Service Enquiry

Service in the 21st Century

Edited by
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and Michael Sherraden

First Edition

September 2003

SERVICE ENQUiRY

Recommended citation

Perold, H, Stroud, S and Sherraden, M (eds) (2003) *Service Enquiry: Service in the 21st Century.* First edition. Johannesburg: Global Service Institute and Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.service-enquiry.org.za>

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Introduction

Service Enquiry started as an idea in Costa Rica in January 2000. It was inspired by the rich exchange of views at the Worldwide Workshop on Youth Involvement as a Strategy for Social, Economic and Democratic Development.

Organised by Susan Stroud on behalf of the Ford Foundation in San José, Costa Rica, the workshop drew together more than 50 participants from 16 countries to share their experience of youth service, civic engagement, social capital and economic productivity. The workshop set out to acknowledge and explore the potential of youth service as a strategy for social, economic and democratic development, to identify new work that needs to be undertaken, and to increase knowledge about youth. It marked a turning point in the further development of service as an institution in society, for out of this exchange was born both the Global Service Institute and, as one of its projects, *Service Enquiry.*

The Global Service Institute (GSI) is a long-term project to study, inform and assist in the development of service worldwide. It supports research, is in the process of creating a web-based information network, and supports innovations in policy and programme development. The Global Service Institute is being developed as a global institution 'without walls' by the Center for Social Development at Washington University, St Louis, Missouri and Innovations in Civic Participation (ICP) in Washington DC.

The Global Service Institute publishes *Service Enquiry* in partnership with Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa (VOSESA), a regional service and volunteering information centre for southern Africa, based in Johannesburg.

About *Service Enquiry*

Service Enquiry focuses on the latest developments in service policy, service programmes and the impact of service on democratic values, citizenship and socio-economic development. Each edition in this series seeks to develop new knowledge by analysing the experience of service and volunteering in different parts of the world. This is because there is relatively little well-researched information available about service policies and programmes, particularly in developing countries. While the field of service, service-learning and volunteerism is well-documented in the USA, the UK and Western Europe, the very rich experience of countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia still remains under-researched and inaccessible.

Readers of *Service Enquiry* include practitioners working in national, community and other types of service and volunteering programmes, policy-makers, academics, and researchers and analysts in different parts of the world.

About this edition

This edition of *Service Enquiry* was compiled by three editors, Helene Perold, Susan Stroud and Michael Sherraden.

Helene Perold is a consultant in education, media and development, based in Johannesburg, South Africa. The writer of a two-volume report on Community Service in Higher Education in South Africa (Joint Education Trust, 1997 and 1998), and co-author of the Green Paper on National Youth Service in South Africa (1998), she compiled the report on the Ford Foundation's Worldwide Workshop on Youth Involvement as a Strategy for Social, Economic and Democratic Development (Ford Foundation, 2000), and advised the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg on the development of a policy for service learning in the same year.

Susan Stroud is Executive Director of Innovations in Civic Participation in Washington, DC, USA. From 1998 to 2001 she directed an international project on national and community service at the Ford Foundation and helped create a network of university-based service programmes in South Africa as well as various service initiatives in Russia and Mexico. She served in The White House and at the Corporation for National Service to help enact and implement AmeriCorps legislation, and founded the Campus Compact and the Swearer Center for Public Service at Brown University.

Michael Sherraden is the Benjamin E. Youngdahl Professor of Social Development, Director of the Center for Social Development at Washington University in St. Louis, USA. He is author or co-editor of several studies on service, including *The Civilian Conservation Corps (1979), National Service (1982), The Moral Equivalent of War (1990), Community Based Youth Services in International Perspective*, (1992), and *Productive Aging* (2001).

The *Service Enquiry* publishing project aligns itself with the growing movement for open access to information. *Service Enquiry* follows an open-access publishing strategy in order to reach as many readers as possible around the world. Each edition is published in English and in Spanish on www.service-enquiry.org.za.

For more information email info@service-enquiry.org.za or contact the editors on editors@service-enquiry.org.za.

Acknowledgements

This project may have started as an idea shared between three editors, but its realisation depended on the many people who helped to shape and produce this book and the website on which it is published.

The editors gratefully acknowledge the support received from the Ford Foundation to the Global Service Institute without which this project would not have come to life.

Our sincere thanks go to the authors who cooperated willingly with a demanding editorial process to share their ideas and experience in the most accessible way possible.

Our thanks also go to a small group of people in different parts of the world who, early in 2001 and in the two years that followed, shared their views on how

this first edition of *Service Enquiry* could be shaped: Suzanne Aisenberg (USA), Ahmed Bawa (South Africa), Jill Blair (USA), Stephen Commins (USA), Edna A Co (The Philippines), Francis Davies (Australia), Don Eberley (New Zealand), Yehuda Elkana (USA), Vincente Espinoza (Chile), Marta Estarellas (USA), Claudia Ford (South Africa), John Gerhardt (Egypt/USA), Cynthia Gibson (USA), Nicole Gilding (Australia), Richard Fehnel (USA), Debra Henzey (USA), Christof Heyns (South Africa), Anne Hugo (New Zealand), Christopher R Kedzie (Russia/USA), Gene Lang (USA), Sharry Lapp (Egypt), Jo Lazarus (South Africa), Luc Moens (UK), Michael McCabe (Dominican Republic), Charles Moskos (USA), Frank Newman (USA), Michael Norton (UK), Ian Pawlby (UK), Lonnie Sherrod (USA), Henning Sorenson (Denmark), María Nieves Tapia (Argentina), Andrew Watson (China/USA), and James Youniss (USA).

In South Africa the development of *Service Enquiry* was driven by Helene Perold and her staff: Felicity Nyikadzino (project and database co-ordinator), Sadia Choonara (administration), Martha Legong (database processing) and Lisa Mellor (finance). The open access publishing strategy was forged thanks to Eve Gray, while comPress played an indispensable role in the publishing: Francois van Schalkwyk (strategy and marketing), Michelle Willmers (project manager), and Amy Bradfield (website design and management). For the editorial work our appreciation goes to Trish Gibbon (editor) and Lis Lange (translator). For design and layout we thank Manik Design – Debbie Texiera (design and layout), Roderica Twala (layout) and Nicky Clark (production management). For the design of the *Service Enquiry* database we thank Neil Butcher, Imtiaaz Latib and Brenton Dannatt from Technatic. And for his unstinting support during the process of bringing this project to fruition, Helene Perold thanks Duncan Innes.

In the USA our thanks are due to the staff of the Global Service Institute at the Center for Social Development at Washington University in St. Louis who supported Michael Sherraden on this project – among them Carlos Benítez (data and communications co-ordinator), Lissa Johnson (project director) and Amanda Moore McBride (research director) – and the staff of the Global Service Institute at Innovations in Civic Participation in Washington DC who worked with Susan Stroud on this project – Brett Alessi (project co-ordinator), Grace Hollister (programme assistant), Tatiana Omelchenko (research assistant), and Erin Rodgers (programme assistant).

Dedication

This edition of *Service Enquiry* is dedicated to the memory of Chris Kedzie, a strong advocate for youth service during his time as a programme officer in governance and civil society for the Ford Foundation in Moscow. He believed that one of the most effective ways of strengthening an emerging democracy is to invest in young people and to support their participation in civil society organisations.

Helene Perold, Susan Stroud and Michael Sherraden
Editors
August 2003

Acronyms

ACS   Alternative Civil Service (Russia)

AU   African Union

CBO   Community-based organisation

CHESP   Community Higher Education Service Partnerships (South Africa)

CLAYSS   Latin American Center for Service-Learning (Argentina)

CSD   Center for Social Development (St Louis, Missouri, US)

CSV   Community Service Volunteers (UK)

CYLC   Communist Youth League of China

EU   European Union

IANYS   International Association for National Youth Service

GSI   Global Service Institute

ICNYP   International Council on National Youth Policy

IGO   Intergovernmental organisation

ILO   International Labour Organisation

NEPAD   The New Partnership for Africa's Development

NGO   Non-governmental organisation

NSTP   National Service Training Programme (Philippines)

SETA   Sector Education and Training Authority (South Africa)

SD   Standard deviation

UN   United Nations

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNV   United Nations Volunteers

PART ONE

Service and Volunteerism in the Global Context

Amanda Moore McBride, PhD, is Research Director of the Global Service Institute (GSI) at the Center for Social Development (CSD), Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri USA. She is currently co-principal investigator for CSD's research agenda on civic service worldwide. She also works on projects studying the efficacy of asset development programmes and policies such as individual development accounts. Her scholarship focuses on the forms and effects of civic service, savings behaviour of low-income individuals, and the civic effects of asset development.

Michael Sherraden, PhD, is Benjamin E Youngdahl Professor of Social Develop-ment at Washington Uni-versity in St. Louis, Director of the Center for Social Development (CSD), and principal investigator for CSD's Global Service Institute research agenda. Sherraden is known as the originator of the concept of an asset-based anti-poverty policy, which has influenced policies and programmes worldwide. His scholarship on civic service spans several decades, including with Don Eberly *National Service: Social, Economic and Military Impacts* (1982) and *The Moral Equivalent of War? A Study of Non-Military Service in Nine Nations* (1990).

Carlos Benítez, MSW, is Data and Communications Co-ordinator of the Global Service Institute (GSI) at the Center for Social Develop-ment, Washington University in St. Louis. A former Fulbright scholar, Benítez has pursued interests in social and economic development and social science research. He co-ordinated data collection and analysis for the first global assessment of civic service, and he developed and administers the GSI Small Research Grants Programme. He recently completed a study assessing the transnational, North American Community Service pilot programme.

Lissa Johnson, MSW, LCSW, is Project Director at the Center for Social Develop-ment (CSD) at Washington University in St. Louis. She has experience in direct practice, applied research, and evaluation. Johnson is involved with research on asset-building initiatives and civic service with the Global Service Institute. She led the development of a management information system (MIS) for a nationwide asset-building project and is currently leading the development of a global web-based information network on civic service.

Civic Service Worldwide

A preliminary assessment

AMANDA MOORE MCBRIDE, CARLOS BENÍTEZ,
MICHAEL SHERRADEN AND LISSA JOHNSON

SUMMARY

This chapter summarises the results of a research project of the Global Service Institute. The Center for Social Development (CSD) at Washington University in St. Louis and Innovations in Civic Participation in Washington, DC, created the Global Service Institute (GSI) in March 2001. The goal of GSI's research agenda is to increase the knowledge base and understanding of civic service. This study assessed civic service programmes around the world with the aim of identifying a range of service programmes, and documenting their purposes, activities, servers, and operations.[1] In order to assess the scope of this phenomenon and to identify areas for future research, this chapter provides an empirical description of existing programmes.

The focus was on formal, organised programmes that require intensive commitments of time on the part of the server, e.g. full-time for one month. Searching all countries and using information from publications and the Internet, a sample of 210 programmes in 57 countries was identified and surveyed.

The majority of programmes are based in North America, Europe and Central Asia. In this sample, international service is the most common form of service, followed by national service. On average, the programmes in the sample have been in existence for 21 years. Service roles are intensive and of a sustained duration (7.3 months on average).

Findings suggest that the presence of formal, institutionalised service programmes may be positively associated with the status of the voluntary sector as well as the general level of economic development.

Scholarship may be lagging behind practice because the field is relatively young. Implications are discussed for future research, including assessment of the effects of international service programmes on the people and cultures served, and determination of the long-term effects of service on the servers.

This is the first attempt to assess civic service worldwide. It should be viewed as a very preliminary assessment, with many oversights and shortcomings. Nonetheless, it may be valuable in identifying some key patterns, and in providing an impetus and springboard for further research.

Introduction

Volunteerism as a societal norm can take many forms, from informal support networks in a village to intensive commitments of time through formal programmes (Salamon & Sokolowski 2001). Along this continuum of volunteer behaviour, relatively little is known about structured, organised volunteering in the form of civic service (Clohesy 1999, Grantmaker Forum on Community and National Service 2000, Sherraden & Eberly 1990).

Civic service as a social phenomenon is relatively weak in conceptualisation, rigorous research, and cross-national comparison (Grantmaker Forum on Community and National Service 2000, Perry & Imperial 2001, Rymph & Wilson 2001). No previous study has attempted to examine the scope, forms, and dimensions of this phenomenon worldwide. This chapter presents findings from a global assessment of civic service programmes. It is only a first step in our research on this topic, but these findings may begin to illuminate the prevalence and nature of service around the world.

Defining and measuring civic service

Discussion of service evokes consideration of who is and is not a volunteer. The debate usually turns on the issues of stipends and compulsion. Some scholars have argued that compensated or required service is not volunteerism (Brown 1999, Carson 1999, Cnaan, Handy & Wadsworth 1996). Hence, we use the term 'service' instead of volunteering.[2] Across types of civic service programmes, the individual performs an action that is presumably of benefit to some group or cause; the action is performed in the spirit of improving living conditions or general welfare (Menon, Moore & Sherraden 2002).

In reality, both compensation and compulsion are continua. Civic service may have some elements of both. For example, there may be a token monetary award to cover basic living expenses or to offset expenses incurred for service performance, or service may be 'required' for the award of educational credit.

Civic service is also different from occasional or episodic volunteering because it requires intensive commitment and takes programmatic form. Civic service can be defined as 'an organised period of substantial engagement and contribution to the local, national, or world community, recognised and valued by society, with minimal monetary compensation to the participant.' (Sherraden 2001a: 2).[3] Service programmes can be local, national, international, or transnational in scope, and targeted toward servers who are young, older, of faith, or in school. For example, there can be national youth service programmes and international faith-based programmes.

> **Civic service is different from occasional or episodic volunteering because it requires intensive commitment and takes programmatic form**

Using this definition of civic service, it is possible to identify institutional dimensions along which the service role may vary (Sherraden 2001a). In this view, service represents an *institution* that establishes expectations and structures the service role, including the provision of access, incentives, information, and facilitation for service performance. The service role is similar to a job position as defined by the labour market, where there are expectations of the worker. Service is carried out through a programme or organisation that has defined a service role, which an individual then 'fills'. Role expectations could relate to eligibility requirements, or to the nature and length of the experience. The service experience is likely to be intense and of long duration. It is scheduled and definite. These aspects of the service role address the expectations and accessibility of the service institution.

Incentives may also be provided for participation, including development of skills or receipt of educational credit, for example. Service is distinguishable from employment, because any monetary award for service is not equivalent to market wages. Civic service roles may also be compensated by such benefits as stipends, awards, and educational scholarships. The service institution may provide information and facilitation or support via training, supervision, reflection sessions, and mentoring. There may be other important forms of incentives or compensation for service, such as personal satisfaction and social connections.

For any given country or culture, service policies and programmes are created for different reasons, and they can produce multiple and varied effects. Service is recognised as a programme strategy that may have the dual purpose of benefiting the servers as well as the served (Sherraden & Eberly 1982, Wheeler, Gorey & Greenblatt 1998). It can be thought of as a 'strong policy' due to the wide range of its effects (Sherraden 2001b). Service may connect servers to goals and activities that improve the environment, physical infrastructure, organisations, communities, and/or individuals.

Methods and limitations

Civic service is increasingly identified as a distinct programme and policy approach worldwide. Systematic knowledge regarding the field will contribute to global understanding of service forms and their differing effects, thereby helping to establish effective service strategies. What forms do civic service programmes take worldwide? Who serves, and what do they do? What is the nature of the service role? With the intention of identifying the scope, forms, and dimensions of the civic service field, we provide an empirical description of a sample of service programmes worldwide.

> **Systematic knowledge regarding the field will contribute to global understanding of service forms and their differing effects, thereby helping to establish effective service strategies**

The research team identified and collected information about civic service programmes using definitional criteria, a structured database, and systematic collection procedures.[4] Searching by every country and using information from publications and the Internet, a sample of 210 service programmes was identified.

Every effort was made to track down leads on civic service programmes, working in different languages, over a six-month period from July to December 2001. The research team has reading knowledge of eight languages; nevertheless, language was a barrier for data collection, and programme representation is not comprehensive. Relying on programme information conveyed via web sites also has inherent biases due to the financial and technological resources required for Internet access. Given our restrictive definition, this sample quite likely represents a majority of international and national service programmes, but we do not claim that it is an exhaustive catalogue of all civic service programmes.

Programme data were entered into an electronic survey instrument. Following this step, data were sent to the service programmes via fax and email for clarification and to fill in missing values. Sixty-six programmes (32 per cent of the sample) responded with confirmations, specifications, and/or corrections.[5] We are careful to note where data are missing. Results are presented as a percentage of the overall sample.

Findings

In this short space, we summarise key findings to provide an overview of civic service programmes around the world (see McBride et al. 2003, for the complete report).

Types and prevalence

The total number of civic service programmes in the sample is 210, based in 57 countries around the world.[6] Thirty-three per cent of the programmes are based in North America, followed by 27 per cent in Europe and Central Asia, twelve per cent in Sub-Saharan Africa, ten per cent in East Asia and the Pacific, nine per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean, five per cent in the Middle East and North Africa, and four per cent in South Asia (Table 1). In terms of specific country representation, the United States has the most programmes in the sample with 51, and Canada follows with 14 programmes. Germany and Hungary are represented with ten programmes each; South Africa and the United Kingdom with eight; and Australia and India with seven.

Programmes can be classified by scope of organisation and activity. Service forms and their representation are transnational (21), international (103), national (73), and local (13).[7] International service is the most common service type, representing 49 per cent of the programmes. National service programmes comprise 35 per cent of the sample. Eighty-six youth service programmes are represented, and 34 of these are national youth service programmes.

TABLE 1   Forms of service by regions of the world

	North America (69) (56)	Europe and Central Asia	Latin America (20)	Sub-Saharan Africa (25) (21)	East Asia and the Pacific (11)	Middle East and North Africa	South Asia (8)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Transnational	12	22	0	4	0	0	0
International	61	41	90	24	57	0	25
National	26	23	10	68	38	100	50
Local	1	14	0	4	5	0	25

Source: McBride et al. (2003)

The service programmes range in age from one year to 103 years. The Labourer–Teacher Volunteer Literacy Programme operated by Frontier College in Canada is the oldest programme in the sample at 103 years, followed by the International Federation of the Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies at 83 years. On average, the programmes in the sample have been in existence for 21 years and the median is about 14 years. In the case of 21 programmes in the sample, the length of time in existence is unknown.

Programmes can be characterised by the voluntary versus compulsory nature of service. In this sample, 92 per cent of the programmes are voluntary, and four per cent are compulsory. For five programmes, the voluntary or compulsory nature of the service is unknown. The compulsory programmes tend to be national youth service programmes in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa.

Goals, areas of service, and the served

The most frequent goals are those focusing on the server. 'Increasing the server's motivation to volunteer' is the most prevalent goal in the sample, articulated by 81 per cent of the programmes. This goal is either the most frequent or the second most frequent across all the types of service. The goal of 'increasing the server's skill acquisition' is the next most prevalent at 76 per cent. This is the most frequent goal for national service (88 per cent) and local service (85 per cent). 'Increasing the server's social skills' is a goal of 68 per cent of the sample (see Table 2).

Among the goals for impact on the group served, the most prevalent goal is 'promoting cultural understanding'

Among the goals for impact on the group served, the most prevalent goal is 'promoting cultural understanding' (66 per cent). This is a goal for 76 per cent of the transnational and 77 per cent of the international programmes. Second is 'creating or improving public facilities' (55 per cent), and third is impacting on the environment or 'promoting sustainable land use' (50 per cent).

Across the 210 programmes, 81 per cent perform human and social services, and 80 per cent engage in educational activities. Community development and personal development activities are the next most frequent, both at 77 and 76 per cent respectively, followed by environmental protection at 67 per cent, cultural integration at 60 per cent, and health at 59 per cent. Next most frequent are employment and economic development (51 per cent), infrastructure development (50 per cent), cultural heritage and the arts (46 per cent), peace and human rights (45 per cent), and emergency response (21 per cent).

TABLE 2   Programme goals and areas of service by forms of service*

	Transnational (21)	International (103)	National (73)	Local (13)
	%	%	%	%
Goals				
Increase server's motivation to volunteer	81	82	81	77
Increase server's skill acquisition	76	67	88	85
Increase server's social skills	86	63	73	54
Increase server's confidence and self-esteem	81	59	63	46
Influence and expand server's career choices	62	46	49	15
Improve wellbeing and health	38	50	44	54
Promote cultural understanding	76	77	52	46
Increase employment rate	38	24	47	8
Create/improve public facilities	62	54	58	31
Promote sustainable land use	48	56	47	15
Areas of Service				
Human and social services	91	80	82	77
Health services	48	61	62	46
Emergency response	24	16	32	8
Personal development	86	68	85	69
Education	86	85	71	77
Economic development	52	48	60	15
Community development	81	75	82	54
Infrastructure development	62	52	51	15
Environmental protection	76	73	62	31
Cultural heritage/arts	62	41	48	46
Cultural integration	86	59	58	31
Peace/human rights	38	47	47	31

Source: McBride et al. (2003)

* For definitions, please see the complete global assessment report at http://gwbweb.wustl.edu/csd/gsi.

The most prevalent activity of transnational, international, and local service programmes is education (77 per cent or more of each type), while 71 per cent of national service programmes work on education. Community development is pursued by international and national service programmes (75 and 82 per cent, respectively). Eighty-six per cent of the transnational programmes engage in cultural integration. Environmental protection is a top activity of transnational and international service programmes (76 and 73 per cent, respectively).

Turning to the age of service beneficiaries, 64 per cent of all programmes serve children and 71 per cent serve youth. Adults are targeted by 61 per cent of the programmes. Forty-nine per cent serve seniors, defined as 60 years of age and above.

The service role

Across all programmes, youth serve more than any other group. Seventy-seven per cent of the programmes in the sample engage youth as servers. Ten per cent include children as servers. Sixty-nine per cent have adults who serve, and 33 per cent have seniors who serve. Other servers indicated by the programmes include people with physical disabilities, those of low income, and college students. Almost all programmes accept both men and women as servers.

The most common eligibility criterion is age. Seventy-four per cent of the programmes have a specific age requirement, which may be a minimum and/or a maximum age for participation. Thirty-one per cent of the programmes require the server to have specific skills in order to participate. Fifty-one per cent of the international service programmes require servers to have specific skills, followed by 24 per cent of the transnational programmes. Twenty-eight per cent of the programmes require servers to be from specific geographical areas.

Across the forms of service, transnational programmes are more likely to require servers to be from specific geographical areas (52 per cent). Nineteen per cent of programmes require that participants be enrolled in school or returning to school in order to participate. This is required by national service programmes more than any other form of service (23 per cent). Eighteen per cent of the programmes require some level of language proficiency; this criterion is primarily connected to transnational and international service programmes. Several international service programmes indicate that they provide language training for the servers prior to or as part of the service experience. Income, organisational affiliation, religion, race, and gender are criteria for a small percentage of programmes. Eleven programmes had no stated eligibility criteria.

Somewhat surprisingly, 33 per cent of the 210 programmes require that the server pay either some portion or the entire cost of the service experience. Costs may include airfare, room and board, or in some instances, contributions to support the overall costs of operating the programme. The amounts required range greatly.

Transnational and international service experiences are more likely to cost the server. In the extreme, some of these service experiences can be considered 'service vacations' or 'volunteer eco-tourism'.

Intensity refers to the number of hours the server is required to commit to the programme in a given week. Eighty-one per cent of the programmes require servers to commit to the service experience on a full-time basis, which is equivalent to about 40 hours per week. This is more prevalent among international (91 per cent) and national service programmes (73 per cent). Some programmes are flexible, and allow servers to select their choice of time commitment. Nine per cent of the programmes require part-time service, and seven per cent allow both full and part-time commitments. Intensity is unknown for three per cent of the programmes in the sample.

Across the sample, the average amount of time that a participant serves is 7.3 months. The range is one week to more than three years.[8] National service programmes require the longest average time commitment at ten months, followed by local service at eight months, international service at about seven months, and transnational service at a little over four months. Eighteen programmes indicate that the absolute minimum amount of time one can serve is one year, whereas 23 programmes have a maximum service length of one year; 13 programmes require two years; and twelve programmes require a maximum commitment of six months. Average length of service participation is not known for 80 programmes.

Incentives, information and facilitation

Twelve per cent of the programmes in the sample offer academic credit in exchange for service participation. Eight per cent offer scholarships. Seven per cent offer grants and other types of monetary awards. Twenty-two per cent of the programmes give the participant some type of award, certificate, or community recognition. National service programmes are the most likely to offer incentives and awards (Table 3).

Sixty-six per cent of the programmes in the sample provide training to the participants, 70 per cent offer supervision, 49 per cent offer reflection sessions, and 41 per cent offer some form of mentoring. Training is most prevalent among transnational and national service programmes (71 and 70 per cent, respectively). Supervision is more available in national service programmes (77 per cent) than any other type. Reflection sessions are offered in 62 per cent of the transnational service programmes, followed by 51 per cent of international service programmes.

Fifty-three per cent of the programmes provide support for housing. Transnational and international service programmes are more likely to provide housing stipends or subsidies (62 and 70 per cent, respectively). Transportation stipends and assistance is offered by 32 per cent of the programmes, with

TABLE 3 Service incentives, information, facilitation and compensation by forms of service

	Transnational (21)	International (103)	National (73)	Local (13)
	%	%	%	%
Incentives				
Academic credit	14	13	14	0
Scholarship	0	6	14	0
Grants	5	2	16	0
Community awards/certificates	14	21	25	15
Information and Facilitation				
Supervision	76	67	77	46
Training	71	62	70	69
Reflection sessions	62	51	45	46
Mentoring	33	36	52	31
Compensation				
Housing	62	70	34	8
Transportation	29	37	26	31
Stipend/allowance	14	25	37	23
Healthcare	48	31	25	0
Day care stipend	0	3	8	0

Source: McBride et al. (2003)

transnational and international service programmes more prominently represented. Twenty-eight per cent of the programmes in the sample provide the server with a stipend or living allowance, which is most prevalent among national service programmes (37 per cent). Twenty-nine per cent of the programmes pay for health care costs or insurance. Transnational and international service programmes are more likely to support health care (48 and 31 per cent).

Administration

Of the 210 programmes, 75 per cent are administered by NGOs and 22 per cent by government agencies. Ninety-five per cent of the transnational service programmes and 92 per cent of the international service programmes are administered by NGOs, whereas 52 per cent of the national service programmes are administered by government agencies. Of all the programmes in the sample, 24 per cent (50 programmes) report some programme evaluation. For the most part, the purpose and methods of the evaluations are not known.

Discussion and implications

Formal civic service programmes are found in every major region of the world. However, the bulk of civic service programmes are found in North America, Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa. This finding could be due to bias in our research methods and/or our focus on formal civic service programmes, but the differences in measured geographic prevalence may, to some extent, reflect actual differences.

Research suggests that the presence of volunteer programmes may be positively associated with the status of the voluntary sector as well as the level of economic development (Anheier & Salamon 1999). Perhaps the status of volunteering – in all its forms – is more advanced in certain regions of the world. Formal volunteer roles may be less common in some countries, where the concept of organised, intensive volunteering is still emerging (Salamon & Sokolowski 2001).

A typology of civic service emerges from this global assessment.[9] Results suggest that national service programmes approach the service role more developmentally; they are less likely to require skills or specific knowledge for service (only ten per cent). National service focuses on the personal development of the server while simultaneously providing services to the community and/or the nation. Most national service programmes are focused on youth as servers, and incentives and support are commonly provided. Among the programmes in this study, the national service role is of the longest duration.

International service is the most prevalent service type. In contrast to national service programmes, transnational and international service programmes tend to focus on benefits for those who are served and their communities. The service role is more specialised. International service is likely to require that the server must have specific knowledge or skills, including language. In addition to increasing the server's motivation to volunteer again, transnational and international service programmes focus on promoting cultural understanding; they are designed to bring people of different nations and cultures together. They provide language and

> **The bulk of civic service programmes are found in North America, Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa**

practical training to the server. Transnational exchange programmes are more likely to engage in 'praxis' with the servers, whereby they reflect on their service experience in a structured setting. Transnational and international service are likely to reimburse servers for travel and housing expenses, but they are also more likely to charge servers for the experience. Both types of service roles are full-time and of long duration, with international service roles requiring greater commitment.

Local service is likely to be under-represented in this sample, which may be an artefact of research methods and because local service programmes are less visible and less widely supported. It remains to be determined whether intensive, formal service roles are less likely to be developed and implemented at the local level. More local service programmes are found in Europe and Central Asia than any other regions. In this study, AmeriCorps in the United States and other highly decentralised

service programmes are counted as a single programme, but they could be interpreted as an association of many local programmes. Findings suggest that local service programmes are developed to meet specific community needs.

In general, programmes based in developing countries tend to emphasise the impact of service on beneficiaries versus the impact on servers. In contrast, service programmes in developed nations tend to emphasise the impacts of the service experience on the servers. However, little is actually known about the beneficiaries of service. In this study, scant information was available through staff reports or published materials. Moreover, there are few rigorous studies of international service, and of the few, most are of programmes sponsored by organisations in the United States (Cohn & Wood 1985, Purvis 1993, Starr 1994). Given the prevalence of international service and the potential for negative effects (Brav, Moore & Sherraden 2002), future research should assess the effects of international service on the peoples, nations, and cultures served.

Given the overall ageing of the world's population, it is curious that more programmes do not have senior servers. However, the fact that 40 per cent of the service programmes do not set upper age limits is promising, suggesting that greater inclusion of seniors may be a matter of time and repositioning of service programmes.

Some programmes stress inclusion, whereby those who are low-income or physically disabled are encouraged to serve. Looking forward, this is likely to become

Programmes based in developing countries tend to emphasise the impact of service on beneficiaries; service programmes in developed nations tend to emphasise the impacts of the service experience on the servers

a major issue. If service is primarily for economic elites or the most able-bodied, it cannot become an expression of national or global citizenship. How can service incentives and supports increase access to the service role for everyone in the population?

The voluntary sector (third or non-governmental sector) is clearly driving the development of civic service, but the state often plays an important role in funding. How does the voluntary sector relate to the state in service initiatives? What are the ideal characteristics of these partnerships? What theory and research on voluntary sector/state relationships can best inform this inquiry?

Not all programmes express operations in terms of goals, activities, and outcomes. This raises questions about how well the programmes have been conceptualised, and whether they can be accountable through research. Greater specification of service goals and desired outcomes is often needed.

The findings on programme age suggest that service is a fairly new phenomenon, and may be an emerging societal institution. Scholarship on the topic is limited in part because the field is relatively new. There is a shortage of theoretically-driven, outcome-based research that examines the specific effects of service. Social scientists are trailing behind policy and practice in understanding what service is and whether, or in what circumstances, outcomes are being achieved. In the absence of a strong knowledge base, service cannot reach its practical potential, and will be politically vulnerable. Methods for measuring and assessing service implementation and impacts will be essential if the field is to continue to grow.

Given the prevalence of international service and the potential for negative effects, future research should assess the effects of international service on the peoples, nations, and cultures served

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Notes

[1]   This chapter is a summary of previously published findings from a global assessment of civic service. The comprehensive report can be accessed at http://gwbweb.wustl.edu/csd/gsi.

[2]   Civic service has often been referred to as public service, if it is sponsored by government; stipended service, if it is compensated; and service-learning, if it occurs through an educational institution (Clotfelter 1999).

[3]   This formal, programmatic focus in defining civic service does not include many other forms of volunteerism, such as informal systems of care. Informal, mutual aid and kinship networks are commonly found in less industrialised countries (Ehrichs 2002), and tend to be the predominate forms of 'volunteerism'. Research that uses a formal definition for civic service may be biased toward more 'developed' countries and urban centres.

[4]   Service-learning programmes were not included in this research project due to the varying intensity of the programmes and the sheer prevalence of them around the world. Inclusion of this type of civic service was beyond the scope of the project. Assessing the forms of service-learning programmes worldwide is a recommended area for future research, as is a focus on local service programming.

[5]   Lack of confirmation by all programmes is a significant limitation of this study, compromising reliability of the programme information.

[6]   Programmes are connected to a specific country, based on the home office address. As such, an international programme like the Japanese Overseas Co-operation Volunteers may be based in Tokyo, but it sends volunteers to 72 countries, which are not reported here.

[7]   Transnational service programmes span multiple nations, where a participating country hosts servers from within and outside the nation but also sends its servers to other countries. In international service programmes, some relationship exists between two or more countries, where one country hosts servers and one country sends servers. National service programmes are either government or voluntary sector sponsored, and are characterised by a common framework that is implemented in multiple states and communities within the nation. Local service is defined as locally organised and implemented. The validity of these categorisations has not been determined. This is a first attempt to define the scope of programming in the field, which will benefit from the feedback of practitioners, policy makers, and researchers worldwide.

[8]   While one week is the bottom end of the range, only eight programmes expressed this as their required length of service commitment. As the average for the sample suggests, this research summarises characteristics of more long-term, intensive programmes. More research is needed to determine the effects of differences in the nature of the service role in terms of duration and intensity and in the goals and activities of the programmes, e.g. national versus international service.

[9]   We seek feedback from the field on these forms, their definitions, and the resulting analysis based on this categorisation. Please email your feedback to gsi@gwbmail.wustl.edu.

Acknowledgement

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Policy Watch

The Post-Cold War Environment for National Service Policy

Developments in Germany, Italy, Russia and China

SUSAN STROUD AND TATIANA OMELTCHENKO

SUMMARY

In Germany and Italy, the governments have debated the need for mandatory military service. In Germany, debate about ending mandatory military service has been met with great concern because of the impact this would have on how social services would continue to be delivered, since many welfare organisations are almost totally dependent on the labour of conscientious objectors. In Italy, the government recently passed legislation that will phase out the draft by 2005 and create an all-volunteer army. At the same time, the

government adopted legislation to establish a civilian national service programme.

On the other side of the former Cold War divide, Russia and China have long maintained conscription policies for staffing their military forces. As the countries undertake political and economic reforms, policies are changing toward military and voluntary service. In Russia, a law was adopted in 2002 to support the choice of alternative service for army conscripts, but it has been widely criticised as punitive. Both countries have also eliminated some forms of politically-related voluntary service. In doing so, they face similar challenges in formulating policies which attract youth to voluntary service that they are no longer compelled to perform.

Introduction

The end of the Cold War and the political and economic transitions that have resulted, have changed the environment for military and civilian national service policy. This chapter analyses some of the effects of the political and economic transitions in Germany, Italy, Russia and China. In each of the four countries, the elimination of the Cold War threat, political and economic liberalisation and the transition to free market principles have had an impact on the decisions these nations have made about appropriate policies needed to support national civilian service.

In Germany and Italy, the governments have debated the need for mandatory military service in a post-Cold War Europe. Many Western European nations have confronted the same issues with different results: Belgium, the Netherlands and France suspended conscription; Spain and Portugal seem poised to do the same. In Germany, the fifty-year history of mandatory military service has a parallel history of alternative civilian national service. Debate about ending mandatory military service has been met with great concern because of the impact this would have on how social services would continue to be delivered, since many welfare organisations are almost totally dependent on the labour of conscientious objectors. In Italy, the government recently passed legislation that will phase out the draft by 2005 and create an all-volunteer army. At the same time, the government adopted legislation to establish a civilian national service programme.

On the other side of the former Cold War divide, Russia and China maintain conscription policies for staffing their military forces. These practices have long histories, but as the countries undertake political and economic reforms, policies are changing toward military and voluntary service. In Russia, a law was adopted in 2002 to support the choice of alternative service for army conscripts, but it has been widely criticised as punitive. Both countries have also eliminated some forms of politically-related voluntary service. In doing so, they face similar challenges in formulating policies which attract youth to voluntary service that they are no longer compelled to perform. At the same time, Russia and China are seeing the emergence of new Third Sector organisations, many of which are interested in the role of volunteers to advance their work. In China, efforts to design the appropriate national and Third Sector support for volunteering are being discussed at the 2003 National People's Congress.

Germany and Italy

Germany

Germany, unlike most other Western European nations, maintains a conscription policy that requires all able-bodied 18 year old men to serve in the military or in alternative civilian service (Zivildienst). Conscientious objector status is easy to establish, and the majority of young men who are conscripted after passing their high school exam now serve in civilian rather than military service positions (Klein 2001: 5). As a result of the large number of men performing alternative service each year, many welfare agencies in Germany have become dependent upon the Zivildienst.

As in other western and eastern European countries, debates are taking place in Germany about the need for, and cost of, maintaining a large military force in the post-Cold War environment (Klein 2001: 9). German army officials argue that conscription is necessary to ensure that the army retains a professional force, and because they fear that not enough youth would choose military service if it were voluntary (Klein 2001: 10). Other government officials, including the Greens, Democratic Socialists, and the Liberal Party (Free Democratic Party/FDP) have demanded the abolition of universal conscription and the introduction of an all-volunteer army (Klein 2001: 10). Non-governmental actors also play a role in this debate. A report of the German Peace Research Institute argued that 'since military service ceased to be defensive service, the state can no longer call for it *qua* legal compulsory service.' (Klein 2001: 10)[2] Others believe that conscription will end before long. Colonel Gertz, the Chairman of the Military Professional Association, conceded that despite his own belief in conscription, it could end before the end of this decade (Klein 2001: 12).

> **As a result of the large number of men performing alternative service each year, many welfare agencies in Germany have become dependent upon the Zivildienst**

The Zivildienst currently involves young people aged 18-25 for ten months of service – a term equal to that of military service (Eberly 2001). Participation in the Zivildienst since its inception at the end of World War II has grown dramatically: 2 447 youth claimed conscientious objection to military service in 1958; estimates for applicants in 2000 are 172 865 (Klein 2001: 5). Participants in civilian service receive the same monthly 'salary' and social security benefits as military service members. In addition, participants in civilian service receive academic course credit and hiring preferences in the workforce. Zivildienst servers support Germany's disadvantaged populations, particularly in the areas of health services and environmental development.

In 1964 the Federal Law on the Promotion of a Voluntary Year of Social Service was adopted, through which two voluntary civilian service programmes were created – the Voluntary Social Year and Voluntary Ecological Year programmes. These programmes provide young men and women with opportunities to volunteer in the social sector involving work with culture, sports, and cultural preservation organisations. In June 2002, more youth gained access to the programme when a new amendment to the law was adopted allowing young men to perform their alternative service in the Voluntary Social/Ecological Year programmes (Mathieu 2002: 4). This change expanded options for conscientious objectors and helped strengthen overall support for voluntary national service. Significantly, the creation of these two new programmes provided the first opportunities for women to serve in comparable ways to their male peers.

