intentions, les étapes de la réalisation, et de faire décrire certains usages. Cette perception concerne autant les machines, les nouvelles technologies et elles-mêmes, que l'évolution des "métiers de l'insertion" et de l'insertion en elle-même avec l'introduction de ces technologies. Ajoutons que, pour certaines structures, des observations ont pu être faites sur place.

À défaut de pouvoir construire, avec une vingtaine d'expériences, un échantillon représentatif du champ des usages des nouvelles technologies par les associations travaillant dans le domaine de l'insertion, nous avons tenté de constituer un échantillon "significatif".

Une première typologie "significative" du champ de l'insertion aurait pu envisager trois entrées : 1/ une entrée thématique (alphabétisation, soutien scolaire, insertion économique, accès à l'emploi, santé, logement, etc.), 2/ une entrée par publics (jeunes, chômeurs longue durée, RMIstes, etc.), 3/ une entrée par territoire (quartier, ville, bassin, région, France entière).

A la réflexion, il est apparu qu'une telle typologie, pour être classique, soulèverait plus de problèmes qu'elle n'en résoudrait. Aussi avons-nous choisi d'explorner quatre orientations "significatives" des associations, réparties sur deux axes : un axe de la relation au public et au
1. L'associations et leur équipement informatique : une satisfaction d'ensemble, au regard relativement bien maîtrisé

1.1. Diversité de l'équipement, non conforme à la taille ni au secteur de l'association

La lecture des tableaux de l'enquête par questionnaire illustre que la disparité de l'équipement informatique des associations interrogées n'est pas contrôlée à leur taille. Certaines "grandes associations" (ex. la Fondation) sont faiblement équipées, alors que d'autres, de taille bien plus modeste (ex. le réseau de quartier "Réservoir"), sont bien équipées, leurs ordinateurs se trouvant dans une situation de face-à-face avec un public en insertion, et dont la notion d'insertion est toujours plus large que le quartier. Par exemple, les fédérations nationales - FNAI, CNLRQ, etc. Cette seconde position nous a paru intéressante pour examiner l'accès et l'usage des nouvelles machines par le réseau des Centres sociaux... et non des "étapes" sur une ligne qui conduirait inéluctablement à la connexion.

1.1.1. Équipements informatiques, non conforme à la taille ni au secteur de l'association

La lecture des tableaux de l'enquête par questionnaire illustre que la disparité de l'équipement informatique des associations interrogées n'est pas contrôlée à leur taille. Certaines "grandes associations" (ex. la Fondation) sont faiblement équipées, alors que d'autres, de taille bien plus modeste (ex. le réseau de quartier "Réservoir"), sont bien équipées, leurs ordinateurs se trouvant dans une situation de face-à-face avec un public en insertion, et dont la notion d'insertion est toujours plus large que le quartier. Par exemple, les fédérations nationales - FNAI, CNLRQ, etc. Cette seconde position nous a paru intéressante pour examiner l'accès et l'usage des nouvelles machines par le réseau des Centres sociaux... et non des "étapes" sur une ligne qui conduirait inéluctablement à la connexion.

1.1.2. Équipements informatiques, non conforme à la taille ni au secteur de l'association

La lecture des tableaux de l'enquête par questionnaire illustre que la disparité de l'équipement informatique des associations interrogées n'est pas contrôlée à leur taille. Certaines "grandes associations" (ex. la Fondation) sont faiblement équipées, alors que d'autres, de taille bien plus modeste (ex. le réseau de quartier "Réservoir"), sont bien équipées, leurs ordinateurs se trouvant dans une situation de face-à-face avec un public en insertion, et dont la notion d'insertion est toujours plus large que le quartier. Par exemple, les fédérations nationales - FNAI, CNLRQ, etc. Cette seconde position nous a paru intéressante pour examiner l'accès et l'usage des nouvelles machines par le réseau des Centres sociaux... et non des "étapes" sur une ligne qui conduirait inéluctablement à la connexion.
1. La satisfaction générale affichée tient moins aux caractéristiques techniques des machines, qu'au sentiment d'en maîtriser l’usage.

La lecture des tableaux de l'enquête par questionnaire révèle que la satisfaction vis-à-vis de l’équipe informatique est quasi-générale. Un paradoxe, cependant : la satisfaction vis-à-vis de l’équipement informatique paraît peu liée au nombre et aux caractéristiques techniques des machines, dans certaines limites cependant (obsolescence des ordinateurs, insuffisance numérique évidente). Des associations avec peu de machines se déclarent satisfaits, même si “rien n’est jamais parfait” ; d’autres, apparemment bien équiper, semblent moins satisfaits, et envisagent de s’équiper davantage.

En fait, l’enquête par entretiens et certaines réponses au questionnaire indiquent que la satisfaction déclarée vis-à-vis du matériel informatique tient essentiellement au sentiment qu’on en maîtrise l’usage, et cette maîtrise en interne est assez largement diffusée. En quelques années, les associations se sont équipé en matériel informatique, et les responsables ont intégré cet outil devenu nécessaire à la gestion quotidienne de la structure.

Plusieurs réponses au questionnaire illustrent cette position:

Satisfaction vis-à-vis du matériel informatique (3 ordinateurs) car “ceux qui se servent des machines savent le faire”, et “il y a peu de bêtises” (Maison de quartier, Brest) : on devine que des errements passés ont été supprimés avec l’apprentissage, qu’il y a désormais des personnes dans l’équipe sachant se servir des machines, et qu’on peut toujours compter sur elles pour débloquer des situations.

Au départ, l’installation d’une entreprise d’information pour un petit matériel informatique (1 ordinateur), du fait que cela “nous a suffi à faire ce qu’on lui demandait” (traitement de texte, comptabilité : cette position “mieux vaut un petit mais qui tient dans mes ventes”) illustre une certaine relation à l’informatique, où l’on est content d’en maîtriser le minimum, sans chercher plus loin. Les témoignages de ces associations nous ont permis de prendre conscience de la décentralisation des décisions d’équipement informatique, les têtes de réseau n’ayant pas ou très peu d’incidence sur la nature et le rythme de l’équipement informatique.

2. LA CONNEXION A INTERNET : UN PAS SUPPLEMENTAIRE, PARASANT OBLIGÉ MAIS DIFFICILE A FAIRE.

L’examen du phénomène de l’arrivée de l’internet dans les associations met en avant une généralité, et singularise deux positions bien tranchées. La généralité, c’est que la connexion à Internet se diffusse très rapidement, depuis peu. Depuis peu, 1998 est situé “au printemps de la connexion”. Les deux positions s’opposent, quant à elles, sur l’axe de l’expérience (qui n’a pas grande relation avec celui de l’équipement informatique) : d’un côté, les néophytes, où tout paraît très compliqué, voir insurmontable; d’un autre côté, pour les initiés, l’utilité de la connexion paraît aller de soi, et les problèmes viennent alors de l’environnement (nombre trop réduit de connectés, problèmes techniques de connexion, faible soutien institutionnel à la diffusion du nouveau réseau). Cette polarité nous a conduit à interroger les néophytes plutôt sur leurs appréhensions et leurs demandes de soutien, et les initiés sur l’expérience de la connexion ; précisons aussi que nous avons interrogé davantage d’initiés que de néophytes.

Nous examinerons d’abord la généralité (1) et les deux positions (2), avant de dégager certains des freins et des facteurs facilitateurs à la connexion (3).
le "monde d'Internet", "l'univers virtuel", apparaissant au contexte professionnel.

Sans entrer dans le détail des motivations à la connexion, signalons donc que le mouvement est à la connexion. De plus en plus, cela apparaît comme un pas obligé - d'une manière un peu comparable à l'outil informatique ou au fax, il y a quelques années. L'intérêt pour Internet se décline à l'ensemble du champ.

Notons, cependant, que les motifs mis en avant pour refuser la connexion peuvent varier selon la distance au terrain :

Pour les têtes de réseau, c'est surtout le sentiment d'une insuffisante maturité (à un manque d'organisation interne) justifie le report de la connexion. Pour les associations de proximité, on trouve en recherche des justifications d'ordre institutionnel, de la part des néophytes.

Des associations (non connectées) répondent qu'Internet est inutile à leur activité, notamment parce qu'elles ne l'ont pas à disposition. Deux freins méritent qu'on s'y attarde :

- Méconnaissance de l'outil et configuration institutionnelle peuvent se combiner pour rendre difficile la connexion.
- La connexion est souvent de résistance méthodologique, qui tend à "refuser avant de connaître", et qui s'accompagne souvent d'une appréhension engendrant toute l'identité professionnelle, ou la position dans la société. Beaucoup de stéréotypes circulent : internet pour les privilégiés, qui n'est qu'un outil, qui ne sert qu'à dériver ou à se débaucher, etc. En fait, la plupart du temps, c'est plutôt une déclaration d'incompétence face à la machine ; on ne s'assoit pas à la table dont on ne connaît rien du menu, et l'on préfère continuer son chemin avec des méthodes éprouvées.

2.2. Appréhensions des néophytes, modestie des initiés

Le "monde d'Internet", "l'univers virtuel", apparaissent très complexes aux néophytes, paraissant demander de forces compétences pour la maîtrise de l'outil informatique. A côté, on ne connaît rien du WEB les néophytes, mais qu'elles n'en ont pas les moyens... sans qu'elles semblent connaître en fait les moyens nécessaires à la connexion.

