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# **service for development**

**Findings of an Evaluation of  
Development Services and Their Cooperative Relationships**

## **Summary**

by

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Commissioned by: Charles F. Kettering Foundation  
German Volunteer Service  
Ministry of Economic Cooperation, Germany  
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Agency for International Development, USA  
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With cooperation of: Development Services in Benin (Dahomey), Canada,  
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Indonesia, Israel, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Panama,  
Thailand, United Kingdom, United States and the  
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This study addresses three questions:

1. What is the role and effectiveness of Development Services in furthering education, employment and citizen participation in community and national development?
2. What foreign assistance has been provided to Domestic Development Services in developing countries and what has been learned from this experience, especially with respect to reaching people outside the mainstream of development?
3. What future international cooperation between Domestic and Foreign Volunteer Services can be envisaged which goes beyond current "giver: receiver" relationships, and does not interfere with the internal process of citizen mobilization and participation?

The assumptions that underlay these questions were (1) that Development Services have the potential to significantly contribute to the mobilization of human resources in developing countries and elsewhere, and (2) that foreign assistance to them would provide a direct approach to people, especially those in rural areas who are left outside the mainstream of development. It was further assumed that assistance could evolve into new forms of partnerships which would not interfere with the internal mobilization process.

The work involved a detailed organizational examination of 30 Development Services in 14 countries, plus the United Nations Volunteers and several additional services and international agencies whose operations had relevance to the inquiry. A study of pertinent literature and scholarly reports assisted in finding the linkages between Development Services and related societal endeavors.

The results of the study are presented in three documents:

**Volume I SERVICE FOR DEVELOPMENT** contains the process of inquiry and the findings,

**Volume II COMPENDIUM OF DEVELOPMENT SERVICES** provides factual data for each of the Development Services examined in detail.

This **SUMMARY** highlights the main features and findings of the study.

The major questions addressed in this evaluation compelled that three studies be conducted:

- an assessment of the role of Development Services,
- an inquiry into major policy issues which determined the place in society of Development Services,
- an examination of past and future cooperative relationships among Development Services in response to global conditions and needs.

While there are no simple answers or conclusions, there are findings:

The role of four categories of Development Services was specified, the reasons for their existence and the needs to which they respond were established, and their characteristics for success and effectiveness were determined (Part II).

The issues of recurrent development education, employment-orientation and citizen participation were analyzed in their relevancy for the policies of Development Services, the elements for their effective contributions in each area were established, and the characteristics of their role in the overall societal guidance were determined (Part III).

The specific features of foreign assistance to Domestic Development Services in developing countries were identified and the potential contribution of this "giver:receiver" relationship determined. Further, partnership-cooperation among Development Services was established as a relationship of equality which is demanded if interdependence and self-reliance in new global relationships are to be learned and realized (Part IV).

In following these three stages of the study, the assessment uncovered an emerging "state of the art" of Development Services.

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**SCOPE AND NATURE OF INQUIRY**

The inquiry is based on data obtained through **field surveys**. Inventories (Appendix A-3) of Domestic Development and Foreign Volunteer Services guided the organizational data collection in the field which was conducted by this Project Director in Europe and North America and by three consultants, one each from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In addition, the ISVS Regional Director assisted in obtaining data from Indonesia and Panama. While the Inventories gathered the facts, the Interviews focused on opinions. A detailed questionnaire (Appendix A-4) guided the interviews through all aspects of the operations of Development Services, including the ranking of success factors in major performance areas. In all, 47 organizational inventories, with subsequent documentation, 69 detailed interviews, and 20 non-formalized interviews form the data base for this evaluation.

The inquiry departed from the question: "*Why Development Services?*" The reasons or causes why these services were established identified the underlying societal problems which demanded action. In applying a correlated **questioning rationale**,<sup>21, 20</sup> the qualitative and quantitative profile of needs can be determined from the causes. For Development Services, these needs provide the basis for defining the objectives and targeting the response of the various program activities. In further assessing the "*What? When? Where? and Who?*" of the program activities, in comparison with needs and causes, the roles of Development Services emerge more clearly, and their effectiveness can be assessed. Diagram 1 displays this process.