The government and many welfare organisations have argued that the services provided by the conscientious objectors are so valuable, and so widely employed in emergencies, that it is no longer possible to envision replacing these services at market value for labour if mandatory national service were ended (Klein 2001: 6).

Italy

Since 1972 almost 500 000 Italian men have served as conscientious objectors within the scope of Civil Service (Servizio Civile) alternative to the military draft. A strong network of non-profit organisations and municipalities has developed to provide placements for conscientious objectors and, in turn, to support the Italian welfare state.

In November 2000, the Italian Parliament passed the Armed Forces Reform Act to make the transition from conscription to an all-voluntary army by 2005.[3] The transition was viewed by policy-makers as necessary to reduce costs and to meet the challenges facing Italy's Armed Forces, including participation in the European Defence Forces, peacekeeping missions and the defence of interests beyond the national borders. The decision to move to an all-volunteer force was matched with a decision among Italian policy-makers to preserve and expand significantly the civilian service programme which had developed, as in Germany, for conscientious objectors. This desire was codified in a National Service law adopted by the Italian Parliament on

> **A strong network of non-profit organisations and municipalities has developed to provide placements for conscientious objectors and, in turn, to support the Italian welfare state**

March 6, 2001. The law defined civilian service as 'defence of the nation through non-military activities' and at the same time as a 'contribut[ion] to the civil, social, cultural, [and] professional training of the youth through activities carried out at institutions and administrations in Italy and abroad.'

In the period between the passage of the legislation and 2005, the new civilian service will include both conscientious objectors as well as men and women who voluntarily elect to serve. As in Germany, the new civilian service programme provides the first opportunity for women to serve in positions comparable to their male peers.[4]

The first pilot programmes in the new civilian national service programme began on December 20, 2001. Two hundred young people were employed in volunteer national service projects managed by four Third Sector organisations and one municipality, while in 2002 almost 6 500 women and men took part in local programmes. National service participants work an average of twenty-five to thirty hours per week for twelve months in exchange for 434 Euros per month (approximately US$472) plus insurance and leave. Under changes passed in March 2002, only Italian citizens between 18 and 28 may serve, not citizens of other European Union (EU) countries. Despite a provision in the law to provide university credit for service, currently no participants receive credit. This is due to the absence of a structured formal relationship between national service and the universities, which has made obtaining credit for the service experience virtually non-existent.

One of the most difficult challenges to the new civilian National Service has been posed by the officials of the new professional army. When, in 1999, the Italian Government decided to terminate the draft and introduce the voluntary model, which would be open to women, the Military Academy was swamped with applications from women. But two years later the number of applicants for military service decreased

dramatically.[5] This decrease in the number of people applying to join the new professional army provoked an attempt to abolish the new civilian National Service by the Minister of Defence. In order to increase the number of recruits, the government increased pay and benefits, including a guarantee that army recruits would receive preference for jobs in the public or private sector upon completion of military service.

Another important issue that has emerged involves the division of responsibility for the civilian service programme between regional and national government. Based on the Constitution, recently reformed along federalist principles, the regions argue that a centrally-managed national service would be less legitimate than one organised locally by the regions. The issue remains unsettled at this time, and only three of 20 regions have shown interest in locally organising national service. The national office establishes the goals for the programme, it liaises with central government entities and national service organisations, manages the national budget for the programme, and approves the service projects. Regions are responsible for training national service personnel, conducting outreach to volunteers, and establishing associations of social service placement agencies. They have limited budgetary authority and retain only enough authority to approve social service organisation projects at the regional level.

New challenges

Both Germany and Italy face new challenges as they attempt to redefine their military service needs in a post-Cold War Europe. Discussion about the appropriate role of mandatory military service in a post-Cold War climate have been linked to developments in civilian service programmes and policy.

Russia and China

The post-Cold War environment has brought about significant political and economic changes for both Russia and China in the last 20 years. The transition continues in both countries from authoritarian states with controlled economies toward more democratic societies with free market economies. One of the changes this transition has brought about is the emergence of Third Sector or non-profit organisations and the development of new programmes and policies to engage volunteers. At the same time, changes are being debated, especially in Russia, about military service and alternative service for conscientious objectors.

Russia

In Russia, national military service has been compulsory for more than two centuries. Until recently, two years of military service was required of every healthy male aged 18-27. In 1939, a law was passed which abolished civilian service as an alternative to military service, but changes in the last ten years have begun to shift attitudes towards

service in the army. Starting in 1991, the Russian public began advocating for the re-institution of alternative service in place of military service. The poor conditions of military life, the practice of *dedovshina*,[6] the ongoing war in Chechnya, and dissent among young conscripts, helped stimulate discussion on the need for an alternative to military service. In 1993, the new Constitution of the Russian Federation re-established the right to alternative civil service "because of religious beliefs and convictions or other cases specified by the Law." (Zakharova 2000) It took until July 28, 2002 for President Putin to sign *On Alternative Civil Service* (ACS), a bill enabling this practice. The law was created with strong influence from the army lobby, and many human rights activists contend that it has many problems. These make service in general, and alternative service in particular, extremely unattractive to conscientious objectors. The law has been challenged for not being consistent with the standards for alternative service established by the Council of Europe.

By law, ACS is defined as "a specific type of work for the benefit of society and state performed by the citizens as a substitute for military service by conscription." (Russia 2002) Jurisdiction for the performance of ACS is retained by military bodies for the most part, and there are strict standards for qualifying for this kind of service. To qualify, a person must prove that military duties are in conflict with their convictions or religious beliefs, or that they are members of small indigenous populations that follow a traditional lifestyle, practice traditional economic activities, and engage in traditional trades and crafts.

ACS applicants face a rigorous screening process that tests the credibility of their claim of conscientious objection. Applications are considered at a public session of a draft commission in the presence of the applicant. Those young men who are permitted to perform alternative service serve for 42 months, almost twice the length of the 24 months required for military service, usually outside the conscript's native town or city.

Criticism of the new law has taken several forms. The law provides very few actual opportunities for civilian service as an alternative to military service. It also does not permit conscripts to choose the organisations in which they serve, and some conscripts may be forced to perform their alternative service through military organisations. While the law requires service 'outside the area where the person permanently lives', there are exceptions which can be arranged through local military commissars. This practice, according to the Secretariat of the NGO Coalition for Democratic ACS, 'breed[s] corruption' as most conscripts prefer not to leave home. Finally, the term of service – the longest in Europe and the states of the former Soviet Union – is considered punitive: 'given the rapid technological development and changes in the market, separation from one's professional occupation for such a long period at a very productive age places those in alternative service at a disadvantage in terms of career and professional development.' (Levinson 2002)

The new law will take effect on January 1, 2004. In the meantime, legislators and NGO representatives are collaborating on proposing changes to the law that would improve conditions of service for conscientious objectors and bring the law into partial compliance with Council of Europe standards. For example, State Duma Deputies A Barannikov, B Nadezhdin, and E Vorobjov submitted motions to permit

In Russia, separation from one's professional occupation for such a long period at a very productive age disadvantages those in alternative service in terms of career and professional development

service in servers' native towns or cities, to shorten the term of service to 36 months, and to disallow the practice of placing conscientious objectors under military control for their alternative service without their consent.

As in Italy and Germany, the non-governmental sector has played a very important role in the debate about alternative service. Research organised by the Social Partnership Foundation (Sozidanie) shows that the major obstacle to alternative service is the general lack of information available to the public. The Foundation supports various programmes for conscientious objectors by organising information campaigns about ACS, interacting with state and government bodies on ACS-related issues, creating pilot programmes in several Russian cities, and funding local NGOs to promote civilian and voluntary service.

In addition to the developments related to ACS, there are other important service developments in Russia. KOMSOMOL and Young Pioneers were the two government-operated organisations through which all young people were required to serve in the Communist era. With their demise, participation in community volunteering and service by school and college students dropped sharply. In the past five years, several NGOs have developed programmes to reintroduce the idea of service through service-learning and volunteering projects. For example, Sozidanie has provided funding for local service-learning projects teaching 'Education and Democracy'. The Association For Civic Education supports school teachers, principals, journalists, and researchers from across the country through the creation of service-learning curricula and textbooks. Attempts are also being made by NGOs to engage youth in voluntary service beyond the classroom. The Association of Young Leaders, Vladivostok Young Volunteers Corps, Dauriya (a centre of environmental volunteers), and many others promote programmes that collaborate with young volunteers and state authorities to tackle local issues. These programmes have been developed by NGOs with little or no government support.

China

In the last twenty years, China has undergone dramatic economic and political transformations resulting from the promotion of economic liberalism and the transition from a controlled economy to free enterprise. In addition, there have been some democratic reforms, although the political activities and the organisation of daily life is still strongly centralised around the Communist Party. The Communist Party remains the dominant influence on voluntary service in China. As in Russia, there is an emerging NGO sector, and many new non-profit organisations are interested in engaging people as volunteers in their work.

During the Cultural Revolution, service was politically oriented and coercive. After the Cultural Revolution, youth service was used for economic development.

Presently, service organised by government targets poverty reduction in rural areas, community development, and the transition to a market economy (IANYS 2000).

The Communist Youth League of China is the leading organiser of youth service. In 1994, the CYLC created the China Youth Volunteers Association, which operates the Young Volunteers Programme through its network of 34 provincial and 738 associations, 15 018 service centres and 21 569 service bases (Perold 2000: 86). Seventy million young people have participated in the programme, the majority of whom are between 17-25 and have completed secondary school (Perold 2000). The Central Committee of Chinese Youth League asks every youth between the ages of 16-18 for 48 hours of community service. Some schools require students to have performed community service before graduating (United Nations Volunteers 2001: 26). According to the 2001 UN survey, another source of volunteers is through service organised by the workplace (United Nations Volunteers 2001: 22). Of those polled in the survey, 44 per cent stated that their major reason for volunteering was their willingness to fulfil their obligations as citizens (United Nations Volunteers 2001: 37). The traditions of service in China as well as current policies and programmes reflect a general attitude that service is an obligation. Peer pressure, social group membership, education and access to professional opportunities are the tools the Chinese government has used to ensure mass volunteering.

> **In China service is used for economic development … service organised by government targets poverty reduction in rural areas, community development, and the transition to a market economy**

The emergence in recent years of non-governmental organisations is important to the development of programmes that are not functions of political organisations. The sector is growing in visibility, especially on issues of environmental protection and human service. However, their work is challenged by a lack of political independence, including a requirement that they register with the government (United Nations Volunteers 2001: 32[7]). According to a survey conducted by the Institute of NGOs at Tsinghua University, out of 104 NGOs surveyed, 24 per cent had leaders appointed by the government (United Nations Volunteers 2001: 32).

Despite its civil service traditions, China lacks a clear national policy to support voluntary service. A United Nations survey argued that the government should play a more prominent role by making policy that would provide recognition, funding, and programme development to support stronger communities and create 'an enabling environment' for the generation of volunteers and voluntary organisations (United Nations Volunteers 2001: 41). In 2003, it is likely that the tenth meeting of the National People's Congress will spend time considering proposals for volunteering and service-related legislation.[8]

Political and economic reforms

Post–Cold War reforms in political life and economic policy have been unfolding in Russia and China over the last twenty years. These developments have been characterised by a move away from central control toward more democratic societies. In Russia, these changes have affected policies for alternative conscription in the military and in the role of non-governmental organisations. In addition to their role in challenging the policies and practices for Alternative Civil Service, the NGOs are providing a new generation of Russian youth with opportunities to volunteer to serve. Previously, in Russia as in China, youth service was compelled as part of youth political training and civic participation. In China, policy-makers are just beginning to build a policy infrastructure to support voluntary youth service. While the military remains one of the largest providers of civilian service, there is an emerging non-governmental sector of organisations whose aim is to provide meaningful voluntary service activities.

Conclusion

Post Cold-War changes have affected Italy, Germany, Russia, and China in very different ways. In many Western and Eastern European countries, military service is no longer required. Germany and Italy have debated the continued need for military conscription given its cost in the context of reduced security threats. Italy ended its draft, but established a new policy with which to support civilian service opportunities for men and women. Germany has kept its draft, and maintains civilian service opportunities through alternative service for male conscripts and voluntary service years for men and women. In Russia and China, political reforms have resulted in the elimination of some forms of mandatory service. While both nations still have conscripted military forces, mandatory civilian service for youth has been cut back. In its place, China's emerging Third Sector is slowly establishing programmes to attract youth and older people to service that is now voluntary. In addition they work with the government and international organisations like the UN to adopt a policy infrastructure for supporting service outside the traditional government/political organisation. Similarly, in Russia the non-governmental sector provides opportunities for youth to participate in service, service-learning, and other experiences to foster civic participation. In addition, this sector works with the military and the government on improving the law on alternative conscription services. These developments promise to help strengthen civil society and will result in the development of new policies to support the development of the NGO sector and service.

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Notes

[1] Innovations in Civic Participation has designed, implemented and distributed a policy survey to more than 200 service specialists around the world. To date, 40 country representatives have responded with detailed information on policies for national service. Some of their responses have been used in this article.

[2] See the German Peace Research Institute's *Peace Report* released in 2000, cited by Beste R & Priessler I, *Friedensforscher fordern Ende der Wehrpflicht.*

[3] Major sources of information for the analysis of developments in Italy were Palazinni (2002), and ICP's policy survey.

[4]   Because conscription only affected men, national civilian service has, up to this point, only been an option for men conscientiously objecting to their required military service.

[5] According to personal correspondence with Licio Palazzini.

[6]   *Dedovshina* involves second-year conscripts bullying new conscripts. According to a recent report released to mark the establishment of the non-governmental Foundation 'Say No to Dedovshina', 1 200 conscripts died in 2002 because of the 'non-statutory relations' (official euphemism for *dedovshina*). The army officials deny these numbers (www.NEWSru.com, February 21, 2003).

[7]   Citing the UNDP, China Human Development Report, 1999.

[8]   Personal correspondence between Susan Stroud and Yuanzhu Ding, Director of Research Centre for Volunteering and Welfare, Peking University, June 2002.

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National Youth Policy and National Youth Service

Towards concerted action

WILLIAM D ANGEL

SUMMARY

The focus of this chapter is on youth, and on the importance of national youth policy (NYP) and national youth service (NYS) from a global perspective. The terms 'national youth policy' and 'national youth service' are explained and set within the context of larger socio-economic strategies and much larger programmes of social and human services in society.

Through the experiences of the member states of the United Nations, the chapter explores some of the difficulties encountered in effective implementation of national youth policy, and goes on to argue that youth policy and youth service need to be co-ordinated and integrated for maximum impact and benefit to young people and society as a whole.

The chapter offers some 'good practice' steps to achieve this kind of co-ordination and describes the work of the International Council on National Youth Policy, with its focus on achieving co-ordinated action. Finally, a select bibliography of the work of the United Nations in the areas of national youth policy and national youth service is presented in the form of a timeline from 1995 to 2001.

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on youth, and on the importance of national youth policy (NYP) and national youth service (NYS) from a global perspective. The United Nations General Assembly has defined 'youth' as those persons aged 15 to 24 years, a definition first agreed to in adopting the Guidelines for the United Nations International Youth Year (1985) and reiterated in the World Programme of Action for Youth of 1995.[1] As early as 1968, the UN defined the concepts of both a national youth policy and national youth service, based on the mandates of the General Assembly (United Nations/International Labour Organisation 1968). The formulation and adoption of these definitions have been part of a process of recognising, at an international level, the special needs and interests of youth in all societies.

National youth policy

A national youth policy is understood as a policy adopted by governments in co-operation with non-governmental youth organisations that:

- clearly defines the place and role of youth in society and the responsibility of society to youth,

- considers the needs, problems and aspirations of youth of the present and for the future,

- promotes the establishment of appropriate services and structures to meet the needs and aspirations of youth by, for and with youth, and

- encourages youth to participate actively in the life of society and in its decision-making processes.

There is no prescriptive formula for what the concept, structure or content of a national youth policy should be. Each nation must determine such matters based on its socio-cultural heritage and on the views of all stakeholders. However, national youth policies adopted by member states of the UN since 1985, have normally included statements of purpose and rationale, a definition of youth, historical and contemporary issues affecting young people, vision, policy goals and objectives, rights and responsibilities, priority issues, target groups, key strategies and an action plan. The action plan indicates the steps and mechanisms to implement the policy, and would normally include an evaluation of such activities.

National youth service

Ideally, national youth service is conceived of as part of the implementation or enactment of national youth policy. Within the context of action plans, therefore, national youth service has been thought of as:

- offering opportunities for young people to serve society as well as to participate in practical actions so as to implement the national youth policy at local and provincial levels,

- providing young people with opportunities to acquire skills in order to become productive members of their society, and

- enabling young people to be active participants in their own development as well as become responsible citizens of the country.

Participants in national youth service normally serve full-time for a period of six months to two years and receive sufficient support to enable them to serve – whether from NGOs or governments. In some cases participants are involved in part-time youth service. Major areas of youth service include health, education, employment and vocational training, environmental conservation, public works, and care for the aging and children.

The concept of a national youth service also includes service-learning where students use their education to serve others. Service-learning is a graduation requirement in many universities around the world. In secondary schools and universities, it is often a prelude to full-time youth service work.

It must be remembered, however, that national youth service is a small sub-set of a much larger framework of programmes of human service in society. And similarly, national youth policy is a small sub-set of the much larger body of socio–economic policies in society. These larger policy and service frameworks are conerned with various population groups in society including: children, adolescents, young people, the ageing, women, men, migrant workers, disabled persons, etc., and with major cross-sectoral themes such as participation, development and peace.

The account given in this chapter of youth policies and service practice is based on the mandates and experiences of the United Nations and its 191 member states as well as of the non-governmental youth organisations and youth-related intergovernmental organisations affiliated to the UN. In examining these experiences and analysing the need for youth policies and service, it attempts to describe the progress achieved and obstacles encountered. In particular, it argues for the necessity of well co-ordinated and integrated policy and service practice to achieve maximum impact, and with that goal in mind, outlines some of the elements of 'best practice' in the field.

Progress achieved and obstacles encountered

The United Nations reported in 2001 that of its 191 member states, approximately 155 had various types of national youth policies and, yet, only about 116 had national programmes of action, which in some countries included national youth service (United Nations 2001). Based on the work of the UN Youth Unit, it is estimated that at least half of existing national youth policies are not sufficiently cross-sectoral in concept and management and do not involve inter-ministerial committees on youth, national youth councils, or national youth service. And of the approximately 50-70 members of the United Nations that have national youth services, about half of those are not connected to the national youth policy, if indeed there is a youth policy in the country concerned.

For example, in the course of UN advisory service missions in November and December 2002, representatives of the governments of Kenya and Jordan were presented with the idea of linking their national youth policies to national youth service in an action plan. Their response was not favourable. In Kenya, this was because of government manipulation (since 1964, the national youth service has been located in the Office of the President of Kenya and used for political purposes). In Jordan, the national youth service was used for some development efforts, but this was not sustained. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Jordan has proposed a new Jordanian National Youth Corps as part of the government's national youth policy, but plans are still in an early stage. In South Africa, a new national youth service was approved by Parliament in 1996 as part of a national youth policy, but no funds were allocated to firmly establish the service, and only pilot projects have been undertaken since then.

In some countries, both the national youth policy and national youth service have been manipulated by governments for political purposes and have not been firmly grounded on partnerships between relevant youth organisations and government at national, provincial and local levels. In those circumstances, both policy and service have fallen victim to political machinations. An additional problem is that people concerned with youth policy and those concerned with service are often located in different government ministries and have quite different points of emphasis and reference. Finding common ground between them is not always easy.

Common problems encountered in many countries include:

- Inadequate political will, visonary leadership, and legislative and policy direction to deal with national youth policy and service and to mainstream them into national development plans;

- Lack of a conceptual framework to link the national youth policy and national youth service at all levels;

- Low levels of funding that are not always sustained;

- Inadequate participation of stakeholders, especially youth;

- Insufficient training of personnel and capacity-building of youth NGOs;

- Withdrawal of support of government after an election and accession to power of a new politcal party;

- Insufficient coverage and outreach;

- Lack of time-bound action plans to implement both policy and service; and

- Political manipulation by government, and little space for a youth partnership.

The separation between youth policy and youth service extends to international and regional forums as well. At both international and regional levels, there are two separate systems of conferences that have evolved over the past 15 years. One has a focus on policy (for governmental ministers responsible for youth), and the other is of a programmatic nature focusing on national youth service (for practitioners and heads of national youth service schemes). The problem has often been that neither of these sets of meetings discuss the substantive links that ought to exist between national youth policy and national youth service and how the two can work together more effectively to the benefit of youth and society.

At the international level, the International Council on National Youth Policy (ICNYP) is organising an International Conference on National Youth Policy as well as a series of regional training seminars on youth policy. The International Association for National Youth Service (IANYS) convenes a Global Conference on National Youth Service on a biennial basis and is beginning to hold regional meetings on youth service. But there has not been much co-ordination between those two processes.

At a regional level, there are meetings of ministers responsible for youth in each of the five United Nations regions (Africa, Asia and Pacific, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean and Western Asia) which discuss national youth policy, but there are no corresponding regional ministerial meetings on national youth service.

Finding solutions: Partnership and co-ordination

There is an urgent need for much stronger co-ordination between national youth policy and national youth service in order to achieve maximum impact and benefit to young people and to society. Theory and practice are normally prerequisites for a successful strategy in many fields, including those concerning youth. National youth policy will remain only a theory on paper unless adequate measures are taken to implement it by all stakeholders, and unless it is allocated sufficient and sustained public and private sector funding.

A powerful rationale can be presented for seeing national youth service as one of the practical ways of implementing national youth policy. National youth service makes an important economic, social, and political contribution to society; it has increasingly been seen as an essential element of good governance and development, and as a major way for responsible citizens to contribute to development. It also helps to integrate into society young people who have been excluded or marginalised, and has a role to play in promoting full employment by enhancing the employability of unemployed youth.

And there are important roles for governments to play in promoting youth service within a national youth policy. These include:

There is an urgent need for much stronger co-ordination between national youth policy and national youth service in order to achieve maximum impact and benefit to young people and to society

- Promoting volunteering within the educational and youth services for civic engagement as part of life-skills and technical capacity-building;

- Developing specific programmes to encourage youth volunteering at national, provincial and local levels;

- Developing systems to recognise and accredit volunteering by youth,

- Working with the media and other stakeholders to present a more attractive up-to-date image of youth volunteering; and

- Funding the infrastructure of the youth volunteers, in partnership with other stakeholders (i.e., including the private sector, universities, etc.) and ensuring that the requisite legal and fiscal framework is in place.

Experience gained since the International Youth Year of 1985 suggests that combined national youth policy/youth service action plans are best undertaken on a partnership basis between the government ministry responsible for youth and young people and youth organisations. They should be based on a comprehensive survey of the situation of youth in all parts of the country (rural and urban areas) and analysed on an inter-sectoral basis to identify both the problems and the most appropriate forms of intervention to improve the situation of youth. They should also be planned, implemented, evaluated and re-directed by, for and with young people.

There has been a tendency among policy makers in all fields (including youth policy) to deal with such matters in isolation from practical action such as community service. And, likewise, there has been a tendency among practitioners in all fields (including youth service) to deal with such matters in isolation from policy development and implementation. There should be a stronger partnership between such policy and service programmes and, within those larger frameworks, between those concerned with national youth policy and national youth service.

Steps towards co-ordinated action

While there is no single, universal model for a successful national youth policy and national youth service, there are some indicators of good practice based on the mandates of the United Nations General Assembly and the experiences of UN member states, especially since the International Youth Year of 1985. The following elements of an action plan are not meant to be either prescriptive or completely exhaustive. Each nation must determine such matters based on its own socio-cultural heritage, its political and economic priorities, and the views of all stakeholders. What is more, national youth policy and national youth service should themselves be better integrated into the larger frameworks of socio-economic policy and human service for national development and international co-operation.

> **National youth policy and national youth service should themselves be better integrated into the larger frameworks of socio-economic policy and human service for national development and international co-operation**

Concerted action could include the following elements:

Developing a vision of, by and for youth for the present and future: Such a vision would concern all stakeholders linked directly to both formal and non-formal education (governmental youth-related ministries, youth and youth-related organisations, the private sector, UN and bilateral development agencies, etc.). The vision of youth should be seen as a vibrant resource, indeed a solution, and not only as a problem for society.

Defining the youth age group and its sub-groups: The United Nations General Assembly recommended for International Youth Year in 1985 and again in 1995 for the World Programme of Action on Youth that 'youth' were those persons aged 15 to 24 years. That definition was arrived at for statistical purposes, while recognising that many member states have other definitions, and the Assembly noted such sub-groups as urban youth, rural youth, girls and young women, students, young workers, disabled youth, refugee and migrant youth, etc.

Establishing a youth database, information and communication: This involves providing base-line data and profiles of youth throughout the country, and possibly presenting a communication strategy for more positive media images of young people. An information and communications technology strategy could be developed promoting more youth access to the Internet, youth development and civic engagement.

Conducting research on the situation of youth, including hearings and attitude surveys: National youth policy should be grounded on this kind of information and updated on a regular and cross-sectoral basis. Ongoing research should be used to identify a set of priority issues (youth education, employment, health, poverty, hunger, environment, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, etc.), establish targets, and formulate strategies for improving the situation of youth in specific and measurable ways.

Improving youth participation in democractic reform and governance: Youth participation should be encouraged in decision-making processes and institutions, advisory bodies and the promotion of responsible citizenship for young people. In particular this could include freedom of association, speech, assembly and related human rights, such as election of officers by youth to student councils at schools and universities, as well as to executive committees of youth NGOs. Enhanced civic engagement roles for youth and their youth organisations would enable them to contribute directly to the democratic reform and governance of society.

> **Enhanced civic engagement roles for youth and their youth organisations would enable them to contribute directly to the democratic reform and governance of society**

Supporting youth as agents for innovation and change in society: This would include support of the creative and innovative work of young people in cultural, social, economic, political and legal processes and institutions, as well as the promotion of young people as consumers and creators of cultural heritage.

Training and building the capacity of youth workers: The aim here would be to strengthen youth leadership abilities and skills, as well as enhance their opportunities and cultivate ways of supporting the development of the national youth policy and its implementation.

Instituting national youth service: This could be on a voluntary and/or mandatory basis for making an economic contribution to society, for responsible citizenship, good governance and development, for the integration of young people into society, and for the promotion of full employment by enhancing the employability of unemployed youth.

Recognising youth policy and youth service achievements through awards: Awards could be given by the head of state or other appropriate representatives of the government to young people who have made outstanding national youth service contributions to society. The government could further recognise such youth service by accrediting volunteering by youth in the educational system and providing service-learning courses in schools and universities as well as in vocational training centres.

Co-ordinating youth policy and programmes: Better promotion and implementation of the national youth policy and national youth service could be achieved by establishing co-ordination bodies for governmental ministries and departments (inter-ministerial co-ordinating committee), for youth and youth-related organisations (national youth NGO co-ordinating council), and in the private sector (business council on youth). UN programmes and agencies as well as bilateral development agencies could be brought together in some kind of joint body such as the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) Youth Theme Group.

Enacting youth legislation and follow-up: This refers to the drafting and submission of a national youth policy and youth service bill to the cabinet or ministerial council for enactment in Parliament. The draft bill would normally include a specific

programme budget and operational plan with the establishment of a Parliamentary body (as a committee or sub-committee) to oversee its implementation, and to institute reviews, amendments, or new bills to supplement the national youth policy process.

Establishing a youth budget and fund: The purpose here is to finance the promotion, implementation, evaluation and re-direction of a national youth policy and national youth service as part of the 'youth' bill of Parliament. This could take the form of a biennial programme budget, a medium-term plan for a four year period, and include programme performance indicators, a review of the costs and benefits of investing in youth compared with other priorities, phased time-frames, and a regular audit. Youth philanthropy should be encouraged through the participation of young people in the management of budget allocations, fundraising and selection of awardees.

Drawing up a youth policy outreach action plan: All of the elements of a national youth policy/national youth service action plan should be included in the project document containing the national youth policy. It should outline the multi-level programme of action planned at national, provincial and local levels to implement the policy in phased steps and with specific time frames by, for and with youth and their organisations, as well as on inter-generational and inter-cultural bases.

Evaluating and re-directing youth policy: A regular meeting of the stakeholders (such as a national youth commission) should undertake short, medium and long-term evaluations of the impact of the national youth policy/national youth service. Performance indicators should be developed for each output of the policy, an annual audit conducted on the progress achieved and obstacles encountered, and re-direction instituted based on the results of the evaluation.

Sharing experiences and best practices on national youth policy: The government should share experiences with other governments at the sub-regional, regional and global levels, by participating in the respective meetings of ministers responsible for youth and expert group meetings related to youth policies and youth services. Youth NGO representatives should be included in the delegations to such meetings, and the internal policies and practices should likewise promote international co-operation among youth as well as among youth organisations on a sub-regional, regional and global basis to share experiences and encourage understanding, mutual respect and peace.

Linking international and regional levels, and conferences: There should be concerted action to better link the two separate systems of international and regional conferences on youth policy and service which have evolved over the past 15 years. This would involve action to place on the agendas of each of those meetings an item on the need for concerted action to link the youth policy and youth service by, for and with youth NGOs, and for the follow-up provision of advisory services and training workshops for the sharing of experiences and capacity-building.

The work of the International Council on National Youth Policy

To promote such concerted action, the International Council on National Youth Policy (ICNYP) was established on 18 January 2002 as a joint non-governmental / inter-governmental expert body in Vienna, Austria. It is registered as a legal entity with the Austrian Ministry of Interior for the following purposes:

- To encourage and enable all stakeholders, and most particularly youth, to participate in all aspects of formulating, implementing and evaluating national youth policy;

- To:

    - identify the priority problems facing youth and society,

    - prepare proposals for solving those problems with the full participation of young people and their formal and informal structures,

    - adopt coherent sets of such proposals,

    - promote their implementation, and

    - undertake their assessment (short and medium-term monitoring and consequent adjustment of programmes en route) and periodic longer-term evaluation and modification;

- To exchange global information and research on national youth policy, promote the actual use of existing such material, support new global studies of an intersectoral nature on national youth policy and set up a resource bank on national youth policy concerning global, regional and bilateral funding sources willing and able to finance national youth policy projects;

- To formulate policy and programme initiatives to strengthen national youth policy and the capacity of governments, youth NGOs and CBOs (community-based organisations) to adopt, implement and evaluate such polices;

- To stress the linkage of national youth policy, on the one hand, and national youth service and different forms of youth volunteering, on the other, in this overall process; and

- To enhance co-ordination and networking of policy and programme experts in national youth policy (among governments, inter-governmental organisations, NGOs, and UN agencies).

The ICNYP has agreed to include in all of its plans, meetings and advisory services items related to the relationship between national youth policy and national youth service. In that regard, the ICNYP has recently formed a partnership with the UNDP and signed a memorandum of co-operation with the UNDP United Nations Volunteers (UNV) for a series of advisory service missions and training seminars in each UN region and to convene international expert meetings. The first ICNYP advisory service missions began in 2002 in all UN regions, and the first regional training seminar for Central and East Africa will be held in co-operation with UNDP in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 24-26 September 2003. The first International Conference on National Youth Policy is being planned for May 2004 in Vienna, Austria.

The ICNYP is working together with a number of other organisations to promote this concerted youth policy and youth service action, and this involves co-operation with the inter-governmental organisations which convene regional meetings of ministers responsible for youth such as the Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP), the Conference of Francophone Ministers of Youth and Sports (CONFEJES), the Conference of Portuguese-speaking Community of Ministers of Youth (CPLP/CMJ), the Arab Council of Ministers of Youth and Sports (ACMYS), the Ibero-American Youth Minister Conference (OIJ), the Council of Europe Conference of Ministers of Youth (COE/CMY), the European Union Conference on Ministers of Youth (EU/CMY), the ASEAN Senior Officials Meeting on Youth (ASEAN/SOMY), the CARICOM Meeting of Directors of Youth and Sports (CARICOM/MDYS), and so on. In each case, an attempt will be made to place national youth policy and national youth service concerns on the respective agendas and follow-up plans in each region. Partnership arrangements are also being made with youth NGOs to promote this action.

Conclusion

The programme of the International Council on National Youth Policy is one attempt to achieve greater co-ordination and integration of national youth policy and national youth service, seen as essential to making a significant impact on the situation of youth. To improve the life chances of youth and to enhance the participation of youth in the life of society and in decision-making processes, it is clear, however, that much more needs to be done in terms of concerted action.

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Note

[1]	These age parameters were adopted for statistical purposes, and from 1985, all major statistical yearbooks of the UN system have used that definition for collecting and presenting statistics on youth (demographic, education, employment and health). Prior to 1985, such UN statistics did not include classifications by that age group.

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Rethinking Community-Based Learning in the Context of Globalisation

AHMED C BAWA

SUMMARY

There is an extremely rich history of community-based learning at universities and colleges in many parts of the world, and most mission statements of institutions now carry some statement committing themselves to this kind of initiative. One example of such learning is linked to service – in which students are placed in communities and other integrative settings to work and to learn. In this chapter it is argued that while this kind of activity has enhanced and enriched the learning of students, a new set of local and global contexts prompt closer enquiry into the basis on which these initiatives are established. New dynamics may offer the opportunity for new approaches to be contemplated.

Foremost among these new dynamics are three factors: rapid globalisation that impacts directly on the wellbeing of

communities, the emergence of the 'knowledge society' in which the heightened role of knowledge in social and industrial processes is witnessed, and the explosion of information technologies which has revolutionised access to information and the rate and effectiveness of communication. The chapter argues that these phenomena impel a new conceptualisation of service – and community-based learning more generally. This could lead to the striking of learning partnerships between universities and communities that are deliberately shaped to make communities active participants in knowledge activities – in its creation, dissemination and utilisation. In turn, this kind of conceptual work could offer key insights into knowledge production processes, particularly in view of the fact that universities might have to deal with different 'knowledges'.

Such a project could provide the opportunity for the re-envisioning and re-invention of the public good of higher education. In particular, it could reshape understanding of how higher education should be funded. These processes raise questions about the nature of universities and about their role in a context in which their partial hegemony of the knowledge terrain suffers erosion as a consequence of the increased diffusion of knowledge processes into society. The chapter concludes that this kind of rethinking of community-based learning could thus provide an interesting window through which to interrogate the nature of the relationship between university and society in the context of phenomenally rapid change.

Introduction

There has been an extremely vibrant debate internationally on the role of higher education in society, both as a sector and as a part of what might be called national systems of innovation. University-initiated community activities and service learning have always been on policy development agendas[1] – mainly because they were seen as critical mechanisms to address the enormous transformation challenges confronting the higher education sector.

There is a richly textured set of histories[2] with regard to outreach, community service, service learning, or extension. In South Africa much of this emerged as a vital component of the struggle for social justice, human dignity and political freedom. Practices of this sort were later influenced by the external challenges of reconstruction and development in the post-apartheid era. Internally, as in other national contexts, these activities were shaped in complex ways by the particular challenges and demands facing institutions – for relevance, for various kinds of connectedness and transformation. And so they manoeuvred themselves into new spaces in the face of significantly changed and changing social, political and economic worldviews.

These convolutions have produced and continue to produce a wide variety of models of higher education engagement with the needs of communities – as various audits have shown – even in a single institution. This range of models and activities form part of the fascinating set of histories which are also shaped by the macro conditions of dominant socio-political contexts. This chapter argues that new global and local conditions impel the need to consider more radical approaches to higher education-initiated community-based learning.

New global and local conditions impel the need to consider more radical approaches to higher education-initiated community-based learning

New global contexts

New global and regional contexts are beginning to shape ways in which the development of poor nations and regions are being discussed. Manuel Castells' depiction of Africa as the 'fourth world' (Castells 1996) – one which is severely de-linked from the 'networked', globalising world – provides one perspective on the nature of these contexts. What are the new global contexts? The first is the phenomenon of globalisation and a new world order that has re-shaped the way in which the political and economic maps of the world are drawn. The second is the rise of the network society that is characterised by the rapid development of new innovations in information technologies, and their deployment, on the one hand, in production processes, and on the other, in the communications industry. The third is the emergence of the knowledge society – a new organisation of the processes of production in which the high-value end of the industrial systems of the world are dependent on the production of new knowledge and its rapid, value-adding infusion

into new products. The last of these has brought into being a significant international debate about the role of the university in society.

Alongside these global shifts, there are a host of regional shifts that represent a range of governmental responses to global challenges. One is President Thabo Mbeki's revival of the notion of an African Renaissance; another is the development of the idea of an African Union (AU) of nations. Both are designed to provide African governments with a way of interacting with the globalising world. These continental movements are underpinned by two sets of large projects. The first of these are the responses to the political economy challenges facing the continent – as represented, for example, in the approaches contained in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). And the second are the projects that focus on issues of identity and citizenship – for instance, what is meant by 'African' in the African Renaissance and in the African Union.

Other developments centre on the democratisation processes that are unfolding across the continent. These have important consequences and present opportunities for strengthening civil society organisations and their role in entrenching democracy and a culture of human rights. All of this is occuring in the context of the continuing challenges of poverty reduction, the quest for peace and the campaigns at national and regional levels for the emergence of sustainable development strategies.

It is the confluence of these global, continental and national developments that set the stage for a new discussion about the role of community-based learning – a key example of which is service. The importance of 'service', as an example, is that it emphasises the centrality of learning – both for civil society organisations and for higher education students. Further, it requires the integration of this particular form of learning into the paradigm of development. The space created by the unfolding of the African Union and NEPAD is empowering to national governments and to the organised private sector in the developing nations of Africa. But these initiatives do not provide a mechanism for the active participation of communities and the organisations of civil society in the new, hegemonic discourses on development. The key issue that this chapter attempts to explore is the role of community-based learning as a means to enable new community voices to be raised within those discourses, and in whatever local form they take. Since the unfolding of the knowledge society is a key factor shaping the discussion of development, it is necessary to address this matter through an exploration of the *knowledge flows* in community-based learning. In particular it is necessary to assess whether these may be reshaped in such a way as to begin to enable the political empowerment of communities so as to foster their entry into the knowledge era on their own terms, as knowledge producers and users.