2.3. Freins et facilitateurs de la connexion

Tout en gardant à l'esprit les deux points précédents, nous voulons souligner certains des freins et des facteurs facilitateurs dans les expériences analysées.

Dans plusieurs cas, une certaine résistance des hiérarchies institutionnelles est présente comme une source de difficultés - qu'il s'agisse de projets réalisés ou non. Dans ces cas, les hiérarchies sont présentées comme diagnostiquées des réalisations qui peuvent se faire avec Internet - selon le schéma assez classique de "l'éloignement au terrain". En fait, les hiérarchies sont, soit dans une position de "promoteurs" des nouvelles technologies, ce qui semble assez rare, soit dans une position de résistance : ce n'est pas une priorité, parce qu'Internet n'est qu'un outil, que paraît très complexe, et dont on ne s'assoit pas à la table où on ne connaît rien du menu,...
L’enquête auprès des structures en position de tête de réseau confirme les difficultés de certaines hiérarchies à promouvoir la connexion. Ces difficultés sont, cette fois-ci, culturelles, liées au rapport au pouvoir. Sur le fond, il faut que la tête de réseau soit suffisamment assurée de son réseau, pour encourager la connexion; le réseau technique d’Internet sera plus facilement accepté qu’il vient servir un réseau humain priorisant.

La FNARS illustre parfaitement ce point : alors que la Fédération nationale est tout à fait une cible “pour Internet, la connexion c’est pas vécue comme une priorité, du fait du manque d’organisation au siège : à quoi servirait un réseau dernier cri, si les éléments qui le composent ne se connaissent pas - en particulier si la tête n’entretient pas, au préalable, des relations suivies avec les structures locales. LE CNLRQ confirme ce point, par un exemple inverse : c’est parce que le Comité de liaison est suffisamment conforté dans sa mission d’animation de structures autonomes, que l’utilité d’internet apparaît clairement. LE CNLRQ, comme tête de réseau, n’est pas en position hiérarchique, mais bien en position d’animation de réseau. C’est pourquoi le Comité national est très favorable aux développement des liens entre réseaux de quartier, d’autres.

* La connexion à Internet oblige les structures à s’interroger sur leur environnement physique et social. formulé comme tel, on ne voit pas où est le frein. Pourtant, c’est bien la nature ouverte de Internet qui pose un problème aux institutions, et ce, jusqu’aux associations. La comparaison avec l’outil informatique est utile : si l’ordinateur est très généralement perçu comme un outil intérieur des structures (on s’en sert pour la gestion, plus occasionnellement le met-on à disposition des habitants pour les aider dans leurs démarches), la connexion à Internet, et plus encore le site WEB, conduit à poser le problème de l’ouverture des structures sur leur environnement. Le problème est généralement posé dans une double dimension : 1/ le contenu -> sur quoi s’informe-t-on et informe-t-on via le Net? que met-on sur le WEB?, et 2/ l’accès, la mise à disposition du matériel : dans quelle mesure doit-on mettre à disposition cette ressource rare et riche?

Ces interrogations prennent un sens différent selon la proximité au terrain : si, pour les têtes de réseau, Internet oblige à s’interroger sur l’organisation de réseau (en particulier, le partage des informations et du pouvoir), pour les associations de proximité, c’est la relation au quartier qui est en jeu.

b) Parmi les facilitations à la connexion, signalons :

* L’engagement préalable de membres de l’association. Le quasi-totalité des expériences analysées sont parties d’un engagement personnel d’un membre de l’association, qui a montré aux autres que la connexion n’était pas complexe, et que le réseau avant des avantages. Les opérateurs soulignent très généralement qu’il faut montrer Internet pour dépassionner le débat, et dès inclure les personnes, et qu’il est très utile de “ vulgariser” les nouvelles technologies, qui sont, malgré les apparences, d’un accès facile.

* L’encouragement financier, en particulier pour l’équipement initial. Matériellement, le plus des expériences dont nous avons eu connaissance sont parties d’un premier investissement sur des fonds propres, par autofinancement. Cette volonté de faire, qu’ils l’emportent, est donc pas faire preuve de vue que certaines associations bataillent sur la question de l’investissement initial, incluant les machines mais aussi la formation de base.

2.4/ Des demandes de soutien inversément proportionnelles aux réalisations.

Nous citions un peu le trait pour se faire comprendre : la méconnaissance d’Internet, faisant croire au caractère très compliqué et très coûteux de la connexion et de l’usage, condamne à formuler des besoins très importants - les néophytes demandent tout à la fois des matériels, de la formation, de la maintenance, des postes de fonctionnement, d’informatiques. Inversement, ceux qui ont montré un projet initial sur le faisabilité investissement initial, et en fait, sur le caractère incontournable de la “débrouillesse”, du tâtonnement, de la pratique. L’apprentissage d’internet fonctionnerait comme celui d’une danse : il n’est pas nécessaire de prendre beaucoup de cours, avant de pratiquer, mais il faut pratiquer au plus vite, pour s’enrichir des cours.

Dans les propos des responsables d’associations non connectées, sauf déterminé affiché pour la connexion, on trouve donc surtout une peur du fait de la méconnaissance : la connexion c’est-elle facile ? Faut-il connaître le matériel informatique ? Faut-il maîtriser très bien des logiciels nouveaux ? Faut-il former tout le temps, régulièrement ? Autant de questions angoissées les néophytes s’efforcent de répondre positivement.
Les initiés ont tendance, pour leur part, à mieux cibler leurs demandes de soutien, tout en connaissant le faible engagement des institutions. Trois types de demandes se présentent, dont nous verrons plus bas les contours :

- une demande d’aide à l’équipement, certes, mais ciblée sur des éléments peu négociables par les associations, en particulier les serveurs locaux (un responsable associatif lance le mot d’ordre : “offrez-nous un serveur local, nous vous offrons un conteneur d’utilité publique”).

- une demande d’événementiel (type Fête de l’Internet), et plus généralement d’une politique plus large de promotion d’Internet. Les événements permettent en effet de mobiliser et de montrer en pratique l’utilité de la Toile.

- une demande de soutien au fonctionnement des projets, par la mutualisation de fonctions telles que les postes techniques d’informatique-réseau, et ceux de “médiateur”.

3/ DES USAGES SOLIDAIRES ET COOPERATIFS DES NOUVELLES ASSOCIATIONS PAR LES ASSOCIATIONS

L’analyse des usages des nouvelles technologies, et spécifiquement d’Internet par les associations sous l’angle de l’insertion est un exercice difficile, non seulement parce que l’insertion est un concept ouvert (où commence et où s’arrête l’insertion ?), qu’Internet est un outil très malléable, mais encore parce que les actions sont souvent très récentes, en ces années de “printemps de la connaissance”. Pour autant, nous avons observé des usages solidaires et coopératifs d’Internet et des nouvelles technologies, usages encore peu établis, et marqués par la force du discours des pratiques “pionnières”.

Usage solidaire : des lieux pour l’accès gratuit au réseau s’ouvrent en direction des populations pauvres, faisant d’Internet un outil pour des projets d’insertion (1). Usage coopératif : des réseaux associatifs, plus ou moins formalisés, s’organisent, dans le but de partager de l’information et de promouvoir des liens, que pour transformer encore leur mode de décision, et faisant des Internet et d’Internet des outils pour la “structuration du monde associatif” (2).

3. Libre accès et projet d’insertion : des lieux “animés” pour un usage solidaire d’Internet

Cyber-cafés ou espace multimédia de proximité ? Manifestation ponctuelle (type Bus multimédia) ou installation pérenne ? Alors que, dans la plupart des agglomérations se multiplient les cyber-cafés qui remplissent avant tout une fonction de piquet d’accès au Net, des associations de proximité intègrent des espaces multimédias dans leur projet, donnant à ces outils une destination qui tente de dépasser la simple “consommation de technologies”.

Quelles expériences nous permettent de voir à quelles conditions l’usage solidaire d’Internet est rendu possible.

4. Du côté des motivations, il est certain que l’effet mode d’Internet intervient : la Toile intéresse, en particulier les jeunes, par son image moderne, parce que des mouvements musicaux s’y expriment, parce qu’on parle de “révolution”, qu’on peut entrer en contact avec toutes sortes de gens, etc. Internet est de ce fait un lecteur de travail social, beaucoup plus porteur que des activités “occupationnelles” Cet effet “mode” s’incruste sur une toile de fond d’un intérêt plus large pour la technologie, notamment pour l’informatique. Les acteurs institutionnels (ou sens large) ont aussi une carte à jouer, l’équipement informatique personnel étant encore, au moins, pour quelques années, un bien rare. Des responsables associatifs parlent ainsi de “créneaux” historiques : un peu comme les journaux au XVIIIème siècle, l’outil multimédia, loin de maintenir l’individu derrière son écran, peut stimuler la rencontre et devenir ainsi le vecteur d’une sociabilité. A la création du téléphone, nombreux sont ceux qui ont cru que les gens se contenteraient de s’appeler, sans se rendre compte qu’un phénomène inverse s’est produit : le téléphone a multiplié les rencontres. Le recul manque aujourd’hui pour avoir une analyse de l’effet quantitatif d’Internet en termes de rencontres, mais il semble d’ores et déjà que le parallèle avec le téléphone puisse être fait.