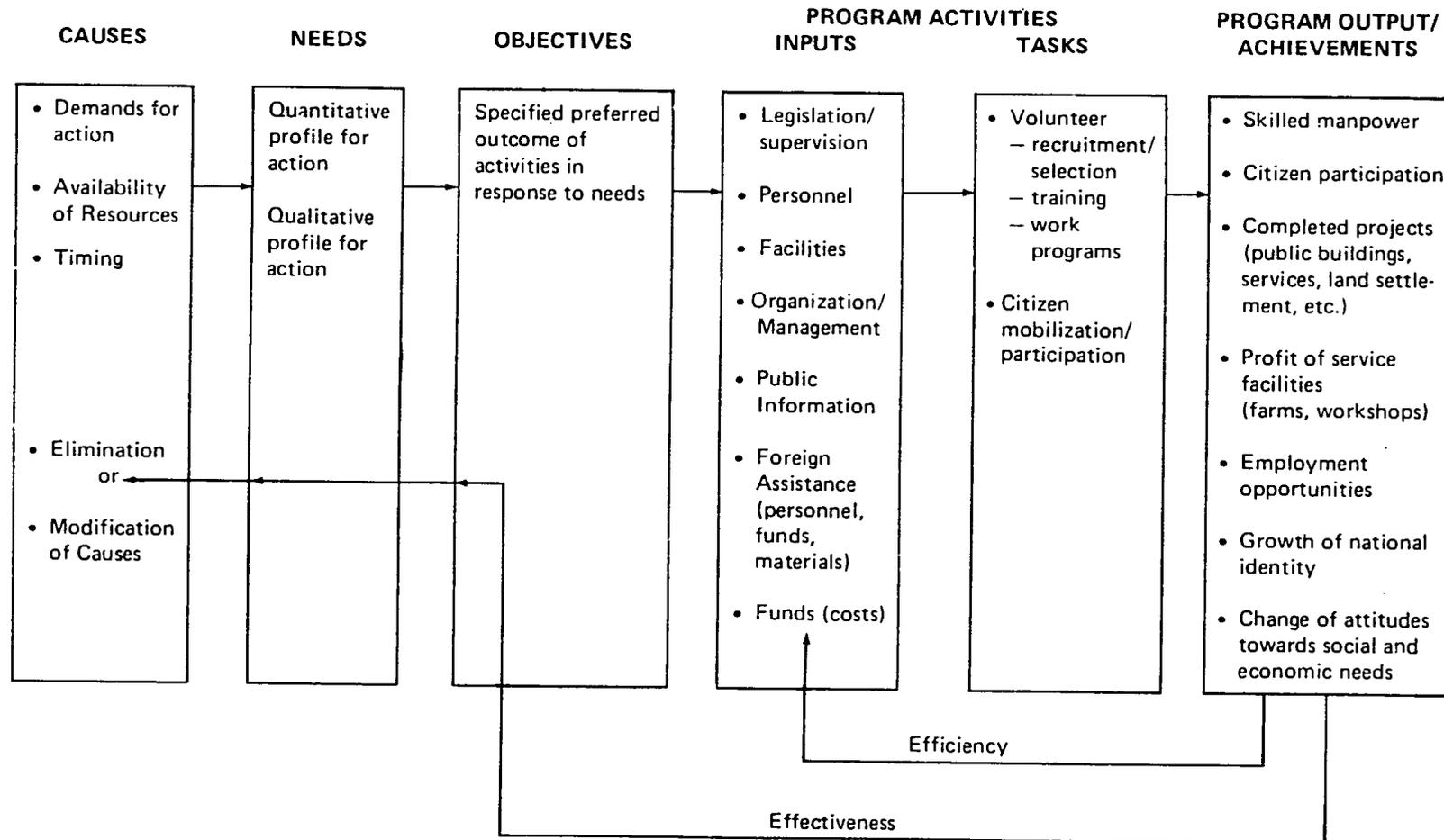
As people to people programs, Development Services respond to causes and needs by inviting different groups of a population to perform the service that can best address the problem. Therefore, the main distinctions between Development Services stem from:

- the major problems which caused and determined their establishment; and
- the characteristics of their participants.

The emerging different profiles permit a **classification in four major categories**:

1. Training and Employment Schemes (National Youth Service types) designed to provide uneducated youth or early school leavers, primarily from rural areas, with training and work/service experience in preparation for useful employment and citizen roles.

DIAGRAM 1 ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENT SERVICES



2. Study-Services established to direct the education of students at secondary or tertiary educational institutions toward development needs, provide them with work/service learning, and change their attitudes toward the needs of the less fortunate of society and of other sub-cultures.
3. Social and Technical Development Services created to provide educated and/or experienced citizens an opportunity to serve their communities and respond to the causes of poverty and underdevelopment and fill the needs of the less privileged who are left outside the mainstream of society.
4. Foreign Volunteer Services were set up to involve educated and skilled citizens to aid the efforts in developing countries for self-reliant development, fill manpower gaps, and assist social change on the basis of individual volunteer requests.

The roots of today's Development Services go back to three early service schemes:

- Locally confined community self-help groups, prevalent in most societies, for mutual aid to maintain a livelihood: in Abraham Maslow's "Hierarchy of Needs"<sup>74</sup> they represent the stages of self-maintenance and security.
- Voluntary non-governmental organizations on a national or regional scale, which began with the American and French Revolutions and the emerging industrial age, established for charity, expression of political will, or moral and religious concerns: they represent Maslow's stages of belonging, affiliation, growth and even self-fulfillment.
- Large scale public works and employment programs, primarily conducted by governments since ancient times to solve societal problems of national scale: a stage of national self-maintenance.

Today's Development Services have traces of these roots, but they are neither charity, nor welfare oriented. Their education and employment emphasis aims at participation. They can be voluntary or obligatory by their nature of recruitment, but the design of their training and work programs concentrates on self-help or helping others. Preference is given to community based services, but their overall size should allow nationwide outreach to permit effective coverage of target population groups and geographical areas in need of the service. Current Domestic Development Services in developing countries, that is, the "indigenous" services, have been found to be primarily governmental by nature, while the non-governmental services in those areas are imported models from the North, often involving only the elites, and dependent on outside support.

From the assessment of Development Services three major **Policy Issues** emerged which require more attention in order to further develop the potential of these services and improve their effectiveness. They concern:

1. Recurrent development education
2. Employment-orientation, and
3. Citizen participation as a mobilization process.

Finally, the evaluation focused on the cooperative relationships between Development Services. The assessment of foreign assistance experience in the light of earlier findings of the study led to the identification of preferences for some assistance modes and conditions, and suggestions to avoid others. In all, three stages of relationships between Development Services were identified:

1. No cooperation
2. Foreign assistance
3. Partnership-cooperation.

By questioning again: *"Why have future cooperation among Development Services at all?"* new reasons for partnership-cooperation were determined and specific characteristics and outlines for action discussed.