> **The importance of 'service' is that it emphasises the centrality of learning – both for civil society organisations and for higher education students. Further, it requires the integration of this particular form of learning into the paradigm of development**

The reinsertion of the public good into higher education

What are the challenges facing higher education institutions and systems in the 21st century? The global roots of these challenges lie in three major issues. The first is the rate at which new knowledge is produced. The second is the increasing rapidity with which knowledge and information are infused into production and service industry processes. The third is the increased diffusion of knowledge generation and knowledge dissemination into society, particularly into the private sector. Amongst other things, these are manifestations of the growing commodification of knowledge which is evident in a variety of forms. The rate at which this phenomenon occurs can be measured, for example, by the rate of emergence of for-profit private sector higher education vendors of various kinds. Another manifestation is the blurring of the university-private sector interfaces through the development of a variety of strategic partnerships including the emergence of the 'kept' university. A symptom of this is the way in which universities have begun to re-shape the contracts of academic staff to accommodate their participation in joint university-private sector appointments – and it will be important to track the implications of this for teaching and research. Each of these issues points to ways in which universities attempt to reposition themselves to come to grips with the implications of the 'knowledge era'. In particular, there is a clearly defined challenge to the place and the space of 'the public good' in higher education as it does battle with powerful economic forces in society.

Local challenges are folded into these global ones, and are characterised by a continued focus on access and equity, quality, the relevance of the university in development and issues around effectiveness and efficiency – issues articulated within neo-liberal frameworks.

The growing impetus of these local and global influences has produced increasingly instrumentalist approaches to higher education – in terms of the research and teaching/learning activities of the sector. In South Africa, these approaches have been sponsored and are shaped by macro-economic policy and have taken root in the Higher Education Act and various other legal instruments in the areas of education, trade and industry, and science and technology.

An inevitable and interesting response to this commodification of higher education is a focus on the re-insertion of the public goods of higher education into the debate (see for example, Singh 2001). This important new addition to the debate is not about returning to the proverbial ivory tower, on the one hand, or capitulating to rampant instrumentalist notions, on the other. The core arguments take account of the context outlined above and centre on the role that higher education plays in developing broad-based national intellectual cultures, fostering good citizenship, and ensuring the vibrancy of national cultures. At the same time, higher education plays a role in facilitating the growth of national economies and in the achievement of other objectives, such as service delivery, policy creation and other activities which may be de-linked from the core activities of higher education.

The wellbeing of communities is being determined at loci that are increasingly distant from the local... The only public institutions that reach across both space and time dimensions are universities

In this new context, spatial and temporal separations are widening and diminishing respectively. The wellbeing of communities is being determined at loci that are increasingly distant from the local while there is a genuine collapse in time lines. The only public institutions that reach across both space and time dimensions are universities. Their ability to do this, their public character, and their knowledge capacity identify them as the key institutional players in the project to allow local communities to find their place within the local and global under conditions that they control.

The nature of community-based activities

The matter of institutional alienation (see Dalfovo 1996) – represented by the disarticulation of higher education institutions from local contexts – has been a major driver for the establishment of community-based activities such as service. Hence, community-based work has had a tremendous boost in recent times as the higher education sector (institutionally and as a system) has sought ways to meet these different categories of challenge, to address the need for relevance, and so on. This has helped to shape the nature of the enterprise. With the risk of some simplification, these activities may be said to have focused on the following:

- They help to enhance the scope of learning of students by exposing them to the developmental issues facing communities. In particular, they ensure that the compartmentalised categories within which much university learning takes place come up against 'problems of the real world' that do not obligingly divide themselves into neat disciplines. The notion, however, that universities do not engage with the 'real world' except through these kinds of projects is dangerous. What physicist or engineer or actuarial scientist or anthropologist does not engage with the 'real world'? It is clearly risky to distinguish university-initiated community-based learning as distinct and different from what goes on at the centre of the university.

- They heighten student awareness of their role in society and thereby help in the national project of citizenship-development by integrating new generations of intellectuals into the national project.

- They provide an ideal opportunity for the very distinct left-brain learning paradigms that are dominant at most institutions – even the better ones – to be broadened to encompass right-brain learning and thereby promote more holistic approaches.

- They facilitate the community-based research activities of university-based intellectuals and thereby support communities in attempts to take on the developmental challenges facing them.

- They provide universities with what Richard Bawden (1992) called 'dynamic interfaces' in his analysis of the large variety of institutional structures that arose out of the community-based activities at the University of Natal and which provided it with a particular flavour and texture.

Underpinning much of this is a project to help place the universities and the sector as a whole in a new relationship with government, in which they can present themselves as active players in 'development'. The emphasis is mainly on the quality of learning, the relevance of research and the challenges of institutional and sectoral relevance – all of which are important projects. What is lacking is what might be referred to as 'unity in learning' – while learning occurs around particular projects, it is important to generate partnerships where the learning is also diverse and serves a variety of purposes giving rise to a diversity of 'knowledges'.

> **What is lacking is learning giving rise to a diversity of 'knowledges'**

Perhaps the new context provides the impetus to have another look at community-based learning as a means to think about the nature of the engagement between higher education and civil society, and there are at least three reasons why this is the case. In articulating each of these reasons, some attention is paid to understanding how the national Community, Higher Education, Service Partnership (CHESP) project[3] in South Africa addresses these issues.

- The first relates to renewed interest in the re-insertion of the public good of higher education into the discussion. This demands a re-evaluation of the definition of the public good – perhaps through a 'social contract' (Bawa 2001) that is struck with broad segments of society. It is argued here that one public good may well be the active penetration of the voices of communities and the organisations of civil society into globalisation discourses – voices which have as their frame of reference the development challenges that are central to them. The CHESP project helps to do this at the local level since it forces the three sectors – the participating communities, the university involved and the service provider (usually a local government department) – to strike up a partnership both in terms what needs to be done and how that is to be done. The lack of experience and capacity in the non-university partners, in most cases, has allowed the university partners to dominate this interaction.

- The second reason relates to knowledge – its production, its dissemination and infusion into the solution of problems – as the engine of the new evolution of societies. Castells (1996) has described knowledge as the electricity of the new industrial revolution. One of the pillars of the African Renaissance is the creation

of indigenous knowledge and its exploitation in the solution of problems. For communities the challenge is similar – individuals in communities must engage in the flows of knowledge. By this is meant their active participation in the creation of new knowledge, in the imbibing of existing knowledge, in its dissemination, and its infusion into problem-solving. CHESP has not paid particular attention to this. The main reason for this is that as a programme it builds largely (and very well) on traditional notions of the interaction referred to above.

- Thirdly, the explosion of the power of information technology has opened the way to new forms of knowledge flows – forms that were unthinkable just ten years ago. Without concerted efforts, developing societies and the communities within them are falling behind in the use of these technologies – and the chasm appears to be growing all the time. Community-based learning activities may bring to the development agenda the insertion of information technologies through which communities are empowered to communicate and to operate in the knowledge terrain themselves. CHESP has not addressed this matter in a direct and focused way. However, the Centre for Civil Society at the University of Natal runs a training programme for community activists and has a specific approach to this kind of intervention.

It is on the basis of these three challenges that a new conceptualisation of community-based learning is posited. Service learning is one manifestation of this intellectual project – as long as it is conceptualised in the context of genuine learning in both directions. In a very real sense, this is an opportunity to reflect on the nature of 'the university'. The key issue it seems, is to understand how to foreground the engaged-ness of these institutions of higher learning in a way that facilitates learning and the production of knowledge.

The knowledge issues

There has been a very substantial international debate about different modes of knowledge production and the way in which these impact on policy development. The work done by Gibbons et al (1994) indicates unambiguously that there are new and interesting features that have emerged in the knowledge terrain – even though there are contending views about the ways in which these are described by the Gibbons group. One of these new features is the increasing frequency of cases in which research projects are shaped in the context of applications rather than in the context of academic imperatives. The consequence (a second feature) is that research questions are increasingly shaped, and research performed, by transient teams of

experts that may include individuals with a sound understanding of the applications context. In industrial innovation this may involve private sector engineers and technicians and also sales people. In the case of policy analysis, the process may well include government officials and civil society organisers. Hence one begins to see a challenge to the pre-eminence of the academy in these kinds of research projects. Thirdly, there is the growing phenomenon of research being conducted at sites of application rather than in university laboratories. Fourthly, the nature of the research may be, in the words of Gibbons et al, trans-disciplinary instead of uni-disciplinary. Fifthly, the instruments of measurement may well be broader in form than those adopted in the usual 'Mode 1' type of research that is dominant at universities. They may include different forms of peer evaluation and, since the research design is applications-based, the outputs are evaluated in different ways. Sixthly, these kinds of research enterprises, if carefully constructed, provide for both the solution of applications-based problems and the furtherance of new knowledge – thereby defining new learning relationships between the academy and external knowledge systems.

The formulation of Gibbons et al arises out of knowledge production changes in the relationship between various European public research systems and private sector innovation systems. The formulation caught the imagination of South African policy researchers because it provided the opportunity for policy development that focused on the creation of systems that fostered socially relevant knowledge programmes. Subotzky (1998) asks 'how changing patterns of knowledge production can benefit the public good as well as private interests to which it is currently predominantly oriented.' The Mode 1/Mode 2 discussion provides a powerful opportunity to think creatively and systemically about the role of service learning. It does so because this form of learning always relates to complex contexts which open the way for such a discourse to emerge.

The growing importance of knowledge in production processes has resulted in a substantial diffusion of knowledge production into society – a diffusion that threatens the near hegemony of universities in this terrain. This has happened most powerfully in the private sector – in its laboratories, workshops and classrooms. Universities have responded to this in a variety of ways, one of which is the development of partnerships with other knowledge production organisations – such as government laboratories, private sector laboratories and non-governmental organisations. Subotzky's study of university-community partnership models in this context is very useful as it explores ways in which the contribution of the academy to the public good may be enhanced through its engagement with complex social problems in partnership models. The key element of such an engagement, as it relates to service learning, is that the latter must be tied to knowledge production in which both the university-based component and the community or civil society based component share responsibilities.

Some new ideas on university-initiated community-based learning

There are vast changes that have occurred in the relationship of universities with societies over the last twenty years. These changes demand the need for a radical review of the role of universities. This is highlighted by the challenge of defining the public and private goods of higher education in these new contexts. The primary argument presented here is that one of the public goods – often cited in missions of universities – is the need to empower communities and civil society. This chapter argues, however, that in addition to the traditional transfer matrices in such partnerships, the new contexts suggest that a key public good may well be the creation of knowledge partnerships that allow communities and civil society to exercise some influence in the globalisation debates. This has to be achieved through the engagement of communities and their organisations as primary participants in knowledge processes and knowledge systems. And this will have to be achieved at the same time as competence is developed and grown – both in terms of skills and in terms of broadening the base of participants – in the use of information technology. Service learning has a special role to play in this *if* it brings together 'learning partnerships'.

If this role is to be defined as a public good then one of the key challenges is to shift the locus of community-based learning from the edge of institutions into their

One of the key challenges is to shift the locus of community-based learning from the edge of institutions into their core

core. In his wonderful analysis of the University of Natal's engagement with communities, Richard Bawden (1992) defines the 'dynamic interfaces' as being the locus where the university and its staff can be involved in what he calls the 'scholarship of engagement'. It also provides a clear insight into how even the most committed of institutions may find that these interfaces still occur only at the edges of the institution.

A knowledge-based, learning-based approach to service learning provides one interesting way in which to shift Bawden's dynamic interfaces into the heart of institutions of higher learning. A reasonable technique to achieve this would be to associate service learning with academic credit since this would force the faculty to take on the responsibility for the learning activity. However, the danger of this approach, as we have seen from the CHESP experiment, is that the curriculum discourse may easily be dominated by the university component in the partnership. Having recognised the potential for this problem, solutions may be found to resolve it. One obvious route to follow would be to create the dynamic interfaces 'inside' the university rather than on its 'edges'.

There are, however, deeply systemic issues that militate against the kind of re-conceptualisation that is called for in this chapter.

- The national funding systems for higher education see these kinds of activities as outside of the 'public good domain' and therefore do not fund them within core budgets. Universities, even the most committed ones, are obliged to support such scholarly engagements with 'soft' funding.

- Universities and the national systems of higher education are increasingly expected to operate within market-oriented approaches. This often militates against higher and deeper levels of 'scholarly engagement' through community-based learning, and hence the need to redefine what constitutes the 'public good'.

- None of the South African institutions have a formally instituted set of processes or structures within which debate about the nature of the public good can occur. For this reason the earlier call was made for a new social contract between higher education and the people that it serves – in all of their social formations. Much of the literature, including innovative experiments such as CHESP, speaks about the development of a culture of mutuality. Outside of a public good framework of this nature, the dominance of the pre-eminent knowledge institutions in society will always rise to the fore.

It needs to be added that the emergence of a culture of mutuality, shaped in a new public good framework, will also provide protection for institutions of higher education. It will be a way of ensuring that they do not slide into becoming agents of delivery in the place of government departments. Their engagement is about producing 'knowledges'.

There are two kinds of challenge in this proposed radicalisation. One is to come to an understanding of how universities are to interface with different and diverse 'knowledges'. They would be challenged to find ways in which the richness of such diversity adds value to the knowledge production processes at the heart of institutions, without sliding into obscurity. The second is about new missions to provide the opportunity for the creation of new kinds of voices for communities and the organisations of civil society in the face of globalisation. For this to be a sustainable project it must be located within the discourse of the public good of higher education. And meeting these challenges should not be treated as separate processes; they must be interwoven.

While this analysis has focused primarily on South Africa, the perspectives presented here have global relevance. The alienation of individuals in communities must rise, even in the richest countries and in the most democratic, as they sense that the world of their influence shrinks in the rush of globalisation. It appears therefore that the role of higher education in society must be treated both locally and globally. The notion of the re-insertion of the public good of higher education into the debate and the idea of individual and institutional alienation in the vastness

of the reach of globalisation have been used simply as a means to inject a systems approach into this discussion. The fundamental idea, surely, is that this is about transforming systems of higher education to give new and radical meanings to the practice of higher education and that community-based learning is an important lever to achieve this.

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Notes

[1]   For a summary of this for South Africa, see for example, Lazarus (2001).

[2]   For South African experiences, see Perold (1998). For African experiences, see the 1996 *Proceedings of the Meeting of the International Association of University Presidents, African and Middle East Council*. For more international experiences see Lazarus (2000).

[3]   For details, see the project's website at http://www.chesp.org.za.

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Taking People out of Boxes and Categories

Voluntary service and social cohesion

ARTHUR GILLETTE

SUMMARY

Traditionally, the 'haves' have helped the 'have-nots' through philanthropic volunteering. Of late, however, a surprising new trend has come to the fore: through voluntary service, increasing numbers of excluded people are participating in programmes that break new ground in voluntary service. In the process they may be enhancing social cohesion.

Drawing on a discussion note prepared for the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) Programme[1], Gillette cites three case studies from the survey material gathered by UNV: a centre for disabled people in Cambodia run by a UN volunteer from the Philippines; a US programme that offers detainees in prisons the opportunity to serve as firemen with teams of local volunteers; and a project organised by the European

Voluntary Service (EVS) programme at the end of the 1990s, under which intra-European exchanges took place involving young volunteers who were themselves subject to several kinds of exclusion.

Whilst acknowledging the difficulties of involving the excluded in voluntary service, Gillette identifies a number of impacts that could enhance social cohesion: firstly the empowerment of people previously excluded from society; secondly the sense of self-worth gained by these participants; and thirdly, a commitment to change which enabled the participants to initiate other ventures after the service experience.

The chapter concludes by citing a range of conditions that are necessary to facilitate voluntary service by excluded people, and outlines a number of issues which require further research and development if this approach is to foster meaningful social cohesion in the long term.

Introduction

There are today persistent and often worsening gaps of many kinds between privileged and underprivileged individuals, communities, countries and groups of countries. These gaps separate the 'haves' from the 'have-lesses' and 'have-nots' both within and between countries. Exclusion inhibits or prevents the full enjoyment and exercise of human rights by large segments of the world's population. It is a cause of individual and collective distress, and contributes to terrorism and other forms of psychological and physical violence. Yet the world's resources could, if fairly distributed and properly used, sharply reduce this exclusion.

In this context, a 'business as usual' approach is not only morally unacceptable but also dangerous. This underscores the urgent importance of building bridges between the 'included' and the 'excluded' in order to achieve social cohesion. Traditionally, voluntary service by the former in favour of the latter – what might be called 'philanthropic volunteering' – has played a vital role in this bridge-building.

Of late, however, a surprising trend has come to the fore: through voluntary service, excluded people are increasingly forging their own futures, and those of their societies at large. In this way the very people who have been excluded are breaking new ground in voluntary service and, in the process, probably enhancing social cohesion.

> **Through voluntary service, excluded people are increasingly forging their own futures, and those of their societies at large**

The goal of full social cohesion is a diverse world at peace with itself. Like any utopian objective, it will never be completely attained. Nevertheless such a goal provides hope, inspiration and direction to organisers of voluntary service.

Voluntary service by excluded people is perhaps not entirely new, but it has apparently never before been so widespread or visible. My purpose here is to explore briefly this trend and suggest how service by the excluded could be improved and expanded.

Basic definitions

As a consequence of cross-cultural and cross-ideological differences and complexities, it is necessary to clarify at the outset the main terms used in this article.

'Exclusion' has been variously defined as involving one or more of the following factors: deprivation of basic needs such as shelter, education, health and employment, (International Labour Organisation, 2000); discrimination; disempowerment (concerning civic participation, for example); rejection by mainstream society and lack of knowledge, skills and self-esteem on the part of the rejected; exclusion for physical reasons such as handicaps; exclusion by age (the very young and the elderly); by reason of geography (isolated rural people, urban ghettos); gender and sexuality-related exclusion; exclusion from the consumption and creation of culture and communication; ethnic and/or racial exclusion; exclusion for anti-social behaviour; and so on.

'Cohesion', sometimes equated with 'inclusion', can be defined as the contrary. But unlike 'integration' or the French *insertion*, 'cohesion' does not necessarily imply that the non-excluded are expected to follow all mainstream rules, mores and norms. It suggests, rather, diverse, tolerant and mutually respectful rainbow societies. It stems from the Latin *cohaerere*, meaning literally 'stick together'. It refers thus to a kind of social mosaic, i.e. a collage of stones, each with its own characteristics, a work that is greater and can be more beautiful than the mere sum of its parts.

Etymologically, 'voluntary service' means 'to do willingly the work of a slave (*servus*).' To be sure, the basic aim of a volunteer should not be material gain. But other educational, social and cultural benefits do accrue. Framed at the 1990 Congress on Volunteering, a *Universal Declaration on Voluntary Service* affirmed volunteers' 'faith in voluntary action as a creative and mediating force to respect the dignity of all people and their ability to live their lives and exercise their rights as citizens [and] help to solve social and environmental problems ...' (*Volontaires-Partenaires* 1992). In other words, no matter how humble, each stone in the mosaic can and may contribute to its overall beauty.

Is it not wishful thinking, however, for a policy maker or programmer to assume, for example, that a severely disabled person, or a prison inmate or a young person socially excluded on a number of grounds could, or would be willing and able to make a contribution to society by undertaking a stint of voluntary service? And so to contribute to social cohesion in general? The three examples prove that this may not be wishful thinking after all.

Three examples

A severely disabled person

From the time of the Vietnam War and ranging through decades of civil war until quite recently, military action has left the Cambodian countryside littered with unexploded anti-personnel mines. As a result, the country has an exceptionally large number of amputees and otherwise handicapped citizens. A UN Volunteers project there has been assisting with the development of a National Centre for Disabled People and a key actor in the project has been Carmen Reyes Zubiaga. Carmen is a UN Volunteer from the Philippines with more than two years' service at the Centre to her credit.

At first sight, the Centre looks like a café where tourists can drop in for a good meal and buy handicrafts. Project organisers deem it a success: it generally overflows with customers. In fact, however, the staff are disabled. In addition to offering on-site employment and training, the Centre provides support for the start-up of small businesses staffed by disabled people.

Indeed, the project's philosophy stems from the overall goal of empowerment: helping the disabled to help themselves. The Centre, says Carmen, 'is a model for change in the sense that all the disabled here work to be competitive in their fields. Employees here may be disabled, but they have to act as though they were not. It is

difficult, particularly at the start, but it is very important that they learn to help themselves first.'

Advocate as well as technician, Carmen explains that, 'My role is to complain so that the right words become actions. Eventually people get the point when they see the results.'

What is her assessment of the Centre's progress and her part in it? 'I am happy to see that the people of the Centre feel that this is their work, their property. If I have instilled this commitment and self-confidence, then I have done my job.' Of the Centre's members, she says: 'They are proud to be part of a growing organisation. In spite of their disabilities, they are motivated to learn and improve their skills. They serve as an inspiration to other disabled people.'

'They' includes Carmen who is wheelchair-bound herself. She plans to launch a similar project on her home island when she returns to the Philippines at the end of her United Nations Volunteers assignment (Perez-Buck 1998).

Prison inmates

Voluntary service by convicted law-breakers is not a new phenomenon. But it does seem to be spreading. One of its expressions is in services rendered solely inside penal institutions. In France, for example, there have been reports of prisoners involving themselves in activities such as recording audio cassettes for the blind (Petit 1986).

A complementary type of service by inmates could be called the 'half-way approach'.[2] For some 30 years, the American state of Georgia has offered detainees in its 22 prisons the opportunity to train, and then serve, as firemen with teams of local volunteers. This activity is not taken into account when decisions on parole are made, so it may be considered as genuine volunteering.

McRae, one of the towns where a prison is located, at first reacted with hostility to the plan to include prisoners among volunteer fire fighters. Later, however, the townspeople were reported to be much more at ease with the scheme, having seen how helpful the inmates have been. State-wide, in the year 2000, prisoners helped respond to 22 000 fire calls. Throughout the scheme's three decades, among the volunteer prisoner firemen there has not been a single escape attempt (FR-3 TV network 2001).

Excluded youth

Many individuals find themselves in multiple jeopardy, i.e. affected by several forms of exclusion. A recent thesis by Luis Amorim, *Un Projet Phare pour les Jeunes en Difficulté* (Amorim 1999), points to exciting conclusions about the functioning and results of an experimental project organised by the European Voluntary Service (EVS)programme at the end of the 1990s, under which intra-European exchanges took place involving young volunteers who were themselves subject to several kinds of exclusion: educational, geographical, medical, ethnic and legal, as well as in terms

of poverty or unemployment. These exchanges lasted over periods ranging from three to seven months and volunteers were placed in countries other than their own.

Luis Amorim formulated a triple hypothesis:

- That 'participation of the young people in EVS would contribute to a positive evolution of their self-image, particularly their personal and social image, and their self-esteem';

- That a 'stay abroad in the framework of a voluntary service programme would help them better express their individuality, equipping them with tools to face up to certain difficulties they may have experienced';

- That 'help furnished by more experienced youngsters – peer educators – to young people who are less confident and less well prepared to assume certain challenges can be a very important element in the development ... of new personal tools enabling them to overcome difficult situations.'

As with many experimental projects, the activity was not a complete success (see below). Luis Amorim does, however, make a convincing argument to the effect that its original hypotheses were, by and large, confirmed. He further concluded that 'the novelty of the experience, confronting [the young volunteers] with other cultures and persons, as well as new ideas and ways of doing things, [constitute] a powerful instrument for giving them more autonomy and above all more hope for the future.'

Concerning 'the future', it may be noted that most of the group studied found employment after – and at least partly as a result of – their stint of service.

Service and cohesion: What and how?

Occasionally, proponents of voluntary service tend to present it as something of a panacea: a single, relatively straightforward solution to many complex problems. We may need to be more (self)critical. In any event, the above vignettes are not trouble-free fairytales. If Carmen Reyes Zubiaga had to 'complain' so that words became action, there was clearly something to complain about.

Then, too, Luis Amorim found that the EVS experiment was not a complete success. Nearly one-third of the young people who volunteered for the project did not carry through with their original intention, and more than 70 per cent of the recruited and trained peer educators also deserted. One can all too easily imagine the kinds of disruption caused as a result.

Despite the problems encountered, the three examples (and lack of space precludes citing many more) do leave one with the impression that, somehow, volunteering by the excluded has enhanced social cohesion. But, more precisely on this theme, what seems to have happened and how? An attempt to answer these questions helps sketch out the skeleton of what might be called a 'typology of indicators of social cohesion' at least partly achieved by excluded people's voluntary service.

What has been achieved?

A first important common point is that through service, the excluded individuals achieved a clear degree of *empowerment*: from being passive members of society they at least started becoming actors.

Secondly, thanks to this transition, they appear to have gained a sense of *self-worth*. It is well-known that from a psychological point of view, many excluded people tend to internalise the causes of their exclusion. Often with a sense of guilt and/or inferiority, they may assume that their exclusion is somehow their own fault. To begin to contribute to society, rather than chiefly or solely receive from or depend upon society, can be an exhilarating bridge-crossing.

> **Through service, the excluded individuals achieved a clear degree of empowerment: from being passive members of society they at least started becoming actors**

And thirdly, it can be a *healthily addictive change* with effects lasting after the period of service. No profiled tracer information is available on the Georgia prisoner-firemen. Nevertheless, the fact that in three decades none of the thousands who participated in the programme attempted to escape while serving outside penitentiary walls may suggest a vital attitude mutation. Furthermore, it is clear that her volunteering experience in Cambodia gave Carmen Reyes Zubiaga the inspiration, self-assurance and technical tools necessary to plan the launch of a similar activity on returning home to the Philippines. It is also clear that the EVS service stint encouraged and equipped most of the multiply-excluded and previously unemployed youngsters examined by Luis Amorim to find jobs afterwards.

So there appear to be three levels of change that can be induced by service among the excluded who volunteer. One is their freshly-empowered role in society: 'I'm now inside rather than outside and can influence what happens inside.' Another is attitudinal: 'I can give as well as take.' And a third is more technical: 'I've acquired experience and skills that enable me to continue as a more fully-fledged citizen.'

Returning to the 'mosaic' image used above: *before* service, the excluded individual may be seen as a stone wandering somewhat aimlessly in a social context that is indifferent or even hostile to it. *After* service, and perhaps to a decisive degree thanks to the service experience, he/she has become a stone that, while safeguarding, and even developing, its individuality, now fits in with and contributes to the beauty of the overall social picture. Voluntary service can be the 'cement' for such a cohesive mosaic.

How?

There is no magic formula for mixing that 'cement'. But a number of factors do seem crucial.

First is the way excluded people are approached and encouraged to volunteer. The Georgia prisoners are informed from the outset that serving as volunteer firemen will not influence petitions for parole, for example. And it was made clear to candidates

for the EVS experimental project that service periods would be limited and non-renewable.

Secondly, special arrangements may be required – in addition to 'normal' service conditions – when the excluded volunteer for service. Thus, particular physical logistics may need to be set in place to facilitate volunteering by the disabled or the aged.

Thirdly, special measures may be necessary. *Before* a service stint, host institutions may need to be provided with profiled information on their new 'guests'. The volunteers themselves may require – as in the case of the Georgia prisoner/firemen – orientation or training. *During* service, trained 'peer educators' were found to be crucial success ingredients in the EVS experiment with multiply-excluded volunteers. And *after* volunteering, vocational and/or psychological and/or educational guidance and support can be necessary.

In summary, it seems that this approach can contribute to social cohesion on condition that special measures are taken by organisers. That implies extra cost, a caveat that may discourage or even dissuade the policy makers and programmers referred to above.

Costs, however, must be put into balance with benefits. One consideration here is that the benefits accruing to society and to the excluded who volunteer would not

The benefits accruing to society and to the excluded who volunteer would not have existed had they *not* volunteered

have existed had they *not* volunteered. One of the EVS volunteers studied by the *Un Projet Phare* thesis was Michael, 21 years old and from a rough Belfast neighbourhood where, jobless, he had been involved in drugs, street fighting and petty crime. He described the impact of his five months of service as a European Service Volunteer in Belgium like this: 'I don't know where I would be now in my life if it hadn't been for this.' Had Michael ended up on the dole for years, in a drug rehabilitation programme or prison, would non-volunteering not have cost him and his society more than the volunteer assignment that changed his life?

Issues for further research

There are five issues for research and development that may be listed briefly:

- Analysis of the costs and benefits of voluntary service by the excluded could certainly help inform policy and programme decisions.

- Distributing information among relevant institutions and to the general public could assist in bringing this trend into the mainstream of voluntary service and of social action more generally.

- More understanding is needed of the 'what' and 'how' of volunteering by the semi-excluded compared with that of the gravely-excluded.

- The potential of partnerships focused on service volunteered by the excluded needs more exploration and experimentation. Such partnerships can be developed within and between governments, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, the private sector, and philanthropic bodies.

- The links between volunteering by the excluded and special institutions (educational, penal, medical) also need more systematic and pro-active examination.

A final word

Volunteering by the excluded does seem to offer a vast potential for enhancing social cohesion worldwide. It has been shown that it can benefit the individuals concerned and society at large. By addressing the issues just summarised, and others, policy makers and programme developers could help foster the realisation of that potential. To conclude, however, it is perhaps as well to recall that structural, informational, economic and other technical concerns should be balanced with a central focus on human beings.

> **Structural, informational, economic and other technical concerns should be balanced with a central focus on human beings**

Sister Brenda Walsh is involved with excluded people's volunteering under the Dominican Ministries at Racine, Wisconsin, USA. She replied as follows to the United Nations Volunteers survey on volunteering and social cohesion (Walsh 2000): 'I believe we need to rethink how we relate to the excluded and isolated. Can we become people of a second chance for those who need a fresh start? ... We need to see people with new eyes, not as useless loafers, cheaters, mentally ill, handicapped or old. Can we take people out of boxes and categories and allow them to be their best selves? ... Involving the weak and vulnerable can be a moral challenge and the litmus test of our society ... Volunteers can include those we have not looked upon as gifted people.'

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Notes

1   This chapter is based on a discussion note prepared for the United Nations Volunteers Programme. It draws on documentation available in hard copy and on-line, including the responses to a United Nations Volunteers call-for-contributions addressed to 2 000 institutions and 8 000 individuals worldwide, received from Africa, Asia-Pacific, Commonwealth of Independent States (ex USSR) and Middle East, Europe, Latin America, North America and eight United Nations (UN) system sources.

2   Voluntary participation in useful tasks by delinquents in institutions less repressive than prisons dates back at least to the Maxim Gorkii Colony, organised by Soviet pedagogue AS Makarenko to re-socialise post-Revolutionary 'rootless ones' (Makarenko translation ca. 1960). Today the half-way approach is also increasingly proposed to prison inmates.

Elisabeth Hoodless CBE is the Executive Director of Community Service Volunteers, the leading volunteer agency in the United Kingdom. She is responsible for 110 000 volunteers aged 3 to 106, who work nationwide helping children to read, supporting family practice patients, protecting trees and rivers, encouraging blood donors and mentoring young offenders to reduce crime. Seven hundred colleagues and a budget of over £30m underpin the operation. She also chairs Islington Youth Court. Internationally, she is president of Volonteurope (European network of volunteer agencies) and serves on the board of Innovations in Civic Participation.

Senior Volunteers
Solutions waiting to happen

ELISABETH HOODLESS

SUMMARY

The focus of this chapter is on senior volunteers who represent an expanding resource offering abundant skills, time and experience. Governments worldwide are seeking to harness this energy, but with mixed results.

The chapter argues that most of these 'baby boomers' are looking for challenging opportunities that will harness their expertise and availability. However, few will grasp the chance to push a hospital trolley for two hours every Thursday indefinitely. What is it, then, that will attract senior volunteers into service and make the most use of their available time, skills and experience? In this chapter Hoodless draws on her extensive experience to tease out some of the factors that make for their successful involvement.

Many senior volunteers will want to solve problems directly, often harnessing their friends and former work associates –

such as the former medical practitioners who run North Carolina's free health centres or those in the UK who offer a free legal advice and representation service for parents wanting to secure the legitimate rights of disabled children. A related factor is that senior volunteers value their autonomy; in the UK a 10 000 strong programme is entirely volunteer organised, employing fewer than ten staff to do the tasks volunteers do not enjoy. Cross-generational initiatives are also popular and promote community cohesion.

Introduction

Senior volunteer energy and availability is expanding worldwide as people enjoy longer, healthier lives. The number of older people, as a proportion of the population, is growing faster than that of the under-25s, and since 1988 there has been growing recognition of their potential as volunteers – partly because of the number of hours they are able to give after retiring and partly because of their skills, wisdom and energy. In other words, older people are no longer seen as a 'problem' but as a resource. However, enlisting this growing resource needs innovative new approaches if it is to attract and retain 21st century seniors.

Changing age profiles

The pyramids which represent the shape of populations in Australia, the USA and UK are rapidly turning downside up 'as the proportion of under 45s shrinks and their seniors' expand. For example, in Australia, the proportion of the population aged 55-64 is projected to increase 38 per cent and the 65+ group, by 20 per cent. As the under 45s decline, the sharpest fall is in the three youngest groups (Wilkinson & Bittman 2002).

The time seniors have left to live may give them a special reason to engage in civic and service work: it becomes their legacy

Assuming that the propensity to volunteer does not change, a substantial increase in available volunteers is approaching. Surveys reveal that between 1998 and 2021 every adult Australian will volunteer an extra two hours a year – in contrast with Robert Putnam's projections that volunteer availability would fall away (Putnam 2000). Australians born after the Second World War are volunteering more than those born during the war. The evidence is that the number of volunteers (Freedman 1999) and the length of their commitment are likely to continue to increase.

Figures for the US and UK show similar trends and amongst the 55+ age group, the availability of seniors is especially marked. Not only is the US rapidly approaching the point where 25 per cent of the population will be 65+, but retirees have more time available. 'Retirement frees up 25 hours a week for men and 18 for women' (Freedman 1999).

Growing research reveals another benefit in the positive impact of volunteering on seniors' health. For example, a University of Michigan study reported that civic engagement reduced participants' blood pressure and cholesterol levels, and lengthened their lives.

Seniors have lived more time, acquired more knowledge, experience and, in many instances, wisdom than other members of society. The time seniors have left to live may give them a special reason to engage in civic and service work: it becomes their legacy. According to the late psychologist Erik Erikson, the hallmark of successful later-life development can be 'I am what survives of me.'

Attracting seniors into service

The task of involving this growing number of volunteers is not simple. Many 20th century approaches will not attract 21st century seniors. Stuffing envelopes or collecting letters are unlikely to attract them from their alternative opportunities.

In the UK, a number of major agencies such as the Women's Royal Voluntary Service, St John's Ambulance, and National Association of Hospital and Community Friends report a rising age profile complicated by the non-availability of insurance for the 85+. Their challenge is to recruit from the newly retired 40 to 65 group.

Although older Americans serve less than any other group, spending half their time watching television, a Harris poll reveals that a majority of the older respondents lamented the loss of usefulness (Freedman 1999).

A poll by Civic Ventures of 803 Americans aged 50 to 75 found that the majority were keen to become more involved in civic activities. Sixty-five per cent viewed retirement as a new chapter in life and an opportunity to remain engaged. Only 25 per cent saw retirement as 'a well deserved rest.'

Many 'baby boomers' are now experiencing a time of 'mid-life crisis'. For many, especially men, it is the movement of a mindset from success to significance

In Canada, research by Stoffman and Foot (1997) predicts that the non-profit sector will see a surge, as volunteering tends to increase with age. 'This is also when, after years in the corporate world, you rediscover the idealistic side of your personality.'

Many 'baby boomers' are now experiencing a time of 'mid-life crisis'. For many, especially men, it is the movement of a mindset from success to significance. And as Martin Luther King put it, 'Everyone can be great for everyone can serve.'

Government efforts in the US and UK

Given the increase in the number of volunteers and the growth in the number of hours available, how have governments responded to this enormous new resource? The US was the first to respond with three initiatives launched under the umbrella of 'The National Senior Service Corps'. The Foster Grandparent Programme (1965) recruited older people to work with needy children; the Senior Companions Programme (1968) matched older volunteers to frail elderly people, enabling them to retain their independence in their own homes; and the Retired and Senior Volunteer Programme (1971) links retirees with assignments drawing on their skills. By 1997, 500 000 retired volunteers were involved nationwide. They were organised by paid professionals reporting locally and accountable to the Federal Government for the $163m expenditure entailed by the requirement to match funds from non-government sources.

More recently, in June 2003, the US Congress further supported the efforts of senior volunteers when it helpfully enacted legislation to protect retired and uninsured physicians, who offer voluntary services, from legal action by patients.

In addition, the US government's Peace Corps began to increase its number of senior volunteers. The unique blend of expertise and determination to 'leave a legacy' that senior volunteers bring to service has led to a high level of demand from overseas partners. Whilst few were involved when President Kennedy created the Peace Corps in 1961, some eight per cent, (over 500), were 50+ by the turn of the century.

In the UK in March 2000, Prime Minister Blair announced the launch of the 'National Experience Corps'. In England the government committed a budget of £17m over three years focused on recruiting one million volunteers in the 40-65 age group through a non-charitable company. A massive press and radio advertising campaign was launched in 2002, but most volunteers have been recruited by a network of 'animators' employed nationwide. Results so far have not yet met expectations.

The unique blend of expertise and determination to 'leave a legacy' that senior volunteers bring to service has led to a high level of demand from overseas partners

In 2000, the Scottish Executive contracted with Community Service Volunteers (CSV) to develop six pathfinder projects in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Stirling, Moray, West Dunbarton and South Lanarkshire. Volunteers responded swiftly to the chance to tutor school pupils, support the patients of family doctors, and to design and launch their own initiatives with support but not direction from paid staff.

The Welsh Assembly similarly drew on CSV's prior experience to recruit senior volunteers to enrich schools and health services and also to invest their skills, training and expertise in other ways. For example, a former chief executive of the Bank of Wales helped Blaenau Gwent Educational Authority to devise a strategy for excluded children, drawing on his project planning skills.

As far back as 1972, CSV in the UK recognised that the new generation of seniors was growing fast and that seniors were keen to engage 'in their own right' rather than as 'handmaidens' managed by a volunteer organiser from the government or not-for-profit sector. In response, it launched 'Action in Retirement' in 1972 in England's Northwest. Persuading a retired professor and the retired former leader of the YMCA to take a lead was not difficult. Working in a rural area, Cumbria, however, brought a different challenge; the readily recruited volunteers were accustomed to claiming expenses in their working lives and were not disposed to change in retirement. Hospitals and schools, for example, welcomed the help but had no budget line for expenses. After some years, the Joseph Rowntree Trust committed funds and the initiative was handed over to local management.

A model for senior service

In the USA, the Experience Corps was launched in 1996 by Public/Private Ventures and continues through Civic Ventures in Berkeley, California. With start up grants of $1.3m, the organisation aims to focus on ways to put 'baby boomer' retirees to work on community service efforts aimed at solving America's most pressing problems. Unlike federal programmes, it offers regular meetings for volunteers and a daily site to work on. It is open to all retired professionals, not just those who are poor. They must complete 40 hours of training and commit to 15 hours a week for a year. There is a monthly stipend of $150.