Les modalités d’ouverture de lieux multimédia soulignent que l’usage solidaire d’Internet est à l’opposé du modèle consumériste en vigueur dans les cyber-cafés. Le cyber-café loue du matériel, une adresse e-mail, à des consommateurs solitaires, qui peuvent rencontrer en cas de besoin aux service d’un technicien (la plupart du temps un jeune, formé le plus souvent par lui-méme), le projet est individuel, et la sociabilité fonctionne sur le mode de l’anonymat qui prévaut dans les relations en public. À l’inverse, les espaces multimédia de proximité (appelons-les ainsi) sont investis par des groupes, c’est la dimension collective qui est mise en avant : le réseau mis
à disposition gratuitement est l'outil d'un projet individuel et collectif.

Chacun des expériences analysées illustre ce travail collectif. La régie de quartier Réservoir (Nevers) projetait initialement d'ouvrir deux cyber-cafés, dans les deux quartiers d'habitat social où elle est implantée - un peu sur le modèle des cafés à thème (café-musique) qui ont vu le jour dans les années 80. Le projet avait été validé par la ville, qui elle-même (service de la communication) projetait d'ouvrir un lieu de consultation au point accueil-junior du centre-ville. La discussion avec Neronnex, dans le cadre d'une formation dispensée par cette association, a influencé le projet - dans le contexte des quartiers d'habitat social de Nevers, la dimension collective devait être valorisée. L'outil multimédia pouvait servir, en plus des projets individuels (recherche d'information, d'emploi, rédaction de CV, etc.), des projets collectifs : élaboration d'un site collectif, présentant le quartier, les activités qui s'y développent, dialogues avec d'autres quartiers, d'autres pays, etc. Cette perspective a modifié la préparation du projet elle-même : les responsables de la régie ont recherché à assouvir le plus grand nombre d'habitants à l'outil multimédia, en passant par les réseaux existants, pour éviter qu'il ne soit utilisé par une seule frange de la population (jeunes, célibataires). Un ordinateur, par exemple, est prêté au réseau d'échange de savoirs, composé principalement de femmes, mères de familles qui échangent des savoirs ménagers, le prêt étant justifié par la volonté que ces mères de familles cultivent elles aussi l'informatique. Les nouvelles technologies permettent ainsi de montrer des projets secrets sur l’exitéur, dépassant les limites étroites du quartier, tout en valorisant l’identité de celui-ci - et c’est cette interaction entre l’intérieur et l’extérieur qui renouvelle la relation d’insertion.

Le Centre social de Belleville (Paris) fait de l’ouverture au quartier le maître-mot de son projet le plus récent : il y a une demande locale pour la mise à disposition des nouvelles technologies, mais cette demande est à travailler : il faut initier à l’utilisation des machines, conforter les projets individuels, favoriser l’échange avec d’autres groupes, et valoriser les habitudes d’habitation. Cette ouverture au quartier se vérifie par les heures d’ouverture (notamment le soir, au like-lieu Internet ouvert le mardi à partir de 20 heures), par l’intégration d’Internet dans les activités régulières du Centre (notamment, des jeux type “jeux de pistes” sont organisés avec des jeunes), et, d’une manière plus forte, par le site “Belleville” en cours de constitution. À travers quelques mois d’activité, l’expérience du Centre social souligne que l’outil multimédia est propice à l’échange, par son interactivité, et qu’il facilite la relation coopérative : très vite, chacun apporte quelque chose aux autres, très vite “la débrouille” est collective, les informations peuvent être mutualisées - et c’est finalement un collectif humain qui se sert de la machine. Cet usage coopératif est propre à la relation d’insertion, que ce soit pour conforter des projets individuels, ou pour expérimenter des échanges sociaux.

L’expérience des Bus multimédia de l’association “Coup de Puce” illustre encore : sans Internet cette fois - les apports et l’utilité de l’outil multimédia vis-à-vis de la relation d’insertion. Une fois par semaine, le bus propose à des groupes scolaires un parc de 8 PC équipés de logiciels ludo-éducatifs ; l’usage est toujours partagé (deux enfants par ordinateur), et la fréquentation régulière permet un travail collectif. Les responsables, issus de l’Éducation nationale, soulignent que l’ordinateur modifie la relation éducative : non seulement maitre et élèves font face à la machine, au lieu d’être face à face comme dans la salle de classe (avec le tableau noir comme médiateur asymétrique), mais encore l’adulte sait que l’élève pourra peut-être très vite lui apprendre quelque chose sur l’usage de la machine - la “débrouille” distribuant les armes sans distinction hiérarchique. Sans tomber dans l’angélisme ni dans un relativisme radical, les responsables de l’association soulignent l’ampleur des changements dans la relation éducative. L’adaptation que tels changements demandent au corps enseignant, et la nature “valorisante” de l’outil multimédia dans l’apprentissage. Ils soulignent aussi l’ampleur de la demande sociale, et le fait que c’est l’événement de l’offre qui dissuade de faire une promotion plus large du service offert dans les bus.

L’expérience d’Ars Longa (Paris) illustre la promotion d’un usage solidaire et ponctuel des nouvelles technologies. L’association Ars Longa, implantée à Belleville depuis un an pour promouvoir le spectacle vivant et les artistes de l’est parisien, a profité de la Fête de l’Internet pour monter un projet multimédia - l’espace d’un week-end seulement mais attestant des différentes voies de son travail de terrain (avec les artistes, les écoles, et plus généralement les habitants du quartier). Pendant trois jours, le Global Galery du Moulin Joly (du nom de la salle où l’association est implantée) a mis à disposition gratuite du public ordinateurs, scanners, logiciels de graphisme et connexions Internet, les enfants ont mis en ligne leurs dessins, à côté de...
NLRQ souhaiterait lui-même capitaliser et diffuser les institutions. Forts, et justifiant certainement un appui par les instances d'insertion mais prometteurs de liens transversaux plus forts, et/ou proximité territoriale, de manière balbutiante, les associations se structurent par affinités thématiques et prometteuses de liens transversaux plus forts. Comme un projet d'un espace multimédia pérenne, libre accès et projet d'échange, les initiatives "Éspaces multimédia de proximité" soulagent donc les relations érotiques de l'insertion et du multimédia, ainsi que la nécessité d'une animation de ces lieux sur la base d'un projet - au lieu d'une simple mise à disposition technique comme dans les cyber-cafés. Les nouvelles technologies - au premier chef Internet, puisque c'est l'outil le plus connu - sont un levier de valorisation individuelle et collective, encore faut-il que la plate-forme ait un projet, et des médiatrices pour promouvoir ce projet. Se dessine ainsi la fonction "d'animateur - médiateur-nouvelles technologies", où l'on demande une forte compétence technique (faire marcher et montrer comment marchent les machines) et relationnelle (développer et gérer le projet, en face-à-face avec les usagers). Cette fonction, assurée dans un premier temps par les membres de l'association, doit assez vite être assurée par un salarié à temps plein - pour des raisons budgétaires, les projets vont actuellement à des contrats emploi-jeune.

3.2/ Structuration du monde associatif par l'usage coopératif d'Internet et d'Intranet: des expériences limitées et prometteuses de liens transversaux plus forts Par un usage coopératif d'Internet et d'Intranets, des associations se structurent par affinités thématiques et/ou proximité territoriale, de manière balbutiante mais prometteuse de liens transversaux plus forts, et justifiant certainement un appui par les institutions.

* Nous avons souligné parmi les freins à la préparation des décisions. Sans pouvoir être précis sur ce point - faute d'avoir rencontré d'exemple suffisamment abouti -, signalons que les têtes de réseaux, outre l'obstacle "culturel", "politique", déjà mentionné, butent sur une contrainte matérielle. L'installation de la "tête du réseau" suppose un équipement suffisant des membres du réseau, et une tête de réseau proposant un Intranet se verrait assez vite retirée des demandes d'équipement informatique... Vu de la "tête", l'équipement du réseau parait une opération lourde, un investissement trop important, et la "débrouille" si utile n'a plus cours - d'autant qu'il y a des néophytes dans le réseau, qui eux mêmes tendent à charger la barque. Dans ce contexte, la tendance est plutôt... d'attendre que les membres du réseau s'équipent, de consulter des experts sur le coût d'un réseau, d'équiper la tête de réseau elle-même, ou en particulier d'un WEB (atrium dont on espère qu'elle sera un jour une plate-forme), et de continuer de travailler avec des méthodes éprouvées (téléphone, fax, courrier, réunions...). Le plus souvent, le réseau Internet et Intranet apparaît encore comme un système très coûteux d'échange d'informations.

* Dans ce contexte, les expériences coopératives d'Internet et d'Intranet existent plutôt sur le plan local, par affinités thématiques et/ou proximité territoriale, hors relation hiérarchique et avec les concours (souvent militant) d'acteurs et d'associations "pro-multimédia". C'est en effet dans ces relations non hiérarchiques que se exprime la dimension coopérative d'Internet : gratuité des relations, mise à disposition réciproque des informations, notamment par des bases de données, échange de compétences et d'outils (logiciels, solutions techniques, etc.). En fait, la dimension coopérative et "brocante" intervient dès l'amont, au moment de l'équipe ment et du montage opérationnel, mais c'est la réalité du réseau humain - précisant et conforté par le réseau technique - qui semble le critère de l'effet de "structuration".