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ORGANIZATION AND ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT SERVICES

All Development Services have two principal objectives:

1. to fill immediate needs of people to maintain their basic livelihood and enable their development participation through training and employment facilitation, and
2. to change the underlying conditions or structure which caused the extant societal problem, in response to which Development Services were established.

Consequently, the overall targets of Development Services—which require specification in each case—are the gaps in skills, knowledge and provision of services to specific population groups which need to be filled immediately for a limited time, and the structures of society which require principal changes to eliminate or ameliorate the underlying problem.

Further, in aiming at these targets, the performance of Development Services is indicated by:

- **Efficiency**, determined by comparing program outputs with costs, most often described in costs per volunteer man-year, and staff:volunteer ratio.
- **Effectiveness**, determined by comparing program outputs with objectives, needs (targets) and causes, and indicated by:
  - (a) coverage of respective population groups and geographical areas affected by the problem,
  - (b) volume of achievements, that is, the extent to which the causes of the problem have been ameliorated or resolved.

## TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT SCHEMES

Most National Youth Services, Service Civic and Junior Brigade type programs in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean fall under this category, including: the Kenya National Youth Service, the Village Polytechnics in Kenya, the National Pioneer Corps in Malaysia, the Farm Youth Programs in Thailand and Malaysia, the National Youth Service in Costa Rica. The Job Corps in the United States is one of the few examples of this type of service in an industrialized country. No service in Europe belongs to this category. Unfortunately, more recent national youth employment programs in industrialized countries largely ignore the importance of the community service aspect of learning and work. As they favor employment support for public and industrial jobs for a certain period of time, they become entangled in wage discussions and do not provide incentives to mobilize the community to help solve the problem of youth unemployment. It is clear that industrialized countries need to discover the potential of Training and Employment Schemes to help solve the problems of unemployed youngsters during summer months, and that of youth unemployment at large. The clean-up of inner cities, improvement of housing for the elderly and the poor, winterizing of dwellings, environmental protection, and other problems of industrialized societies provide a host of causes for which unskilled and unemployed youth in Northern regions could be mobilized through service.

### Why were they established?

Training and Employment Schemes (T&E Schemes) in developing countries were created in response to an interrelated set of structural, attitudinal and value causes, including:

- **Lack of educational and, as a consequence, employment opportunities** for youth. 50 percent or more of school age youth in developing countries, living primarily in rural areas, have no opportunity to ever attend school, and of those reaching school, 25 percent or more drop out early because the instruction is not relevant to their daily life. Recent World Bank figures<sup>134</sup> indicate that the prospects of providing "formal" education, i.e. schooling, to all youth, especially at the secondary level, are diminishing in comparison to the 1960's. Therefore, alternative routes of learning, combined with preparation for employment, are mandatory for many countries to assure their young people a chance for a useful role in society.
- **Independence of new nations:** The problems of lack of education and employment opportunities became evident for many nations after independence was achieved from colonial powers. The need to direct the energies of youth to development and nation-building in a multi-tribal society formed a related reason for creation of T&E Schemes.
- **National philosophy or doctrine,** the underlying value cause for the nation-building effort, is another reason why these services were created. T&E Schemes provided the vehicle to learn and express nation-building doctrine, for example: Nyrere's Ujamaa in Tanzania, Kenyatta's Harambee in Kenya, Kaunda's African Humanism in Zambia, Costa Rica's Patriotism, or Israel's Gadna Youth Corp's *"getting to know and love your country."*
- **Change of attitudes** toward one another is mandatory in multi-tribal, multi-lingual and multi-racial societies where the gaps between the urban and the

rural, the educated and uneducated, the rich and the poor are significant, and prevent development participation and the emergence of a national identity. To attain such change, work and living experience beyond the confines of the village are required—a cultural convergence as Ali Mazrui<sup>74</sup> points out—to permit the development of new consensus, priorities and values.

These causes determine the role and effectiveness of Training and Employment Schemes, and their objectives and program activities must respond simultaneously. These causes also determine the nature of the Schemes: they are indigenous, nationwide, and governmental.

None of the T&E Schemes evaluated had identified targets for their performance in terms of national Needs. Their Targets stem from budget limitations. It is obvious that financial resources will set a limit to the actual size of a service, but this should not provide the basis for identifying needs and overall targets. In failing to determine the number of youth, the jobs that are needed, and the quality of training, the services jump to an early conclusion on the limited nature of their effort and follow unclear objectives regarding the true task ahead.

Clearly identified needs and targets—and this is true for all categories of Development Services—are important to their performance in various respects:

- they provide visibility to the overall aim of the service,
- they foster joint action-planning with other organizations which serve similar purposes and thus increase the probability that more sections of the population in need are covered and duplication is avoided, and
- they challenge the service to look for more efficient operations, for less costly ways—or additional financial resources—to reach a larger portion of youth in need of such opportunities.

When the true needs and targets are kept vague, this challenge to improvement, and the setting of clear criteria to measure a service's performance, are missed.

Resulting from the causes and needs, Training and Employment Schemes define three main Objectives:

- technical and social skill training and functional literacy
- work/service learning in development projects and preparation for self-employment and for hire
- change of attitudes and nation-building.