Marc Freedman (1999) outlines the four strands from which the model was developed:

- Ideas articulated in a concept paper by John W. Gardner, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) during the creation of both Medicare and the Administration on Ageing, which outlined the contours of a new approach designed to involve older Americans in central roles serving the community, while emphasising their ingenuity, leadership and self-governing potential;

- Gerontological research conducted at Johns Hopkins University;

- Recommendations emerging from a research project undertaken by Public/Private Ventures (P/PV), a non-profit organisation that develops innovative strategies to help disadvantaged children and youth; and

- Pressures for reform of the Corporation for National Service's (CNS) National Senior Service Corps (NSSC).

The model has shown a capacity 'to influence public policy and leverage funds at a variety of levels. The state of Ohio put $2 million into taking a reading-focused version of the project to eight cities in the state; and the Philadelphia school district is expanding the project to new clusters within its jurisdiction. In addition local foundations have shown a willingness to invest in expansion after the initial pilot: in Portland, for example, the Meyer Memorial Trust has put $150 000 into expanding Experience Corps, while the Hayden Foundation has joined the Pinkerton Foundation in supporting efforts in New York' (Freedman 1999).

After demonstrating successful initiatives in nine cities, further research is underway. 'Civic Ventures is conducting research to explore the potential for service by older adults and identify the most significant needs of children and potential partner organisations in specific geographical regions, including San Mateo County, CA and Kansas City, MO' writes Freedman (1999). 'This research project may be extended to an east coast city. The exploratory studies will culminate in reports which will be used to influence public policy and funding streams to support further activity that provides opportunities for community involvement by older people. Civic Ventures is also providing technical assistance to CNS on the development of its senior service programmes.'

'Civic Ventures is working to move away from establishing showcases and pilots, to cultivating the replication networks that could vastly expand the contribution of older adults to society in the coming decades, developing replication, technical assistance materials and other tools to help national and local organisations adapt the Experience Corps model to their own particular circumstances to better engage older people in the strengthening of communities across the country.'

Innovative approaches prepare for the 21st century

Some of the most successful projects engaging senior volunteers are those that have been self-initiated and specifically exploit the acquired skills and abilities of the volunteers. Such projects span significant social, economic and environmental areas and frequently involve the offering of professional services.

> **Some of the most successful projects engaging senior volunteers are those that have been self-initiated and specifically exploit the acquired skills and abilities of the volunteers**

Self-initiated projects

Triggered by an offer from retired headmistress Edith Kahn, the 'Action in Retirement' initiative was relaunched nationwide in 1988 as the Retired and Senior Volunteer Programme.

Its approach was mould-breaking: members were invited to join groups of ten or twelve volunteers in their community organised by one of their members. Groups hold regular meetings to identify opportunities and plan their programmes. As groups grow, they divide like amoeba. Currently almost 10 000 volunteers engage nationwide, sharing responsibilities and sometimes negotiating contracts to enable them to employ help to undertake the necessary but not always attractive administrative work.

Popular tasks include support to the patients of family doctors, help with budgeting, practical help with travel to appointments, sharing parenting skills or regular telephone calls to remind patients to take their medication. Group leaders negotiate tasks and then take responsibility for their execution, providing relief to the doctor and flexibility for the volunteers. Holidays or sickness can be covered by a colleague, a facility much valued by this generation of travellers. Moreover, this direct relationship has produced the kind of support that no job specification in a classic 'human resources' process could have envisaged, like the free massages volunteered by a retired physiotherapist.

No one is too old to participate. In one residential home, a bed-bound volunteer aged 105, organises her fellow residents in knitting jumpers for penguins through one of the CSV's Radio Action Desks with the BBC. Off the coast of Queensland, Australia, many penguins mortally poison themselves by licking off oil from spills. Fitted with a jumper, they cannot reach the oil and the wool absorbs it. Regular

audio tapes are exchanged reporting on progress; broadcast updates greatly encourage the volunteer knitters.

More than one third of volunteers serve in schools; many help with reading and numeracy. Others work in teams supporting teachers organising citizenship education. A number of former head teachers mentor newly appointed heads.

Not only is this approach very cost effective – Community Service Volunteers employs just eight back up staff for almost 10 000 volunteers – but it meets the volunteers' needs to refresh their social circle at a time when shrinkage is inevitable.

It also ensures that opportunities match volunteers' interests. For example, in the Isle of Wight, a group of keen gardeners (the UK's most popular leisure activity) identified the pain and grief suffered by older people unable to tend their plots. Their solution was not individualised help, far from it. They formed multi-skilled teams – grass and hedge cutters, weeders, planters and others – to liaise and converse with the resident.

The volunteers' aspirations to socialise and tackle real needs were met. The residents were delighted. Demand escalated; the need for heavier duty equipment became urgent. So the group organised a flower show to raise funds and now owns trucks, massive lawn mowers and mechanical hedge cutters. From the island's point of view, the flower show also increases tourism to the island, its major industry.

Similar enterprise was demonstrated by two seniors in Namur, Belgium, renowned for its handcrafted chocolates. On retirement, they volunteered their services to their town council, but no outlet for their energy could be identified. So they asked what the town's main problem was. 'Jobs for people with learning difficulties' came the reply. Their response was practical. Through their professional contacts in Japan, they negotiated a huge and profitable contract for regular supplies of chocolates. Then they visited all the chocolate makers to invite them to participate, on just one condition, that they employed two people with learning difficulties to help in their expansion. No public official or paid official could have achieved such an outcome, but the volunteers' mix of time, energy, skill and contacts delivered the results.

Cross-generational developments

In addition to the pioneering work with school pupils, a number of cross-generational developments have emerged. For example, in the UK, demonstrators camped in trees to prevent the extension of the runway to Manchester airport. At first they were dismissed as youthful enthusiasts. Later it emerged that their food was brought fresh and hot daily by a network of senior volunteers who also brought dry socks and did their laundry. When this partnership emerged, the authorities began to take matters seriously, for seniors are respected for their commitment to exercising their votes.

Professional services

In both the US and UK, groupings such as lawyers, accountants and doctors have organised 'pro bono' activities – avoiding the use of the word 'volunteer'. Médecins Sans Frontières fly round the globe giving two weeks annually to serve the poor. Accountants audit charities and sit on boards. Lawyers represent those unable to afford representation. Many continue to serve after retirement, drawing social support from their younger peers.

Others manage their own involvement, such as newly retired medical staff from England's Nottingham University medical school who often invest the first six months of their 'retirement' in the African hospital linked to their medical school. In North Carolina, USA, retired doctors have collaborated to operate a medical centre of such quality that those whose income makes them ineligible complain they are being excluded.

What impact do volunteers make?

In certain areas and activities the impact of senior volunteers is quantifiable and measurable, whereas other aspects of their contribution – e.g. to increased social cohesion and strengthened democratic practices – are no less significant, but not as easily measured.

For example, in supporting family doctors, volunteers reduce the number of prescriptions by 30 per cent and hospital appointments by 35 per cent (Pietroni et al. 1991: 83-90). No doctor likes to send a patient away empty-handed; the support of a volunteer is more highly valued than a hospital visit or a script. And volunteer involvement hugely increases the quality of life for hard pressed doctors.

Volunteers working in schools giving a child an hour a week can raise reading levels by a year in one term (Moseley 2000).

In California, volunteers supporting families where children are being abused have reduced the level of abuse by 24 per cent (Minicucci Associates 2002).

In Redding, California, crime is prevented by seniors patrolling on bicycles.

Less measurable is the impact on social capital or what Professor Putnam calls 'the principle of generalised reciprocity' (2000). When trust and making connections is extended to other people, we know sociability is transformed into a capacity for democratic organisation – critical to the sustaining and renovation of economic and political institutions. Networks, norms and trust built for one common purpose can be used for another. Volunteers meeting to plan future volunteering activities may also develop Manchester airport style initiatives.

Motivators and barriers

In Western Australia, a research project was set up with the particular aim of identifying the necessary factors for the successful enlistment and retention of senior 'baby boomers' in volunteer service. The authors observed that, 'No matter how

motivations or volunteers are categorised or labelled, it is almost a truism to state that there are nearly as many motivations and reasons for volunteering as there are individual volunteers' (Team Consultants 2001). They cited other researchers (Heartbeat Trends 2001) who describe 'categories of volunteers and their fulfilment needs: nurturers (emotional connection and self-worth through nurturing); socialisers (a sense of belonging through social interaction); and workers (self-worth through being useful and productive)' (*ibid*).

'Baby boomer' volunteers, are unlikely to commence or continue volunteer work for an organisation if the seven strategic focus areas are not in place

Judy Esmond and her fellow researchers, however, suggest a different perspective. Through their research they identified seven strategic focus areas captured by the acronym BOOMNET (see below). They found that whatever the initial motivations or needs of 'baby boomer' volunteers, they are unlikely to commence or continue volunteer work for an organisation if the seven strategic focus areas are not in place. They also observed that this finding is congruent with Marc Freedman's experience in the US Experience Corps.

Boomnet research developed an acronym to codify the factors which motivate and deflect volunteers:

B Boomers

O Organised

O Openness

M Meaningful

N Needs

E Education

T Time

B is for understanding the aspirations and characteristics of the 'Baby boomers' themselves (born between 1946 and 1963). 'Baby boomers' do see themselves becoming more involved in volunteering in the future, and have clear ideas about what they expect from their volunteering experiences.

O is for organised, professional and well-managed organisations. 'Baby boomers' will re-shape and re-define many organisations in the non-profit sector as they will not volunteer for, or continue with, organisations that cannot provide a professional service not only to their clients, but also to their volunteers.

O is for openness and supportive organisational environment where volunteers are truly valued, including evaluation and feedback; support; insurance; occupational health and safety; and the valuing of volunteers. In this regard, the key elements present in successful organisations were: (i) an in-built, planned and on-going process of consultation with and evaluation by their volunteers; and (ii) a real valuing and appreciation of volunteers by everyone in the organisation.

M is for meaningful, interesting, creative and challenging volunteering opportunities being offered to 'baby boomer' volunteers by organisations.

N is for meeting the needs of 'baby boomer' volunteers as they are now asking: 'Will this volunteering experience meet my own personal needs, not just the organisation's needs?'

E is for education rather than simply 'traditional' training, as 'baby boomers' are interested in education and learning opportunities that develop their own skills, benefiting themselves and the organisation. Successful organisations need to monitor and evaluate, in consultation with volunteers, whether the training is needed, effective, relevant and above all well presented.

T is for time, as 'baby boomers' feel they do not have enough time to volunteer. They are increasingly unlikely to commit for the long term. Organisations need to develop a range of volunteering opportunities that are short term, time specific and flexible.

… Depending on how organisations adapt, change and respond to the 'baby boomer' generation, some organisations will experience 'boomtime' as their volunteer numbers soar, and for others it will be 'gloomtime'! (Team Consultants 2001)

In most nations the not–for–profit sector is better able to adapt than the state sector. Nevertheless, as noted earlier, many state schools have grasped the opportunity to enrich their offer and calm their classrooms by enlisting senior volunteers.

Another issue is that some employees sometimes feel threatened, or expect to feel threatened by volunteers with more skills or experience than they have, whether in the state sector or not. However, careful preparation normally ensures that their fears are dispersed by the pleasure and support the volunteers bring.

Volunteer programmes in rural areas face particular challenges. For example, most volunteers prefer to walk to their service project, but in the countryside this may well not be possible and the alternatives are costly.

Conclusion

The number of older people is growing fast thanks to increases in longevity and many of them are keen to volunteer service. However, the post–1945 generation of 'baby boomers' is less willing to stuff envelopes and more likely to respond to opportunities that draw on their expertise. Research suggests that 'baby boomers are set to re-shape and re-define volunteering and organisations will need to adopt new approaches and strategies to attract and recruit these Baby Boomers to volunteer' (Team Consultants 2001).

Organisations will need to adopt new approaches and strategies to attract and recruit 'baby boomers' to volunteer

Seven strategic focus areas have been identified for organisations wishing to capture the 'baby boomer' volunteer. Not least amongst these is that seniors' tolerance of poor organisation is low and a significant proportion will prefer to organise their own participation. Setting the right conditions in place, however, will enable organisations to tap into an enormously valuable resource.

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PART TWO
Service and Development

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Theoretical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Civic Service

LEILA PATEL

SUMMARY

Civic service is increasingly being recognised as a significant social institution and an emerging social phenomenon in a context of global social, cultural, economic and political change. The concept 'civic service' refers broadly to voluntary service and citizen action to promote the public good, and extends beyond the family to local communities as well as national and cross-national arenas. Service operates under both governmental and non-governmental auspices and in different social, economic and political sectors of society.

The central argument in this chapter is that civic service is not a politically neutral activity, but rather draws on wider ideological, social, economic and political ideas. These ideas are part of a rich and complex political economy, which frames thinking and action about service, and what kind of

civic service is being promoted. The different traditions and orientations have implications for choices about service policy and the design, implementation and evaluation of service programmes.

The chapter explores questions about civic service in a new global context. Is there agreement about the vision and purposes of service, its principles and values, types of service, who serves and how the beneficiaries of service are perceived? The relations between the state, the voluntary sector and the market also shape the way in which civic service is institutionally organised.

The chapter concludes that there is no shared or common vision and purpose of civic service. It is more than likely that there are different and competing visions of civic service, depending on the beliefs, assumptions and interests of those who promote service. The choice about 'what kind of service?' is essentially a political one. Global debate and exchange of knowledge about civic service should take account of these choices and possible controversies.

Introduction

Civic service is increasingly recognised as a significant social institution and an emerging social phenomenon in a context of global social, cultural, economic and political change.

The idea of giving of oneself for the benefit of others is not a new phenomenon; it can be traced to different epochs and has been expressed in different forms over the ages. It has, however, entered the 'age of globalisation' in that many programmes are of an international nature.

The number of people willing to contribute their time and resources to service appears to be increasing in a changing global landscape. The international Red Cross/Red Crescent movement worldwide has 100 million people volunteering (Anheier and Salamon 1999). A recent study of civic service programmes in 52 countries cautiously estimated the number of servers to be in the region of 40 million and found that service operates under both governmental and non-governmental auspices and in different social, economic and political sectors of society (Global Service Institute 2002).

The concept of civic service refers broadly to voluntary service and citizen action to promote the public good, and extends beyond the family to local communities as well as national and cross-national arenas (Global Service Institute 2002). It is shaped by the history and service traditions of a society, its level of development, the way in which it governs itself, organises its economy and views the role of its citizens and its social institutions in meeting human needs and in promoting democracy.

> **Civic service is shaped by the history and service traditions of a society, its level of development, the way in which it governs itself, organises its economy and views the role of its citizens and its social institutions**

The central argument in this chapter is that civic service is not a politically neutral activity, but rather draws on wider ideological, social, economic and political ideas. These ideas are part of a rich and complex political economy, which frames thinking and action about service, and what kind of civic service is being promoted. These different traditions and orientations have implications for choices about service policy and the design, implementation and evaluation of service programmes.

The chapter provides a brief overview of civic service in a new global context. Theoretical approaches to civic service are identified and discussed as these powerfully shape the kind of civic service that is promoted or offered. Is there agreement about the vision and purposes of service, its principles and values, types of service, who serves and how the beneficiaries of service are perceived? The relations between the state, the voluntary sector and the market also shape the way in which civic service is institutionally organised.

The chapter concludes that there is no shared or common vision and purpose of civic service. It is more than likely that there are different and competing visions of civic service. Various permutations of civic service are also possible, depending

on the context. The different beliefs, assumptions and interests of those who promote service also influence the kind of service that is pursued. There is agreement with Westheimer and Kahne's view (2002) that the choice about what kind of service is carried out, is essentially a political one. Global debate, dialogue, and the exchange of knowledge and practice about civic service, should take account of these choices and possible controversies.

Civic service in a global context

A decline in traditional forms of civic participation through trade unions and political parties has been recorded in the present global context. This situation has given rise to the search for new forms of engagement with public issues. An explosion of civil society organisations in both the North and South continues to play a significant role in providing humanitarian support and in advocating human development, peace and the better representation of people in democratic institutions. Many countries have also emerged from authoritarian rule in which mass social movements played a leading role in bringing about social change. In these instances, civil society organisations are attempting to harness this spirit of participation to promote the collective good. Civic engagement through non-governmental organisations, civic service and volunteering is becoming more prominent as people search for new forms of participation, representation, collective action and self-expression. Civic service has also taken on a global form as non-governmental organisation (NGO) networks continue to mushroom and create opportunities for people to participate in international and transnational initiatives (UNDP 1999).

The character of civic service programmes has been shaped by particular country and regional contexts and varies in programme type, in rationale and purpose, institutional arrangements, resources and impacts. A recent global study (Global Service Institute 2002) on the prevalence of civic service, found that servers tended to be mainly youth, although large numbers of adults are also active in international service. Age was an important eligibility criterion, with language proficiency and skill profile featuring particularly prominently. Little was known about the beneficiaries of service and their perspectives on the impact of service on their social situations. Reasons that were cited for serving related to the personal growth and development of the server; for many, however, dual benefits to the individual and society were important reasons to serve.

Service is provided in a range of areas and service sectors such as human and social services, education, health, community development, employment/economic development, cultural integration, environmental protection, peace and human rights. Service also makes a contribution in other areas such as meeting basic needs, the personal growth of the servers, human and social capital development, citizenship, and the building of democracy.

Service programmes take many different forms, such as volunteerism, national youth service programmes, social and disaster relief, emergency services, advocacy, and community service initiatives, which are localised and provided by community-based organisations and village associations in developing contexts. Community service, particularly in the health sector, has been introduced in some countries as a requirement for professional registration (Global Service Institute 2002).

Service-learning is also emerging in educational settings, and is a form of experiential learning where service and learning goals are of equal weight. Depending on the orientation of the service-learning programmes, it could be considered to be an innovative instructional strategy, a character-building exercise or a means of promoting civic participation and responsibility. Some advocates of service-learning stress educational transformation and renewal of the social purpose of education in promoting democracy and social justice (Westheimer and Kahne 2002).

A distinguishing feature of civic service is its diversity across national, political, economic and cultural contexts, which has shaped the conceptualisation and character of service. The level of economic and social development of a country or region and its relationship to the global economy has a bearing on the approach to civic service. Formal civic service programmes are more prevalent and institutionalised in the industrialised North and tend to be positively associated with the status of the voluntary sector in these countries. The converse appears to be the case in developing contexts and emerging markets and democracies except in some developing countries such as Nigeria. The Nigerian National Youth Service is one of the oldest government-led national youth service programmes in Africa and has survived decades of military rule (Patel and Wilson 2002, Enemuo 2001).

The focus in developing countries tends to be on basic needs, humanitarian development issues, peace and human rights, participation and human development (in areas such as poverty and inequality), effecting improvements in health and education and responding to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Some of the development programmes incorporate citizen participation as a principle, and a means to promote institutional development and a democratic culture.

The political space created by democratic systems of governance tends to favour the growth and sustainability of civic service efforts. In societies where there is a large and burgeoning voluntary sector, civil society tends to be the main driver of service. National service programmes, which are government sponsored, tend to be more concerned with promoting national unity, patriotism and in addressing the shortage of human resource capacity in developing contexts. The latter types of programme are more vulnerable to political manipulation and patronage by political elites, and are more likely to be uncritical of the status quo (Patel and Wilson 2002). A case study of civic

> **The political space created by democratic systems of governance tends to favour the growth and sustainability of civic service efforts**

service in Nepal shows that where civic service activities became more oriented to social change and a vehicle for the expression of discontent, the service was closed (Yadama and Messerschmidt 2002).

International service is becoming more prevalent with a majority of servers coming from the North and performing service in the developing world (GSI 2002), while foreign aid often funds service programmes in developing countries. Approximately US$7 billion in aid flowed to developing countries through international NGOs leading to the expansion of NGO activities in the South (UNDP 2002). What is the impact of this unequal relationship on service in developing countries? What are the dynamics of the relations between the servers and the beneficiaries? How do servers and beneficiaries in developing contexts view international service?

This brief overview provides a backdrop to civic service as a social phenomenon in a context where political, economic, social and cultural relations have taken on a global dimension which has significant consequences for individuals' local experiences and everyday lives.

Theoretical approaches to civic service

The central thrust of this chapter is that political, ideological, economic, social and

Political, ideological, economic, social and cultural beliefs have a direct bearing on how civic service is conceptualised

cultural beliefs have a direct bearing on how civic service is conceptualised. The dominant theoretical approaches to social policy are philanthropy and institutionalism, and conservative, critical and social development perspectives (Midgley et al 2000, Midgley 1995). In the following section, these different approaches to social policy are discussed with reference to their implications for the kind of civic service envisaged.

Social philanthropy

Through the ages private citizens have met human needs through encouraging the provision of private goods and services to the needy. Philanthropy is often prescribed by religious beliefs.

The social philanthropy approach became firmly established in Europe and North America in the 19th century, which involved alms-giving to the poor, social relief, and taking care of the needy. During the colonial era, Christian philanthropy, furthered by missionary activities, formed part of organised philanthropy in countries that were under colonial rule. This approach to social provision was implemented in the colonies, and whilst these were of humanitarian value, they also undermined indigenous and traditional systems of giving and caring.

In contemporary times, voluntary philanthropic organisations constitute a substantial sector in the overall system of meeting needs and have become more secular in their approach. The goals of philanthropy are to meet human and social

needs and to promote the growth and development of the server. Philanthropic values such as charitable giving to the poor and humanitarianism are also emphasised. Civic service programs delivered by philanthropic organisations are likely to be remedial, providing social relief and humanitarian aid, and may view the beneficiaries of service as passive receivers of goods and services. Eligibility is often based on selective access to services and benefits, based on religious affiliation or the notion of the 'worthy' poor.

Social philanthropy exists in different development contexts and in different ideological systems, which may either encourage or inhibit its development. Philanthropic organisations rely largely on private donations and support from governments. Some organisations operate transnationally and are active in international philanthropy. Whilst the social philanthropy approach is traditionally associated with piecemeal and ameliorative interventions, social reformers operating within this framework have played a significant role in promoting social wellbeing.

Institutional approaches

Progressive liberalism and social democratic ideology have inspired institutional approaches to social policy. Institutionalists are of the view that government agencies are the best deliverers of social policies and that access to social provision and social rights should be institutionalised through legislation, fiscal measures, statutory regulations and comprehensive services which provide for universal coverage and access to services and benefits.

Welfare states are perceived to mediate the negative effects of market failure in capitalist societies. As a result of the institutionalisation of services and benefits, social democratic regimes are able to retain their commitment to social goals. For institutional theorists, social rights are as important as civil and political rights. Values of altruism, social solidarity and collectivism underpin institutional thinking.

Social democratic regimes are characterised by extensive state spending and a weak non-profit sector which has been displaced by the strong service delivery role of the state. In spite of this, non-profit organisations do remain active, but within a state-dominated mixed economy of social welfare.

Civic service programs in these types of political and social systems would tend to be more institutionalised in the form of public policy and the regulation of such activities. For example, tax incentives and credits may exist to encourage civic service as an expression of altruism, a moral imperative of society and a public benefit. Programmes are also likely to be government driven, working in collaboration with non-governmental organisations. Voluntary service activities may be encouraged as an expression of collectivism, personal growth of the server, and as a way of promoting social cohesion and stability. Social democratic

> **Social democratic regimes are characterised by extensive state spending and a weak non-profit sector which has been displaced by the strong service delivery role of the state**

governments have supported international assistance in the form of humanitarian aid and in furthering human rights and peace initiatives. These programmes are also supported to promote social democratic ideas as solutions to society's ills.

Institutional approaches have been the subject of much contestation in the late twentieth century, resulting in the restructuring and curtailment of some civic service programs. The impact of institutional approaches on civic service in the developing world appears to be limited due to the weakness of the state and democratic institutions, civil conflict, fiscal constraints caused by the debt trap, and the increasing marginalisation of poor countries and some regions in the global economy. Foreign donor aid is a significant contributor to human development and service activities in less industrial contexts and emerging democracies.

Conservative approaches

Conservative or neo-liberal approaches to social policy have their origins in the laissez-faire economics of Adam Smith in the 18th century and Milton Freedman in the 20th century. In the post-World War II years, institutionalist ideas held sway but were later ideologically challenged by neo-liberal approaches advocated by Reaganism and Thatcherism in the 1980s.

The resurgence of free market ideas and less government involvement in social welfare is strongly associated with conservative or neo-liberal ideas in the global era which is characterised by international economic integration. Conservatives hold the view that governments should leave economies alone, as this is the best way of creating wealth and development. To address social problems, they also argue for limited government intervention in human affairs, free markets, economic liberalisation and privatisation, individual responsibility for wellbeing, and the creation of mediating structures between those in need and governments.

Conservative supporters of civic service may be opposed to government involvement in service as it is considered to be "an extension of big government into realms previously reserved for private non-profit." (Perry 2002) Service activities from this point of view tend to support local, community-based and community-run programmes as the best vehicles for addressing social problems. Mediating institutions also help to cushion the pressure on governments from grassroots groups. Civic service programmes from a conservative perspective tend to emphasise strong moral or religious principles, promote loyalty to the dominant ideology and target the 'worthy poor', providing short-term crisis-based assistance delivered by non-governmental organisations. The ethos of the programmes is oriented more to individual change than social change.

Critical approaches

Critical approaches are associated with new left, feminist, neo-Marxist and anti-discriminatory perspectives on social policy. They emerged from a critique of positivism and denote an analysis of capitalist change and how its dominant

institutions serve the interests of profit and an oppressive class. Critical analysts attempt to uncover the contradictions between capitalist notions of equality and race, class, gender and other forms of social discrimination. Understanding power relations in order to create more egalitarian societies through the promotion of social and economic justice, is central to critical ideas. Public policy discourse tends to focus on social reformist community perspectives on social change, civil and human rights, the oppressive elements of the state and its bureaucracies, and the power of professionals and experts in representing their interests.

> **Beneficiaries are not considered to be passive receivers of service but are viewed as active participants in their own emancipation**

Civic service programmes operating within a social justice paradigm are likely to be advocacy and issue oriented, campaigning for social change, and forming local, national and global coalitions to effect change. Participation in social movements for empowerment, emancipation and liberation could also be considered to be forms of civic service. Beneficiaries are not considered to be passive receivers of service but are viewed as active participants in their own emancipation. In some countries undergoing fundamental transformation, civic service programme goals have also had a strong emphasis on sectoral transformation, such as renewal of educational, health care and human services.

Civic service policies and programmes from a social development perspective would set goals which are likely to lead to tangible improvements in people's lives and contribute to social and economic development. The principles informing the programmes would be geared to promoting participation in development efforts, empowerment of the poor through productive employment, building the assets of the poor and strengthening local institutions. Programmes would also be of a cross-cutting nature focusing on effecting improvements in community and preventative health care, basic education, local economic and infrastructure development among others. It is essentially a pluralist approach focusing on strong government action and partnership between individuals, groups, communities, civil society and the private sector. Servers and beneficiaries are considered to be partners and development change agents working at local, national and international levels.

Social development

The social development approach to social policy was first introduced by the United Nations to address human development needs in the world's poorest nations following independence from colonial rule in the 1960s. In the late 20th century, the social development approach re-emerged as a response to unequal and distorted development, and was endorsed by the United Nations World Summit for Social Development in 1995 (United Nations 1995).

The proponents of social development argue that investments in social programmes that enhance people's welfare through their participation in the productive economy are the most effective ways of enhancing people's welfare and

achieving economic development. Social development is essentially a pluralist approach, focusing on strong government action and partnership between individuals, groups, communities, civil society and the private sector. Government action also includes protective and regulatory functions, including the removal of barriers to the achievement of equity and social advancement of individuals and groups. It is essentially a people–centred approach to development, promoting citizen participation and strengthening the voice of poor people in decision–making, and in the building of democratic and accountable institutions. Democratic participation is considered integral to the achievement of human development and is an end in itself.

Table summarises the basic tenets of the approaches and the character of the different kinds of civic service programmes.

TABLE 1   What kind of civic service?

Approaches to civic service					
Character of civic service	**Philanthropy**	**Institutional**	**Conservative/ neo-liberal**	**Social justice**	**Social development**
Vision	Civic service is rendered by private citizens based on religious prescriptions, cultural traditions, secular philosophy.	Civic service is part of a comprehensive system of social services; market failure is considered to be the cause of declining social conditions; government-dominant model.	Free-market in solutions advocated to overcome government failure needs; limited government intervention; low levels of spending on civic service; voluntary sector is a mediating structure between state and people.	Critical analysis of class inequality and social divisions associated with social stratification and social exclusion.	Pro-poor change; challenges unequal and distorted economic, social and political development nationally, regionally and globally; proactive involvement of governments in developmentally-oriented civic service.
Goals	Personal growth of server; meeting social needs.	Personal growth of server; social goals.	Individual change	Social and economic justice; democratisation, and transformation of systems and institutions.	Promote social and economic development; participation of socially excluded in development efforts; achieve tangible improve-ments in the quality of life of the people.
Principles	Support for the needy.	Citizen rights, social solidarity, altruism, social justice, societal cohesion.	Religious, moral values, state loyalty, individual responsibility for meeting needs.	Social justice, social and human rights; empowerment, equality, distributive and liberation values.	Social and economic justice; empowerment; collective action to promote public benefit, distributive and liberatory values.

Approaches to civic service					
Character of civic service	**Philanthropy**	**Institutional**	**Conservative/ neo-liberal**	**Social justice**	**Social development**
Programme type	Predominantly remedial, some focus on social reform; addresses diverse humanitarian needs.	Meeting basic needs; social reform; national and international volunteerism, international humanitarian aid.	Remedial; short-term crisis and emergency actions; localised community-based activities.	Social and community action to challenge social discrimination and marginalisation; support for social movements to promote access, equality, empowerment of the excluded from political processes; liberatory civic service.	Activities connected with human, social, economic and community development; building assets of the poor; local economic development; promote productive employment of the socially excluded; strengthen social capital formation; institutional development and promotion of good governance.
Access	Selective access to services.	Universal access to enhance quality of life.	Selective and targeted programmes at deserving poor.	Universal access to service benefits is advocated, but with a special focus on the poor and socially excluded.	Targeted interventions at socially excluded groups.
Auspices	Service is informal or formally organised by philanthropic organisations; mainly independent or part of plurality of service actors.	Weak civil society, space exists for different service actors, e.g. NGOs, philanthropy; service is formal and institutionalised through legislation, fiscal and taxation measures; significant state spending on service.	Civic service is part of voluntary sector dominant model.	Independent of state; active in organisations outside the state; associated with alternative institutions.	Service is part of a pluralist system - public, private and civil associated with society government facilitates and supports civic service.

Approaches to civic service					
Character of civic service	**Philanthropy**	**Institutional**	**Conservative/ neo-liberal**	**Social justice**	**Social development**
View of servers and beneficiaries	Paternalist view of beneficiaries, but may be participatory if programmes are oriented to social reform.	Humanitarian view; may perceive beneficiaries as passive receivers of aid.	Service builds the character of the servers; paternalist view of beneficiaries.	Both are change agents.	Servers are active participants in development; change agents.
Local and global activities	Local, national, international, transnational focus.	Whilst a local focus exists, there is significant international action.	Local action geared to promote individual responsibility; international and transnational focus could be humanitarian; could also be oriented to strengthen the influence of conservative advocates of service.	Local, national, international, transnational in focus.	Local, national, regional and global focus on human and social development; active involvement of international agencies.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that the basic theoretical, political and ideological conceptions of dominant social policy shape the character of civic service. Different approaches to civic service have been identified: philanthropic, institutional, conservative/neo-liberal, social justice and social development. These orientations to civic service frame the character of civic service as a social phenomenon and an emerging societal institution in the global era.

Civic service policies and programmes vary in their visions, principles, goals, and service types. There are also differences in how servers and beneficiaries are perceived, and what the relations between civic service programmes, the state and the voluntary sector are likely to be. Whilst approaches are likely to overlap, different permutations of civic service are possible in different societal contexts and under different regime types (Salamon and Anheier

> **Civic service policies and programmes vary in how servers and beneficiaries are perceived, and what the relations between civic service programmes, the state and the voluntary sector are likely to be**

1998). The distinctions, however, are made for analytical purposes.

The vision of civic service in a country is integrally tied to the political and ideological ideas, the assumptions and beliefs about how a society should meet human needs and the politics and interests of different groups who promote service. Whilst there may be a dominant vision, it is also likely that there are different subordinate visions. On-going contestation of ideas is envisaged between different actors about principles and purposes, and about relations between the state, the market and the voluntary sector.

For instance, some proponents of civic service may approach it from a conservative/neo-liberal perspective. Service is considered to be remedial, oriented to individual change, is likely to be narrowly constructed and conservative in its political outlook. For them, globalisation has many benefits in terms of increasing wealth and prosperity through the spread of free markets and liberal democracy, the exchange of knowledge and the promotion of a shared global culture, and through peaceful exchange and stability. Civic service programmes are likely to be part of non-governmental organisations contracted by government to deliver decentralised services with a strong emphasis on localism.

However, proponents of a social justice approach are likely to be more critical of the risks of global capitalism for the poor and marginalised, and see rising tensions as threatening political and social stability. Social justice advocates would also point to the power of the rich and powerful nations evidenced in their control of global governance, financial institutions, trade and investment policies, and foreign aid, and point to how these threaten human security. From this perspective, civic service actors may align themselves with global social movements for change. They may participate actively in online campaigns conducted by NGOs around the world through email and media networks, supporting associations and struggles across borders, of people unknown to them.

The decision as to what kind of service is offered is a profoundly political and ideological one. It is a question that cannot be ignored by the advocates of civic service globally.

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Chapter 8

University-Based Community Service, Foreign Debt Relief and Sustainable Development

VÍCTOR ARREDONDO ÁLVAREZ

SUMMARY

This chapter argues that there is a need to transform the payment of foreign debt of poor and developing countries in such a manner as to create the conditions for sustainable development, and that universities have a role to play in the design and implementation of development programmes from a community service perspective. This is shown through the example of the project SUSTENTA designed by the Universidad Veracruzana.

Voluntary community service has proven to be an effective tool to build the social awareness and solidarity that are the bases of civic behaviour. Community service has also demonstrated its capacity to create effective social

infrastructure, taking costs into account, to enhance and diversify local capacities, and to strengthen communities' self-reliance and cohesion.

Universities are among the institutions capable of providing fundamental structures for voluntary community service with an innovative approach, adequate provision of technical assistance, and constructive co-ordination between higher education institutions and communities. Many academic institutions are in a position to implement specific projects, such as SUSTENTA, because they can provide human and technological infrastructure as well as the operational organisation that allows for the social distribution of knowledge.

The success of universities' involvement in development projects depends on their capacity to attract the participation of the professoriate and the student body, as well as on their access to financial resources. The participation of students and academics might be guaranteed by assigning academic credits to students' participation in these programmes and seeing teachers' involvement as part of their job.

Introduction

The world today faces an acute developmental paradox. Never before has the human race attained such prodigious economic development and scientific and technological advances. Yet this has neither bridged the widening gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' nor has it stopped environmental degradation. Representatives of multilateral global institutions, advocacy groups and NGOs have raised public awareness of this issue at different international forums. The broad consensus is that new strategies are urgently needed to fund development.

Until recently, most negotiations and proposals to fund development were focused on turning the payment of the foreign debt into a part of public expenditure without looking at other options that might also help to accelerate development. Most initiatives were unable to guarantee:

- internal consistency in the strategies for distributive growth;

- adequate capacity development processes, technology transfers and locally–based organisation to achieve sustainability;

- appropriate monitoring and evaluation systems;

- a clear accountability focus in the efficient and transparent management of projects;

- structural reforms at national as well as at local level; and

- bottom–up implementation strategies based on community consensus (United Nations 2002).

The United Nations Financing for Development conference, that took place in 2002 in Monterrey, Mexico, identified a series of interrelated factors necessary to achieve sustainable development. These included greater mobilisation of national resources, an increase in the flow of private capital, and a positive balance of trade; a new long–term international legal framework; and an increase in financial resources.

Taking as its point of departure the need for a holistic and decisive approach to development, this chapter argues two main points. On the one hand, it proposes the implementation of a multilateral policy of converting the debt of poor and developing countries into development funds that would allocate resources to local communities. These development funds, in turn, would increase the local capacities and physical assets of communities. On the other hand, this chapter argues that the most effective

The most effective implementation of community–based programmes for sustainable development is the utilisation of volunteer community service structures. Among these community service structures, university–based projects are particularly useful

implementation of community-based programmes for sustainable development is the utilisation of volunteer community service structures. Among these community service structures, university-based projects are particularly useful. This chapter uses the case of SUSTENTA, a programme based at the Universidad Veracruzana (University of Veracruz) in Mexico, to show that when public and private sectors and NGOs plan their initiatives jointly and co-ordinate them adequately, university-based community service becomes an effective tool for the distribution of social knowledge and the strengthening of local capacity to achieve sustainable development.

The rest of the chapter is organised into four sections. The first describes how international financial institutions have changed their approach to the relief of foreign debt and discusses the role of local communities in a new approach to debt relief. The second deals with the limitations of external interventions in development programmes and advances community service as a feasible alternative. The third explores the role of universities as development mediators, converting foreign debt into economic resources through community service programmes. The last section takes the case of the Universidad Veracruzana to explore the potential benefits of this approach to the implementation of development programmes.

Foreign debt relief: Changing perspectives and methodologies

Foreign debt has a strangling effect on the economies of poor and developing countries. In 1999, for every dollar in fresh loans that they received, these countries paid 83 cents towards old debts. In Sub-Saharan Africa the servicing of debt takes up more than 250 per cent of annual goods and services exports. And actual payments of debt take up on average a quarter of the income derived from exports in all indebted countries (African Policy Information Centre 1999).

In this context, and at the dawn of the new millennium, influential voices have pointed out the need for different approaches. New approaches recommend reducing the debt and bringing about economic relief to poor, developing and highly indebted countries, and helping them invest their efforts more productively than in simply paying the debt (IMF 1989, Administrative Board of the United States Catholic Conference 1999). These views, together with the work of advocacy groups, have brought about a paradigm shift in the understanding of foreign debt and funding for development. The shift implied a halt to seeing debt as a problem of debtors only. On the contrary, debt has to be understood as a problem that affects international financial institutions, governments, private banks and debtors equally.

Other important changes followed this paradigm shift. These were the possibility of transforming relief mechanisms into development funds devoted to poverty reduction, community development, strengthening of local capacity and adequate use of environmental resources.