La régie de quartier Réservoir illustre la volonté de coopération "bons amis" avec les associations locales, et avec des réseaux locaux et autres structures d'insertion implantées ailleurs. Intermittente, la direction de la régie entretient des relations épisodiques, notamment par une liste de diffusion, avec d'autres réseaux et structures d'insertion, le Net permet l'échange et la capitalisation d'informations sur des thèmes très opérationnels - usage des emplois jeunes, types de contrats passés avec les bailleurs sociaux, services de proximité émergents... abolition de signes que le CNEURQ souhaiterait lui-même capitaliser et diffuser...
dans le réseau des régies de quartier. En plus de ces échanges thématiques, la régie vise à diffuser l'usage du multimédia par les associations et les habitants du quartier.

Le projet Cybelleville articule étroitement usage coopératif d'Internet, développement social et développement territorial. L'objectif est de mettre sur le réseau Internet : le réseau des acteurs sociaux du territoire (Belleville, puis l'Est parisien), de relier les lieux multimédia, pour démocratiser l'accès aux nouvelles technologies et développer "l'intelligence collective" (P. Lévy) sur le territoire. Concrètement, sur les bases de lignes d'action communes - accès gratuit à Internet, mise en réseau des acteurs locaux, constitution de "pépinières multimédia" - il s'agit de créer une association, financant elle-même un poste de "médiateur-coordinateur-technicien" utile à chacun dans ses démarches, et utile à tous dans l'interface avec l'extérieur (notamment institutionnel), il s'agit aussi de faire vivre un site commun au territoire, car-refonte des sites déjà existants, mais aussi plébiscite apportant sa propre valeur ajoutée (notamment, par une base de données socio-économique sur le territoire, réalisée sous logiciels Gingo et Espace X).

L'association est en cours de constitution, rencontrant un écho favorable auprès des élus locaux (qui ont toujours tendance à demander un "interlocuteur unique"), et une certaine adhésion des associations du territoire. Très vite, cependant, va se poser la question d'un serveur local et des connexions, qu'il serait utile de mutualiser.

Structure du monde associatif par l'usage coopératif d'Internet et d'intranet : des expériences existent, hors relation hiérarchique et prometteuses de liens interassociatifs plus forts. L'initiative ne revient pas aux télé de réseau, mais bien au terrain lui-même, des associations multipliant leurs liens par affinités thématiques et/ou proximité géographique, avec la complexité d'associations et d'acteurs "pro-Internet". Les sites WEB reflètent la réalité et la vigueur du réseau humain qui porte le réseau technique : souvent coquille vide, partout espace de rencontre et de promotion collective. Les initiateurs des quelques expériences analysées soulignent ainsi l'importance du réseau humain, condition nécessaire à toute "structure" mais aussi l'utilité d'un soutien technique fort aux projets coopératifs. "Offrez-nous un serveur local, nous vous offrons un contenu d'utilité publique fort" : cette réponse au questionnaire (à la question : "quel soutien attendriez-vous d'une institution ?") illustre bien la position d'acteurs dont le projet est déjà bien établi, qui demandent un soutien technique. La fonction technique d'informaticien réseau manque elle aussi, étant indispensable par une seule structure, et encore difficile à mutualiser. Des serveurs locaux, des informaticiens, des formations pour le personnel : les demandes pour aider la structuration des associations vont ainsi au volet technique. Pour le moment, les associations "pro-Internet", à l'exemple de Glibert et de Neuroconnexion, sont en position d'aider les associations à structurer leur projet "nouvelles technologies".
Activists beyond borders - and theorists within them

by Peter Waterman


Introduction

Keck and Sikkink (henceforth K& S) have written a very good book. No, an excellent one. It is going to be both academically and politically influential. My guess is that it will become a standard teaching text on what they call transnational advocacy networks (even if I call them international solidarity ones). One reason for this expectation is that they work on this novel subject matter within new, but not unfamiliar, theoretical paradigms. A second is that they do so within politically established ones. A third is that this is a highly professional work, even a technical one, and that these things are sorely needed in the world of international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), still largely located in a sea of global civil-society bubble. Thus, in a final, consistently and tightly argued work with a nice combination of theory, literature discussion and case study.

Argument

K&S have a sophisticated theoretical introduction. It has a chapter on history, or pre-history. Three case study chapters deal with transnational networks on human rights in Latin America, on the environment, and on violence against women. The conclusion summarises usefully.

Theory. K&S travel international relations, social movement, network and other theory to come up with their major model. This is of local NGO initiative surpassing recalcitrant local states, reaching foreign and international NGOs, foreign states and international organisations, so as to 'boomershoot' back on local ones (13, fig. 1). But this major model is not as central as first appears. The theory chapter itself, and the succeeding ones, offers us an expanding battery of concepts and typologies to aid analysis, evaluation and strategy.

One of the key combination of concepts in the book's subtitle (10-10, 32-34): Advocacy is the promotion of causes, principles and norms that go beyond a conventional understanding of 'interest'. A network is a horizontal, voluntary, reciprocal pattern of exchange and communication. Conventional contemporary understandings of international politics or relations are criticised, as those that would subsume transnational advocacy networks (henceforth TANS) under notions of transnational social movements or global civil society (33). K&S prefer to see a global civil society more as a fragmental and contested arena of struggle in which TANS dispute with informal states and inter-state organisations, press on these, find each other, form and transform themselves. Sub-sections of Chapter 1 explain the origins and rise of the TANS, how they work, and the conditions for influence. In each case the specification is original and insightful. Repeated conceptualisations offer us a toolchest where we previously had only steamhammers. Three examples:

- Our typology of tactics, includes: 1) information politics; 2) symbolic politics; 3) leverage politics; 4) accountability politics. (16)
- To assess the influence of advocacy networks...[we] identify the following types or stages of network influence: 1) issue creation and agenda setting; 2) influence on discourse positions of states and international organisations; 3) influence on institutional procedures; 4) influence on policy change in 'target actors'...and 5) influence on state behaviour. (25)
- [F]ocusing on international interactions involving nonstate actors...we distinguish three different categories based on their motivations: 1) those with essentially instrumental goals, especially transnational corporations; 2) those motivated primarily by shared causal ideas, such as scientific groups or epistemic communities and...3) those motivated primarily by shared principle ideas or values (transnational advocacy networks). (30)

History. K&S recognise three different historical traditions behind contemporary TANS activity: the religious, the labour/socialist, and the individual rights one. Their history chapter however, deals only with those coming out of the religious and rights traditions with the international 19th or early 20th century campaigns 1) against slavery in the US; 2) for women's suffrage worldwide; and 3) against footbinding and female circumcision in the then-semi-colonial world. More concepts are developed, including the distinction and dialectic between a solidarity model which assumes a community of interest or fate and an individual rights one that does not.

Cases. The three case studies are chosen by K&S because of their international significance. Using data from the International Union of Associations' invaluable Yearbook of International Associations, they argue that these represent about half of the international TAN community. But it is only somewhere in the...
middle of the book that they comment on what has already become apparent: that they are also stressing North-South networking, or the North-South aspects of networking (132). No reason is given for this, so we have to assume it as being due to both authors being Latin Americanists, or in them considering the North-South axis as the dominant one internationally. Chapter 3, on human rights networks in Latin America, is thus, primarily, about human rights networks in Latin America, though the point is firmly established that the on and in are not only interlinked but mutually influencing. This last point is crucial to the chapter on TANs working on violence against women, as well as this issue is seen as having allowed for a surpassing of a North-to-South model with its built-in conflicts of interest and values.

Conclusions. This chapter is useful as a summary of the book as a whole but does not really add to the argument. The conclusion does, however, raise directly the question of sovereignty. K&S seem to be concerned with nation state sovereignty not only because of their political view of the global mentioned above but also because of their recognition of the continued attachment of Southern activists to at least the idea of the state (215) as a symbol of self-determination. K&S here value networks as a space within which the sovereignty-sceptical attitudes of the Northern activists can be balanced against sovereignty-positive ones of the South.

Commentary

Although this is nowhere made explicit, my assumption is that K&S are from the left (with 'from' suggesting either political origins or current position). This is suggested by their familiarity with, and even sympathy for, the labour and socialist tradition, particularly in Latin America. They are certainly on the front edge of both conventional international politics and social science. I think, however, they are doing this from within certain parameters of both the academic and activist. I think they are also doing it within certain social and geographic ones. And there seems to me to be a certain paradox in dealing with this transformative, emancipatory and internationalist subject matter within such borders.