The Program Activities primarily involve uneducated youth or early school drop-outs aged 11-18 years, in a 1-2 years' full-time program. Some services combine part-time and full-time

schedules but always require long-term commitments from the individual volunteer. The participation of women is low, unless the service recruits and operates in the home village (examples: Benin, Clubs 4-D, Kenya Village Polytechnics). Recruitment in most T&E Schemes is essentially voluntary. Heavy emphasis is placed on upgrading literacy and on skill training for agriculture, rural trades, construction, public services, and small-scale rural technical/industrial employment.

Work programs are carried out in local communities, work camps, training farms or industry, and include projects in: farming and land settlement, rural craftsmanship, public works construction, development of rural infrastructure, industry and marketing (cooperatives). Only the work programs of the Kenya National Youth Service do not aim at local communities, but deliberately conduct large scale public works (land clearing, mosquito elimination, road and water works construction, etc.) in remote areas which business firms are reluctant to undertake.

The **Effectiveness** of Training and Employment Schemes was found to be indicated by the extent to which:

1. a sizeable number of youth belonging to the marginal groups is reached
2. training is linked to "formal" education:
  - (a) which meets the actual needs of youth for skill training as an alternative approach to schooling, and
  - (b) which moves the closed "formal" education system to an open life-long (recurrent) educational opportunity.

For example, the programs of all Training and Employment Schemes were effective in varying degrees in (a), but with the accreditation of their training programs, the Kenya National Youth Service, the Malaysia Young Pioneers and the Thailand Rural Youth Leadership Training went further and changed the system (b).

3. volunteers have obtained useful employment over a longer period of time, after completing service, which indicates the level of effectiveness in:
  - (a) meeting the employment needs of youth by linking the service to the existing job market, and
  - (b) altering the employment system, especially the informal sector, by creating jobs through small farmers' settlements, agricultural infrastructure development, production and marketing (cooperatives, irrigation, drainage, savings and loan institutions, etc.), and self-employment in rural trades and services.

Cases in point are Kenya's National Youth Service and Village Polytechnics, Malaysia's National Youth Pioneer Corps and Farm Youth Project and Costa Rica's National Youth Movement.

4. local communities or individual citizens participate in the service by:
  - (a) meeting needs for actual involvement in self and local community development, and
  - (b) changing the attitudes towards the nation as a whole and catalyzing the country's self-reliance.

The following **Program Features** were found to influence the efficiency and effectiveness of Training and Employment Schemes:

- **Training programs** which lead to certification of skill proficiency equivalent to those issued by schools or technical training boards, opening opportunities for recurrent education or regular employment. However, training for credit, is more effective in T&E Schemes than that obtained in schools only if the learning in the work/service part of the program is certified as well, and non-certified trainers from the employment system are admitted. If school conditions in terms of training sites, equipment, classroom curriculum and teacher qualifications are imposed, the T&E Scheme becomes too costly, loses its uniqueness and defeats its purpose.
- **Volunteer work programs** should be community based to keep close to local needs, to learn and serve in an environment which later will provide employment, and to enhance the mobilization of local citizens for joint projects. Volunteer work assignments should be clearly distinct from training—workshop training is insufficient—so that real life situations provide the environment for work-learning and thereby maintain a clear alternative to classroom teaching. If possible, service should be conducted in other than the home community in order to afford a change of lifestyle and encounter with other tribes or races. Learning-earning schemes for work programs which involve volunteers in productive farming, trades, and services (for example: repairs, tourism) are preferable because of their value for later self-employment and the additional income gained for the Development Service through the selling of products or the provision of services. Work programs requiring heavy equipment or significant amounts of outside materials are expensive, have high overhead costs for logistics, and are not employment-oriented to benefit volunteers. If possible, work materials and tools should come from local resources and apply intermediate technology.
- With respect to leadership, organization and management the following features stand out:
  - The prime factor affecting the leadership success of the director of a T&E Scheme is his administrative/managerial proficiency in establishing functional linkages for adequate staffing, acceptance of the service by other governmental agencies and political leaders, sufficient funding and support on the part of youth and the general public. The development of effective organizational structures and programs, and trans

mission of the doctrine or philosophy of the service, that is, normative mobilization of volunteers and the public, are other concerns. When leadership is still occupied with the establishment of functional linkages—those which secure the necessary resources to achieve desired output<sup>41</sup>, it indicates that the T&E Scheme has not yet achieved its full place in society. In terms of the mobilization theory developed by Amitai Etzioni<sup>42</sup>, not all the necessary assets have been mobilized under the control of the service.

- The size of the service is important to achieve sufficient coverage of target populations and geographical areas. In order to reach such nationwide coverage, maintain a high level of citizen mobilization and at the same time invest limited staff and financial resources most efficiently, a decentralization of organization, management and decision making to the local community unit is mandatory.
- Development of adequate permanent staff positions and related career provisions (social benefits, promotion) are currently lacking and need early attention, as does a two-way communication between headquarters and field staff, in contrast to a one-way command/control structure.
- Finally, more attention should be given the establishment of linkages not only to resources, but also to those institutions which have the capacity to use the service output; in other words, to educational institutions for recurrent education, and to those which can stimulate employment. The latter, for instance, would be institutions and enterprises which advance the self-employment of former volunteers by encouraging their commercial licensing and the use of their goods and services in local markets. Banks which would tender revolving loans for settlements, and governmental agencies and businesses which would purchase the supplies from self-employed former volunteers would also provide such important employment linkages<sup>140</sup>.