Nevertheless, the real economic impact of this paradigm change, as well as the strategies that should accompany it, are still unclear. Simply reducing the debt in

order to free resources for public expenditure does not seem enough to create development. Debt reduction needs to be combined with action on other interrelated elements already identified by multilateral organisations. The UN Financing for Development conference agreed on the necessary conditions to encourage equitable and sustainable development. These conditions are:

- The implementation of sound internal policies, appropriate public and private finances; an adequate fiscal system; and responsible social expenditure in order to achieve a greater mobilisation of internal resources.

- The improvement of the norms for accounting and auditing, the improvement of business management, the development of adequate services and infrastructure to attract greater foreign investment and flow of private capital.

- Greater international trade and the lifting of protectionist barriers and tariffs, including the simplification of customs systems.

- Greater multilateral co-operation to initiate development, face the humanitarian crisis, maintain the provision of global public goods, and to afford an accelerated recovery from financial emergencies.

- The establishment of a political-economic, financial and commercial long-term framework to promote development.

- The availability of major financial resources through industrialised countries' donations to the Official Assistance for Development; revenue from an international taxation mechanism; establishment of alternative mechanisms of debt relief; implementation of a more effective policy to support development (United Nations, 2000 and 2002).

More and better planning, the co-ordination of initiatives and effective operational mechanisms, which avoid repeating mistakes and guarantee the cost-effectiveness of development programmes, are among the necessary conditions to effectively fight poverty. A key issue in this regard is how to increase the number of goods and the actual capacities distributed in local communities (Sherraden 2001). In other words, increased financial resources, including those provided by debt relief mechanisms, will only augment the chances of sustainable development if they go hand in hand with structural reforms, and if they are based on permanent and systematic actions geared to promote bottom-up community self-reliance and increase communities' sense of themselves, their capabilities and local resources.

Increased financial resources will only augment the chances of sustainable development if they go hand in hand with structural reforms, and if they are based on permanent and systematic actions geared to promote bottom-up community self-reliance

Voluntary community service: An alternative for sustainable development

Externally funded government development programmes have not produced profound economic changes or significantly lasting successes. Reasons for the apparent failure are that neither governments nor multilateral organisations have focused on the development of local capacity. They have provided neither materials nor temporary resources, nor have they established systems to monitor and evaluate programme progress.

A way to correct these past mistakes was to seek help from external intermediate agencies that took over the responsibility for development programmes. However, the results of these experiences were varied. An analysis of outcomes points to two areas of weakness in the programme implementation of external agencies: lack of local mediation and an inability to extrapolate strategies.

In terms of mediation, it has become clear that only those organisations that focused on enhancement and development of local capacity for action, and which have solved the issue of the resistance of communities to external or foreign participation in their lives, achieved promising results (Arredondo 1996). Taking this into account, it is possible to argue that the success of development programmes depends on the readiness of external agencies to mediate and facilitate situations at local level. The second area of weakness in the work of external agencies is that they cannot extrapolate or transfer their strategies to other communities without incurring major costs in international assistance.

An alternative model in which the work of the communities is supported by local facilitators seems more successful. The effectiveness of this model derives from the permanent presence of teams of facilitators made up of community members and well-trained local or regional volunteers. This model has two advantages. On the one hand, it keeps the community's sense of itself, and on the other, it has a multiplier effect in relation to neighbouring communities.

Volunteer community service is the free involvement of regional or local facilitators in a development project

Volunteer community service is the free involvement of regional or local facilitators in a development project. This methodology not only produces important results for community development, but it can also be a learning experience for its participants and a way to stimulate awareness of and solidarity with social progress, environmental issues and self-reliance (Ford Foundation 1999, McBride Benitez & Sherraden 2003).

The physical closeness of local volunteers to the areas where these projects take place is an added advantage of their involvement, since there is no need to make large investments in infrastructure. Most community services require well-trained practitioners settled in remote areas. They require the use of specialised equipment and quality materials, plus well-trained personnel responsible for the preparation, implementation and oversight of the programme. The kind of personnel required in both the actual working areas and the administrative

sites implies investment in infrastructure and project management costs. These characteristics make the implementation of programmes with external personnel in remote areas financially non-viable in most countries. Thus economic viability is an added advantage of the programmes based on volunteer community service.

To sum up, the participation of local or regional youth and adult volunteers is crucial to improve the effectiveness of programmes, to increase the possibility of transference to neighbouring communities, and to improve cost-effectiveness. Volunteer work not only diminishes project management costs, but can also increase distributed and sustainable economic growth as well as citizenship awareness, and communities' sense of themselves and self-reliance.

Universities as development mediators

Higher education institutions are in a strategic position to take responsibility for development programmes at a local level. They are able to transfer relevant knowledge and effective technologies for community development. Academic institutions can act as 'links and intelligent mediators' in the cultural and social adaptation of proven international solutions for development.

Universities in developing countries, through close co-operation with other agencies and institutions, may become responsible for the co-ordination and putting into operation of successful community service programmes. Contemporary universities have research, links and distributed capacity as well as a significant number of potential volunteer workers. Some institutions also have computing and telecommunications infrastructure, as well as external relations departments that can co-ordinate technology transfer programmes, communities' access to knowledge, and training modules for volunteer workers that are supported by leading agencies and world expertise (Universidad Veracruzana 2002).

> **Higher education institutions are in a strategic position to take responsibility for development programmes at a local level. Academic institutions can act as 'links and intelligent mediators' in the cultural and social adaptation of proven international solutions for development**

The success of universities' involvement in development projects depends on their capacity to attract the participation of the professoriate and the student body as well as on their access to financial resources. The participation of students and academics might be guaranteed by assigning academic credits to students' participation in these programmes and seeing the involvement of teachers as part of their job. Finally, the actual learning that takes place in these programmes as well as the desire to make a social contribution, are important factors in attracting the participation of the academic community.

Besides participation, these programmes mainly need financial resources that allow for increasing operations and the improvement of both equipment and logistics at community level. Thus, allocating additional funds to these programmes, whether they be private, public, non-government, bilateral or multilateral, make the universities of developing countries good partners to operate poverty reduction programmes, to strengthen locally distributed capacity, and to improve the quality of life in deprived communities in their areas.

Universities should have to meet a series of conditions to be eligible for funds from foreign debt relief mechanisms. Amongst others, these should be demonstrable experience of external services, the adoption of cost–effectiveness analysis and the implementation of feasibility studies and impact evaluation.

The implementation of a multilateral conversion of foreign debt into economic resources would increase the number of community service programmes and therefore would open up opportunities for the participation of universities at international level

The potential of university participation in development programmes suggests the need to adopt a series of policies to regulate this participation at an international level. The implementation of a multilateral conversion of foreign debt into economic resources would increase the number of community service programmes, and therefore would open up opportunities for the participation of universities in these programmes at international level. Universities in developing countries could be encouraged into collaborative ventures with leading international academic institutions, philanthropic and multilateral projects, to act as interfaces in technology transfer, as providers of training, and as local facilitators and intermediaries, with their work having a multiplier effect in the expansion of these programmes (Arredondo 1999, 2001a).

The conversion of bilateral debt (swaps) can be implemented through the following methodology:

- Development of a programme to get approval of debt swap;

- Identification of hard currency resources to buy debt via donors;

- Purchase or donation of debt;

- Confirmation of the eligibility of the debt by the commercial and central banks;

- Conversion of the external debts into internal debts payable in local currency; and

- Provision of funds to finance the local development costs (Kaiser & Lambert 1996).

Previous experience of conversion of bilateral debt for development gives rise to some recommendations. Firstly, NGO involvement with both the debtor and the

creditor is necessary from the beginning of the programme. Secondly, once a package of specific university-based community service projects is defined, one NGO or its representative has to submit a Debt Conversion Application to the creditor agency with the support of the respective government office and of an international professional consultant, such as New York Bay. Thirdly, as the number of university-based community services increases, a more specialised international structure and procedure may have to be implemented to support these initiatives. Finally, financial resources should preferably be used to support travel and subsistence expenses of volunteers and personnel, as well as for scholarships, instruction packages and equipment.

University-based community service for sustainable development: A case study

The Universidad Veracruzana is one of the six largest public universities in Mexico. It is a state university system with a population of 48 000 students distributed among 13 cities throughout the state of Veracruz. Five years ago, the university started a process of reform of its traditional academic paradigm, based upon teaching, to one focused on experiential learning. As part of this process it has been adapting the newest technologies in telecommunications and computing as tools to incorporate new learning environments and increase educational opportunities. In 2001 the university redefined its mission as becoming an 'agency for social distribution of knowledge'.

This alternative institutional paradigm implies offering flexible educational opportunities for non-traditional students, i.e. those outside the formal university curricula. In other words, the university aims to provide access to individuals from rural and deprived urban areas, as well as to students enrolling for municipal self-management purposes.

The Universidad Veracruzana makes intensive use of communication technologies and several pedagogical models, such as placement programmes and multi-service community centres, in order to achieve its new goals. Apart from formal projects in basic and applied research conducted in laboratories and in the field, the university also carries out research for small and medium-sized entrepreneurs with special emphasis on farmers, family businesses and collective productive systems in small communities, as well as on environmentally sound management initiatives. Certain labour-intensive industries, such as sugar and coffee, other cash crops and cattle farming, are subject to special institutional attention in collaboration with the state and federal government.

In the past four years the Universidad Veracruzana has received national and international awards each year for its work in extension services (from, among others, the Ford Foundation, the Kellogg Foundation, Mexico´s National Association of Universities, and Mexico's Ministry of Social Development). The figures clearly reflect the range of the university's experience in this area. In the past few years the

institution has been involved in 660 successful extension projects which involved 1 535 faculty members and the participation of 17 766 volunteer students organised in the Student Community Service Brigades. In 2002, the total annual university budget allocated to community services amounted to US$850 000.

These initiatives are subject to monitoring and evaluation, and the university has put particular effort into the design and implementation of tools for systematic evaluation. The indicators used in formative and summative evaluations are: demographic composition and migration flows; health and nutrition indices; degrees of environmental deterioration and restoration; amount, type and percentage of the population's access to basic public infrastructure and services; women's participation and leadership in community service programmes; family distribution according to infrastructure and assets; social mobility of community leaders and youth; percentages of types of employment, self-employment and community-related jobs; and types and level of community self-governance and self-reliance.

Evaluation research has shown various beneficial effects of the university's extension work. However, the most significant evidence of success is the acceptance of and trust in the university presence that local communities show. In several villages the university is the only organisation with which local communities are prepared to collaborate, through the provision of land, materials and labour to build extension centres for staff and students. Nevertheless, the Universidad Veracruzana is aware of the need for more sophisticated and systematic cost-effectiveness analysis for each type of extension service, as well as more precise short- and long-term impact indicators.

> **In several villages the university is the only organisation with which local communities are prepared to collaborate, through the provision of land, materials and labour, to build extension centres for staff and students**

A further consideration in relation to the implementation of these programmes is the securing of funds to guarantee the permanent operation of the community extension services centres. One way to deal with this is to enter into different types of collaborative ventures.

All the experience gathered by the Universidad Veracruzana in the field of community service has crystallised in an ambitious and innovative pilot initiative, SUSTENTA, being launched during 2003 in 54 municipalities and communities of the State of Veracruz. In order to guarantee the allocation of technical assistance resources for this programme, the university entered into negotiation with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) earlier in 2003. In addition, it has signed co-ordination and financing agreements with several federal and state government offices, and it is constantly applying for funds from private capital as well as from national and international donors.

The financial resources allocated to SUSTENTA include the costs of the long-term support of university staff and volunteer students to the communities. Among

the projects that constitute SUSTENTA are the provision of technical assistance for feasible productive projects and new small community businesses, the enhancement of municipal self-management, the transfer and appropriation of new technologies for lifelong learning, and direct access to and networking within regional and global markets. For both the implementation and sustainability of these projects, it is necessary to identify alternative sources of funding in order to build up basic services infrastructure, and to guarantee access to private investment and micro-lending to promote environmentally sound, productive and entrepreneurial ventures.

The design and implementation of SUSTENTA is the responsibility of a Multidisciplinary Institutional Task Force composed of top university-based researchers in regional and local development, programme validation and impact evaluation, and of experts in sustainable community development, municipal self-management, telecommunications, databases, computer technology, virtual education and instructional design. The actual presence of university personnel and students in the programme can be dramatically expanded, depending on available resources and the arrival of funding from foreign debt relief mechanisms and other sources.

The expected outcome of this programme is that municipalities and small communities – through a comprehensive process of consensus, local organisation, training and technological transfer – develop their own local capabilities and strengths for sustainable development.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that there is a need to transform the payment of the foreign debt of poor and developing countries in such a manner as to create the conditions for sustainable development, and that universities have a role to play in the design and implementation of development programmes from a community service perspective.

Intermediate and local agencies can make a substantial contribution to the implementation of development programmes. Voluntary community service has proven to be an effective tool to build the social awareness and solidarity that are the bases of civic behaviour. Community service has also demonstrated its capacity to create effective social infrastructure, taking costs into account, to enhance and diversify local capacities, and to strengthen communities' self-reliance and cohesion.

Universities are among the institutions capable of providing fundamental structures for voluntary community service with an innovative approach, adequate provision of technical assistance and constructive co-ordination between institution and communities. Many academic institutions are in a position to implement specific projects, such as SUSTENTA at the Universidad Veracruzana, because they can provide human and technological infrastructure as well as operational organisation that allow for the social distribution of knowledge.

What characterised this alternative approach to debt relief and development is the permanent presence of volunteers in the communities, its focus on the transference of relevant technology and knowledge, as well as the role of facilitation in the development of skills for self-reliance at an individual and collective level.

> What characterised this alternative approach to debt relief and development is the permanent presence of volunteers in the communities, its focus on the transference of relevant technology and knowledge, as well as the role of facilitation in the development of skills for self-reliance at an individual and collective level

International experience suggests that this type of community service can unleash local capabilities for social progress as well as provide a learning experience for the youth which can broaden their education, quicken their social awareness and show the value of civic solidarity in relation to sustainability and environmental issues.

Solid and innovative projects developed by universities such as Universidad Veracruzana require similar actions by multilateral agencies for development, NGOs and governments. It is necessary to co-ordinate the design and implementation of innovative mechanisms to convert foreign debt into development funds. This process requires partnerships and strategic alliances with leading international institutions and expert agencies. However, the most important pre-condition to make any of this possible is to accept a shift in the paradigm of debt relief.

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The Impact of Service Projects on Micro-Enterprises in Mexican Marginalised Communities

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SUMMARY

This chapter presents the results of an action research project that took place in Mexico between January and June 2001 using social service as a driving force. It involved students from the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California and the Universidad Autónoma de Nayarit working with 100 micro-enterprises defined as marginalised due to geographic location, lack of human resources and weak financial standing. It was based on the premise that social service, guided by academics committed to quality, allows students to provide technical assistance to enterprising people who lack institutional supports, but who are backed by a history of effort and hard work as their most valuable assets.

The results of the project are twofold. All the micro-enterprises that were assisted have shown positive profitability levels; in addition, 36 per cent showed learning progress. This indicates that the future development and competitiveness of this sector can be greatly enhanced by co-operation between enterprises and higher education institutions. Such co-operation allows for the dissemination of technical and entrepreneurial knowledge to the micro-enterprises. In relation to the students, the project's results demonstrate that it is possible to implement new educational strategies that simultaneously contribute to community development, through better planning and organisation of social work, and to the production of new research and learning skills.

University-based social service is shown to have a positive impact on local economies, which confirms the potential of this project to contribute to local development and better living standards in poor communities.

Introduction

Mexico has more than two million higher education students. Among them, approximately 300 000 take part annually in social service projects that have been arranged by private and public organisations and higher education institutions. These forms of social service are a prerequisite for students to graduate from all undergraduate programmes offered by higher education institutions in the country. Social service in Mexico has been seen as both a learning experience for the students and as a form of repayment to society from those who have had the privilege of accessing higher education. However, probably because this practice was introduced a long time ago, most people have lost sight of the purposes and values that were at the heart of this conceptualisation of social service when it originated. This explains why some students consider social service a hindrance and look for loopholes and strategies to avoid participating. Recent surveys indicate that among the different areas in which social service can be performed at Mexican higher education institutions, the social sector has the lowest level of participation (twelve per cent) while projects focused on the public sector have both greater rates of participation and efficiency (Sanchez & Mungaray 1999).

> **Social service in Mexico has been seen as both a learning experience for the students and as a form of repayment to society from those who have had the privilege of accessing higher education**

This chapter focuses on the experience and results of an action research project that took place between January and June 2001 and which involved senior economics, business administration and accountancy students from the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California and the Universidad Autónoma de Nayarit providing technical assistance to a number of micro-enterprises in the food and beverages and metal-mechanic sector. The chapter advances two arguments. On the one hand, it argues that the development of micro and small enterprises depends on structured co-operation that allows for the transfer and dissemination of technical knowledge from local higher education institutions into otherwise marginalised micro-enterprises. The corollary of this argument is that universities and civil society actors can generate an enabling industrial policy for micro-enterprises that supports their participation in the market through the technical education of their owners. On the other hand, the chapter argues that it is possible to develop new strategies for higher education to contribute to community development through a better planned and organised social service programme. This programme would have to be developed from a perspective that sees research and social service as a means to learning.

Social service as a community-based research and learning experience

The project aimed, on the one hand, to demonstrate that the technical assistance provided by students, in the context of social service, could improve the profit levels of micro-entreprises and teach their owners ways in which to be competitive. On the other hand, it aimed to create through social service and research a situation in which students could learn about their future professions. The selection, training and supervision process of students willing to participate in a project with these aims took place between December 2000 and August 2001, and culminated in the selection of 40 students from the universities of Baja California and Nayarit. The micro-enterprises that took part in the project were selected from among 160 enterprises in the food and beverage, and scrap metal sectors operating in geographically marginalised locations. The criteria used to define marginalisation were: lack of public services, lack of institutional/government support, owners with an educational level of Grade 12 or lower, and enterprises with no accounting records. Both in the states of Baja California and Nayarit the enterprises were located in remote areas and were identified through student visits.

Students were recruited through an open invitation at both universities. Professors associated with the project interviewed and selected the candidates. Twenty students per university were selected. Of the students from the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, twelve were studying economics, four business administration and one accountancy. Of the 20 students from the Universidad Autónoma de Nayarit, five were studying economics, six accountancy and nine business administration. All of them had successfully completed at least 75 per cent of the required credits in their respective programmes.

Selected students had to take another ten courses taught by professors or researchers involved in the project. These courses were focused on the macro-economic context, local development, market structures and strategies, costs and production, finances and project evaluation, institutions and development, international trade, financial statements, and regional analysis. The courses were not credit bearing but were a pre-requisite for entrance into the project, in which it was necessary to accomplish the 480 hours of social service work in order to graduate. The fact that students came from three different programmes, and that the focus of the project was micro-enterprises in marginalised areas, created fertile ground for an interdisciplinary experience in the fields of sociology and economics. Students were assessed through examinations on each of the introductory topics and through the performance of the micro-enterprise they had assisted during the period of their social service.

Two opinion surveys were conducted, one after the students were selected, and the other at the end of their period of social service, to find out what they thought of the social service and of their role in the project. The first survey indicated that 51 per cent of the students thought they could learn something useful and interesting for their future professional development. The rest thought that social

service was a way to contribute to community development, to support poorer people and to pay back society for their studies. In the second survey 82 per cent of the students found that their work had helped the micro-enterprises improve their performance. All respondents found they had learnt something useful for their professional future and that their work had had a positive impact on the enterprises.

Students selected the enterprises aided by their professors. They visited the communities, interviewed neighbours and identified possible enterprises for the project. In Baja California, out of 103 micro-enterprises selected, 70 signed agreements to receive technical assistance. Finally, for reasons that ranged from an enterprise closing down thanks to the owner getting a job offer, to the seasonal nature of the product, to illness, to a spouse spurning help, to migration, only 53 enterprises stayed in the project. In the state of Nayarit, out of 90 selected enterprises, 79 signed agreements and 50 stayed in the programme.

The focus on learning and research made the collection of information in the ledger book a key tool of the project. The requirement to enter all operations in the ledger helped to foster business discipline among the owners of the micro-enterprises in the process (Mansfield 1997). Aided by their professors, students redesigned the ledger using terminology familiar to each of the owners taking part in the project. This made the ledger book more accessible and enabled students to introduce the owners of micro-enterprises to business concepts. At the same time, the information entered in the ledgers made possible the preparation of financial statements, cost analyses, and estimation of demand, production and financial costs, ratios and indicators, which allowed for an economic and financial evaluation on the basis of the determination of production optimums and proforma financial statements. The use of the ledger book had another function: it helped in assessing the learning that took place during the assistance period.

> **The focus on learning and research made the collection of information in the ledger book a key tool of the project**

The reporting schedule was demanding on the professors to whom the students had to report at least once a week. However, each of the professors had a research project in progress of which these exercises formed part. By the end of the first year, the project had generated several publications, including three books and several research articles.

At the end of the first six months, students and professors from both universities met for three days in Tepic, Nayarit, to share experiences between the groups. Each student made a presentation on his/her experience, on what they had accomplished and learnt. For the students this became one of the highlights of the project. Not only had they learnt to be consultants for micro-enterprises, but they also had a clearer sense of the contents of their degrees, and of social and community development issues.

The economic context for social service

Why does social service have such potential in the context of micro-enterprise development in Mexico? The 1999 Economic Census indicated that in Mexico, as in the rest of the world, 99 per cent of all entrepreneurial units were micro and small companies. Micro-entrepreneurs, however, do not have the necessary savings to buy sufficient supplies. They do not have access to credit – and if they did, intermediary costs are much too high for them. Due to family pressures, they cannot practice economies of scale by optimising costs. Micro-entrepreneurs work seven-day weeks to cover the payroll so as to keep their companies going, and when they manage to save some money, instead of investing in machinery, they have to respond to postponed family needs.

Macro-economic policy has an impact on this situation. At the end of 1999, the Ministry of Social Development of the Mexican Government (SEDESOL) indicated that 20 million Mexicans were linked to export-oriented activities and enjoyed very good living standards. A further 35 million Mexicans linked to traditional activities had poorly paid jobs, and there were 40 million Mexicans linked to all types of activities who lived in conditions of poverty, defined on the basis of families of five or more members with up to two minimum wages (Moctezuma 1999). Thus, one of the consequences of the lack of balanced entrepreneurial development at the regional and sectoral level has been an excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of a minority that has derived its wealth from export businesses, and has therefore constrained the availability of savings for internal investments.

This growing concentration of income in one sector has raised the issue of the need for a less inflationary macro-economic strategy that yields space to sectorally and regionally inclusive micro-economic strategies, and that manages politics and the economy to serve people (Schumacher 1999). A macro-economic strategy that does not create the necessary conditions for a broader and more inclusive strategy for entrepreneurial development (which stimulates the forces of competition and wellbeing) makes the government stronger without strengthening society (Mungaray & Palacio 2000). Regional industrial policies based on the people's decisions and not exclusively on governmental perspectives make the economic promotion of micro and small companies more possible.

In this situation, why not promote an inclusive and enabling national industrial policy based on partnerships that take cognisance of the community and social outreach commitments of universities? Learning is how micro-enterprises can evolve from struggling companies into viable enterprises. Micro-entrepreneurs, many of whom are illiterate, find banking rules difficult to understand, and they cannot grasp electronic technologies, market rules and productivity assessment techniques (Mungaray & Ocegueda 2000). They need technical assistance adapted to their specific type of micro-enterprise in order to translate industrial policy into an investment or production decision.

Few institutions in Mexico are better placed than higher education institutions to rise to the challenge of promoting entrepreneurial learning and therefore helping society to meet its development needs. As a matter of fact, Mexico's contribution to higher education internationally is in the use of social service as a way of helping those in need, by providing knowledge and services, and as a way of enforcing higher education's obligations in a social pact (Mungaray & Ocegueda 2000).

Few institutions in Mexico are better placed than higher education institutions to rise to the challenge of promoting entrepreneurial learning and therefore helping society to meet its development needs

The impact of technical assistance offered through social service

The financial results of the marginalised micro-enterprises that were assisted by the social service programme suggest that the current conditions of macro-economic stability are the main barrier to the development of this type of company. In other words, the problems faced by micro-enterprises arise from their financial difficulties in enlarging their factors of production and improving their technological base, rather than from problems of productivity or the level of effort they put into their operations. Any strategy to develop this type of economic unit must combine financial support for the gradual enlargement of the scale of production and the incorporation of technology suitable to their market size, with entrepreneurial training programmes aimed at ensuring the efficient use of their current and future resources.

Often the differences in how information is used in the management of each business reflects an under-utilisation of assets that gives rise to idle capacities. This problem may be explained by an entrepreneurial culture among the owners that eschews business plans, evaluations and follow-up measures. The analysis of net profit margins (net profit/net sales), shows that entrepreneurs are completely ignorant of the profitability of their business and do not have alternative information that could enable them to decide to invest in another market segment.

The learning of business skills is an alternative methodology to increase micro-entrepreneurial competitiveness. This ranges from the accumulation of knowledge and skills, including experience, to the creation of capabilities and innovative capacity among the entrepreneurs. The development of business skills reduces the costs per production unit due to increased productivity of the factors (Mungaray 1997).

In order to measure the effects of the learning experience among the entrepreneurs, the students developed estimated functions which correlated learning or experience indicators with productive efficiency indicators such as mean cost and productivity. To do the measurement, the accumulated daily production for the

production days of each micro-company was registered in a database and this was considered as an indicator of experience in production and learning (Andrés 1954, Teplitz 1991). The estimated learning rates were compared with indicators on the educational attainment of the company's owner, her/his workers and the time for which the company had been operating, which allowed one to observe if the learning rates of micro-enterprises were related to the education levels of their owners and employees, or to their experience, which was defined as length of operation. Using this methodology in a sample of 64 micro-enterprises 23 (or 36 per cent of the sample), reflected varying degrees of entrepreneurial learning, through a reduction of mean costs or the increase of productivity. This in turn points to the effectiveness of the technical assistance provided by the university students in their social service year.

Despite the fact that micro-enterprises maintain a low investment in fixed assets and operate in the informal sector, it is possible to apply economic evaluation techniques to them, if the accounting and taxation aspects of the technique are adjusted. It is noteworthy that all the micro-companies that were part of the project obtained a rate of return higher than their financing costs and a positive net present value, which means that they have an acceptable micro-profitability in economic terms and therefore would be in a position to gain access to micro-financing, should there be such a financial system in Mexico. In other words, the results of these micro-enterprises showed that if these companies had the moral and social solvency to be taken seriously, they have the capacity, potentially, to repay credit in the commercial banking system.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that despite all the institutional drawbacks experienced by micro-enterprises during the macro-economic stabilisation process, the fact that they operate in neighbourhood niche markets has made it possible for them to make money thanks to their captive market and their almost on-demand service. This has allowed for the profits on their production functions to remain constant. Healthy micro-finance and micro-profitability have enabled micro-enterprises to learn from the technical assistance offered to them through social service. All the micro-enterprises that were assisted have positive profitability levels and in addition, 36 per cent showed learning progress. This points to the importance of social service programmes at universities in the dissemination of entrepreneurial knowledge, and their potential to improve competitiveness and help develop this type of company. Through this social service project, the university helps make the macro-economic environment less hostile to micro-enterprises and raises the issue of the importance of the internal market as a part of the national entrepreneurial development strategy.

The work done at the universities of Baja California and Nayarit in the organisation of an integrated experience of research, learning-induction and assistance to micro-enterprises of marginalised zones was an enlightening task. It provided the opportunity for a strong interaction between professors and students through

professional knowledge used within a social service programme. It reinforced the premise that social service, guided by academics committed to quality (Salemi et al. 2001), allows students to provide technical assistance to enterprising people who lack institutional support, but who are backed by a history of effort and hard work as their most valuable assets.

The social service experience not only exerted a major curricular influence on academic programmes but also on pedagogical issues, by generating far more active student participation in the projects (Becker & Watts 2001). Further stages in the programme should be able to improve the rate at which students are trained as micro-enterprise consultants as well as the process of selection of enterprises. All of this should eventually result in greater learning for the students as well as in greater overall benefit to the companies that gained from technical assistance.

The improvement, through university-based social service, of the production and profitability of micro-enterprises by using appropriate knowledge and skills, will have a positive impact on the local economies, which confirms the potential that this project has to contribute to local development and better living standards in poor communities.

> **Social service, guided by academics committed to quality, allows students to provide technical assistance to enterprising people who lack institutional support, but who are backed by a history of effort and hard work as their most valuable assets**

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Note

PART THREE
The Language of Service

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What should we call 'Civic Service'? A commentary

IAN PAWLBY

SUMMARY

Within the general discussion about nomenclature, the chapter suggests that the words used for civic service are conditioned by the view taken of the activity. Civic service can be viewed as having three different dimensions. The first is the motivation of those taking part. The second is the outputs from the activity itself and the value put upon them. The third is the societal requirement for civic service as an expression of citizenship.

People engage in civic service from a wide range of motives across a broad scale. For some, the motivation is even more important than the activity itself. Much civic service is shaped to recognise and respect motivation. Another school of thought places more emphasis on the output of civic service. The value may accrue to the object of the activity or it may

accrue to the doer of the activity, but more probably to both. Each instance of civic service, however, is structured to deliver more of one than the other. For others, the act of civic service is an important expression of citizenship, but here it falls to those who view citizenship more in terms of responsibilities than of rights. However, when civic service becomes too entwined with the apparatus of the state, it can become oppressive.

The argument advanced in this chapter favours giving more weight to the voluntary aspect of civic service. This enshrines a willingness to give service, ascribes a high value to the output, and sees it as among the moral duties of a citizen. Finally, it suggests that these are the values that best define civic service in a European context.

Introduction

Meaning trails a word like a comet's tail. So the same word can convey different meanings to different readers. It is important, for this first edition of *Service Enquiry*, that we examine our nomenclature so that we can map out some common ground for understanding one another.

The phenomenon of 'civic service' is described differently by various protagonists in the field. For me, there are three vectors that define the nature of the phenomenon. They are the *motivation* for people to engage in it, the *value* of its outputs and outcomes, and its place in creating or illustrating *citizenship*. I find it helpful to see these as tensions pulling the activity in different directions. There may in fact be more, and they certainly overlap.

My thesis is that the words you use depend upon the definition you choose. To illustrate my point I want to challenge the use of the word *service* and suggest that the addition of the adjective *voluntary* is necessary, at least in a European context.

Definition

I should add that I am focusing on service involving young people. The age range I cover is between 15 and 24, a commonly accepted (United Nations) definition of youth. It is my belief that the principles can be extended across service for other age groups, but they lie outside my experience. I am talking from a European perspective, though I am drawing on partial knowledge of other parts of the world.

Before I open the debate let us start with a definition of service. I am perfectly content with 'an organised period of substantial engagement and contribution to the local, national or world community, recognised and valued by society, with minimal monetary compensation to the participant' (Sherraden 2001).

The broad concept of service can be a cloak hiding a multitude of different perceptions, which give rise to different approaches

The broad concept of service may mean roughly the same thing to most people. But it can be a cloak hiding a multitude of different perceptions, which give rise to different approaches.

Motivation

The first tension is the value put upon the act of giving the service versus the value of the service given. In European countries with a tradition of service activities, there are organisations for which service must be an act of altruism and in this is distilled all its value. Central to this definition is the motivation of those giving the service. The purist would argue that unless it is given in a spirit of altruism, it is not true *service*. Giving certainly seems to play an important part in Menon et al.'s analysis of the words used for service around the world (see Chapter 12).

Exploring motivation

Whatever the organisational context, when we examine motivation we have to admit that service people will place themselves across a very broad spectrum. There will be those fully committed to acts of pure selflessness in a great cause. There are others who are less applied, who nevertheless wish to express solidarity with those in need of their service. There are those moved to take part in service out of curiosity and those who do it because there is no clear alternative. At the opposite end are those who are purely self-seeking and doing it for their own benefit. They perceive some direct gain or related advantage from which they will profit in the act, or subsequently, or both. Of course, individuals will seldom have a single motive, but one will tend to predominate.

There are pitfalls in each one of these stances. Pure altruism can so easily become condescending, patronising or just plain insulting. Philanthropy is not the word it once was. Charles Dickens ridiculed the sending of handkerchiefs to wipe the noses of African children in distant days, when none of the receivers of this magnanimity wore garments with pockets. The overzealous intervention of the do-gooders, so blinded by their own cause that they cannot see its effects, is misplaced (and ill received) benevolence. There was no mistaking the tone of suspicion from francophone colleagues in response to the word *benevole* when we were constructing European Voluntary Service.

The overzealous intervention of the do-gooders, so blinded by their own cause that they cannot see its effects, is misplaced (and ill received) benevolence

Service as an act of solidarity shows a degree of sympathy, but not necessarily an intention to remedy the condition to which it is a response. It might be a political expression and a lending of moral rather than practical support, which places limits on the act of giving.

Clearly, people giving service out of curiosity or through a lack of other options cannot be giving very generously, leading one to argue that the value of their service is compromised. Then there are those who would argue that those engaged in service purely out of self-interest are giving nothing at all and their service is worthless.

This has been further complicated by the compensation offered to those giving service under certain schemes. Where service involves being engaged full time and away from home, like the Peace Corps or European Voluntary Service, participants receive board and lodging in kind or in cash plus pocket money. The stipend may become the motivation for giving the service or it may seem so in countries where GDP differentials make pocket money greater than local salaries.

It has to be recognised that different individuals may be engaged in the same act of service, but from completely different ends of the motivation spectrum.

Value

The second tension is about the main beneficiary of the outputs or the outcomes of the service. Does the principle value fall to the recipient of the service, or to the giver of the service? Again both sides will agree that the service is valuable to the receiver and to the person giving the service. But they will dispute where the emphasis should lie.

Giver or receiver? Who gets most value?

When examining service under the motivational microscope, it is taken for granted that there is a positive outcome, beneficial to the recipient. The direct recipient may be a person in some setting of social deficit, or a creature, as in guarding turtles' nests, or a landscape, as in cleaning polluted waterways, although in all of these examples, society may be seen to benefit indirectly. The beneficial outcome is the motive to which the giver of service responds.

However, there is also a benefit to the giver of the service. This is especially true where young people are involved. They learn a host of skills and aptitudes. Some are related to the task they carry out, some to the fact that they must work in concert with others and some to their inner selves where a sense of personal achievement and greater self-awareness build self-esteem. There is clear value to the giver of the service. This can be described as service-learning.

Where the value of the service to the giver is seen as the main intent, it can lead to the artificial creation of circumstances for service. When the gains-to-the-giver predominate, you get the construction of opportunities for giving service that are more valuable in themselves than in the service given. There have been examples of groups of young people engaged in loosely-structured, practical tasks in, let's say, a residential care-giving institution, who make significant learning gains from the tasks they perform and the attention they receive from supervisors and clients alike. Their self-absorption, however, their need for management and guidance, the client facilities their presence pre-empts, the mistakes they make, and the adverse micro-culture they create, mean that at best, their overall contribution is neutral, and at worst, they actually add negative value.

> **When the gains-to-the-giver predominate, you get the construction of opportunities for giving service that are more valuable in themselves than in the service given**

Given that the value of service-learning is perceived as high, it becomes tempting, where other means of learning are exhausted, oversubscribed, unavailable or unaffordable to oblige young people into service, supposedly for their own benefit. The service becomes involuntary or at best seen only as a learning experience. Some would argue that it may be good education, but it certainly isn't service.

Would the circumstances be changed if the person compelled into service recognised the personal learning value halfway through or when his/her period of service had come to an end?

Many would argue that the value of the learning gain to the service giver is so great that making service compulsory is justified, whether the giver recognises it or not. The ends justify the means.

Citizenship

Some see citizenship as being about 'rights', some see it as about 'responsibilities'. Each side will acknowledge that it is both, but with a different balance. Service is important evidence of citizenship, and it seems to come at the responsibilities end of the spectrum. It may be a noble expression of belonging to a society, or a duty to be done in exchange for the privilege of membership. It may also be a duty undertaken to compensate for some privilege received like free university education.

Doing something for the abstract concept of a community rather than for an identifiable beneficiary is an expression of citizenship. It leads us quickly to serving in a military capacity, the pinnacle of which is to sacrifice one's life for one's country. That is all very well on the service spectrum, but courts controversy. One man's intervention is another man's invasion. Fighting for one's country can be seen as killing foreign soldiers.

Compulsory military service for young people (usually men) has spawned a counterpart, civil service. At first, opting out was disallowed completely. It was won as a concession by conscientious objectors to war, pacifists. It has grown as a proportion of military service to the point where, in Germany for example, numbers doing civil service almost equal those doing military service. Opting out on this scale is surely more a sort of draft dodging than widespread pacifism? But it is draft dodging connived at by modern armies increasingly unable to cope with an annual influx of tens of thousands of raw recruits.

Civil service undertaken in place of compulsory military service is good citizenship. It is optional because it is an alternative. But it is compulsory because it has to be done by the individual wishing to avoid military service. So there is no unselfish motivation on the part of the service giver and therefore it is not *service*. Perhaps if it is done for idealistic, pacifist reasons, that is sufficient to qualify as service.

Students receiving free, or highly subsidised, university education are required to offer a period of service when they graduate. Is it still *service*?

There is a parallel in the service schemes run in India, Nigeria and Egypt, where students receiving free, or highly subsidised, university education are required to offer a period of service when they graduate. It is compulsory to do so. Is it still *service*? It could be argued that as they knew about it all along, their decision to go to university was also a decision to give a period of unpaid service to their country.

Obliging people to exchange their labour for subsistence, or less, used to be called slavery. Indeed at the 'rights' end of the citizenship spectrum, obliging people into service is seen as exploitation, covered by the fig leaf of citizenship.

Another form of words

So far I have been careful to use the word 'service' throughout. Personally I don't like the word service. I admit it is related to the verb to serve, which means to do something for somebody. Service in English has strong commercial associations. Whilst service does not imply payment, it is associated with measurable value, negotiated or not. Service in English has strong commercial associations. Service in a flower shop or a bank is part of the transaction. In other circumstances service means something purely technical; having your car serviced or servicing your central heating boiler carries no connotations of giving. In short, service is a word with too wide a range of meanings to be used in a stand-alone context. It must be qualified.

In the UK the common qualification is *voluntary* service. With capital letters, or without, this is pretty widely understood. It conjures up a different set of images. The term *voluntary* removes the element of compulsion and therefore the stain of worthlessness or exploitation of the person delivering the service. Indeed, it is the 'voluntary' rather than the 'service', which carries the emphasis. Someone doing voluntary service is a volunteer rather than a server. Hence we centre our vocabulary on the words *volunteer* and *volunteering* which seem to lean towards the motivation vector in our analysis. Continental (European) English has coined the expression 'voluntarism', which is a new word in the English lexicon. To my ears, service lays stress on compulsion or at least exchange, although I concede that it can mean giving, if you see service as primarily in a giving mode.