Let us consider the K&S view of the international/ally, their attitude toward the labour/solidarity tradition, the class and geographic bias in their approach, the problematic lexicon that reveals this; and the liberal-pluralist orientation of the work as a whole. Despite its conceptual sophistication and sensitivity, there is in this work no explicit theoretical world-view (either Weltanschauung or view of the global). Indeed, there is no reference to globalisation in general or the internationalisation of capital in particular. The theoretically critical and socially committed literature on globalisation is ignored, along with the related ones on the globalisation of culture, of citizenship and of social movements. Capital itself makes its rare appearance in the guise of transnational corporations (and even here mostly in reference to one campaign). The blind eye to globalisation means that K&S are working, inevitably, within traditional liberal (or leftist) political and academic paradigms that their own subject matter and arguments actually put in question. This includes a division of the world into North and South, along development/dependency lines, at a time in which a more complex view is increasingly required and recognised. In so far as they have some view of the global, it is, as I have suggested, a political one. It is, they say, the ‘world political system’ that is the ‘appropriate level of analysis’ (212). Although they obviously reject the notion that nation states are the only actors here, they believe that in the world political system today, states remain the predominant actors. The cosmopolitan community can bring pressure to bear at stages of the domestic process, but the state is still in charge, (ibid)

Despite all the evidence they give of TANs questioning, subverting or reducing the relative power of the nation state, of TANs as operating within globalised institutions, or on/in globalised communicational and cultural terrain, K&S see them as essentially political and as operating essentially on/in the nation state. This helps us understand why they object to TANs being subsumed under either a global civil society or global social movement discourse. But their state-centred approach also means that TANs cannot even be seriously considered in relation to the latter.

The significance of the restriction becomes evident when we consider the K&S treatment of labour and socialism. These are recognised as representing one historical tradition, but this is done in passing, and, whilst K&S recognise the contemporary significance of the dialectic between communal-solidarity and individual-rights orientations to TNA activity, labour's present significance is dismisssed in the following terms:

38
Although labour internationalism has survived the decline of the left, it is based mainly on large membership organisations representing however imperfectly bounded constituencies. Where advocacy networks have formed around labour issues, they have been transient, responding to repression of domestic labour movements as in labour support networks formed around Brazil, South Africa, and Central America in the early 1990s (15).

The first sentence is true and important. The second is not and this is just as important. A number of significant labour rights networks have survived or even developed in the 1990s, in both the UK and the USA, as well as in, for example, South Korea. In so far, moreover, as: 1) national and global power is moving from states to corporations, 2) labour protest is reverting internationally, 3) international labour organisations are beginning to fight back against global neo-liberalism, 4) that they are applying themselves to rights issues in particular (including those of women and children on the periphery of the wage relationship), 5) that they are even recognising the significance of the network form (Danish General Workers Union 1997), then one has to either rule out any existential analysis or have a broader definition of the TAN. K&S have taken the first option. There are implications, not least being the failure to recognise that TANs might (and do) reproduce the historical shortcomings of labour and socialist internationalism! These include hierarchy, bureaucratisation, ritualisation, incorporation into hegemonic forms and norms, subordination to state and inter-state institutions, substitution for the membership/community in question, and financial dependence (to which I will return).

More grave is the class bias of such an exclusion. The historical and contemporary cases considered by K&S are all middle-class - indeed Western, or even US middle-class - in origin and appeal, all "progressive" in aim, all "nice" in behaviour. The Western and middle-class origins or appeal of the TANs does not at all disqualify them, or even reduce their significance, but it is problematic and could lead to a "globalisation from the middle". This could then be limited to caracterising the unfinished business of capitalism as such under internationalisation. 3) international labour organisations are beginning to fight back against global neo-liberalism, 4) that they are applying themselves to rights issues in particular (including those of women and children on the periphery of the wage relationship), 5) that they are even recognising the significance of the network form (Danish General Workers Union 1997), then one has to either rule out any existential analysis or have a broader definition of the TAN. K&S have taken the first option. There are implications, not least being the failure to recognise that TANs might (and do) reproduce the historical shortcomings of labour and socialist internationalism! These include hierarchy, bureaucratisation, ritualisation, incorporation into hegemonic forms and norms, subordination to state and inter-state institutions, substitution for the membership/community in question, and financial dependence (to which I will return).

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reformations - independent incomes and self-perpetuating boards of trustees! The argument is followed up by praise for a Dutch funding agency and policy makers, the first for involving 'partners' (a mix of PR seen for financially-dependent clients) in decision-making, the second for being simultaneously or indistinguishably governmental, academic, NGO and other networks (which could blur or even obscure what should be a public, creative and socially-mobilising tension between such).

What K&S are offering us, it turns out, is a liberal-democratic pluralist model of the national and international, in which everything is penetrated or penetrable by entitled middle-class civil networking. K&S here appear as successors rather than antagonists, since they were preceded by the equally sophisticated work of Willets (1982)- in whom they grant only a bibliographical reference (129, fn. 26). Accepting such a model is to ignore or conceal dappled problems and contradictions. These are signified by the current neo-liberalisation of NGOs, the crisis of North-to-South funding, and the 'NGOisation' of social movements and civil society. North and South, East and West. This is now coming to the critical attention of, for example, feminist scholars ( Alvarez 1998). Alvarez has worked in the movement, the NGOs and the foundations, but is evidently more than aware of the tensions. Enormous power, wealth and cultural influence is increasingly concentrated in the hands of capital globally which is to say globalised capital (increasingly intangible forms); nation-states are still able to discriminate and penalise: foundations and other powerful funders, finally, base their own interests, agenda, criteria and procedures.

I must now recall Gandhi's response to the British governments asked from what he thought of Western civilisation: it would, he said, be a wonderful idea. The democratisation of the world would also be so, particularly if it implied the democratization of those parts of national and international power presently concealed from public view and controlled by capital or the executive branches of state (or inter-state) bodies. This applies, however, not only to the reluctant states on the capitalist periphery, enveloped in the K&S boomrang model, but to the liberal-democratic capitalist states that dominate international politics! But, one should not, even in this much-to-be-desired case, forget that liberal democratic, or social-democratic capitalism also reproduces competition, inequality, patronage, environmental destruction, crime (from which it is always demarcated by the finest of constantly shifting lines). Capitalism - of every variety - also means commodification - the reduction of humans and their relations to that which can be bought, sold - and accumulated. To surpass this, or even to effectively modify it in a manner both K&S and I desire, requires a vision of a possible, desirable and attractive alternative to it, based on more social (not to say socialist) principles. This is what is customarily called a Utopia - something also absent from this work. Yet such a realistic global Utopia (Giddens 1990, Sousa Santos 1995: Ch 6) - a global alternative to a neo-liberal globalisation - is being either articulated, or is tenetiously present, in the work of many TANs. And, indeed, it is difficult to know how one could meaningfully evaluate their singular or collective success now, without extending our social imagination beyond the limits of what is dominantly present or represented. One cannot move the world without having a fulcrum and a lever outside it.