In sum, to improve the Performance of Training and Employment Schemes, the following Program Features should be kept in mind:

- Legislation which permits expansion in number and geographical areas according to needs
- Decentralization of organization and management to local communities, including community leadership over volunteer projects
- Joint planning and work with community members
- Sufficient field staffing and regular two-way communication between headquarters and field
- Lowering of costs per volunteer man-year, especially recurrent costs for facilities, equipment and administration

- Improvement of linkages to institutions and persons providing policy, program and financial resources, and to those enabling recurrent education and employment.

Finally, the Efficiency of Training and Employment Schemes is indicated by the costs per volunteer man-year, ranging from US \$ 16.60 up to \$1,220 for T&E Schemes in developing countries which participated in this study. High unit costs were primarily related to a low staff:volunteer ratio, a top-heavy central administration, the maintenance of costly facilities and equipment and the small number of volunteers who profited from the service. It was found that the Kenyan Village Polytechnics and the Malaysian Farm Youth Projects were efficient and able to provide equivalent training for two or three volunteers for the cost of one pupil in school.

## STUDY-SERVICES

Often known as university services, most of these programs are carried out in developing countries and include the Nigerian National Youth Service Corps, Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) in Indonesia, Graduate Volunteer Certificate Programme in Thailand, Colombia University Services, and others in Costa Rica, Nepal and elsewhere. In industrialized countries, the United States and Canada hold the lead in number and variety of Study-Services. In Europe, the Community Service Volunteers (CSV) in the United Kingdom has initiated and conducted a variety of imaginative Study-Service programs<sup>29</sup>, but continental Europe lacks this category of service.

### Why Study-Services?

The main cause which determines the establishment of Study-Service is found in the **limitation of higher education**. Such limitations include:

- inadequacy of individual career choices in comparison to the labor market and development needs (too many liberal arts degrees, lawyers versus the need for agriculturists, social professionals, engineers)
- lack of employable skills and knowledge at graduation
- one-sided emphasis on cognitive discipline-oriented teaching, in contrast to a learning curriculum, which prepares students for problem-solving roles in society and equips them with necessary administrative, managerial, and social communication skills
- implanting of "academic" attitudes and status symbols which reinforce elitist behavior and attitudes.

In view of these limitations, Study-Services are principally designed to change conditions in higher education which prevent responsiveness to societal needs. They are created to help transform the university or college into a cultural institution with developmental and community orientation.

Second, the **lack of educated manpower in rural areas**, especially for expansion of primary and secondary schooling, health and social services to the poor, agricultural extension, influenced the creation of Study-Services.

Third, because they are Domestic Development Services, Study Services respond also to **overall national causes** such as nation-building, elimination of poverty (USA), and education of elites who are responsive to the needs of the poor and other sub-cultures.

Most Study-Services define their **Objectives** in rather general terms and can be summarized as:

- providing experiential learning opportunities to students through work/service
- training students to sacrifice, to work for the public benefit, to inculcate among the people the idea of service to the nation and
- helping local communities in their development efforts and providing services for them.

The University Year for ACTION/USA seeks, in addition, institutionalization of service within both the university and community organizations, attempting to link the university with surrounding communities.

The Nigerian National Youth Service Corps adds to the above objectives: *“to encourage career employment all over the country for free movement of labor . . . to enable Nigerian youth to acquire self-reliance.”*

**Program Activities** involve students ranging from 18-25 years of age for a duration of 6 months to one year of full-time service. The enrollment of young women ranges from 16-53 percent in Study-Service assignments which are not necessarily restricted to “typical women roles.”

Most Study-Services in developing countries are obligatory. They are considered as no different from compulsory credit courses. This is an interesting issue, as the widely accepted rules and regulations of higher education clash here with the widely acknowledged value of the voluntary concept of service. However, the materials from this study and an evaluation by Irene Sie<sup>112</sup> on the voluntary, versus the obligatory nature of Study-Service, indicate that the positions taken on this question are largely rooted in the philosophy of the respective society and are not based on practical results. Both studies indicate that the voluntary or obligatory nature of recruitment does not affect the overall performance of participants and that social or moral obligation to society can be well learned via legal obligation of service. Amitai Etzioni confirms this in his “The Active Society”<sup>42</sup> when he finds that it is not the coercive mobilization as such which reduces citizen participation—in contrast, it provides the most effective coverage of target populations. He states that the limits of participation are reached when excessive attempts at indoctrination are made and boredom and psychological fatigue reduce involvement in such services.

Moreover, there are three different approaches to the **scheduling** of Study-Services which were first defined by Diana Fussel and Andrew Quarmby<sup>45</sup>:

- “Intervening” schedules sandwich the service during the academic term of study (Indonesia, Ethiopia, United States)
- “Interwoven” schedules, part-time or full-time service interwoven with theoretical course work (CSV/UK, Teacher Corps, USA)
- “Subsequent” schedules place service at the close of studies and before graduation is completed (Nigeria, Thailand)

While “interwoven” schedules appear to provide the most challenging and rewarding approach to change learning in academic institutions, together with the “intervening” schedules they are the most effective. “Subsequent” schedules, on the other hand, are easier to introduce in educational institutions—but they produce little change and are the least effective compared to the causes for which Study-Services were established.