> **The term *voluntary* removes the element of compulsion and therefore the stain of worthlessness or exploitation of the person delivering the service**

So is volunteering ok?

Sherraden's definition holds for voluntary service as it does for civil service. Volunteering as an instrument for engaging young people is certainly fashionable nowadays. It is being set up in China, Argentina, and Nigeria, engulfing the European Union and now the Pre-Accession States of central Europe.

It has not developed in Europe unopposed. The strong social traditions of Scandinavia have raised objection to volunteering in the care-giving sector. Volunteers are seen as usurping the role of the state. It is for the state to make social provision for all its members: the use of volunteers implies that the state is shirking its obligations.

Organised labour feels threatened by volunteering. It may be taking paid employment from workers, getting something for nothing, an assault on the wage structure, and an undermining of the bargaining power of employees.

Volunteering is an attractive tool for non-formal learning. It is useful to promote social inclusion among those without formal qualifications and therefore without jobs. But using any suspect measures to get young people without jobs to volunteer may leave it vulnerable to challenge.

Volunteering may still be culturally specific. Recent research carried out by Clive Harris (2002) found that participation in 'organised' voluntary service was less common among young people in certain ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom. But examination of their social roles found them heavily committed to unremunerated actions of social support to family, friends or their immediate community, which, without question, would be categorised as volunteering. But without being organised, it is not recognised.

Many African countries face the dual problem of substantive social need and a surplus of educated and uneducated young people without employment opportunities. These societies make big efforts to mobilise their youth to address poverty, especially among their peers. They are urged to do so with no remuneration. But there are no hang ups there about service or volunteering. It is straightforward social mobilisation, a plain, common–sense response to the challenge of development.

At the end of the day, cultural and social circumstances are going to determine how volunteering or service operates in any given context, in any given country. They will determine how young people are drawn to participate and how society organises those opportunities. According to the environment, however, it will sway from one vector to another. My argument is that the nomenclature will sway with it. Service is not a single homogenous phenomenon. The words we use to describe it are not neutral; they carry values. It is up to us to be aware of the values they carry and to deploy them accordingly.

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'Servicio' and 'Solidaridad' in South American Spanish

MARÍA NIEVES TAPIA

SUMMARY

In the context of international communication and global interaction, it becomes imperative to ask a number of questions of the terminology commonly used in the field of service. The word 'service' carries with it historical experiences and cultural contexts that differ in the English-speaking world from those of Spanish-speaking South America. The chapter considers the differences between terms like *service* and *servicio*, *caring* and *solidario*, and it becomes obvious that any attempt at direct translation gives rise to meanings or associations that may be inappropriate or lack meaning.

The chapter goes on to explore the meanings and connotations associated with terms such as *servicio*, *voluntariado*, *solidaridad* and *pro-socialidad* as well as a number

of possibilities for accurately translating the term 'civic service' into Spanish in the context of social engagement. The chapter concludes with some recommendations on the most appropriate term for 'civic service' in South American Spanish.

Introduction

Words do not evoke the same universe of meanings in different languages or in different parts of the world. The word 'service', for example, is loaded with meanings in the English-speaking world that may be significantly different from those associated with the equivalent term in Spanish-speaking South America. These different meanings are themselves the product of multiple historical experiences and diverse cultural contexts.

In the context of international communication and global interaction, it becomes imperative to ask a number of questions of the terminology commonly used. This terminology serves as the currency for the exchange of ideas and experiences in the field of service, but it can become problematic if it is used without sensitivity to local conditions and meanings. In such circumstances language itself becomes a source of misunderstanding, misinterpretation and confusion. This chapter attempts to tease out the particular associations with some of the central terms used in the discourse of service in Spanish-speaking South America.

> **Terminology serves as the currency for the exchange of ideas and experiences in the field of service**

Does *service* mean the same as *servicio*? Is *caring* the same as *solidario*? What is the most accurate translation for *civic service* in Latin America? The chapter offers some answers to these questions, considering some specific and related terms: *servicio*, *solidaridad* and *pro-socialidad*. It ends with recommendations on the most appropriate term for 'civic service' in South America.

The meaning of 'servicio' in South American Spanish

At first sight, it does not seem that the word service has very different meanings in Spanish and English. However, a closer look reveals some interesting points:

- **A problem with the plural of *service*.** In English, 'the services' are the armed forces. In Argentina and other countries of the region, *los servicios* are the *Servicios de Inteligencia*, the Government Intelligence Agencies. For many dark years, the task of these 'services' was to spy on the political opposition and common citizens, and to decide who deserved to live and who would 'disappear'. As an extension of this association, in South American Spanish *servicios* is applied to para-military gangs, civilian informants, and illegal surveillance. Not precisely the kind of social commitment we are thinking of in civic service!

- ***Servicio* as servitude.** Many English expressions meaning duty or obligation are expressed in Spanish by the word *servicio*. In the lands of the former Inca Empire, Spanish landlords required Indians to give them the *servicios* that Indians

used to give to the Inca in the mines or fields: these services were mandatory, and those who dared to rebel were cruelly punished. Even today, in most South American countries *el servicio* means *the maid*. Understanding the strong connections between *servicio* and *servitude* may help to explain objections frequently raised in South American culture to the use of the world *servicio* as in *civic service*.

- **'It sounds too religious.'** Everywhere in the world, the religious duty of service defines the majority of Christian and other religious organisations, but the range and impact of services performed by religious people in South America cannot be underestimated. Where governmental agencies fail to arrive, you will surely find a priest, a *caritas* section, an evangelical chapel or a synagogue offering help. This may explain the strong identification between service and religion in the region. Why should this be a problem in an overwhelmingly Catholic land? Because agnosticism, atheism and anticlericism were widely diffused among 'illustrious classes' in the 19th century, and the separation of church and state has in the last century promoted the use of neutral language, or language without religious connotation, in the public arena. To give just one example: in 1996, when it was proposed that service-learning should be incorporated into the Argentina Federal Curriculum, the original language *proyectos de servicio comunitario* (community service projects) was finally replaced in the current official version by *proyectos de intervención sociocomunitaria* (community intervention projects) (Consejo Federal de Educación 1997).

- **'It sounds too charitable.'** The old paradigms of 'charity' and 'beneficence' are strongly rejected, because they tended to consider the disadvantaged as passive recipients of help, and failed to incorporate the values of social justice and human dignity. *Servicio* is frequently associated with charitable but rather patronising, even if well-intentioned, activities performed by the middle and upper classes.

- **'It sounds too much like military service.'** Most South American armies spent the 20th century involved in civil wars or organising coups against civilian governments. Overcoming anti-military feelings in the region will require the armed forces to demonstrate, over many years, that they can obey elected presidents and perform meaningful tasks. Meanwhile, military service is very unpopular, and the majority of young people wanting to serve their communities are unlikely to think of the military as an option.

'Servicio' and 'Solidaridad' – Other meanings

'Servicio'

It is true that the National Service Corps of both Chile and Brazil (*Servicio País* and *Serviço Civil Voluntário*) use the word *servicio*. It is also true that for many people with a religious or social commitment, *servicio* means exactly what it does in English, 'a substantial engagement and contribution to the community'. But as we have seen, that may not always be true for everyone.

In fact, the activities usually referred to as 'service' in English speaking countries, are generally defined in South America as *voluntariado* or *acciones solidarias*.

Voluntariado can be easily translated as *volunteering*; differences between volunteering and civic service have already been signaled (McBride et al. 2003). On the other hand, *solidaridad* is difficult to translate into English. Since it is a term hardly ever used by English-speaking scholars in relation to civic service, the use of this word merits a brief discussion.

'Solidaridad'

Anywhere in South America, *solidaridad* (*solidariedade* in Brazil) means working together for the common cause, helping others in an organised and effective way, standing as a group or as a nation to defend one's rights, face natural disasters or economic crisis, and to do it hand in hand. *Solidaridad* is one of the values South Americans cherish most, and it is the common flag of all the new and old volunteer organisations in our emerging civic societies.

As service, *solidaridad* means 'an engagement and contribution to the local, national or world community, recognised and valued by society.' (McBride et al. 2003). The term is used to define the mission of almost every civic service or national service organisation in the region, from *Opción Colombia*[1] to the Chilean *Adopta un Hermano*[2], or it is part of the name of the organisation, as in the vast Brazilian University Service Programme *Universidade Solidaria*[3], and the Argentinian Ministry of Education Service-Learning Programme, *Educación Solidaria*[4].

As volunteering, *solidaridad* includes occasional or very structured activities: it is used *for campañas solidarias* (gathering food or clothes for the needy), or to describe structured service programmes. A Uruguay NGO's website is called *Uruguay Solidario*[5], and includes information about a vast range of volunteer initiatives across the country. In fact, volunteering and *solidaridad* are frequently associated, as in the Brazilian programme *Projeto Jovem Voluntário – Escola Solidária*[6].

Solidaridad is also associated with citizen participation, as in the Brazilian Service Corps *Programa Jovem Cidadão: Serviço Civil Voluntário*[7], or in *Guía Uruguaya de la Solidaridad Ciudadana* (1998), a reference book about Uruguay NGOs.

Solidaridad may be used in very different contexts: you may talk of *solidaridad* among workers of a trade union, make 'a call to solidarity' asking for blood donors or social volunteers, or demand s*olidaridad latinoamericana* to confront international

debt. Left-wing politicians and anticommunist dictators alike proudly use the expression.

In fact, many social leaders are concerned about a certain 'solidarity fashion' that is developing. The word risks becoming little more than an empty cliché, or a vague feeling of goodwill, when almost everyone – from TV stars to secretaries of state – is calling for *solidaridad*. As often happens with service projects, many *acciones solidarias* hardly differ from the old 'charities', and serve little purpose other than easing the server's conscience. And, as sometimes happens when social issues are incorporated into marketing campaigns, 'corporate solidarity' may also be used in an attempt to promote a better image for companies that evade taxes or pollute the environment.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the concept of *solidaridad* has deep roots in South American culture: in the communal values of native cultures, in the Christian

> **The concept of *solidaridad* has deep roots in South American culture**

message brought by missionaries who protected Indians against the Spanish conquerors, in the *fraternité* of the French Revolution that inspired the independence movements, and also in the co-operative ideas and organisations (*cooperativismo*) brought by European immigrants at the beginning of the 20th century. From a philosophical point of view, solidarity is strongly related to the concept of fraternity (equivalent to *hermandad*: brotherhood/sisterhood), meaning that one recognises all humankind as a family, and shapes one's actions in accordance with that understanding.

Spanish *solidaridad* is easily translated into Portuguese (*solidariedade*), into French (*solidarité*), into Italian (*solidarietà*), not just literally, but also in terms of its cultural meaning. The same is true even in Polish: *Solidarnosc* was the name chosen for the first free union under the communist regime by Lech Walesa, an icon for many South American union leaders who had to struggle against military governments during the 1980s.

Translating 'solidaridad' into English

I have to confess I was surprised the first time I discovered that the word 'solidarity' was hardly used in English, and that I was required to give long explanations about the Spanish meaning of the word. To translate *solidaridad* into English, the words *care* and *compassion* have been suggested to me. The problem is that *care* (*cuidar*) in Spanish means *attend* or *assist*, and is used for babysitting, taking care of pets, or watching cars in a parking lot. *Compasión* in Spanish means *pity*, and it sounds not only patronising, but even offensive when used for social engagement.

Language differences may also provide evidence of deep cultural divisions. A North American scholar told me once that *solidaridad* sounded like an evasion of individual responsibilities through relying on the collective. He was shocked when he learned that *individualista* in Spanish is understood as *selfish*. In fact, individual initiative and collective action have played different roles in northern and southern

history, and are valued in different ways in Anglo-Saxon and Latin cultures. From the Magna Carta to the US Declaration of Independence, 'individualism' in English evokes the defence of individual rights, the affirmation of one's mind and freedom, and admiration for 'self-made men'. In Spanish, an 'individualistic' approach to social problems sounds like a contradiction in terms: when poverty and social problems are so overwhelming, one cannot deal with them as an individual. *Solidaridad* does not mean evading individual responsibilities, but embracing them in the most efficient way: together with other people equally committed.

But it is true that in the English-speaking world, references to 'solidarity' and 'collective action' may arouse suspicions about massification or anti-democratic procedures, so we need further study and comparison of the meanings and social constructions in our languages, and to look for common ground to build civic service categories of analysis.

Service, 'solidaridad' and pro-sociality

There is already a common, helpful term to build a bridge between English service and Spanish *solidaridad*: 'pro-sociality' is an academic concept used both in English and Spanish to refer to engagement for the common good (Staub, Bar-Tal, Karylowsky & Reykowsky 1983).

'Pro-social behavior' is defined by psychologists as 'those actions that tend to benefit other people without the prospect of external personal benefit', or 'those behaviours that, without any prospect of external reward, favour other people, groups or social objectives, and increase the probability of generating a positive reciprocity which will in turn promote solidarity in the resulting interpersonal and social relationships, while safeguarding the identity, creativity, and initiative of the individuals or groups involved' (Roche-Olivar 1998).

> **'Pro-sociality' is an academic concept used both in English and Spanish to refer to engagement for the common good**

According to Roche-Olivar, it is very important to understand the difference between pro-sociality and altruism. While altruism is a subjective concept, defined by the intentions of the subject, not by the actual results of the action, pro-sociality is an objective concept, defined by the effective satisfaction of the recipient of the action. It is possible to associate occasional volunteering with altruism, while structured, intensive civic service programmes require a more pro-social approach.

In pro-sociality theory, reciprocity and justice are key words to build pro-social relationships. Like *solidaridad*, pro-sociality tends to overcome the usual power differentials established in the donor/recipient relationship, distancing itself from patterns of beneficence or patronage. Pro-sociality models help to measure to what extent people, groups or social objectives have been favoured or not, to assess the impact of the service provided, and evaluate whether reciprocity has been generated or not.

Peace Corps or *Zivildienst* activities may be studied using pro-social categories of analysis. The same is true for service-learning: when United States teachers tell their students to 'care' about the homeless or the environment, and Argentina teachers promote *proyectos solidarios*, they are all teaching pro-social behaviours and values.

In *National Service and Pro-sociality*, Donald Eberly , President of the International Association of National Youth Service, and Roberto Roche-Olivar, Professor in Pro-sociality at the Barcelona University, affirm that:

> There is a high degree of overlap between the aims of pro-sociality and service-learning. A major aim of pro-sociality is to have students become service-oriented. A major aim of service-learning is to have students acquire pro-social values, attitudes and behaviours.

> Service-learning can strengthen pro-sociality by demonstrating a pro-social commitment on the part of the school. Whether or not values are in the curriculum, the school teaches values by its actions and policies, e.g. spending a lot of money on sports. Thus, a school that has a service-learning programme sends the message to students that the school cares about the community and the environment.

> Pro-sociality can also be strengthened by the experiential nature of service-learning. Students retain a much higher percentage of what they learn from experience as compared with what they learn from listening in the classroom and reading books (Eberly & Roche-Olivar 2002).

Pro-sociality studies are being developed in very different cultural contexts, such as the United States, Spain, Italy, the Czech Republic and South America. It may be interesting for the civic service field to take advantage of this multi-cultural theoretical approach to foster its own research and discussion.

Translating 'civic service' into Spanish

While there is clearly a need for further research and analysis, any preliminary proposal to express the meaning of 'civic service' in Spanish should consider these alternatives:

- *Voluntariado* in Spanish includes both occasional volunteering and intensive programmes described in English as civic service. It is an umbrella term that must be taken in consideration, but it does not help much in an effort to be precise.

- *Servicio Civil* in South America Spanish means *Public Service*, and it is associated in most countries with careers in the federal administration, so it would not be a good translation for civic service.

- *Servicio ciudadano* (citizen service) is a better translation, but still leaves room for confusion with professional Public Service, and it does not clearly define 'service'.

- *Servicio solidario* expresses more clearly the meaning of service than *servicio* alone, but it may be confused with volunteering. As *voluntariado*, it may include occasional activities as well as structured, full-time service.

So, we propose servicio *ciudadano solidario* as the best translation into Spanish of civic service. We think it shows committed citizenship and is more specific about the kind of pro-social service we want to encourage.

Conclusion

We are all aware that globalisation has many different faces. Global communications have helped stimulate international awareness and co-operation on social issues in the most distant points of the planet, but globalisation is also seen as a modern version of the Roman Empire: one hegemonic language and one powerful *Imperator* imposing one culture over all others.

As a new and emerging field of knowledge, the language and categories of analysis of civic service are still to be established. A better understanding of cultural and linguistic differences related to service and volunteering may be crucial in order to build a global, multicultural field of studies that contributes to what John Paul II has called 'the globalisation of solidarity'.

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Notes

[1]   www.opcioncolombia.org.co.

[2]   www.adoptaunhermano.cl.

[3]   www.universidadesolidaria.org.br.

[4]   www.edusol.me.gov.ar.

[5]   www.uruguaysolidario.org.uy.

[6]   www.facaparte.org.br/site/projetos.

[7]   www.agora.org.br/SCV/scvnews.

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Understanding 'Service'

Words in the context of history and culture

NATASHA MENON, AMANDA MOORE MCBRIDE
AND MICHAEL SHERRADEN

SUMMARY

Long-term, intensive volunteering or 'civic service' is an emerging global phenomenon. This is evident in the range of service programmes that are present in both developing and developed nations. However, the term 'service' means different things in different cultural contexts. What is the best name for this phenomenon, so that it can be discussed and studied across nations and cultures?

This chapter[1] explores the meanings of 'service' in six ancient languages: Greek, Latin, Chinese, Japanese, Swahili, and Sanskrit. We identify three common attributes of the concept across the languages. First, service is an act, undertaken by an individual in relation to other individuals or the community. Second, service is associated with outcomes. The words used

to denote service highlight a range of anticipated outcomes from the perspective of the server and the served. Finally, beneficiaries are diverse. Individuals and society are identified as beneficiaries of service.

This historical analysis may help inform the 'naming' of long-term, intensive volunteering worldwide. We recommend that similarities in each culture's contemporary conception of service be emphasised to suggest a common name, and that differences in forms of service be captured as variables. In this way, cultural differences might begin to be understood using the tools of social science. We believe this will be necessary if the causes and effects of service are to be understood across cultures, and if service is to reach its practical potential in programmes and policy.

Introduction

Effective communication is based on collective understanding of words being used and their meanings. When words are not explicitly defined and referenced, discussion about a phenomenon may be misguided and complicated. Without clear conceptual references and boundaries, the ability to study, inform, and promote a phenomenon is compromised. Arguably, this is the case with service, or long-term, intensive volunteering.

Sherraden (2001: 2) refers to this phenomenon as civic service, which means 'an organised period of substantial engagement and contribution to the local, national, or world community, recognised and valued by society, with minimal monetary compensation to the participant'. Why civic? Civic connotes public action and public benefit. Strangers near and far may benefit from the actions of the server. Civic service programme examples include national service programmes in Germany and Nigeria, and programmes such as the Japanese Overseas Co-operation Volunteers, the United States' Peace Corps, and European Voluntary Service. But is civic service the best term to use?

While this conception and definition are based on cross-national research and discussions (Ford Foundation 2000; McBride, Benítez & Sherraden 2003; Sherraden, Sherraden & Eberly, 1990), it is important that conceptions of 'service' be explored worldwide. What is the best name for this phenomenon, so that it can be discussed and studied across nations and cultures?

This chapter explores meanings of 'service' across cultures and through time.[2] Language is an expression of culture, providing insights into existing and changing social and political beliefs, values, and attitudes (Skinner 1989). In this chapter, words are treated as windows to understand the evolution and the conceptualisation of service in different cultural contexts. We consider the implications of such an analysis for a global understanding of the term 'service'.

> **Words are treated as windows to understand the evolution and the conceptualisation of service in different cultural contexts for a global understanding of the term 'service'**

A historical, global vocabulary of service

Throughout history, how was 'service' expressed, and what forms did it take? We address this question through a brief examination of words, philosophies, and histories across six different languages. Greek, Latin, Chinese, Japanese, Swahili, and Sanskrit represent some of the most influential languages in the ancient and the classical world.[3] They also reflect the linguistic origins of some of the major languages spoken today in different regions of the world.

To inform this review, interviews were conducted with language scholars. On-line resources such as dictionaries and lexicons supplemented the interviews. This analysis extends roughly from 800 BC to the 8th century AD. The time period from

700 AD to the present is largely not explored due to the cultural transitions and mixing that have occurred in this period. Emphasis is placed on comparisons among words and meanings to develop an understanding of their common attributes.

Greek and Latin

The closest word for service in Greek is a verb – *charizo*, meaning *to do something good* (Freeman 2001). In Latin, the word for service is *beneficium*, meaning *an act tending to the benefit of another* (Freeman 2001) or 'doing good deeds'. In both Greece and Rome, every male citizen had obligations towards the city-state, which had to be fulfilled. Most often, such obligations took the form of military service. While military service was voluntary in the city-states, peer pressure amongst the nobility acted as the motivating factor. Military service for the nobility was unpaid. In contrast, commoners were recruited, and paid for the service they rendered. Service in the military was seen positively as service to Sparta or to Rome. The opportunity to serve in the military was seen as a privilege offered by the city-state to the citizen.

The formalisation of service as charitable actions came with the emergence of Christianity around the second century AD (Christian History Institute no date). Christian beliefs emphasised interconnectedness among people. With the rise of the Byzantine Empire, both Greece and Rome witnessed a formalisation of service activities by the Church, such as the appointment of officials to look after the welfare of the people (Freeman 2001).

Chinese

The Chinese language does not have a specific character for service, but service exists in a synthesis between religion and philosophy. The main influences in ancient China were Confucianism and Buddhism. The idea of service in Chinese is captured in the expression, *zuo shan shi,* meaning *do good things* (Chiang 2001). In Confucianism, virtue is the cornerstone of all human activity. Values are based on one concept – *Jen* meaning *humaneness* (Hooker 1996). One attains humaneness or virtue by following a proper way of behaving. Meng Tzu, a student of Confucius, added the concept of *I* meaning *righteousness* or *duty* to the original concept of *Jen* (humaneness or benevolence) (Hooker 1996). Mo Tzu (470 to 391 BC) believed that all people were created equal and that differences of wealth and status were human. *Righteousness* or *Jen* for Mo Tzu was not achieved by extending help only to one's family or others of similar social status, as Meng Tzu espoused, but by helping anyone in need. Within this school of Confucian thought we see a precursor to the modern Western idea of service.

Japanese

Buddhism came to Japan through Korea around the 6th century AD (Hendry 2000). The Japanese nobility adopted Buddhism as their religion. As a consequence, there was widespread support for activities such as building temples, supporting orphanages, feeding the hungry, and cleaning public streets (Fujiwara 2001). These activities were considered acts of community service and often had formal sanction (Hudson 1994). By the 8th century AD, Buddhism became the state religion of Japan. It is within this context that the word *hooshi* emerged in Japanese language. *Hooshi* symbolizes *any activity done out of goodwill,* or *an activity done for others without any compensation* (Fujiwara 2001). *Hooshi* is different from other words such as *Shigoto*, which means *work for compensation*, or even *Gimu* meaning *duty*. Today, *hooshi* has been replaced by a more modern word – *volunteer* (Fujiwara 2001).

Swahili

Unlike the strong filial connection emphasised in ancient Chinese and Japanese cultures, Swahili (or Kiswahili) emphasises communal values. Service in Kiswahili is *Kujitolea* meaning *the giving of self for the benefit of others* (Mutonya 2001). The focus of *Kujitolea* is on the social value of service and not on monetary compensation. Similar sentiments are found in the South African concept of *ubuntu* (Republic of South Africa 1997: clause 24) in isiZulu. *Ubuntu* emphasises the connectivity of individuals through the phrase *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* meaning *A person is a person through other persons* or *I am what I am because of you*.

Sanskrit

Sanskrit is the oldest language of India, and is considered to be the mother of all European languages (Schiffman 1999). Classical Sanskrit flourished in India from 500 BC to 1 000 AD. The root word *seva* denotes *service* in Sanskrit, and is still used today in Hindi (Cappeller Sanskrit English Dictionary 2001). Other words can also be found in Sanskrit that mean help or assistance. For example, *upakriya* means *service or benefit* (Cappeller Sanskrit English Dictionary 2001). Similarly, *purvoupakarin* means *one who has rendered a person a service* (Cappeller Sanskrit English Dictionary 2001).

Service actions, outcomes and beneficiaries

The historical conceptions of service have implications for contemporary word use and conceptual development. There are common attributes across these languages, their words, and their meanings. Primarily, service is conceived as an action that produces positive outcomes for a range of beneficiaries.

Service as an act

Across the examined languages, service has historically referred to actions of individuals in relation to others, be it other individuals in the community or the government. In all the cultures, service by individuals is not conceptualised as 'self service'. Rather, it is seen as the obligation of the individual to render some form of service to others, be it military or community service. In cultures such as China and Japan, religion played an important role in fostering service as a 'semi-altruistic' action. In other cultures, motivation to perform service emerged out of feelings of obligation toward the community, be it city-state or clan. Obligation, therefore, featured in relationships that were both hierarchical and non-hierarchical.

Outcomes of service

The words reveal that acts of service are intended to produce outcomes for both the server and the served. Depending on the context, the served were either city-states or individuals in the community. Individuals in all the cultures played the role of service providers. The mutual benefit perceived by the server and the served negates the idea of service as self-sacrifice.

Service is conceived as an action that produces positive outcomes for a range of beneficiaries

Enrolment in the army by the nobility benefited Sparta and Rome. By defending the interests of the city-states, the nobility in Greece or Rome gained peer acceptance. In China, individuals came to the aid of their communities by providing food to the hungry, building bridges, or repairing streets. The servers in turn were assured of a better future in their afterlife, in accordance with Buddhist beliefs. Similarly in Japan, god-like status was given to individuals who provided exemplary service to their communities. As the words symbolising service in both Swahili and isiZulu indicate, entire communities were benefactors of service. A similar sentiment is echoed in the acts of *dana* of the Vedic period.

Beneficiaries of service

Dynamic and varied notions of community exist in different cultures. Certain cultures seem to have extended their in-group, while others appear more inward-looking. For instance, under traditional Confucian thought, strangers outside the village were not given help. This notion of the in-group changed with the inclusion of *I* (*righteousness or duty*) into the Confucian concept of *Jen* (*humaneness or benevolence*). Changes in the definitions of community have implications for service in terms of who benefits from the service activity.

Implications

Historically, service has referred to actions that are beneficial to others, be they kin, clan, or society. Service has also been conceptualised as the duty or responsibility of the individual. The definition of service as formal action (Sherraden 2001), however, reveals a contemporary conception of service that is rooted in *societal* systems of care and governance. This does not mean that governments and nobility did not structure 'service' experiences in the past; but today, structures exist through which an individual may apply him or herself, such as a two-week service project in Colombia or a two-year service obligation in Nigeria. Thus, service can be construed not as 'providing a service' but as 'performing service'.

> **The definition of service as formal action reveals a contemporary conception of service that is rooted in societal systems of care and governance**

Today, service activities are also targeted at outcomes that benefit the served and society in general. The historical motivations to serve – religious and non-religious – are bolstered today by stipends, educational incentives, and cross-cultural opportunities (McBride et al. 2003).

Just as there were differences across the examined cultures and their languages throughout history, there are likely to be many differences today. If service is a phenomenon that exists around the world, it is poorly understood and little studied. Some effort to *name* it – to conceptualise, operationalise, and generalise it – is needed for efficient communication and study. But is 'service' the best word?

The contexts of culture, language, and time influence the way a concept is understood. The richness of different meanings of service and related words should be appreciated in their own right, valuing all of the varied dimensions and nuances. However, we also recommend that similarities in each culture's contemporary conception of service be emphasised to suggest a common name, whether that be service or some other name. We also recommend that differences in forms of service be captured as variables. Examples of variables might include service at different ages; service by males and females; service under the auspices of the state, church, or other organisation. In this way, cultural differences can begin to be understood using the tools of social science. This approach cannot tell us everything, but it can potentially be a step toward greater understanding. In this light, differences in forms of service within and across cultures are empirical questions that can be assessed. We believe this will be necessary if the causes and effects of service are to be understood, and if service is to reach its practical potential in programmes and policy.

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Notes

[1]   For the paper that describes the full research and analysis upon which this chapter is based, please visit the Global Service Institute (GSI) web site at http://gwbweb.wustl.edu/csd/gsi/publications/.

[2]   This linguistic analysis is one of several methods that GSI is using to define and operationalise service in an international context. Service programmes, research, and theories are being reviewed worldwide. Additional reports are forthcoming.

[3]   Ancient languages of the Americas such as Mayan are not included in this analysis. Languages of the Middle East such as Hebrew and Arabic are also not represented here.

PART FOUR
The Practice of Service

Penny Foley is the Youth Service Programme Manager at the Umsobomvu Youth Fund in South Africa. Prior to that she worked for ten years at the Joint Enrichment Project, a non-governmental youth organisation in Johannesburg. She has extensive experience of working as a volunteer, initially for the Uniting Church in Australia, and later with the South African Council of Churches (SACC). She continues to volunteer in initiatives on unemployment through her membership of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

Youth Service for Employment

The Umsobomvu Youth Fund initiative in South Africa

PENNY FOLEY

SUMMARY

This chapter outlines the role played by a government-initiated fund for youth employment in South Africa in providing structured youth service programmes for unemployed young people.

Both government and civil society organisations have been committed to national youth service in South Africa for the past decade. The policy framework has supported the development of multiple initiatives which have drawn on the continued energy and enthusiasm for voluntarism that exists in South Africa.

The chapter describes the approach taken by the Umsobomvu Youth Fund in the last two years to create a programme

responsive to the needs of young people. The initiative is located within the larger policy environment in which a range of complementary national strategies have been put in place to create opportunities for skills development and job creation throughout South African society.

An account is given of the principles used to guide the initiation of youth service projects, and some of the challenges of developing appropriate cost and budget strategies are outlined. The chapter concludes that the costs of such projects mean that a national youth service programme is not affordable as a solution to mass unemployment. As a consequence, strategic choices have to be made about the beneficiaries of programmes as well as how the programmes relate to economic opportunities.

Introduction

In many developing countries, the introduction of national youth service has been driven by government through national policy and budget provision (Perold & Omar 1997). While this has been the case in South Africa, the process has not been solely reliant on, nor solely led by, the state. Since 1994, when the country's first democracy was established after the demise of apartheid, government has repeatedly stated its support for the notion of a national youth service, and some progress has been made towards developing an appropriate policy framework. Various programmes have been implemented during this period, primarily in the non-governmental, health and education sectors.

The imperatives for national youth service in South Africa are similar to those in other developing countries (eg. nation-building, skills development, poverty alleviation and employment). However, South Africa's youth service policy framework adopts an approach that recognises that there are many different ways in which youth service programmes can be implemented. This builds on the fact that throughout the country there are a multiplicity of service initiatives that have been in place for some time and that continue to grow. It also recognises that different types of service programmes are appropriate for young people in different circumstances.

There has always been a strong tradition of volunteer activity in South Africa, and this has not changed or declined since liberation. A recent study (Swilling & Russell 2002) put the labour value of volunteering in the non-profit sector in 1999 at R5.1bn. Furthermore, the highest level of employment among young people (20 per cent) occurs in the volunteer service sector (Stats SA 2001). Despite a growing perception that young people have become less interested in volunteering, thousands of young people are in fact volunteering their time in a range of initiatives, particularly in the health sector.

> **South Africa's youth service policy framework adopts an approach that recognises that there are many different ways in which youth service programmes can be implemented**

What volunteering does not do, however, is change the economic circumstances faced by youth. Today, unemployment is the dominant experience of young people. A survey of youth in 2000 indicated that 20 per cent of young people believe that they will never be employed. The reality is that 40 per cent of them are unlikely ever to find employment. And as the political and economic landscape has changed since 1994, so have the experiences, expectations and identities of young people. Inclusion in the political system in South Africa is no longer a burning issue for most young people; what is at stake is inclusion in the economic system.

The Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) is a national agency established by government to change the circumstances of unemployed youth. One of the programmes that Umsobomvu has launched is a national youth service programme that views service as a pathway to identified economic opportunity.

The Umsobomvu Youth Service programme model

The Umsobomvu Youth Fund's approach to youth service is characterised by three key features.

First, the Fund aims to create a programme that can respond to the needs of young people and enable them to access new opportunities for employment and income-generation; develop technical and professional competence and life skills; and contribute to national objectives for reconstruction and development.

Secondly, it believes that programmes should profile the remarkable energy and resourcefulness of young people and demonstrate the value of engaging them in national service initiatives.

And thirdly, the Fund locates these initiatives within the larger policy environment in which a range of complementary national strategies have been put in place to create opportunities for skills development and job creation throughout South African society and the economy. Since 1994, under the democratic government, the following national initiatives have shaped the South African education and socio-economic context:

- The South African Qualifications Act of September 1995;

- The National Skills Development Act of November 1998;

- The Higher Education White Paper and Act of December 1997;

- The Further Education and Training White Paper and Act of October 1998;

- The Child Care Act of 1996 and report of the Law Commission on the Juvenile Justice Act of 1994;

- The Urban Renewal and Integrated Sustainable Development Strategies and Programmes;

- The Local Government White Paper and Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998;

- The Municipal Structures Act of 1999 and Municipal Systems Act of 2000;

- The Green and draft White Papers on the National Youth Service;

- The National Youth Development Framework adopted in 2001; and

- A host of physical and infrastructure development initiatives launched within the context of poverty alleviation programmes.

Within this policy environment, funding dedicated to the implementation of youth service projects through the Umsobomvu Youth Fund provides new opportunities for the systemic integration of national youth service into the social and economic fabric of South African life.

The programme model is one which uses service opportunities to enable young people to develop their skills and access employment or generate income themselves. The programme design aims to ensure that both the young people participating in service, and the communities in which service is rendered, benefit from youth service initiatives.

How, then, can such a diversified, 'bottom-up' model of youth service be implemented whilst providing the young participants with a realistic chance of gaining employment or generating income in the long term?

The programme model uses service opportunities to enable young people to develop their skills and access employment or generate income themselves

Breaking new ground

Starting out on a pilot basis and working within the national policy framework and youth service programme model outlined above, the Umsobomvu Youth Fund identified three non-governmental organisations (NGOs) keen to develop and implement projects for unemployed youth. Each project undertook to:

- Identify employment or entrepreneurial opportunities which the young participants could access and sustain beyond the project, and ensure that these opportunities are realised;

- Undertake service activities which benefit a community, in line with national development objectives, whilst helping participants gain the relevant experience and skills to become employed or start a business; and

- Provide structured and accredited learning programmes to develop the skills and attitudes necessary to access jobs or entrepreneurial opportunities.

The service activities undertaken by the young participants over a period of 12-15 months included the labour intensive construction of a road with culverts and drifts necessary to control water run-off, the construction of a multi-purpose centre, the development of municipal food gardens, supporting the work of an under-resourced clinic running primary health education, care and counselling projects, the provision of support projects for youth-at-risk in outdoor education, and the repair of infrastructure in a conservation area.

The three organisations faced enormous challenges as they developed and implemented the youth service projects. Each was working in a new way that posed significant challenges in terms of developing a rigorous, accredited approach to skills development (rather than a short-term, ad hoc approach). And each organisation had to confront the need to provide clear strategies that would guarantee participants' access to economic activity at the conclusion of the project. Some of the organisations found the task daunting, but persevered nevertheless.

For the Umsobomvu Youth Fund the process was valuable because many assumptions about the youth service programme model could be tested in practice. Both the funder and the participating NGOs grappled with a number of difficult issues during the initial process:

- What does it take for a training programme to be accredited?

- How do NGOs engage with national development objectives?

- What is an appropriate stipend policy?

- What is a realistic anticipation of drop-out from these projects?

- What are the economic opportunities that exist for young people, and what support do they need if they are to access them?

- Does the requirement of economic opportunities preclude projects being run in very poor areas?

- Given the high levels of failure in the past with regard to young people's attempts to establish and sustain small businesses, could participation in youth service projects provide the young participants with new levels of confidence and skills that would enable ventures to succeed?

While there is considerable political pressure in South Africa to launch service projects on a large scale, there is equally strong political pressure not to 'dump funds' in projects that ultimately make no significant difference to the lives of the young people who participate in them.

The Umsobomvu Youth Fund recognises the overwhelming need for large numbers of young people to gain access to such projects. It is also aware that many more organisations and institutions need to understand and be willing to implement youth service projects. This takes time and experience.

Umsobomvu's strategy, therefore, was to generate new knowledge about what works in youth service, and to use this experience to increase the opportunities and capacity for project delivery. This involved three principles:

- Learning by doing, and reflecting on this practice to build a body of knowledge about youth service for employment;

- Incrementally growing the scale of service programmes for unemployed young people; and

- Using Umsobomvu's resources to leverage wider funding from government departments for youth service, on the basis of the experience gained.

Projects are developed through a series of 'generations'. In the first generation, projects are developed using the model described above. They are implemented by a small number of agencies. The second generation involves using the learning from the first projects to increase the ability of other agencies to run them. The third generation draws on the learning from previous projects to assist government agencies to conceptualise and deliver new and larger projects. And in the fourth generation, the Umsobomvu Youth Fund gives technical advice to a wide range of agencies and organisations on how to run good youth service projects across the country.