Conclusion

As far as I am concerned, K&S are more than felow travellers. They are pioneers in what is likely to become a growing community. Which is why I want to repeat my original endorsement. But, in view of the criticism above, does this not amount to praisng with faint dams? I think now, and this for the following reasons. Firstly, I do not believe that there is only one way to a global civil society, or even the civilising of global society. This road will be made by walking - and talking. Secondly, and more specifically, I do not see 'reform from within' in opposition to 'radicalism from without' but rather as conditions for each others existence. Thirdly, I consider that any sustained and sensitive analysis of our new international subjects cannot but raise academic and public awareness and interest. Fourthly, I do not believe that macro-theoretical or ideological claims or assumptions necessarily determine the value of a work (at least I hope note, given the macro-theoretical/ideological claims/assumptions in mine). I may have concentrated on criticism above, but I want to repeat my feeling that the micro- or microterritorial, the analytical and even strategy implications in K&S are going to be of great value to those working either in or on this field. I am, finally, concerned that I have not dealt with other challenging issues and arguments in K&S. My review has only indicated the part of the iceberg above the water level. In any serious further work I might do on activism beyond borders I will have to deal with the other nine-tenths.
IL Y A CINQUANTE ANS
Les premières ONG qui ont bénéficié du statut consultatif auprès des Nations Unies (1946 - 1948)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom de l'ONG</th>
<th>Lieu actuel du siège</th>
<th>Date de fondation</th>
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<tr>
<td>All India Women's Conference</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>1926</td>
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<tr>
<td>Associated Country Women of the World</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1930</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catholic International Union</td>
<td>Louvain-la-Neuve</td>
<td>1925</td>
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<td>(Union catholique internationale de service social)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (Commission des églises pour les affaires internationales)</td>
<td>Genève</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Howard League for Penal Reform</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1921</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Genève</td>
<td>1889</td>
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<td>(Union Interparlementaire)</td>
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<td>International Abolitionist Federation</td>
<td>Genève</td>
<td>1875</td>
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<td>(Fédération abolitioniste internationale)</td>
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<td>International Alliance of Women</td>
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<td>1902</td>
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<td>(Alliance internationale des femmes)</td>
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<td>Oak Brook</td>
<td>1917</td>
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<td>International Automobile Federation</td>
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<td>International Bar Association</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1947</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Association internationale du barreau)</td>
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<tr>
<td>International Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1919</td>
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<td>(Chambre internationale de commerce)</td>
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<td>International Council of Women</td>
<td>Paris</td>
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<td>Den Haag</td>
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<td>International Federation for Housing and Planning</td>
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<td>(Fédération internationale pour l’habitation, l’urbanisme et l’aménagement des territoires)</td>
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<tr>
<td>International Federation of Agricultural Producers</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<td>(Fédération internationale des producteurs agricoles)</td>
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<td>Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>International Fédération of University Women</td>
<td>Genève</td>
<td>1919</td>
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<td>(Fédération internationale des femmes diplômées des universités)</td>
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<tr>
<td>International Institute of Administrative Sciences</td>
<td>Bruxelles</td>
<td>1930</td>
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<td>(Institut international des sciences administratives)</td>
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<td>International Law Association</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1873</td>
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<td>(Association internationale de droit international)</td>
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<td>International Organization for Standardization</td>
<td>Genève</td>
<td>1947</td>
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<td>(Organisation internationale de normalisation)</td>
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<td>International Organization of Journalists</td>
<td>Prague</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<td>(Organisation internationale des journalistes)</td>
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<td>International Social Service</td>
<td>Genève</td>
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<td>(Service social international)</td>
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<td>International Statistical Institute</td>
<td>Voorburg</td>
<td>1885</td>
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<td>(Organisation internationale de statistique)</td>
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<td>International Transport Workers Fédération</td>
<td>London</td>
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<td>(Fédération internationale des ouvriers du transport)</td>
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<td>International Union of Local Authorities</td>
<td>Den Haag</td>
<td>1913</td>
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<td>(Union internationale des villes et pouvoirs locaux)</td>
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<td>Rotary International</td>
<td>Evanston</td>
<td>1905</td>
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<td>Salvation Army (Armée du salut)</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1865</td>
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<td>International Women’s Democratic Federation</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1945</td>
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<td>(Fédération démocratique internationale des femmes)</td>
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<td>World Alliance of Young Men’s Christian Associations</td>
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<td>World Federation of Democratic Youth</td>
<td>Budapest</td>
<td>1945</td>
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<td>(Fédération mondiale de la jeunesse démocratique)</td>
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<tr>
<td>World Jewish Congress (Congrès juif mondial)</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1936</td>
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<td>World Women’s Christian Temperance Union</td>
<td>Littleton</td>
<td>1883</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Union mondiale des femmes chrétiennes - abstinentes)</td>
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<tr>
<td>World Young Women’s Christian Association</td>
<td>Genève</td>
<td>1894</td>
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La Conférence des organisations non gouvernementales ayant des relations consultatives avec les Nations Unies (CONGO) fête cette année le 50e anniversaire de sa fondation. Comme le soulignait un de ses pionniers, le Dr Gerhart Riegner, la Conférence avait, et conserve encore aujourd’hui, pour objectif essentiel la défense et l’extension du statut consultatif. Au 31 juillet 1997, quelque cinquante ans plus tard, soit 1 356 organisations non gouvernementales qui sont inscrites aux différentes catégories de statut consultatif auprès des Nations Unies (ECOSOC), dont une proportion qui va croissant –ONG (ONG) nationales.
Civil Society and Public Spaces

I recognize the fashionable status of the term "civil society," in its role in the discourse of the international financial and development institutions and, it should be added, that of a significant number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have benefited from the "discovery" of civil society and governance. Nevertheless, the term has a certain vagueness of content, and not just because of its varied meanings or of its status as a slogan-phrase into which meanings can be poured. Rather, "civil society" has, I think, come to acquire a status as emblem of the uniqueness of the "West" and of the "Western" route to modernity - most evident in Ernest Gellner's Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society, and Its Rivals (1994) - even as a concerted attempt is being made to universalize it. "Civil society" has been deployed to great effect buttressing what is otherwise old-fashioned modernization theory. It would appear that what was seemingly applauded in the World Bank's East Asian Economic Miracle document was simultaneously discounted by the tendency of intellectuals who conceive of themselves as at the spatial/social/religious/ethnic/political "center" to view "civil society," in whatever form it variously understand it, as socio-spatially coextensive with the "national society" (The exception might be intellectuals who conceive of themselves in strictly regional, ethnic or religious terms pursuing a project of autonomy or separation.) In addition, the ever-present global dimensions risk being lost to view. In the case of "local" (sub-national) intellectuals, the situation is further complicated by the discontinuities and linkages between the local and the national, especially if that local is self-viewed as backward and underdeveloped. All this has always been problematic, and not only in Southeast Asia. But it might be especially problematic in instances of relatively new states (comprising not only diverse ethnics but also diverse populations of effectively distinct social formations) whose imputed founding myths have not quite gained a sufficiently amnesic hold on all pares of the "nation," even as the coherence of the "nation" is continually destabilized by current global economic forces. Malaysia might be seen as one such instance.

However, to the extent that the space for "civil society" is delimited by the state or by what the state is made to accept, then the conceptions actualized at the "center" do affect the resources available to those in the margins. This is particularly so with respect to space for independent mobilization and action. Even then, the limits for those at the margins, irrespective of the conceptions holding sway at the "center," are generally much more restricted except through subterfuge and indirection than for those in the "mainstream."

Three concrete issues draw together some of the themes set out for the workshop. The first is that of domestic violence, an instance in which what was apparently private has been made public and placed within the purview of the state. It represents one of the most successful campaigns by women's NGOs in Malaysia, a success significantly deriving from the alliance forged between these NGOs and a few of the holders of state power. It was also an instance in which some religious views were effectively marginalized.

It is a signal fact of campaigns pertaining to some women's issues that at least some dimensions of the public-private divide are called into question, thus redefining what is public. Seen in this light, it may not provide much insight to inquire whether women have control of specific public spheres; rather it may be a question of whether they are able to redefine...
what properly falls within the pub-
lic sphere. The latter may more pro-
perly reflect the power that women
actually have. In contrast one may take the instance of elec-
torial campaigning, which is very
much a public sphere in which
UMNO women have a very
prominent role, or of voluntary
charitable organizations in which
prominent women have prominent
roles.

At the same time insofar as the
issues amount to a redefinition of
the public and the private they
inevitably must draw in the state,
the major institution that gives
recognition to what is properly
public. It is not so much a ques-
tion of an ambivalent relationship
to power as one of getting power to
respond and to act in ways conso-
nant with the objectives and views
of non-state, non-corporate orga-
nizations. But it was never just a
question of the public-private. As
noted, the issue of domestic vio-
lence had a religious dimension.
This religious dimension was
equally public, specifically an
interpretation of a specific injunc-
tion apparently permitting legiti-
mate force to be used against
"recalcitrant" wives. Thus, there
were two views of what was prop-
erty public.

In contrast, a recent issue, while
genocides which have dominated in Muslim circles, has resulted in
making public (as in state public)
what was previously a religious
public concern. I refer to the pro-
posed anti-apostasy bill. While
some segments of Muslim opinion
would apparently prefer that the
question of apostasy be privatized,
it is instead going to be taken fully
into the public spheres at least
insofar as Muslims are concerned.
While the proposed bill obviously
has no application to non-
Muslims, it has implications for all
to the extent that it reshapes the
tense of national society.

The second is that of interna-
tional campaigns, whether over
United Nations Conference on
Environment and Development,
the World Trade Organization or
more recently the Multilateral
Agreement on Investments (MAI)
and the International Monetary
Fund (IMF) deals. Here there is
indeed an ambivalent and ambigu-
ous relationship to power insofar
as the state has a shared nationalist agenda with the NGOs and their
intellectuals. It is multiply ambiva-
 lent because the NGOs are (a)
organizers of the role of economic
power in getting a voice in interna-
tional forums, (b) simultaneously
concerned with the nature and
direction of national development
and (c) cognizant of the power of
governmental voices in the North,
while (d) concerned over domina-
tion by the North, whether govern-
ment or corporate.

Thus, in the Asian economic cri-
sis and the consequent IMF deals,
more careful NGOs and their intel-
lectual representatives have found
themselves walking a tightrope,
joining with the government in
decisions which they see as having led
to the crisis—culminating in some of
them providing testimony to the
US Congress and allying with some
of the most outspoken voices of the
"Washington Consensus" in an
attempt to deny the IMF the $18
billion being requested from the
US. Associated with this has been
the NGO campaign against the
MAI which, reportedly, represents
the first successful use of the inter-
net. A Malaysia-based NGO, the
Third World Network, has been
credited with a primary role in the
successful conduct of this campa-
gin.

Insofar as locally-based NGOs
have spoken with a broadly similar
voice as the government of the day
with respect to global economic
and environmental issues, they
have not only been tolerated but
indeed given some measure of
prominence in consultations and
even in the media. Simultaneously,
these views which are somewhat at
odds with officialdom are side-
lined.