**Credit for service** is an important requirement if changes in the education system are to be effected. But it is not easily achieved. There is normally no problem in accrediting volunteer training, the “teaching part” of Study-Service. More difficult is the assessment and credit for learning—in contrast to teaching—through the work/service experience. Only the Nepal National Development Service has devised a comprehensive 10-point system of credits for volunteer performance during work in communities. Overall, four approaches to credit for Study-Service have been identified:

- Certification of graduation after the “subsequent” service is completed (Nigeria)
- Credit for the teaching component of the overall Study-Service according to regular academic requirements (Thailand, UYA/USA)
- Implementation of a new credit system for work/learning, based on type and intensity of work, performance at work and individual student behavior (Nepal)
- Assessment of work performance on the part of the recipient villagers in combination with academic credit for correspondence courses (Iran).

**Work Programs** include: teaching in rural primary schools, provision of agricultural, social and health services, community development work of various types. With the exception of the Nigerian National Youth Service Corps, which assigns corpsmembers primarily to regional or district development agencies, all other Study-Services are community-centered. Local citizens supervise their work projects, and in many instances, they work jointly with student-volunteers.

Overall, it was found, that an effective Study-Service is characterized by the following program features:

1. Nationwide educational policy for Study-Service that ensures coverage of a large portion of student population, all disciplinary sectors, and reaches out to all geographical areas.

2. University-based organizational structure and management in contrast to a centralized organization on the national level.
3. Institutionalization of work/service as a learning program within the university or college that is indicated by:
  - official educational policy to that effect
  - faculty participation and allocation of adequate faculty time for involvement in the work/service program
  - citizen participation in the academic part of volunteer training
  - establishment of an administrative unit within the university to manage Study-Service
  - Credit for both the training and work portion of the service
  - integration of Study-Service into the regular budget of the educational institution.
4. Institutionalization of Study-Service within the local community is indicated by:
  - participation of citizens in all program areas of Study-Service,
  - provision of professional services from the university to the community such as education, health, legal, community development, so long as regular employment of professionals is not available,
  - continuation of requests for student-volunteer assignments.
5. Volunteer training and work program designs that result in technical or social services as well as cultural learning, by integrating the student-volunteer into the local community, and providing him with a means to analyze his reactions to different ways of life, social patterns, and values.
6. Linkages of Study-Services with other private and governmental institutions which ensure resources (financial, planning, program support) and use of student-volunteers in areas where they are needed.
7. Employment of former student-volunteers in rural areas and in jobs according to labor market needs.

More particularly, the following Program Features and Problem Areas stand out as influencing the effectiveness of Study-Services:

- Student-volunteer training by faculty only is inadequate. It perpetuates the routine of academic teaching instead of work-learning. Participation of professionals from the employment sector in both technical and academic fields is important to improve the quality of training.

- Various staffing problems were reported:
  - allocation of sufficient faculty time and permanent positions to institutionalize this work/service learning are in short supply
  - selection of faculty who understand the service idea, know the work environment, are familiar with conditions and attitudes in local communities, have an openness to learning and are not dependent on the elite structure of their educational institution
  - participation of faculty in community action-planning and actual work assignments which blend with those of volunteers would largely improve the effectiveness of services.
- Work projects in communities are largely supervised by the local leadership and enjoy the cooperation of citizens. However, a lack of understanding and support for the work sector of the service on the part of the faculty and the educational institution from which volunteers come, is reported. Also, it was found that community participation in volunteer projects is reduced, or non-existent, when academic approaches dominate work planning and program execution. However, when the skills and knowledge of student-volunteers and their educational institutions became subservient to the villagers' interests and preferences, cooperation and high satisfaction was reported. Obviously, students from urban areas, serving in rural villages, encounter problems of cross-cultural communications that are similar to those of foreign volunteers serving in other countries. These problems embrace not only understanding of local languages but also knowledge of social strata and decision-making processes in villages, as well as other cultural traditions. All of this indicated that the gap between the academic institution and the community has not yet been satisfactorily bridged and that work/service planning, support of volunteers during work, faculty participation in work and community action-planning require attention and improvement.
- Finally, the financing of Study-Services is most appropriate as part of the regular educational budget of an institution. While initial funding through national programs will be a crucial aid to introduce Study-Service, after the implementation is completed and success demonstrated, the funding from the regular budget will indicate acceptance of the new educational concept. The idea of the serving-earning schemes should not be neglected. The Ethiopian University Service, for example, financed large portions of its budget by reimbursement from the Ministry of Education for those volunteers who worked as primary and secondary teachers in rural schools. The Ministry still saved 50% of the minimum teachers salary—and therefore could expand rural schooling faster than without volunteers.

#### **Conclusions on the Performance of Study-Services:**

The **efficiency** is expressed by ranges of costs per volunteer man-year of US \$650 to \$4,600. High unit costs are usually the result of large allowances paid to volunteers, unfavorable staff: volunteer ratio, and/or high administrative costs for institutionalization of the service in the university.

The **effectiveness** of Study-Services, was found to be indicated by:

- Coverage of student population participating in work/service learning
- Coverage of the geographical area of the country to ensure student work assignments in different cultural settings and to guarantee that target populations are reached
- Coverage of disciplines at educational institutions to ensure that all students have access to Study-Service and all faculties are affected by this directional change in higher education
- Degree of the institutionalization of Study-Services within the higher education system, including faculty participation and citizen participation in academic training
- Degree of institutionalization of the role of Study-Services in local communities and their contribution in providing needed professional services
- Proportion of student-volunteers who return to the university after service and actually graduate
- Extent of employment of former student-volunteers in areas where their professional services are needed, be it the rural areas or special employment fields such as social services.