The strategy can be illustrated as follows:

FIGURE 1 The UYF model for taking service-for-employment programmes to a larger scale
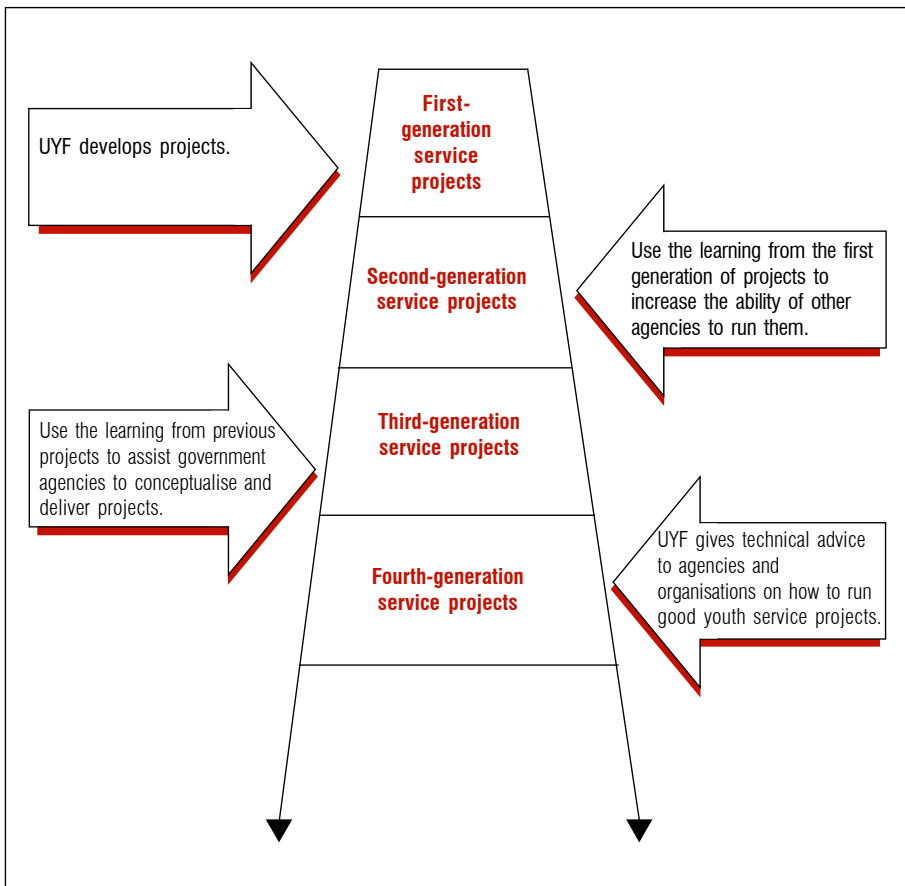
Getting started: The role of the funding agency

In kick-starting this strategy the Umsobomvu Youth Fund has followed four guidelines:

- **Commit to fully funding the first and second round of project delivery.**
  In the first two years of delivery, Umsobomvu has undertaken to fund all elements of the projects in order to generate knowledge of what works in youth service in the South African context.

- **Link up the project plans with the goals of public sector agencies.**
  Sectors identified by Umsobomvu as initial priorities for youth service include construction and infrastructure development, primary agriculture, primary health care, conservation and environmental care, and juvenile justice. Each of these relate to specific development objectives articulated by government around which public expenditure is planned over the next two to three years. Within the sectoral plans, Umsobomvu works with agencies to run youth service projects.

- **Identify the most appropriate intermediaries to deliver projects.**
  A major task for the Fund has been to develop criteria for choosing agencies and organisations to implement the youth service projects. Through the initial contracting process, Umsobomvu provided a substantial planning grant to each organisation which enabled the organisations to demonstrate how they would integrate the service, learning and employment components in each project, and how the project would be managed. Perhaps the most important lesson from the pilot process was that it takes time for organisations to fully understand the requirements of implementing youth service projects. Gaining this experience proved to be essential in order for organisations to participate confidently and to contribute to the learning process.

- **Support the organisations in project delivery.**
  Umsobomvu has had to play a direct and intensive support role, particularly during the first year of delivery. Whilst providing hands-on support to the projects, Umsobomvu was also playing the larger role of forging linkages and partnerships that create an enabling environment for the implementation of service projects with young people. These partnerships include working with the Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs – institutions established in each economic sector to drive sector-wide training and human resources development), and with provincial and national government departments.

The costs of building a national youth service programme

The Umsobomvu Youth Fund has recognised that there are two types of costs in the establishment of a successful national youth service programme:

- The costs of running effective youth service projects; and

- The costs of establishing an effective and sustainable youth service programme throughout the country.

The table below attempts to give an indication of the interface between the work done in the projects and the parallel efforts made to finance and develop a successful and cost-effective national youth service programme. The column on the left speaks to the direct costs that organisations incur in implementing youth service projects that aim to change the economic status of young people. The column on the right shows the work done by the Fund to create a programmatic framework and environment for youth service nationally.

TABLE 1   Cost components of national youth service

Youth service project cost components	National youth service programme cost components
Skills development Nationally recognised (accredited) training in relation to the economic opportunities youth could access at the completion of the project. Ultimately it is hoped that this funding will be sourced from the National Skills Fund. Sufficient skills in the fundamentals of mathematics and communications. Ultimately it is hoped that this funding will be sourced from national and provincial education budgets. **Lifeskills/personal development** Young people develop the personal behaviours and attitudes they require. Some of these are against national standards in areas such as citizenship, identity, and making career choices.	**Development of methods, materials and information to support and expand delivery** - Identify emerging economic opportunities for young people, including detailed local and sectoral scans of the emerging opportunities and the implications for skills and development programmes. - Develop mentorship and support programmes for young people leaving youth service projects and accessing entrepreneurial support. - Convene and facilitate the participation of sector education and training authorities in building and developing youth service projects. - Agree on financing arrangements with the National Skills Fund for skills programmes in youth service. - Agree on financing arrangements with the National Student Financial Aid Scheme for participants who wish to proceed with their studies.

Youth service project cost components	National youth service programme cost components
Service Services activities take place within the development priorities of government departments. Budget items include: • Materials for undertaking the service; • The supervision of young people by professional/ technical people to ensure the work meets all quality standards for the sector; and • Where a labour cost has been allocated to projects it contributes to stipends, insurance and learning costs. Ultimately this funding will be drawn from government department and municipal budgets. The additional supervision and support by youth workers to ensure the entire project is a learning experience, is a direct cost to the Umsobomvu Youth Fund.	**Development of capacities and ability for large-scale implementation of youth service programmes through multiple initiatives** Develop contractual and institutional criteria for government agencies that could allocate funds to youth service projects. Umsobomvu must initially take overall responsibility for programme management and for ensuring exceptional quality in the projects delivered. Advocate at local, provincial and national level for budget streams to be allocated to youth service. Advocate to the public and private sectors the desirability of youth service graduates as employees.
Finance Direct incentives to young people that make it possible for youth to participate in the project in regard to food, transport, childcare and clothing. Activities that 'give positive status' to participating youth and basic stipends are the responsibility of Umsobomvu.	**Finance** Develop a cost benefit procedure to guide youth service programmes nationally. Ensure that there are norms for the cost ratio of projects and that youth service projects do not compete with or displace existing labour contracts.
Project management and administration Organisations implementing youth service projects require project managers who can supervise, co-ordinate and monitor the progress of all of the above interactions against contractual agreements, and against the positive development of young people in the project. Scrupulous financial and narrative reports are required.	**Programme management and administration** What kind of management is required to sustain programmes that meet the needs of public sector agencies whilst simultaneously providing the skills and economic opportunities for young people? Where should such management be located?

This analysis suggests that the task of launching a major systemic youth service initiative that is capable of making a serious impact on youth unemployment requires substantial levels of sustained funding. At the same time, these investments only make sense when they offer young people a real opportunity to change their social and economic circumstances.

The context of youth unemployment is so difficult and the challenge of integrating young people on the periphery of society is so great, that initiatives are unlikely to succeed without sufficient support. Meaningful support does not only involve a monetary component; it also involves an investment of time, energy, skill and a commitment to knowledge development.

The ultimate aim is to resource the youth service programmes from a diversity of funding sources (eg. through matching funds) to ensure that no single agency has to bear the entire responsibility for the cost of a national youth service programme.

Making the most of scarce resources

If the costs are high, a national youth service programme is clearly not an affordable solution to mass unemployment. Rather, youth service becomes a new and significant option in the range of programmes available to young people. This requires making strategic choices about the beneficiaries of the youth service programmes as well as how the programmes relate to economic opportunities.

Let us return to the high rate of volunteering that is manifesting itself in South Africa. There are thousands of young people volunteering in the primary health care sector, particularly in regard to the AIDS pandemic. Could it be that young people who have themselves developed some skills and experience through their volunteer efforts, and who are interested in working in the health sector, are the people for whom a youth service project would be most valuable?

Similarly, there are large numbers of young people who have worked in poverty alleviation and public works programmes such as the Working for Water programme (clearing alien vegetation for a minimal stipend). What happens next? Where do they go next in order to build on the experience they have already gained? Would these not be the people to target for youth service?

What this suggests is that young people's ability, their motivation for engaging in service, and the choices they have made to get into youth service programmes should be taken seriously as the basis for integrating them into the mainstream of society.

Where investments have already been made in the development of young people as, for example, through voluntary mentoring, short-term skills programmes or public sector short-term labour creation programmes, youth service projects may offer a further pathway that will enable young people to gain access to other initiatives such as finance for small businesses, access to higher education, participation in a learnership, or employment in the formal sector. In other words, youth service becomes a passage into more development opportunities – either in education or through employment.

> **Young people's ability, their motivation and the choices they have made to get into youth service should be taken seriously as the basis for integrating them into the mainstream of society**

For example, volunteers who are keen to pursue a career in the area of health and have demonstrated their commitment and interest by volunteering in community health projects, could apply to participate in a twelve month youth service project. With the support of the Department of Health and the Health and Welfare Sector Education and Training Authority, they could achieve a nationally recognised qualification in community-based health care. At the end of the project they would be eligible for workplace training through a learnership, seek employment in health related areas, or set up a non-governmental organisation that could tender for social contracts to provide community-based care.

Conclusion

For the first time in the history of youth service in South Africa, the Umsobomvu Youth Fund service-for-employment programme holds the possibility not only of countering unemployment but also of promoting job creation. Key principles that inform the design of the national youth service include:

The Umsobomvu Youth Fund sees service as a means whereby young people could access identified economic opportunity

- making learning an integral part of service;

- shaping the service activities according to government department priorities;

- providing appropriate incentives to support the participa of young people;

- selecting the sites for youth service on the basis of high needs and hig potential;

- developing a culture of self-reliance in the national youth service; and

- implementing the national youth service programme through effective partnerships.

By locating youth service within South Africa's overall development policy framework, and seriously addressing the skills development needs of youth people in relation to identified economic opportunity, the Umsobomvu Youth Fund is triggering job creation initiatives such as provincial conservation plans and other regional economic opportunities. This marks a serious attempt to break new ground in terms of generating employment, and makes the programme quite distinctive in its efforts not only to counter unemployment but also to contribute to national development and economic growth.

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Note

[1]   In South Africa, a 'learnership' refers to a method by which a person can gain a qualification while gaining workplace experience. The Department of Labour aims to have 80 000 young people involved in learnerships by March 2005.

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September 11, Service and Activism

A longitudinal study of American high school students

JAMES YOUNISS AND EDWARD METZ

SUMMARY

For the past decade, we have studied high school community service programmes for the purpose of learning more about the conditions that promote students' civic development. The tragic events of September 11, 2001, happened to coincide with the final year of our study of a suburban public high school near Boston, MA.[1] This timing permitted us to assess youths' views of the tragic events, and whether 9/11 had an effect on their civic engagement scores.

Short-term results revealed an immediate increase in students' political interest, an immediate decrease in tolerance for free speech, and no changes in intended future civic participation. Nine months later, students' civic

engagement scores returned to pre-9/11 levels. Descriptive findings showed that most students' understanding of the world was changed after 9/11. Fewer students, however, reported that their view of themselves had changed.

We were also able to determine whether or not students' active responses through community service had an effect on their scores on a series of civic engagement indices. The majority of students responded by attending memorial services or vigils, donating blood or supplies, or organising service pertinent to 9/11's aftermath. Statistical analyses showed that student activists who organised service had enhanced and sustained levels of intended civic participation and tolerance for free speech compared with students who responded through other means or not at all. Analyses also showed that students who attended memorials or vigils had enhanced and sustained political interest compared to non-respondents.

Introduction

For the past decade, we have studied high school community service programmes in order to learn more about the conditions that promote students' civic development. Our theory is that service has the potential to take young people out of their narrow daily worlds and to set them in a position to reflect on society and to test themselves as actors within it.

Our research has pointed out important differences among service programmes. Programmes which seem most effective provide students with a clear and compelling rationale for service, and challenge students to draw on skills they did not know they had. They put students in contact with people in different circumstances from theirs, experiencing problems different from theirs, and allow students to view their service as part of a collective value orientation that has transcendent historical meaning (e.g. Metz and Youniss 2003, Metz, et al. 2003, McLellan and Youniss 2003, Yates and Youniss 1999, Youniss and Yates 1997). This is why many nations require service of their youth as a rite of passage that brings them into the community and moves them toward active and participatory citizenship.

> **Programmes which seem most effective provide students with a clear and compelling rationale for service**

There happens to be solid data to support the viewpoint that service and activism during youth can lead to longer-term civic involvement. For example, Fendrich (1993) and McAdam (1988) report longitudinal findings from adults who, in their youth, participated in the civil rights movement in the American South, risking their safety to help the cause of racial integration. When these activists had reached middle-age, they differed from their peers with similar backgrounds, but who did not partake in the movement during their youth. Jennings (2002) has reported parallel results in his longitudinal study of anti-war activists. Civil rights and anti-war activists matured into adult citizens who were more likely to vote, to belong to voluntary associations, and to be involved in organising their communities. It is worth noting that these longitudinal results are also supported by retrospective studies in which recalled activism vs non-activism, differentiated mid-life adults on these same civic measures (DeMartini 1983, Stewart, Settles & Winter 1998, Youniss, McLellan & Yates 1997).

We view our own work with high school students as relevant to this set of findings. We do not equate most high school service with, say, participating in the civil rights struggle. But we agree with Jennings (2002) who proposed that whereas one cannot reproduce the civil rights or Vietnam era, one can arrange 'proto-collective action such as that represented by school politics and organisational endeavours'. (p322) We would include service as one such activity, especially service for which there is a clear and convincing rationale that can help connect youth to worthwhile historical traditions.

September 11 and the present study

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States occurred in the midst of our most recent study of a community service programme at a public high school. We had been tracking the class of 2002 for two years and had just begun the final year of the study when 9/11 occurred during these students' senior year. Some observers speculated that these events might spark an upsurge in civic engagement in citizens in general and youth in particular (National Organisation for Research at the University of Chicago 2001, Galston 2001, Kennedy Manzo 2001, Putnam 2002). There was anecdotal support for the notion that 9/11 would galvanise American citizens, from the sudden upsurge in patriotic signs and flags, to repeated references to America's history, and media descriptions of citizens working together on local and national responses to the crisis. Young people were involved in discussions about the ramifications of the attacks and on topics such as protecting civil liberties, racial profiling, and tolerance for alternative viewpoints (Gordon 2001, Simpson 2001). Schools and religious organisations held forums at which such matters were aired from several sides. The military campaign undertaken in Afghanistan added new issues to the public discourse that continues even today with the war in Iraq. In the weeks after the attacks, reports indicated 70 per cent of Americans gave time or money to charities (Independent Sector 2001), trust in the government increased (Putnam 2002), and television ratings for the evening news swelled (Althaus 2002).

The first purpose of the present study was to assess the effect of 9/11 on students' views, and whether the event altered students' pre/post scores on a series of civic engagement measures. The second purpose was to examine differential responses to 9/11, with special interest in students who responded actively by becoming mobilisers of community service for others. Our hypothesis was that students who took action by organising or participating in service through community organisations would probably have gained a sense of effectiveness, leading to enhanced civic engagement that would not have come from more passive engagement.

Method

The public high school in the present study was located in a suburban middle–class town near Boston, Massachusetts, with a population of approximately 25 000. Students in this school were typical for their age and status in having active and demanding lives, normal concerns regarding academic achievement and involvement in extracurricular activities and sports. Almost 80 per cent of the students in the school were white, and more than 90 per cent of graduates of this school went on to college.

The region in which the school was located was implicated in the 9/11 attacks, as two of the four hijacked aeroplanes had departed from Logan International Airport in Boston. Some victims on these planes were from the town, and numerous victims in New York City had come from the Boston area. Almost 40 per cent of the

students reported having known a friend or family member of a victim.   As was the case in communities across the United States, various organisations in the town arranged memorial services and vigils soon after the attack in honour of the victims and to show solidarity with the nation. The school held assemblies for students and guidance counsellors provided support to students who were experiencing emotional difficulties. In sum, the town and school offered citizens, young and old, an opportunity to reflect on the events and the future after 9/11.

Participants

A total of 140 of 211 students (66 per cent) from the class of 2002 were included in the present study because they had the necessary data present at three points in time: the end of 11th grade or prior to 9/11 (May 2001, Time 1), the start of 12th grade or one month after 9/11 (October 2001, Time 2), and the end of 12th grade or nine months after 9/11 (May 2002, Time 3). Because we had collected data on the same measures of engagement the year before from the class of 2001, these students were used as a comparison group. A total of 156 of 223 students (70 per cent) from the class of 2001 were present at the three corresponding points in time: the end of 11th grade (May 2000), the start of 12th grade (October 2000), and the end of 12th grade (May 2001). The main reason for attrition was due to student absence on the day the survey was administered.

Background variables

Background variables included records of parents' volunteering (volunteers vs. non-volunteers), mothers' level of education (college degree vs. no degree), importance of religion (5-point scale), and students' grade point averages from 11th grade (GPA, maximum of 4). Because personal characteristics may have influenced involvement in activities such as service or extracurricular activities, personality measures controlled for dispositions of helping and empathy (Penner, Fritzsche, Craigner & Freifeld 1995). As a measure of extracurricular involvement during grade 11, students were asked how often they participated in school sports, clubs, and government. Volunteer records included service that was done beyond a school-based 40-hour service mandate. There were no differences between classes in background variables.

Two items gauged students' views on 9/11. Three scaled measures assessed students' civic engagement four months before, one month after, and nine months after 9/11.

9/11 measures

At Times 2 and 3, students were asked to indicate whether they agreed with the following statements: 'The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 changed how I view the world,' and 'The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 changed how I see myself.'

Civic engagement measures

Three measures tapped into students' capacity to be interested in, to understand, and to become involved as active citizens in a democratic society: political interest, intended future civic participation, and tolerance for free speech. All were assessed at Times 1, 2, and 3.

Political interest consisted of how often students:

- discussed politics with their parents;

- read about politics or watched the news on television; and

- were involved in discussions on democracy or civic participation at their school.

Students responded on a 5-point Likert scale from 1=never to 5=daily. Reliability for the scale yielded Cronbach alphas of .73 at Time 1, .65 at Time 2, and .66 at Time 3.

Intended future civic participation consisted of the likelihood students would:

- join a boycott;

- demonstrate for a cause;

- do volunteer service;

- sign a petition for a cause;

- make a statement at a public meeting; and

- write a letter to a newspaper about an issue.

Students responded to each item on a 5-point Likert scale from 1=not very likely to 5=definitely will. Reliability for the scale yielded Cronbach alphas of .85 at Time 1, .81 at Time 2, and .80 at Time 3. Past research demonstrates that expressed intentions to act in a particular way have been found to predict actual subsequent behaviours (Azjen 2001).

Tolerance for free speech was assessed by the single item: 'There are always people whose ideas are considered bad or dangerous by others. For instance, consider somebody who is against a particular religion (for example, Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Muslim, etc.). If this person wanted to make a public speech, should he be allowed to?' Students responded to this question on a 5-point Likert scale from 1=definitely not to 5=definitely.

Results

The results of the study are set out in two parts below. Part I examines students' views of 9/11, and whether the event had a measurable effect (after one month and nine months) on students' civic engagement scores. Part II explores variations in students' responses to 9/11 as well as students' individual differences. Subsequent analyses tested whether various responses to 9/11 influenced students' civic engagement scores differently.

Part I

9/11's effect on students' views of the world and self

One month and nine months after 9/11, 73 per cent of students in the class of 2002 agreed that the terrorist attack changed their world view. While most students' views of the world had been altered, there was less agreement that their view of themselves had changed. At both one month and nine months after 9/11, fewer than 35 per cent of students agreed that their view of themselves had changed because of the attacks.

9/11's effect on students' civic engagement

Paired t tests examined changes in civic engagement scores in the class of 2002 before and after 9/11. Students in the class of 2001 were also tested over a corresponding period of time as a control. Analyses measured the immediate (Time 1 to Time 2) and longer-term effect of 9/11 at nine months (Time 1 to Time 3), and were performed for political interest, intended civic participation, and tolerance for free speech. Paired t tests revealed that 2002 students' political interest increased significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(140) = 4.45$, $p < 01$, but did not change from Time 1 to Time 3.

Analyses also revealed no differences in these students' intended future civic engagement at any time. Paired t tests revealed that 2002 students' tolerance for free speech decreased significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(140) = 3.97$, $p < 01$. However, Time 1 to Time 3 analyses revealed no differences as students' tolerance for free speech returned to pre-9/11 levels. In the class of 2001, there were no changes in students' political interest or intended civic participation at either time. Yet, paired t tests revealed that these students' tolerance for free speech increased significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(156) = 4.66$, $p < 01$, and from Time 1 to Time 3, $t(156) = 6.74$, $p < 01$. Table 1 lists the means and standard deviations for both classes at Times 1, 2, and 3.

TABLE 1   Mean scores out of 5 for students' political interest, intended civic involvement, and tolerance for free speech by class over time

		Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
Political interest	**N**	**Mean SD**	**Mean SD**	**Mean SD**
Class of 2001	156	3.31 (.91)	3.34 (.93)	3.32 (.90)
Class of 2002	140	3.08 (.89)	3.40[a] (.84)	3.30 (.87)
Future intended civic participation				
Class of 2001	156	2.99 (.71)	3.14 (.67)	3.19 (.59)
Class of 2002	140	3.16 (.62)	3.28 (.63)	3.22 (.67)
Tolerance for free speech				
Class of 2001	156	2.87 (1.34)	3.38[c] (1.38)	3.57[c] (1.11)
Class of 2002	140	3.53 (1.12)	3.04[b] (1.34)	3.55 (1.08)

Note: For the class of 2002, Time 1 was four months prior to 9/11, Time 2 was one month after 9/11, and Time 3 was nine months after 9/11.

  [a] Paired *t* tests revealed that students' political interest in the class of 2002 increased significantly from Time 1 to Time 2.

  [b] Paired *t* tests revealed that students' tolerance for free in the class of 2002 decreased significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, but remained constant from Time 1 to Time 3.

  [c] Paired *t* tests revealed that students' tolerance for free speech in the class of 2001 increased significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, and from Time 1 to Time 3.

FIGURE 1   Mean scores out of 5 and Standard Deviations for students' political interest, intended civic involvement, and tolerance for free speech before (T1), one-month (T2), and nine-months (T3) after 9/11 for the class of 2002. Scores from the previous year from class of 2001 are listed as a comparison
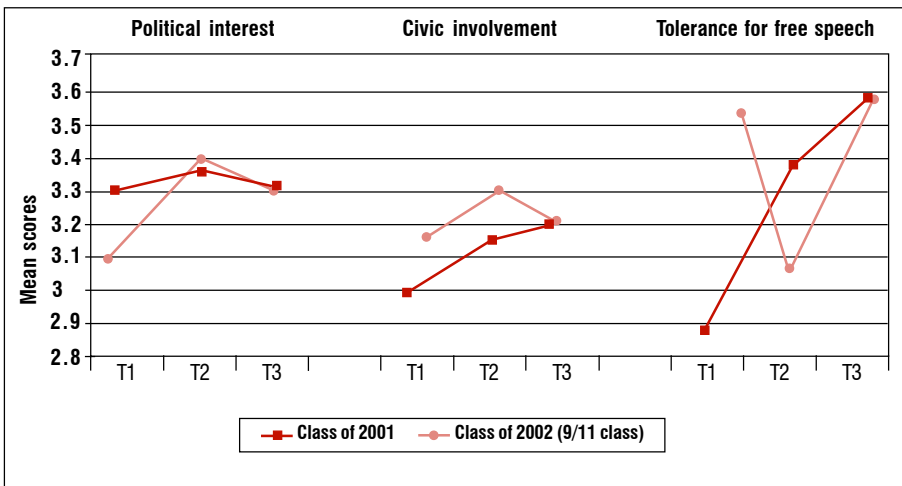
Part II

Students' responses to 9/11

Having assessed the effect on all students in the class of 2002, we were next interested in students' efforts in response to 9/11. In the October survey, approximately four weeks after 9/11, we asked students in the class of 2002 whether they had:

- attended a memorial or candlelight vigil;

- donated to causes related to 9/11;

- performed service related to 9/11; or

- done nothing in particular.

Students were also asked if responding to September 11 was meaningful and to explain why.

Memorial services/vigils

Seventy-one per cent of seniors had attended a memorial service or a vigil, such as the candlelight vigil held four days after 9/11 in the town square. Students said they were moved emotionally by such public events that took place just days after the attack. A female vigil attendee wrote, 'My friends and I held candles in the center of town and we sang patriotic songs. Many people came out to join us and cars honked as they drove by. It showed how much the community was coming together.' A male student who attended an ecumenical service at his church wrote, 'To see everyone come together in the interfaith ceremony and put down their differences was most meaningful to me.' Themes of unity and patriotism were repeated by the majority of students who participated in these kinds of events.

Giving money and donating blood or clothes

Post-9/11, there was ample opportunity for Americans to contribute to fundraisers and to donate money to relief efforts. A large portion (64 per cent) of the class of 2002 did so. Many gave through the American Red Cross Disaster Relief Fund, others through a school fundraiser, while still others gave at their church or temple. Some students' written responses expressed their feelings of inadequacy donating money. A male student reflected, 'I didn't really feel like there was anything I could do besides give money. I wish there was something else I could do to make use of myself.' A smaller portion of students (16 per cent) donated blood and clothes to aid victims and relief efforts. A male said, 'I had never donated blood before 9/11. I think it is one of the few things I could have done that would make a difference at this point.'

Service

In response to 9/11, 18 per cent of seniors said they had performed community service, often in addition to having attended memorials or vigils or having donated money, clothes, or blood. All of students' service in response to 9/11 was performed under the auspices of the school or community institutions, and took the form of organising and managing public events or leading discussions on 9/11. Examples of the former included organising blood drives or raising money for victim's families through the Red Cross and other community organisations. Several students organised one such fundraiser within their school. A male member of the drama club wrote, 'We decided to organise a fundraiser with proceeds from the Senior Class Play going to the American Red Cross as a gesture that our high school is behind the effort to help victims as well.' Other students organised and assisted in running the town candlelight vigil, ecumenical services at their church, or the school assembly. One female student reflected, 'I helped set up and run the candlelight vigil at my church. It was a very emotional, peaceful, and moving experience to be involved. I felt good for helping out.'

> **Students' service in response to 9/11 took the form of organising and managing public events or leading discussions on 9/11**

Non-respondents

Overall, 85 per cent of students responded to September 11 with one or more forms of action. Fifteen per cent of students, however, did not report active involvement related to September 11.

Because many students were involved in multiple forms of response, students were categorised into four response groups based on the following hierarchy. Students who performed service, regardless of whether they had donated or attended a memorial event, were placed in the server group (n=25). Those who had donated supplies or given blood, regardless of whether they had attended a memorial event, were placed in the donor (n=22) group.[2] Students in the commemorator group (n=73) had neither performed service nor donated in response to 9/11. Students in the non-respondent group (n=21) were not involved in these forms of activities. The remaining portion of this section elaborates on differences in background variables related to students' responses, and examines whether responses to 9/11 influenced their civic engagement.

Individual differences in responding to 9/11

Past research has demonstrated that a major methodological issue confronting all non-experimental studies of service is whether service leads to changes in outcomes, or whether individual differences lead some students to self-select into service while

discouraging others (Stukas, Clary & Snyder 1999). In the current study, students who responded as servers had higher mean scores on several background measures. For example, servers were more likely to be female, they were more involved in school clubs and had higher scores on the empathy measure when compared to students in the other response groups. Students who were non-respondents had lower scores on importance of religion and their parents had volunteered the least. While acknowledging that such individual differences were likely to have played a role in whether and how students responded to 9/11, the second part of this study examined the role of service in response to 9/11 as a facilitator of students' civic engagement. Mean scores and percentages of background variables by students' response to 9/11 are noted in Table 2.

> Servers were more likely to be female, they were more involved in school clubs and had higher scores on the empathy measure when compared to students in the other response groups

TABLE 2   Mean scores and percentages of background variables by response groups to 9/11

	Servers	Commemorators	Donors	Non-respondents
	n=25	n=73	n=22	n=21
Percentage male	28%	53%	64%	62%
Percentage whose parents volunteered	60%	53%	68%	48%
Percentage of mothers with degree	72%	73%	74%	81%
Percentage that volunteered grade 11	75%	57%	50%	65%
GPA	3.02	3.02	2.85	3.47
Importance of religion	2.82	2.88	2.89	2.47
Helping	3.38	3.29	3.33	3.01
Empathy	3.77	3.56	3.43	3.41
School sports involvement	3.78	3.78	3.68	2.83
School club involvement	3.24	2.78	2.73	2.56
School government involvement	1.92	1.67	1.82	1.22

Note: GPA and Importance of religion were on a four-point scale. The items thereafter were on a five-point scale.

Responses to 9/11 and views of the world and themselves

Less than 45 per cent of students who did nothing in response to 9/11 agreed that their view of the world had been changed at one month and nine months after 9/11. Seventy to 90 per cent of students who responded to 9/11 (servers, commemorators, and donors) agreed that their view of the world had been changed at one- and nine-months after 9/11.

Almost 55 per cent of servers agreed that their view of themselves had been changed by 9/11 at one month and nine months. About 30 per cent of commemorators and donors and about 10 per cent of non-responders agreed that their view of themselves had been changed at one month and nine months.

Responses to 9/11 and changes in students' civic engagement

Paired t tests were employed to examine the immediate (Time 1 to Time 2) and longer-term (Time 1 to Time 3) changes in civic engagement scores among the four response groups. Paired t tests revealed that servers' political interest increased significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(25) = 2.61$, $p < .05$, but did not change from Time 1 to Time 3. Paired t tests showed that servers' intended future civic participation increased significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(25) = 3.12$, $p < .01$, and from Time 1 to Time 3, $t(25) = 2.33$, $p < .05$. Paired t tests revealed that servers' tolerance for free speech remained stable from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(25)$, but increased significantly from Time 1 to Time 3, $t(25) = 2.31$, $p < .05$. Paired t tests revealed that donors' political interest increased from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(21) = 2.83$, $p < .01$, but did not change from Time 1 to Time 3. There were no changes in donors' intended civic participation or tolerance for free speech at any time. Paired t tests revealed that commemorators' political interest increased from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(73) = 2.45$, $p < .05$, and from Time 1 to Time 3, $t(73) = 2.70$, $p < .05$. There were no changes in commemorators' intended civic participation at either time. Paired t tests revealed that commemorators' tolerance for free speech declined significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, $t(73) = 3.17$, $p < .01$, but remained constant from Time 1 to Time 3. There were no differences in mean scores in any of the three civic engagement measures among non-respondents. Table 3 lists the means and standard deviations for each response group over time, and the significant paired t test analyses.

TABLE 3   Mean scores (out of 5) for students' political interest, intended civic participation, and tolerance for free speech by response groups to 9/11 over time

| Political interest	N	Time 1 Mean SD	Time 2 Mean SD	Time 3 Mean SD
Servers	25	3.28 (.63)	3.67[a] (.67)	3.31 (.62)
Donors	22	3.06 (.87)	3.56[a] (.73)	3.24 (.88)
Memorial Attendees	73	3.13 (.90)	3.33[a] (.87)	3.31[b] (.90)
Non-Respondents	21	2.89 (1.09)	3.17 (.93)	3.07 (.99)
Intended civic participation				
Servers	25	3.29 (.51)	3.51[a] (.60)	3.55[b] (.66)
Donors	22	2.97 (.69)	3.26[a] (.67)	2.95 (.64)
Memorial Attendees	73	3.22 (.62)	3.18 (.60)	3.22 (.67)
Non-respondents	21	3.06 (.62)	3.09 (.65)	3.09 (.63)
Tolerance for free speech				
Servers	25	3.20 (1.19)	2.75 (1.33)	3.60[b] (.98)
Donors	22	3.64 (1.03)	3.13 (1.35)	3.64 (1.08)
Memorial Attendees	73	3.50 (1.10)	3.14[c] (1.39)	3.41 (1.18)
Non-respondents	21	3.42 (1.26)	2.95 (1.31)	3.30 (1.13)

Note: For all groups, Time 1 was four months prior to 9/11, Time 2 was one month after 9/11, and Time 3 was nine months after 9/11.

[a]   Paired t tests revealed a significant increase in mean scores from Time 1 to Time 2.

[b]   Paired t tests revealed a significant increase in mean scores from Time 1 to Time 3.

[c]   Paired t tests revealed a significant decrease in mean scores from Time 1 to Time 2.

FIGURE 2   Mean scores out of 5 for students' political interest, intended civic involvement, and tolerance for free speech before (T1), one month (T2), and nine months (T3) after 9/11 for the class of 2002 by students' reponses
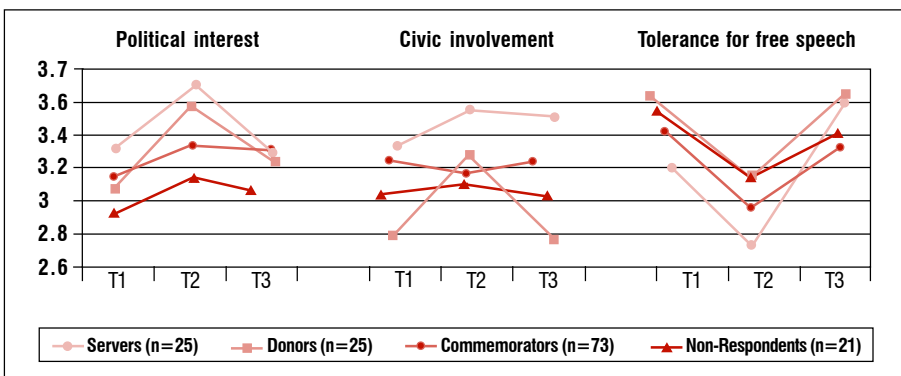
Conclusion

The short- and longer-term impact of 9/11

The September 11 terrorist attack had an immediate and far-reaching impact on people in the United States and the world. The destruction of symbolic property, the loss of approximately 3 000 lives, and the supposed purpose behind the events, caused the nation to reflect on its political and economic position in the world. Given the recent history of the United States, 9/11 and the ensuing war in Iraq stand as the major geo-political events in the lives of today's young Americans. It is potentially for them the WWII or civil rights movement of their grandparents' era, or the Vietnam War of their parents' generation.

In our study, more than 70 per cent of the students agreed that 9/11 changed their understanding of the world one month and nine months later. In our measures of civic engagement, 9/11 also appeared to have altered, albeit temporarily, students' views. For one thing, students gravitated toward watching the news on television and toward discussing the events and their meaning with parents and friends, and classmates in school. Students also exhibited less tolerance for free speech immediately after 9/11, highlighting the tenuous nature of balancing individuals' civic liberties with the safety of a larger community in a democratic society. Neither effect was sustained after nine months, as students' scores returned to their pre- 9/11 levels. These findings mirror those reported for American adults over the same period of time (Traugott, Brader & Coral 2002).

Findings from our study also speak to youths' responses to 9/11. As in other communities in the Unites States, we found that the students at this high school had limited opportunities to respond actively to 9/11, as the immediate manifestations of the attacks did not coalesce into concerted and ongoing action. For instance, while more than 60 per cent of our students volunteered the year prior to 9/11, less than 20 per cent of students were able to volunteer in response to 9/11. Skocpol (2002) and other commentators have assessed this phenomenon and astutely noted that the opening stages of the nations' war against terrorism, unlike other wars, left Americans with an urge to act, but uncertainty about how to do so constructively. In the absence of such mobilisation, it is not surprising that only a few high school students found concrete ways to invest their energies more deeply in our political system.[3] Yet, because of the ongoing war in Iraq, the first portion of findings from this study must be viewed as preliminary. 9/11 may still be the defining event for this generation, and its impact may be more evident as the full course of events is played out.

Service in response to 9/11

The main purpose of this study was to examine the significance of taking public action in dealing with 9/11. In the current study, a small number of student activists helped to mobilise their peers and other members of their community by working with organisations such as Red Cross, churches, and other civic groups. The

percentage (18 per cent) of students who became involved in such action corresponds roughly to the percentages of activists in past studies (Youniss, McLellan & Yates 1997). This point also illustrates the motivation and determination of these students to instigate their own service projects when few opportunities were available. While it is likely that pre-9/11 differences may have influenced their involvement, service in response to 9/11 appears to have played a role in enhancing these students' intended future civic involvement and tolerance for free speech.

> **The concrete and meaningful experiences afforded by service seem to have sustained these students' intentions for future civic involvement**

The longer-term effectiveness of service can also be seen through a comparison of the mean scores of the servers and the donors. In the intended civic involvement measure, the concrete and meaningful experiences afforded by service seem to have sustained these students' intentions for future civic involvement after nine months, whereas the donors' initial increase in civic intentions dissipated after the same period of time. These findings are reminiscent of what Flacks (1988) has called 'making history'. In reflecting on the civil rights movement, for example, Flacks notes that student participants constructed history not by observing it, but acting in conjunction with larger organisations, such as the coalition of black churches in the South. Although the popular media made light of student activism at the time, it is not the case that most of the activists left their youth behind to settle into non-involved middle-class lives. In fact, some of the strongest longitudinal data we have indicate that activists sustained their political fervour through their 50s by remaining mobilisers for various causes (Jennings 2002, Youniss et al. 1997). This is not to say that the student activists in our sample are destined for lives of political involvement. It does suggest, however, that their constructive dealing with an important political event demonstrates the processes by which activism can combine with a historical context to affect the course of individual lives.

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Notes

[1]   This research was funded by a grant from the Fetzer Institute.

[2]   Donating money was not included as an active response to 9/11.

[3]   We should point out that as this article was being written the nation was involved in war in Iraq, a war that could be thought of as an extension of 9/11. Initial reports have illustrated the extraordinary efforts of young people to respond to the war by co-ordinating anti-war movements and demonstrations, teach-ins, and through relief efforts to aid the Iraqi people (eg. Mangan 2003, Toppo 2003). Despite the fact that this study was completed in May, 2002, we were recently informed by a school official that more than 100 students at this high school participated in anti-war demonstrations in the days prior to the war in Iraq.

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Developing Citizenship through Service

A Philippines initiative

EDNA A CO

SUMMARY

In response to the recent introduction of public policy on civic alternatives to military service, the University of the Philippines has developed a citizenship course that has the potential to broaden students' perspectives on service, society, and civic consciousness.

The course is being offered by the university as part of the National Service Training Programme, which is mandatory for tertiary level education students, both men and women. The university has used the opportunity to develop civic consciousness not only in national terms, but also in terms of global civic rights and responsibilities. In this way it hopes to combat fundamentalism and parochialism. Given the reach of the new policy, the course could have enormous impact on the students as well as other universities which look upon the University of the Philippines as a premier institution.