Finally, there has been no
such ambivalent relationship to
power, the ability of movements to
make their voices heard within the
national, as contrasted to the inter-
national, arena has been greatly vic-
cellular. We can see this in rela-
tion to environmental campaigns,
especially where such campaigns
have involved local marginal popu-
lations. In such instances, it is more
often than not the case that by
virtue of linguistic and other divi-
mus, the "public intellectuals" who
may emerge have largely been
those at the "center." Without
wishing to devalue the efforts that
have been put into such campa-
gains, it is doubtful to what extent
this represents an imaginative re-
mapping of the nation and to what
extent an "exoticization" of those at
the margins, whereby those who
stand in an ambivalent relationship
to the "center" Without wishing to
devise the efforts that have been put
into such campaigns, it is doubtful
to what extent this represents
an imaginative re-

I would be the first to acknowl-
edge that such a bold characteriza-
tion is an exaggeration and, most
important, pays insufficient atten-
tion to the restrictions of the state.
Still, it serves to bring out the face
of the state society (whether civil or unciv-
il) is not unitary, even less so histo-
rical, compounded by the fact that
some live in marginal social forma-
tions. In such instances, the difference in
objectives

by Kizon Khay Jin
(From Isma, December 1998)
Il y a cinquante ans, les nations du monde ont affirmé, dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l’Homme, leur engagement à protéger et à promouvoir les droits de l’homme. Considérant que « la reconnaissance de la dignité inhérente à tous les membres de la famille humaine et de leurs droits égaux et inaliénables constitue le fondement de la liberté, de la justice et de la paix dans le monde », les nations du monde se sont engagées à protéger le droit à la vie privée, l’égalité, la dignité humaine et la liberté d’expression.

Alors que s’approche le cinquantième anniversaire de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l’Homme, il est essentiel que la communauté internationale réaffirme son engagement à respecter et à promouvoir les droits de l’homme, par-delà les frontières physiques.

Les droits qui ont trouvé leur fondation dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l’Homme demeurent tout aussi essentiels et tout aussi menacés aujourd’hui qu’il y a cinquante ans.

Les organisations signataires du pré-Campagne Internationale pour les Libertés sur Internet (GILC, Global Internet Liberty Campaign), souhaitent rappeler aux nations citoyennes les garanties de liberté d’expression et de droit à la vie privée inscrites dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l’Homme.

L’article 19 de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l’Homme stipule que : « Toute l’individu a droit à la liberté d’opinion et d’expression [...] sans considération de frontières [...] ; et par quelque moyen d’expression qu’il soit ». Conformément aux principes de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l’Homme, il est essentiel que tous les gouvernements continuent de respecter la liberté d’expression sur Internet. En Chine, le revendeur de logiciels Lin Hai est en attente de jugement pour avoir livré 30 000 adresses de courrier électronique à un groupe de dissidents basé aux États-Unis. Aux États-Unis, des groupes de défense des droits de l’homme ont déposé des plaintes judiciaires contre un site nommé « Les lois sur la Décence dans les Communications II » (Communication Decency Act II) qui rendrait illégaux les accès à des contenus en ligne.

Alors que l’article 12 de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l’Homme stipule que : « Nul ne sera l’objet d’interdictions arbitraires en ce qui concerne sa vie privée [...] ; [...]. » des gouvernements un peu partout dans le monde cherchent à contrôler et interdire les communications sur Internet et ailleurs. Récemment, sous la pression des États-Unis, 33 pays d’Europe, d’Amérique du Nord, d’Asie et d’Amérique du Sud ont signé un accord pour limiter l’exportation de logiciels de sécurité qui protègeraient la vie privée. Ces logiciels, qui cryptent les données de sorte qu’elles ne peuvent être lues que par leur destinataire, sont largement utilisés par des groupes de défense des droits de l’homme, y compris par des membres de GILC, afin d’assurer la sécurité et l’intégrité des communications sensibles. À Singapour, tous les fournisseurs d’accès à Internet (FAI) sont contrôlés directement ou indirectement par le gouvernement, et en Russie, une proposition portant sur la possibilité de connecter tous les FAI, via une boîte noire, au Service Fédéral de Sécurité et d’interception des communications sur Internet est actuellement débattue.

Internet tient sa promesse d’outil de communication et de liberté d’expression le plus puissant au monde. Les membres de GILC signataires du présent document encouragent les gouvernements du monde à reconnaître et à promouvoir ce potentiel en accord avec les principes énoncés dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l’Homme. Les membres signataires de GILC encouragent également les gouvernements à éviter toutes restrictions sur des logiciels qui protègent le secret.

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) http://www.aclu.org/
Bulgarian Institute for Legal Development
Centre for Democracy and Technology http://www.derechos.org/
Digital Freedom Network (DFN) http://www.efr.org/
Electronic Frontiers Australia
Electronic Frontier Europe http://www.eanguard.org
Electronic Frontier Spain http://www.arnal.es/free/
Electronic Privacy Information Center http://www.epic.org
Equipo Nizkor http://www.derechos.org/nizkor/
Forderverein Informatik und Gesellschaft (FITUG)
Human Rights Watch
Imaginons un Réseau Internet Solidaire (IRIS) http://www.iris.sgdg.org/
Index on Censorship
Liberty (National Council of Civil Liberties) NetAction
Consultations informelles sur l'investissement international


Les négociations sur l’AMI n’ont plus lieu. Toutefois, les responsables sont convenus de l’importance d’un travail multidisciplinaire sur l’investissement dans le cadre de l’OCDE. Il existe en effet un certain nombre de dossiers importants qui nécessitent de nouvelles analyses et une coopération intergouvernementale. Les responsables sont convenus que ces travaux devaient se dérouler de façon transparente et devaient faire appel à tous les pays Membres de l’OCDE ainsi qu’aux pays non membres intéressés, notamment ceux qui avaient participé à titre d’observateurs aux réunions. Les responsables ont réaffirmé qu’il était souhaitable de se doter de règles internationales pour l’investissement.

La réunion du 3 décembre a été précédée d’un séminaire informel avec le Comité consultatif économique et industriel, la Commission syndicale consultative et d’autres organisations non gouvernementales. Les responsables ont jugé ce séminaire utile et ont exprimé le souhait de voir ce type de dialogue se poursuivre.

Le Projet Phoenix

Le projet Phoenix est une initiative de Trans Europe Halles, réseau européen de vingt-six centres culturels indépendants répartis dans seize pays. Ce processus est un pari sur la capacité de toutes les formes d’art à provoquer de nouveaux dialogues entre les peuples, les cultures et les différents secteurs de la société afin de développer un échange d’idées sur des questions fondamentales pour les jeunes générations à l’aube du XXIe siècle.

A Copenhague, des jeunes et des artistes venus du Brésil, du Cameroun, de Chine, du Rwanda échangeront leur regard autour d’une question : quel avenir pour les jeunes dans une société qui compte de moins en moins d’emplois ? Cette rencontre sera la première d’une série, dans d’autres continents. Le projet Phoenix, inscrit dans la durée et dans une dimension intercontinentale, est ainsi une contribution à la construction d’une alliance.

Pour plus de renseignement, contacter Fazette Bordage, coordinatrice de Trans Europe Halles :
fax : 33- (0) 1- 42.29.84.73
ou e-mail : fazette@imaginet.fr

Une série de contributions sur le thème « temps et travail » peuvent être lues sur le site internet du projet :
http://www.echo.org/Phoenix.html

Orstom - IMT - Université de Gand

Le deuxième Cours International de Surveillance Nutritionnelle (CISN 1998) s’est tenu à Montpellier du 19 octobre au 6 novembre 1998. Ce cours, organisé par le Laboratoire de Nutrition de l’Orstom, Centre de Montpellier, l’Unité de Nutrition de l’Institut de Médecine Tropicale d’Anvers (Belgique) et le Cours de Nutrition (CISN A) de l’Université de Gand (Belgique), faisait suite à celui organisé, également à Montpellier, en 1995 sur le même thème.

Le cours a réuni, pendant ces trois semaines, 19 participants ressortissants de ou travaillant dans 13 pays (Angola, Cambodge, Cameroun, Congo, France, Guinée, Haïti, Madagascar, Mali, Rwanda, Sénégal, Tunisie, Vietnam). Ils ont été sélectionnés parmi une centaine de candidats, en fonction de leur niveau académique et de responsabilités dans des programmes de surveillance nutritionnelle ou d’intervention dans leurs structures (ministères de la santé, directions régionales de la santé, organismes internationaux tels que PNUD, PAM). Le financement de la participation des candidats était assuré pour certains par leurs structures de rattachement (ministère de la Santé du Sénégal, ministère de la Santé du Rwanda - projet FIDA - CIUSA Haïti) et pour d’autres par des bailleurs de fonds tels que les Missions françaises de Coopération et d’Action culturelle, l’UNICEF, le PNUD, le PAF, Aide.

Volet important des plans d’actions mis en œuvre par plus de 100 pays à ce jour, suite à la Conférence internationale sur la Nutrition (Rome 1992), la surveillance nutritionnelle est un processus continu qui a pour objectif de fournir de l’information pertinente et au meilleur coût à des utilisateurs clairement identifiés (responsables politiques, gestionnaires de programmes d’intervention) en vue d’éclairer la prise de décision. Elle a été abordée au travers de différents modules centrés sur les concepts fondamentaux qui la sous-tendent. D’autres modules ont permis de réactualiser les connaissances sur un certain nombre de points en nutrition de santé publique utiles à la surveillance (malnutrition, sécurité alimentaire, problèmes posés par les maladies non transmissibles dans les pays du Sud, carences en micro-nutriments).

Enfin, des modules plus techniques ont porté sur les outils pour la collecte, la gestion et la communication de l’information (conception d’enquêtes, bases de données, analyse de données quantitatives, Systèmes d’Information Géographique, Internet, techniques de communication, données qualitatives). En vue de l’équipe d’animation des trois institutions participantes (Orstom, IMT et Université de Gand), différents intervenants de l’IAMM, de la FAO, de l’OMS ainsi que des consultants indépendants ont apporté leurs contributions sur certains points particuliers.