## **SOCIAL AND TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICES**

### **Why These Services?**

The major cause for the creation of Social and Technical Development Services (STD Services) is the **lack of educated and skilled manpower** to help cure the problems of underdevelopment in countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, or to alleviate the social ills of industrialized countries in Europe and North America. The problem was—and still is—exacerbated by the high rate of **unemployment** of the young educated in urban centers, and the **underinvolvement** of the able, but idle older generation.

As with the other two categories of Domestic Development Services, **national causes** of nation-building, elimination of poverty, religious beliefs, and the principal philosophy that voluntary service is a means to express a democratic way of life were reasons why STD Services were established.

Finally, the general **international trend** after World War II, **toward peaceful forms of service for others** affected the initiation of STD Services. International volunteer service coordinating bodies, the Coordinating Committee for International Volunteer Services (CCIVS) and the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service (ISVS) played a seminal role in spreading the idea of voluntary Development Service.

Examples in this category include Kenya's Volunteer Development Association (KVDA) and similar development work camp organizations, Indonesia's BUTSI, Thailand's three Community Development Services in Arsa Pattana, Community Service Volunteers (CSV) in the UK, Company of Young Canadians (CYC), Canada (terminated on March 31, 1976), VISTA/ACTION in the USA and the Older Americans and Business Volunteers Programs of ACTION, Israel's Kibbutzim, Moshav and Nahal services, Iran's four Development Corps, and the Voluntary Social Services (Freiwillige Soziale Dienste) in Germany, and other European countries.

The **Objectives** of Social and Technical Development Services in response to these causes emphasize:

- Engaging volunteers in community development service by working with local organizations and extending governmental development programs to local communities
- Involving local citizens in activities for self-advancement
- Providing a learning experience and re-training through work/service to the volunteer for his personal gain and satisfaction so that eventually he becomes a part of employable, educated manpower.

A number of Social and Technical Development Services address not only the domestic scene, but also are open to foreign volunteers and for service abroad. STD Services with a foreign service branch or activity include: BUTSI/Indonesia, Moshav Youth Movement/Israel, KVDA/Kenya, CSV/UK, Arbeitskreis Freiwillige Soziale Dienste/Germany.

**Program Activities** of STD Services involve volunteers ranging from 16-60 years of age. Only ACTION/USA enrolls citizens above age 60 with special service programs for the elderly and retired businessmen and women. This is an area deserving urgent attention. With constantly lowering retirement age, and life expectancy increasing, there remains 15-20 years available for useful employment and contribution to society.

Most STD Services involve volunteers with a completed high school, college or university education, whereas others have no "formal" school requirements but expect the volunteers to be literate and educated through experience.

Volunteers serve for various durations:

- short term (2-12 weeks), primarily work camp type services
- medium-term (3-12 months) for community-type services: CSV, Older Americans Program, or Volunteer Leaders for Community Development in Thailand
- long-term (1-2 years) for professional-type services: BUTSI, VISTA/USA or the Rural Development Volunteers in Thailand.

Short-term and part-time programs cannot be considered a bona fide Development Service, responding to the causes outlined earlier, as they lack time and commitment to make significant contributions.

Volunteer work program areas include: agricultural extension, rural infrastructure development including service industry and marketing, education, community organizing, health, nutrition, construction, social services to the sick, handicapped and the disenfranchised. In principle, it was found that any work program is appropriate if it meets the following criteria:

- a real need exists,
- the volunteers' capabilities match the job, and
- the citizens of the local community are willing and able to participate.

Factors contributing most to the success of volunteer work programs in STD Services have been identified as:

- the community basis of the project
- the community capability to make use of the volunteers assigned to them, and
- "consumer training" to prepare members of the community to work effectively with volunteers.

Irrespective of whether STD Services operate in developing or industrialized countries, two distinct volunteer roles were identified:

- Manpower extension of professional personnel to population groups who have not received attention or care because of lack of manpower or disinterest to work in rural areas (Arsa Pattana/Thailand, CSV/UK, Voluntary Social Services/Germany)
- Community ombudsman, cross-sectoral community workers and organizers who help bridge the communication gaps between villagers and officials, assisting communities to take advantage of governmental programs that are available for local development projects (BUTSI/Indonesia, Volunteer Leaders for Community Development/Thailand, Company of Young Canadians/Canada).

While most STD Services in developing countries apply appropriate or village level technology in their work programs, they complain of a lack of linkages to other institutions, such as Intermediate Technology Centers which could enhance their efforts and would find a significant volunteer manpower resource for implementing such technology.

Overall, it was found, an effective Social and Technical Development Services is characterized by the following program features:

1. A service plan spanning both the formal national needs and indicating the population and program targets which the service can achieve with available resources.
2. Diversity of work/service programs offered to attract and involve a larger variety of population groups in community service, either through one "umbrella" STD Service or via a network of different services.
3. Organizational structures which delegate planning of volunteer projects, management and supervision to local communities, with coordinating functions at regional levels.
4. Community participation in volunteer selection and/or placement.
5. Volunteer, staff, and community participation, in decision-making which affect their work and livelihood.
6. Staffing pattern and career provisions which enables the hire of a limited number of qualified and motivated staff to maintain an efficient staff: volunteer ratio, and therefore, low unit costs.
7. Regular and two-way communications between field staff and headquarters, including staff rotation, to maintain comprehensive knowledge and therefore a high level of performance.
8. Linkages to those institutions and societal systems which (a) are necessary for the further education and later employment of volunteers, (b) ensure public and financial support, and (c) will develop new service schemes to solve societal problems (normative mobilization).
9. Broad funding basis within the country—irrespective of whether governmental or private—including contributions in cash or in kind from local receivers of services.
10. Regular feedback from work projects reporting achievements and problems in comparison with targets, rather than general description of work programs.