This chapter describes how the course is structured and how the service programme component is designed, managed and evaluated. Initial findings from the pilot phase suggest that students' notion of the relationship between the state and the people has changed and that the service opportunities have been a core means for learning how citizenship is applied.

A public policy that supports civic consciousness and service is valuable for major institutions such as universities. There is the danger, however, that its mandatory nature might reduce students' interest in community service and thereby contradict the very purpose it is intended to serve. Edna Co concludes that the new law should be seen as a window of opportunity and that the University should make the most of it through regular evaluation, participatory modes of teaching and learning, and effective community partnerships.

Introduction

The Philippines recently took a major step towards the development of civic service as an alternative to military service. The Republic Act No. 9163 establishes a mandatory National Service Training Programme (NSTP) for tertiary level students, and enables both male and female students to render personal or civic service instead of military service.

The new legislation sees the youth as partners of the state in promoting civic consciousness, and aims to develop their physical, moral, spiritual, intellectual and social wellbeing through civic service opportunities. The policy also hopes to inculcate patriotism and nationalism in the youth, and advance their involvement in public and civic affairs. Prior to the passage of RA 9163, the Department of Education, Culture and Sports required one year of mandatory military service for all male students in tertiary level education.

The law is an enabling one that enjoins students and young people to strengthen their civic awareness and to engage in civic action. It requires all universities and institutions of higher learning to design programmes that support the National Service Training Programme. The National Service Training Programme is taken in two semesters or in one summer with at least 54 training hours and carries a total student credit load of six units. There are two courses: one which provides the theoretical component and one which supplements theoretical learning by service extension. Agencies have been designated to design and carry out aspects of citizenship training. Furthermore, the law provides for the creation of a National Service Reserve Corps, composed of graduates of the non-military training who may be tapped by the state for literacy and civic welfare activities.

To carry out the new policy and take up the challenge of promoting civic consciousness and service by students, the University of the Philippines devised a new curriculum framework on citizenship and civic consciousness. The course, named 'Citizenship', provides a theoretical framework and a vision for students engaging in civic service and community work as an alternative to military service. It equips students with an understanding of citizens' rights, duties and the role of citizens in a civil society, and provides both theoretical and practical learning opportunities for civic-mindedness, service, and engagement.

> **The course provides a theoretical framework as well as a vision for students engaging in civic service and community work as an alternative to military service**

Broadening the notion of citizenship and service

Educational institutions have a crucial role in shaping the minds of the young, and particularly in promoting an understanding of cultural diversity, civic awareness, tolerance, and universal values. Whilst the new Act specifically challenges the patriotism

and nationalism of young people, the university's thinking behind the construction of the course on citizenship is broader.

The course is based on the assumption that civic consciousness should embrace a wider view of humanity and service than comes from a purely national perspective.

> **The rationale for a course on citizenship was to broaden the students' worldview and thereby combat fundamentalism and parochialism**

Citizenship cannot and should not be confined to the national boundaries of one's country or to patriotism and loyalty to one's own homeland. On the contrary, an intense focus on nationalism and patriotism alone can stand in contradiction to a broader notion of humanity, which is inclusive of all varieties of race, creed, gender, age, colour, class, and national affinity. The rationale for a course on citizenship was thus to broaden the students' worldview – from a love of country, nation and community, to concern and action for others beyond nationalism – and thereby combat fundamentalism and parochialism.

As the university is open to various approaches to civic service and learning under the National Service Training Programme, the idea of a course on citizenship was welcomed by the university authorities. The course was developed and piloted among students in the National College of Public Administration and Governance as an initial step to understanding civic service and service options. The idea was to incorporate the theoretical underpinnings of citizenship as a backbone to civic service learning, and to allow for practical learning through service extension by students in selected sites and communities.

Integrating 'citizenship' into the learning process

Under the law, university students of second year standing, whose average age is between 17 and 18, are required to go through the National Service Training Programme. These are the students targeted by the course on citizenship. The course gives the students credit for NSTP1 which is followed by community service during the second phase of the programme (NSTP2).

The course was piloted as an elective amongst students majoring in public administration and governance. In the first semester that it was offered, the class was packed, and during the following semester, the number of students applying to take the course exceeded the class limit. Students from other disciplines such as sociology, economics, and community development were eager to enrol in the course.

As mentioned earlier, the course is in two parts: a theoretical component with a post-modern orientation that examines the history and current manifestation of notions of citizenship, and an applied component.

The theoretical component starts by differentiating the legalistic approach to citizenship (the kind held by most students and citizens themselves) from one which emphasises rights and duties as an indicator of membership in a political community.

This is followed by the history and evolution of citizenship from the Athenian model, Greek politics, and the birth of religions such as Islam, Judaism, and Christianity to modern society and citizenship in England, the push for equality, social fraternity, and allied citizenship in the French Revolution, to the influence of Durkheim, and current discourse on citizenship triggered by TH Marshall. The latter emphasises the rights and duties of members of a community.

The exploration of the relationship between citizens and state is deepened with an examination of citizenship in various countries, cultures, and contexts in which citizenship takes different forms. In this way the course enhances the values of humanism, tolerance, mindfulness of others, universalism and plurality. This approach combines the concept of global citizenship and so-called 'earth' citizenship. The global citizen is someone who is aware of the wider world and has a sense of her/his own role as a world citizen, who respects and values diversity, and has an understanding of how the world

> **Global citizenship is the willingness to act in order to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place**

works economically, politically, socially, culturally, technologically and environmentally (Oxfam 2001). Global citizenship is the willingness to act in order to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place. The course provides students with the opportunity of researching case studies of how citizens take action.

The practical component of the course is called 'Project Citizenship'. It comprises activities that challenge students to apply modes and expressions of citizenship in a context which they themselves choose – in the university, local government, social club, community, and so on. The following options are available for students to choose from:

- Habitat for Humanity (helping build homes for the homeless);

- Kyte (a programme that provides moral support to young cancer patients);

- Quezon City Jail (visit, assistance, and moral support to prisoners at the Quezon City Jail, most of whom have no proper, legal charges filed against them but continue to languish in jail);

- Community Library and Literacy under the Pahinungod Programme of the University;

- COSE (helping the elderly obtain Senior Citizens' Cards so that senior citizens have access to special privileges for transport, entertainment, and the purchase of medicines); and

- Empowering Civic Participation in Governance (ECPG) which enables students to participate in the process of ordinary citizens engaging with government at the local level through village planning, budget preparation or project implementation.

As the National Service Training Programme grows, these programmes are likely to expand so that students have a larger menu of projects from which to choose.

Through Project Citizenship, the course impresses upon the students that citizenship is not only an academic exercise, but also an ethos or set of values by which one lives as one takes action and contributes to the wellbeing of the community and the world. The students are given the opportunity to show creatively how they might express citizenship based on their interests and choice. At the end of the immersion and service extension, students talk about what they did in Project Citizenship, how they benefited from it, and how others might have been benefited as well.

The choice of agency and community service requires an appropriate matching of students' interests and agency needs, as well as the community's ability to absorb the student volunteer

The second phase of the programme (NSTP 2) is an entire semester devoted to integration and working with a particular agency engaged in community service. The students choose an agency that provides a service to members of a community. The choice of agency and community service requires an appropriate matching of students' interests and agency needs, as well as the community's ability to absorb the student volunteer. The management of matching and placement is carefully handled by the professor and the host agency working with the community.

Service programme design and management

The service programmes are run either by the University Pahinungod or non-governmental organisations with a long-standing working relationship with the community. After choosing their project and with proper matching, the students are placed in the programme through the collaborative efforts of the professor and the host organisation/agency. An orientation to the project is given prior to placement to ensure an overview of the project and the activities, an understanding of the community and the host population, and for the students to have realistic expectations from the project. The average number of students in an agency ranges from seven to ten depending on the students' preferences and interests.

The host agency, usually a non-governmental organisation, plays a crucial role in the placement, monitoring, and assessment of the students' performance. A representative of the agency comes to the university for the initial orientation, and a liaison person from the same agency takes charge of monitoring and assessing the students' activities, as well as dealing with any problems of adaptation to the project. The liaison person works closely with the professor who regularly visits the students. Usually a team of two or three students, chosen by the group from amongst themselves, operate as group leaders and facilitators, providing moral support within the team and liasing between students and the host organisation.

On average, students are engaged in service activities for a period of 17 to 20 hours within the semester. The students are asked to play with young cancer patients, to teach functional literacy through reading stories or teaching basic mathematics to out-of-school youth in the community, to help build a community reading centre or

library, to visit prison inmates and help them rebuild links with family members or follow up legal cases with the local court, or to help build homes for the homeless.

During the second semester, the students are immersed full-time in service to the community. After the initial immersion, there are usually at least five to seven students who carry on providing services either through these programmes or as part of a new literacy programme, serving as voluntary school teachers in a mountain municipality.

The sequence of the service programme is illustrated in Table 1.

TABLE 1   Service programme design

Phase	Activities responsible	Key person/unit
1 Orientation to the service programme and community	Host agency orients students to the service needs, the community and expected responsibilities and behaviour in the community	Host agency, faculty-in-charge
2 Placement	Students assigned to the community based on matching scheme (students' interest vis-à-vis community needs and service programme)	Host agency, faculty-in-charge
3 Immersion and service	Students perform assigned extension	Students' responsibilities
4 Monitoring	Verification with the community of service performance, regular visits and consultations by faculty-in-charge	Host agency, faculty-in-charge, community leaders
5 Reflection session	Team assessment on outcomes of service extension host agency	Students, faculty-in-charge, community leaders,
6 Final evaluation	Rating and assessment by the entire class leaders	Faculty-in-charge, students, host agency, community

Student volunteers presently work within the existing service design identified by the community and the intermediate host agency. In future, however, the course on citizenship anticipates expanding the design of service programmes in collaboration with the community and the host agency, to include areas that are not currently addressed. These could include inter-faith and Christian-Muslim partnerships in community undertakings, or environmental sustainability projects collectively pursued by the community, the host agency, and the students, or the inclusion of retired and senior citizens in building lifelong skills and capabilities. These programmes should expand the forms of civic service and the dimension of citizenship.

Evaluation

Performance evaluation is done in a number of ways: through students' self and peer evaluation, as well as by the community members through their leaders, the host agency, and the faculty in charge. The weighting of each evaluation component is as follows:

- Student evaluation   20%

- Community evaluation   30%

- Agency evaluation   25%

- Faculty evaluation   25%

Evaluation criteria include students' adaptability to the situation (10 per cent); co-operation and team work (20 per cent); service output based on assigned tasks and responsibilities (40 per cent); attitude towards members of the host community (15 per cent); and special contributions or impact on the community (15 per cent).

The community and host agency assess the contribution made by the students on criteria such as:

- reviving a spirit of community and working together among themselves;

- inspiring community efforts and cohesion when there are 'outsiders' who work with them;

- being positive about self-help rather than demanding services and facilities from government all the time;

- being heard by authorities (especially by the courts) when there are literate and middle-class students who assist in the following up of legal cases; and

- instilling moral support and inspiration for those terminally ill with cancer, or in raising the self-esteem of youth through learning new basic skills in reading and problem-solving.

The overall impact on the community has yet to be evaluated in depth, but in general, community leaders and intermediate host agencies that work within these communities have indicated appreciation for the initial efforts of NSTP community service, and look forward to its continuation.

Course impact

Some students find that the course offers them a novel way of approaching cultures, relationships, action, and participation, but most find the course interesting and

interactive because they are given the option to learn by doing. Most of them realise the power of citizens to take upon themselves whatever might contribute to their wellbeing, instead of always relying on the state and perpetually demanding that the state act to change people's lives. They realise that through the community's own efforts, people restore their self-confidence and esteem. According to the students, their notion of the relationship between the state and the people has changed. The notion of community power, the exercising of rights and responsibilities and the experience of service extension become core means for learning how citizenship is applied.

> **Service extension becomes a core means for learning how citizenship is applied**

The immersion of students into a community of a different social class and social background to their own has proved to be a tremendously rich source of learning that converges with the theoretical discussion on equity, fraternity, tolerance, and universal humanism. The habits, attitudes, ways of doing and thinking that are different from their own, challenged students to be tolerant and patient and built a resilient attitude among them. Students say they realise, 'how human beings can work together in spite of their differences'.

The community impact of the service programmes is difficult to ascertain because the citizenship course has only recently been introduced. It will be important to monitor and assess the impact of the course in future.

The course is currently being reviewed in terms of content and methodology. Particular concerns relate to the difficult issue of standards or criteria for judging student performance, the preparation for host communities and service programmes, and the staffing resources that may be required should the National Service Training Programme expand. There is also a possibility that the course will be recognised as a General Education (GE) course, in which case it will be open to a larger number of university students and should challenge more professors to become trained in order to teach citizenship.

A concluding assessment

A public policy that supports civic consciousness and service is valuable for major institutions such as universities. Without such policy it would be difficult for higher education institutions to instil social values such as mindfulness of others, sensitivity to differences, and service extension.

The National Service Training Programme allows no exception for any university or institution of higher learning to avoid service. Every college or school within the University is expected to design a programme supportive of the National Service Training Programme, and this will eventually mean that the promotion of citizenship and civic service is scaled up among universities across the country. That is the advantage of a civic service programme that is backed by public policy.

Precisely because it is a mandatory requirement of university education, the educational institutions are expected to guarantee that there are sufficient resources

allocated for this programme. The university's implementing guidelines provide that each college or academic unit may charge a fee that shall not exceed 50 per cent of the tuition per unit, following established university procedures for the collection of fees. The college or unit shall also help arrange group accident and health insurance, with insurance fees paid directly by students to insurers.

In future, teachers who handle the citizenship course related to the National Service Training Programme, will be given a credit load of 3 units for each semester – a total of 6 units in handling NSTP 1 (theoretical component) and NSTP 2 (immersion and service learning component). Ideally the same teacher should handle NSTP 1 and NSTP 2 to lend continuity to the learning process; giving the course a teaching credit load ensures that there will be teachers available. As yet there is no provision for additional staff for the programme and therefore, the university and the professors rely on networks and contacts such as non-governmental organisations or local community groups that have service programmes. The idea is that the university will expand and strengthen its own Pahinungod service programme, especially when the National Service Training Programme, as a mandatory requirement of university education, engages larger number of students.

Despite the benefits of this public policy, however, the policy is also the source of its own weakness because the institutionalisation of service tends to engender routine

The policy may be the source of its own weakness because the institutionalisation of service tends to engender a routine approach which lacks creativity and innovation

and the lack of creativity and innovation. Institutionalisation may also be a threat to the students' freedom of choice, because institutions tend to be resisted by their constituents.

Some critics might question the mandatory character of the policy; that being mandated by law, citizenship becomes a contradiction in itself because the voluntary desire to engage in and be part of a community, group, or society is diminished by the imposition of a policy to do so.

Nevertheless RA 9163 should be taken as a window of opportunity, rather than a policy that imposes compliance to a civic virtue. The voluntary character of service is still embedded in the choices offered to students based upon their interests, and in the range of options for civic service that will be available in the future.

Before any loss of creativity and innovation occurs, university policy-makers and administrators, teachers and students, will have to cushion the possible ill-effects of institutionalising citizenship. In this regard, strategies such as regular evaluation, flexible and innovative forms of learning, inclusion of participatory modes of teaching and learning, and effective partnership between the university and host agencies or communities, among others, should be considered.

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Service-Learning in Argentina

MARÍA NIEVES TAPIA AND MARÍA MARTA MALLEA

SUMMARY

Service-learning is a method whereby students learn and develop through active participation in organised service. An almost unknown pedagogy in the early 1990s, it has been growing rapidly in Argentina over the past ten years, and it is now practised by approximately 5 000 Argentinian schools and almost a hundred universities.

During the 1990s, Argentina went through major social and economic changes, which eventually led to the dramatic 2002 crisis. As the gap between rich and poor widened, organisations of civil society took a leading role in fighting poverty and corruption and in offering alternatives to renew political practices. Educational institutions, in turn, faced a growing social demand, but teachers were often overwhelmed and unprepared to deal with these pressures. The new concept of the school as 'community centre' is seen by many as putting the quality of education at risk.

Service-learning has done much to ameliorate this situation. In the experience of a growing number of teachers and students, service-learning is helping schools and universities to attend to social needs and enhance educational quality at the same time. Through service-learning activities, students have the opportunity to apply their knowledge, and practise their skills in real-world situations, while developing good citizenship practices.

This chapter explores the leading role of schools in promoting the Argentinian service-learning movement, and the role of federal government in the process. It also describes the main features of K-12 service-learning in Argentina. It concludes with some reflections on the relationship between service-learning and the development of a democratic culture in Latin America and other parts of the world.

Introduction

Service-learning has been defined as 'a method whereby students learn and develop through active participation in organised service' (USA National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993), or 'a service performed by students, aimed at attending to a real need of the community, and oriented in an explicit and planned way to enhance the quality of academic learning'. (Programa Nacional Escuela y Comunidad 2001). For example, when high school students teach unemployed adults how to use a computer, the adults improve their chances of getting a job, and students improve their own skills through practise. Fourth graders improve their writing skills by sending letters to the newspapers about the need for recreational facilities in their community, and undergraduate agronomy students practise their skills by teaching low-income families to grow their own organic vegetable gardens.

Service-learning has grown rapidly in Argentina over the last ten years. An almost unknown pedagogy in the early 1990s, it is now practised by approximately 5 000 schools in Argentina (about 13 per cent of the total) and almost a hundred universities (Tapia 2002).

Taking into account the social and political context of Argentina, this chapter discusses the growth of service-learning both as a practice and an educational policy. It focuses on K-12 service-learning, and ends with some reflections on the relationship between service-learning and the development of a democratic culture in Latin America and other parts of the world.

> **Service-learning is now practised by approximately 5 000 schools in Argentina (about 13 per cent of the total) and almost a hundred universities**

National crisis, civil society and schools

After half a century of fragile civilian governments and strong dictatorships, Argentina reinstated democracy in 1983. Military rule had left the economy in crisis after the Malvinas-Falkland war, and the Alfonsin Administration (1983-89) could not fulfil the expectations to which democracy gave rise: in 1989 his mandate ended with hyperinflation and rioters stealing food from supermarkets.

A mere four years later, President Menem announced that Argentina had 'got into the First World': the 'one peso = one dollar' recipe had overcome chronic inflation, state-owned companies had been sold to private owners, the market was wide open to foreign goods and investments, and IMF officers considered Argentina their 'best pupil' in the region. But the 'miracle' turned out to be a nightmare. Fragile national industry collapsed in the face of foreign competition, unemployment rose from 6 to 22 per cent, foreign debt rocketed, and political corruption and massive tax evasion did not help matters. The gap between the richest and the poorest grew by 72 per cent during the decade 1989-1999. By 2002, in the once 'middle-class country' of South America, 70 per cent of children were living below the poverty line.[1]

The illusions of the 1990s came to a dramatic end with the financial crisis of December 2002: investors fled, bank accounts were frozen by law, and massive demonstrations forced President De la Rua to resign. Then came five presidents in twelve days, the international debt default, and a dramatic currency devaluation. In a country that used to be called 'the grain barn of the world', children dying of hunger made the headlines.

In 2003, however, Argentina surprised the world by surviving the crisis and defying the worst predictions of the international agencies. Peaceful national elections were held in April 2003, and newly-elected President Kirchner is raising reasonable expectations.

The role of civil society during these turbulent years cannot be underestimated. As the crisis deepened, NGOs and community organisations acquired a leading role, not only by stepping in to solve social problems that the government was leaving unattended, but by facing hot issues like corruption and the renewal of political practices. Dialogo Argentino, a wide umbrella for the most representative civil society organisations, played a major role in preventing violence during the 2002 crisis, and is now offering consensual proposals on key issues.

What is the role of schools in this context? They are probably the last public institutions that people trust, as shown in a survey conducted in 1998 (see Table 1). Politicians, policemen and judges are all suspected of corruption, and even public hospitals – that used to be free – are now charging fees, even though they do not have enough beds or medicines. By comparison, most public schools are still doing what they are supposed to do: offering free education to everyone who registers.

> **What is the role of schools in this context? They are probably the last public institutions that people trust**

TABLE 1 Trust in institutions to solve social problems, 1998
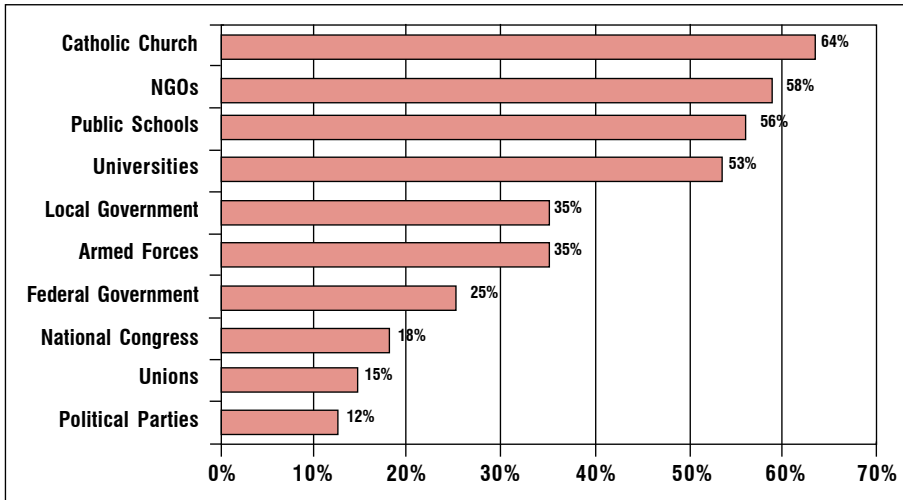
Source: Gallup (1998)

Interestingly, the poll reflected in Table 1 shows that Argentinians think that 'solving social problems' is part of the school mission, and that schools are doing better in that respect than mayors and representatives in local government. In fact, in the last few years, for a growing number of children school has become the only place where they can get a square meal. In too many schools, however, teachers feel overwhelmed and unprepared for dealing with the growing social demand. Some of them spend more time looking for food, shoes and clothes for their students, struggling as unofficial social workers, than in fulfilling their educational mission.

Everybody knows that the old 'ivory tower' model of school as a 'temple of knowledge', isolated from social problems, is no longer viable. However, the new notion of the school as 'community centre' is putting the very identity of the school at risk (Tapia 2000). There is growing concern about the lower quality of education, and the widening gap between schools where children learn, and schools where children just go to eat.

In the experience of a growing number of teachers and students in Argentina and other Latin American countries, service-learning is helping schools to find a balance by enabling them to attend to social needs and enhance educational quality at the same time. Teachers and parents want the new generation to be more educated, and also to be more participatory and *solidarios*. Through service-learning activities, students have the opportunity to apply their knowledge and practise their skills in real-world situations, while at the same time developing practices of good citizenship.

> **Service-learning is helping schools to find a balance by enabling them to attend to social needs and enhance educational quality at the same time**

The growth of service-learning in Argentina

The Latin American educational system has a strong tradition of service, even if service-learning as a pedagogy is still in its infancy in the region. *Solidaridad* is a key word for understanding this service tradition (see Chapter Eleven) in Argentina as in other South American countries. Both public and private schools are used to running 'solidarity campaigns' to gather food, clothes or toys for needy people, 'adopting' poor schools, or travelling to rural locations to serve during the winter recess.

After the reinstatement of democracy in 1983, civic enthusiasm and social concerns found their way into a growing number of 'solidarity' projects in Argentinian schools and universities. As social and economic conditions worsened, some educational institutions began to develop more sophisticated service projects. In trying to solve urgent community problems, schools reinvented service-learning for themselves without even knowing its international theoretical and methodological parallels.

Such is the case of Ramona High School (Santa Fe). In 1995, young eighth-graders discovered in the school laboratory that the water they were drinking in their little town was poisoned with arsenic. They began a public awareness campaign,

using their on-going research on the local water supply to demonstrate the problem. By the time they had reached twelfth grade, they had won a water purification plant from the provincial government, had the local administration build a new drinking water system, and they had organised with the local hospital and two national universities a health research and prevention programme to treat people with symptoms of arsenic poisoning. As a reward for the academic quality of their research, they received the International Junior Prize for Water in 2001 (sponsored by AIDIS, an international NGO backed by the Swedish Crown).

In an interesting contrast to the history of service-learning in the US, it has to be emphasised that schools, not universities, took the lead role in promoting the service-learning movement in Argentina. The student unions of universities were doing social work, but very few faculty members were ready to give credits for, or interact with, those service activities. On the other hand, student unions were basically interested in getting the work done, even if their services were not related to their studies: medical students worked in literacy projects, and philosophy students were building houses.

School teachers, however, began to realise that their students were more willing to come to school, to work in class and do research if they were engaged in service projects related to curricular content. Even without knowledge of its existence elsewhere, schools reinvented service-learning. In the words of W Brynelson, 'Service-learning is the only educational reform that usually grows down-up' (Tapia 2000). Argentina is no exception: service-learning policies emerged from school practice.

Formalising service-learning in schools

In 1986, the province of Santa Fe[2] pioneered the introduction of a mandatory 'service project' course in the last year of the secondary school curriculum. In 1997, in the context of an ambitious national educational reform, the Federal Ministry of Education launched new 'Common Basic Contents' (CBC) for all provinces to adopt. Among other innovations, CBC included service-learning recommendations (*proyectos de intervención sociocomunitaria*) for high schools choosing a human or natural sciences focus. The reform was based on the first service-learning experiences already developed in different provinces, and opened the possibility for schools to use the 'institutional curricular spaces'[3] to do service-learning projects (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1997).

A First International Seminar on Service-Learning was organised by the Ministry in Buenos Aires in September 1997, inviting service-learning experts from Costa Rica, Germany, Mexico, Spain and the US. A few service-learning projects developed by schools in different parts of the country were presented. A hundred provincial education officers, principals and teachers attended, and the procedures were published and distributed free to all high schools in Argentina (Ministerio de Educacion 1998).

Ministry officers did not know it at the time, but distributing that first official resource about service-learning opened the door for thousands of schools to feel,

for the first time, that they were not isolated in their efforts to articulate learning with effective service to the community. The service-learning movement had begun to recognise itself.

In 1998, the Second International Seminar more than doubled the previous year's attendance figures. In 1999, the Third International Seminar on Service-Learning gathered 700 principals, teachers and students: most of them had paid for their own tickets to Buenos Aires, with big sacrifices, to be able to share their service-learning experiences with other schools.

Distributing that first official resource about service-learning opened the door for thousands of schools. For the first time, they were not isolated in their efforts to articulate learning with effective service to the community. The service-learning movement had begun to recognise itself

The Presidential Award for service-learning projects

After the national elections in 1999, the new government decided to give a higher profile to the service-learning policy. The 'School and Community National Programme' was launched, and what used to be a one-person team in a small office became an agency with a US$2 million budget, 35 members of staff, and the possibility of spreading service-learning throughout the country. At the Fourth International Seminar on Service-Learning, in August 2000, this time gathering a thousand people, President De la Rua personally gave the first *Premio Presidencial Escuelas Solidarias* to the principals and students of ten schools.

The schools awarded received grants from US$1 500 to US$10 000, to develop already operational service-learning projects. The political decision was not to fund just good ideas, but already established, sustainable, quality projects. A network began to grow among the schools doing the best service-learning projects.

The Presidential Award was a way to recognise and also to gather information about schools doing service-learning in Argentina. Between 2000 and 2001, 4 400 schools (approximately 13 per cent of all the educational institutions in the country) presented 6 160 service experiences. The files compiled by the School and Community Programme included pictures, testimonies, press clippings, and video tapes, and constitute a rich and interesting source of information, still to be analysed in depth.[4] During its two-year existence, the School and Community National Programme gave service-learning training to 19 788 teachers and principals, connected 640 NGOs doing service in the education field, and distributed around 65 000 copies of service-learning training materials.[5]

In August 2001, the Fifth International Seminar on Service-Learning gathered a thousand people, among them officials from the Chile and Venezuela Ministries of Education, and teachers from Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia. The Argentinian service-learning model was beginning to spread in the region.

Recent developments

During the provisional Duhalde Administration the School and Community Programme was cancelled and the Presidential Award was discontinued. Despite this, several provincial ministries of education went on supporting service-learning. CLAYSS (Latin American Centre for Service-Learning), born as an NGO in February 2002, found that in most cases, even when the ministry was not backing service-learning, schools had decided to keep developing their projects, and many were beginning new ones.

The first programme to be launched by President Kirchner, and Minister of Education, Daniel Filmus, was the new service-learning national programme, *Educación Solidaria*. The 2003 Presidential Award for *Escuelas Solidarias* was personally announced by Kirchner on June 23, less than a month after taking the oath. In all probability, however, the sustainability of the service-learning movement is based more on the appropriation of the methodology by schools and universities than on government support. Schools adopt the methodology because it makes sense for principals, teachers and students. Once service-learning gets into the institutional culture and practices, it seems not to matter if it is officially backed or not. Schools work to get the money they need to develop their projects, they look for local support, and in general do extraordinary things with very little money or none at all.

Nonetheless, it has to be recognised that without federal government support, service-learning would not have spread as fast in Argentina. And without strong policies, the poorest schools in the country will not have the resources for teacher training or to fund their projects, and most of the provincial officials will not have the same motivation to promote service-learning.

> **The sustainability of the service-learning movement is based more on the appropriation of the methodology by schools and universities than on government support**

Features of service-learning in Argentinian K-12 schools

Although service-learning has been growing in Argentinian universities and youth organisations, limited space in this chapter constrains us to focus on K-12 service-learning.

The Argentinian model of K-12 *aprendizaje y servicio solidario* has yet to be fully studied, but some features are already clear from initial observations. In the first place, service activities are embraced from kindergarten to twelfth grade. Participation increases in students in the 12 to 17-year age group, but it is significant even at younger ages. According to the data provided by the School and Community Programme, around 709 000 students took part in service projects between 2000 and 2001. In most cases, students participate in service projects on a voluntary basis, although some high schools have mandatory service-learning or community service projects.

FIGURE 1   Service projects by educational level
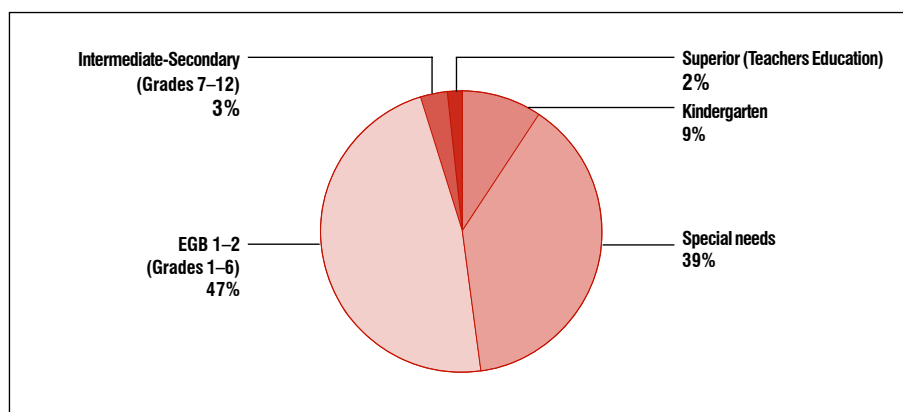
Source: Programa Nacional Escuela y Comunidad (2001)

In the second place, it is interesting to note that service-learning is adopted no matter what the social background of the students. Service-learning is practised in the most exclusive private schools, as a tool to get students in touch with social conditions they would never otherwise encounter, and to foster awareness of their social responsibilities. At the other extreme of social conditions, one of the most interesting traits of the Argentinian service-learning model is the outstanding participation of very poor young people in high-quality service projects. An analysis of the 50 best service-learning projects in schools shows that 50 per cent of them were performed by poor students attending rural or urban schools in less privileged areas, whose service was oriented to solving their own community problems. The table below shows a similar trend for the total of schools presenting service projects for the Presidential Award.

TABLE 2   Location of schools presenting service projects for the Presidential Award, 2000 and 2001

School location	2000 Percentage of schools	2001 Percentage of schools
Urban	47.60	60.90
Peri-urban	20.98	18.00
Rural	24.38	21.10
Total percentage of schools in high-demand locations	45.36	39.10
No information	7.04	–

Source: Programa Nacional Escuela y Comunidad (2001)

Schools with a long history of academic failure and drop-out found service-learning to be an effective tool for solving these problems. Not by chance, both of the winners of the Presidential Award achieved the highest marks in the National Assessment of Educational Quality after several years of developing quality service-learning programmes. Some case studies on peri-urban schools show a dramatic improvement in academic record after service-learning programmes were established, as in the case of Spagnolo School in Junín, in the province of Mendoza.

TABLE 3   Impact of service-learning programmes on school performance

Criteria	Before establishing service-learning projects	After establishing service-learning projects
Percentage of students who repeat the year	1997: 40%	1998: 13% 1999: 7% 2000: 5% 2001: 3%
Drop-out rate	1997: 35%	2001: 2%

Source: Programa Nacional Escuela y Comunidad (2001)

Even schools catering for the special needs of children or teenagers with physical or mental disabilities are doing service-learning: Special School No. 9 *Ruca Antu*, of Junín de los Andes, was awarded the third prize in the 2001 Presidential Award, with a stunning project. Children with different disabilities studied and worked together to invent an *eco-leño* (eco-log), a log made with recycled paper and other materials. The children live in a national park where trees cannot be cut, and since their houses do not have either natural gas or electricity, 'eco-logs' are a creative and environmentally friendly way to keep warm. Pupils of the 'special' school are now going to 'normal' schools to teach other children to make *eco-leños*.

The impact of this kind of inclusive service-learning on vulnerable children and teenagers is only beginning to be studied. According to some scholars, service may be a key to resiliency (Mellillo et al. 2000), and a number of life experiences recorded at some of the most vulnerable schools in Argentina seem to confirm that hypothesis.

Examples of projects

Service-learning in Argentina also embraces a very diverse and wide range of issues. First statistics compiled by CLAYSS indicate that education, the environment and poverty are the most widely recognised concerns, but there are a great variety of other activities.

Kindergarten children in Buenos Aires City designed and painted wonderful murals to cheer the previously sad and dirty walls of a public hospital. As a language task, first graders wrote letters to their mayor, telling him they wanted a better park

for their little town in Córdoba, and in response the park was fixed. All around the country, children from first to sixth grade are planting trees in their cities, cultivating orchards and vegetable gardens to give food to students and their families, and helping other children to prevent school failure through peer tutoring and literacy programmes.

The impact of this kind of inclusive service-learning on vulnerable children and teenagers may be a key to resiliency

Students from the seventh to ninth grades at El Algarrobal School, in a poor community in Mendoza, did extensive research on *Mal de Chagas* disease, and now are developing a massive prevention programme in their community. They go house to house teaching adults and children to identify the potential focus of infection, they go to other schools giving lectures and distributing leaflets that they have designed, and they have been recognised by the province as informal agents of the Provincial Agency of Chagas Disease Prevention.

In Buenos Aires City, secondary school students are organising sports and recreational activities at school on Saturdays, to keep children off the streets. A dance high school is offering free training to local NGOs, teaching folk and classic dancing to low income people. At least four small cities (one in Buenos Aires Province, another in Entre Ríos, and two in Santa Fe) now have a local museum thanks to the research and hard work of their students. Many isolated communities, like Capitán Gregrores, in Santa Cruz, Patagonia, are now connected to the rest of the world thanks to FM radio stations operated by students.

Technical school students are developing some wonderful programmes: Junin de los Andes students designed and built windmills specially adapted to Patagonian winds, to provide electricity to isolated communities in the mountains. The school has included the project in the curriculum, so every class finishes its studies by offering a new windmill or hydroelectric device to a rural community. In the same region, Mapuche students are teaching their elders new agricultural technologies, and developing sophisticated research on soil and water quality. Students in technical schools in Mendoza, Buenos Aires, La Plata and Chaco use their practical lessons to build wheelchairs and orthopaedic devices for individuals and NGOs in need.

Service-learning and democratic culture

Twenty years after bidding an enthusiastic farewell to military governments, democratic culture is still young in Argentina, as in many other countries around the world. Will service-learning help to educate better citizens and build stronger democracies in countries where democracy is more an aspiration than a tradition? The question deserves deeper analysis, but it is possible to highlight a few aspects of the Argentina experience here.

According service-learning philosophy, nobody is too young or too poor to have something to offer. Service-learning does not consider children and young people only as 'the hope for the future' or 'the citizens of tomorrow', but stresses the need to promote their commitment and leadership in the present. This is especially

relevant for emerging democracies, with little tradition of citizen participation.

In Latin America, as in many other parts of the world, authoritarian minorities have survived in power thanks to the political passivity of the majorities, and with the help of strong clientele networks. People with few economic and cultural resources have relied for centuries on populist leaders, *caudillos, punteros* and a variety of national or local providers of food, government funds or public jobs. In a culture of clientelism, people are perceived – and perceive themselves – as passive recipients, unable to take the initiative and unable to imagine projects different from those of the providers of favours.

Even with the best of intentions, schools in our region have often been the first to teach clientelism. Many teachers who do their best to get food, shoes or books for their students, seldom encourage their students to organise themselves to help their own community. In this way, children learn to wait for others to bring solutions to their problems, and feel unable to help themselves or their community.

Service is certainly a key factor in civic education: children and teenagers who have had early experience of their potential to make a difference in their communities will probably not accept being considered 'passive recipients' as easily as others. In fact, several service-learning projects in the past few years have ended with students leading town meetings, presenting proposals to their mayors, or going to the provincial parliament and getting new laws passed.

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In countries with a long history of authoritarian rule, civic education used to be little more than a fiction. Even today, civic education curricula tend to focus more on the theoretical knowledge of civil rights, the constitution or the political system than on fostering active citizenship. Quality service-learning projects may help to build civic education that is more focused on practice.

If a time of crisis is a time of opportunity, this seems to be the right time for service-learning to grow in Argentina.

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Notes

[1]   Data gathered from Permanent Homes Poll (Encuesta Permanente de Hogares, INDEC 2002).

[2]   Argentina is a federal country with 24 states (provinces) and the capital district (Buenos Aires City). Schools are administered by provincial governments.

[3]   Curriculum in Argentina is decided at the provincial level. 'Institutional spaces' allow secondary schools to introduce – with the supervisor's approval – courses designed by the school staff.

[4]   Thanks to the Global Service Institute Small Grants for Research, CLAYSS is beginning research on service-learning in Argentina based on Presidential Award files.

[5]   Service-Learning International Seminar procedures and training materials developed by schools and communities are available at www.eyc.me.gov.ar.