La méthode pédagogique participative a privilégié le travail personnel et les travaux de groupe (analyse casuelle, études de cas, exercices pédagogiques, séminaires pays, pratique informatique de l’analyse de données, utilisation d’un didacticiel sur la surveillance) et a permis un large échange d’expériences entre les participants et les intervenants.

Une importante documentation ainsi que tous les logiciels utilisés ont été remis aux participants pendant le cours.

Au-delà de l’évaluation participative qui a clos le cours, les perspectives à court terme sont l’établissement d’un forum de messagerie électronique afin de permettre à tous les participants et intervenants de rester en contact, de continuer d’échanger leurs expériences/difficultés pour la mise en place ou le suivi de systèmes de surveillance déjà existants dans leurs pays et de favoriser les collaborations Nord-Sud et Sud-Sud. A moyen terme, l’organisation d’une troisième édition du cours par la même équipe, est prévue à l’IMT à Amiens en l’an 2000.

Lettre IRD, 101 jours : 1999

Contact : Francis Delpeuch IRD Nutrition
Montpellier - BP 5045 911, avenue d’Apoplos
34032 Montpellier Cedex - Téléphone : 04 6754 78 00
Courriel : delpeuch@orsotm.net
Within the framework of the establishment of the WTO in Geneva, the Swiss government decided to finance a programme to strengthen the capacity of less-advantaged country missions in Geneva (least-developed and other low income countries including some transition economies) to lead a more effective trade diplomacy. To this end, it established the Agency for International Trade Information and Cooperation (AITIC). This Agency will assist the less-advantaged countries (LACs) to benefit from the multilateral trading system through more active participation in the activities and negotiations of the WTO and other trade-related international organisations. The Director of the Agency is Ms. Esperanza Durán of Spain.

The Agency will seek to respond to specific demands concerning the work and activities of the trade-related international organisations from the less-advantaged country missions in Geneva. The Agency will assist in providing information and briefings on international trade issues and will inform LACs on current (or future) negotiations, meetings, notification deadlines, or on current technical assistance programmes.

Examples of assistance the Agency will provide:

• the Agency may offer only one person specialising on trade matters. This person has a large number of meetings to cover in several different organisations.

• in a similar situation, the Agency should be able to provide summaries and analysis of lengthy documents on issues on which a LAC may have an interest, but has not been able to follow in the past.

• the Agency would also be able to provide information to countries which do not have a mission in Geneva, and to facilitate interaction with the staff of the different trade-related organisations.

• through a personalised service, the Agency will seek to assist Geneva-based diplomats in becoming familiarised with trade-related issues.

• Annual income per capita of less than US$1,000 and not having traditionally been active participants in international trade.

The Agency for International Trade Information and Cooperation 9, rue de Varembé Case postale: 156 1211 Genève 20, Suisse Tel: 41 22 910 31 50 Fax: 41 22 910 31 51

On 16 to 18 June 1998, the city of Tampere gave birth to a new international Convention on the Provision of Telecommunication Resources for Disaster Mitigation and Relief Operations. From 16 to 18 June 1998, Tampere Hall was the focal point of the Intergovernmental Conference on Emergency Telecommunications (ICET-98). At other times, the Hall is the city’s focal point for congresses, exhibitions, concerts, festivals, and other forms of entertainment. It is in this very Hall that the first Declaration on Disaster Communications was adopted back in 1991 (see JTU News, No. 409, pages 1-15), forming a solid basis for the extensive consultations and deliberations which have resulted in the Tampere Convention.

The Tampere Convention was signed by 33 countries on 18 June 1998, in the English, French, and Spanish languages (the Arabic, Chinese and Russian versions will be made available in due course). As the depositary of the Convention, the Secretary-General of the United Nations has been encouraged by ICET-98 to schedule a signing ceremony in New York in connection with the 53rd session of the UN General Assembly.

The Convention was opened for signature in New York on 22 June 1998 and will remain open until 21 June 2003. Under international law, the Convention will officially come into force 30 days after an official ratification or “consent to be bound” has been received from 30 countries.

The Tampere Convention is the result of seven years of hard work by governments, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations, facilitated by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the International Telecommunication Union (ITU).

The Convention comprises 17 articles which provide for the unhindered use of telecommunications in the service of humanitarian assistance and should serve as a model for improving the legal and regulatory environment in which assistance is delivered.
Some recent issues:


Some authors who have published in our columns:

Sami A. Aldeeb, Chadwick Alger, Benjamin R. Barber, Chérif Bassiouni, Mohammed Bedjaoui, Jan Betting, Maurice Bertrand, Elke Boulding, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Cynthia Cockburn, Jacques Delors, Adamo Dieng, Johan Galtung, Susan George, André Gota, Group of Lisbon, Robin Guthrie, Robert Harris, Jürgen Hoffner, Alexandre Kiss, Alain Labrousse, Ronny D. Lipschutz, Marc Luyckx, Elikia M'Bokolo, Morton Mishkin, Edgar Morin, Basarab Nicolescu, Ignacio Ramirez, François Reznicek, Nigel Rodley, Wolfgang Sachs, Pierre de Senateur, Jan Aart Scholte, Vandana Shiva, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Rajesh Tandon, Charles Taylor, Peter Waterman.
Who's Who in International Organizations
A biographical encyclopedia of lending personalities in international organizations
Edited by the Union of International Associations
3rd edition - 1999, 3 volumes, hard cover

Who's Who in International Organizations is a unique reference work which provides biographical information on eminent individuals associated with international organizations.

The purpose of this series is:
- to provide information on the principal personalities involved in the development, operation and coordination of international organizations, associations, institutes, networks, programmes and other bodies described in the Yearbook of International Organizations,
- to provide an easy means of checking biographical details of significant individuals on the multinational and global levels,
- to provide a resource for the development of inter-organizational relationships.

This updated 3rd edition of Who's Who in International Organizations lists over 13,000 presidents, general secretaries, executive directors, chairmen and other officers active in every field of human endeavour. Some 12,000 international organizations are represented.

The organizations whose officers are included range from United Nations agencies to trade associations, from scientific institutes to development networks, from sports federations to financial institutions. Virtually every form of organization described in the Yearbook of International Organizations is represented in this edition of Who's Who in International Organizations.

The biographical entries include such information as:
Career information: previous and current positions in international, regional, or national organizations, previous and current positions in commercial enterprises, educational institutions, titles of published works, participation at recent significant conferences, field of work.
Personal information: complete name, including titles and aliases; honours conferred, nationality, date and place of birth; family; leisure interests.
Educational background: academic degrees, dates and names of educational institutions.
Addresses: electronic and postal mailing addresses, website addresses, and residential address.

The entries are listed alphabetically by surname. Three indexes provide further access to the entries. One index lists biographies by the international organizations in which they are, or were, active. Another index lists biographers by the country of their citizenship (where known). The last index lists biographies by the fields of endeavor in which they are active, using subjects and combinations of subjects as headings.

The first edition of Who's Who in International Organizations was published in 1992, the second edition in 1995. Who's Who in International Organizations has proven itself over the years to be an indispensable tool, facilitating access to the network of international bodies.

For more information contact:
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Fax (32 2) 643 61 99
Email: uia@uia.be
Website: http://www.uia.org/
Yearbook of International Organizations

Edited by the Union of International Associations

As of the 36th edition, Volume 1 is printed in 2 parts, thus enabling a significant increase in information.

Organization Descriptions and Cross-references

Descriptions of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, covering every field of human activity. Listed in alphabetical order of title.

Contents of descriptions: The descriptions, varying in length from several lines to several pages and based almost entirely on data supplied by the organizations themselves, include: organization names in all relevant languages; principal and secondary addresses; main activities and programmes; personnel and finances; technical and regional commissions; history, goals, structure; inter-organizational links; languages used; membership by country.

Cross-references: Integrated into the alphabetic sequence of descriptions are cross-references to related organizations. Access is possible via organization names in English, French, and other working languages, and via initials or abbreviations in various languages.

Vol. 1A and Vol. 1B

0 Vol. 2 International Organization Participation: Country Directory of Secretariats and Membership
(Geographic Volume)

Countries are listed giving:
— Secretariats: the international organizations which maintain headquarters or other offices in that country. Addresses are given in each case.
— Membership: the international organizations which have members in that country. For each organization listed, the international headquarters address is given, wherever that country is located.

0 Vol. 3 Global Action Networks: Classified Directory by Subject and Region (Subject Volume)

International organizations are listed by subject, with general and detailed categories, according to their principal preoccupations. The classification scheme highlights functional relationships between distinct preoccupations.

The international organizations are also listed by subject according to the resort with which they are particularly concerned.

The index includes:
— Keywords from organization names; former names in various languages; alternative names in various languages; organization subject categories in English, French, German, Russian, and Spanish; names of principal executive officers; names of founding personalities.

0 Vol. 4 International Organization Bibliography and Resources

Periodical and other major publications of international organizations are listed by title, with an indication of the organization publishing the item and of whose the description of that organization may be found in Volume 1. This expanded version of the index, previously published as an Appendix to Volume 1, also contains bibliographic information on research on NGOs and information derived from the Encyclopaedia of World Problems and Human Potential.

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