**Other Program Features and Problem Areas of Social and Technical Development Services which significantly affect their performance are:**

- The legal structure and disbursement of authority largely influences the level of internal mobilization of services: Membership organizations, that is, services of volunteers (CYC/Canada, CSV/UK, KVDA/Kenya) have a higher degree of volunteer participation in decision-making, than STD Services that are established for volunteers (BUTSI/Indonesia, Arsa Pattana/Thailand, the services in Costa Rica and Panama, and ACTION/USA).

- While most STD Services select volunteers from the applications they receive, the Community Service Volunteers (CSV) in the UK follows a "right to serve" principle. That is, CSV poses no requirements—with the exception of minimum age of 16—for joining the service. Every applicant is accepted—even the handicapped or young offenders—and he or she is placed in a job as soon as the "right slot" has been found. This, of course, represents a higher level of organizational mobilization than those that adhere to selection policies.
- It was further found that some STD Services have established normative linkages with a number of other institutions which affected their priorities, changed their operations, and thereby provided overall societal guidance. Examples include:
  - Kenya, VDA: linkages with other Kenyan and African non-governmental organizations to free them from Northern imported models of service *"by basing its volunteer services on traditional African volunteer concepts."*
  - Indonesia, BUTSI: linkage with the Ministry of Education to integrate Study-Service (KKN) into higher education.
  - UK, CSV linkages with
    - (a) educational institutions to include community services in the curriculum,
    - (b) police force to include community service in police cadet training,
    - (c) court system to rehabilitate convicts through community service rather than prison sentence.
  - USA, ACTION: linkages are extended to
    - (a) higher educational institutions to include Study-Service in their curricula,
    - (b) governmental agencies to integrate voluntary service into their program, i.e. Small Business Administration, Environmental Protection Agency, National Park Service, Department of Labor, Smithsonian Institution, Social Welfare Administration,
    - (c) State governors and community councils to foster public support for volunteer community services.

#### **Conclusions on the Performance of Social and Technical Development Services:**

The efficiency of STD Services is—as with others—expressed in costs per volunteer man-year, ranging from U.S. \$ 250 up to \$9,180. High allowances paid to volunteers, low staff/volunteer ratio, and the level of community participation through payments in kind (housing, board, transportation, etc.) especially affect the efficiency of STD Services.

**Indicators of effectiveness include:**

- Proportion of population and age groups attracted to service
- Coverage of target population and geographical/tribal/minority areas in need of the service of this volunteer manpower
- Improvement of living conditions (consumption), expressed in reduction in morbidity, expansion of housing, child care, education
- Improvement in production and marketing, expressed in gross market production and profit, increase in village employment, reduction in under-employment or idleness
- Improvement in community mobilization and organization, expressed in number of self-help projects underway and completed, number of village committees for various purposes, percentage of villagers participating on a regular basis on committees, voting record, amount of volunteer man-hours for community projects
- Proportion and type of community projects continued after volunteers have departed
- Proportion of former volunteers entering employment in rural areas, civil service, careers of social and developmental concern
- Increase in number of volunteers, requests for services from communities, financial support from supporters, or maintenance of an optimal size of service over a longer period of time
- Initiation or increase of a Development Service component in other branches of government or the private sector due to cooperation with the STD Service.

## FOREIGN VOLUNTEER SERVICES

### Why were they created?

Underdevelopment, primarily **lack of skilled manpower in developing countries**, caused the establishment of these services at the beginning of the development era. Helping to fill technical skill gaps, especially at the middle level and in rural areas, and to provide necessary professional services at the “grass-roots” is a prime purpose that Foreign Volunteer Services (FV Services) share with Social and Technical Development Services in developing countries. But there is one major difference: while the causes for STD Services occur at home, causes for FV Services originate in another country, exposing their very existence to the whims of international relations and policies.

Other reasons for the establishment of FV Services had their roots at home:

- the **lack of knowledge and understanding** on the part of industrialized countries of developing regions and their culture; the need to learn about them by performing in international settings, and
- the **underlying moral conviction**, that is to, help the poor and underprivileged and to establish peace relations among people.

Also the **international trend**, set by Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) in the UK (1958) and the US Peace Corps (1961) was given as a reason for their establishment by other Foreign Volunteer Services.

Examples in this category include the many bi-lateral Foreign Volunteer Services in Europe, Japan and North America, and the multi-national United Nations Volunteers.

### What are the Needs?

To recall: Needs are societal conditions, expressed in quantitative and qualitative terms, which require relief. But for foreign volunteers the response to development needs depends on the request of the host country, the skill profiles they prescribe and the number they feel are necessary. Since the inception of FV Services the assistance needs have changed in three respects:

- The number of requests—or newly initiated requests—has steadily declined
- The skill profile of volunteers has changed. While at the start primarily volunteers with simple technical, teaching and communication skills were requested, today, the highly skilled professional—often a specialist—is desired.
- The countries of assignments are changing. Whereas initially foreign volunteers were customarily assigned to countries where ties existed from the past, today all FV Services report preference for the least developed countries regardless of any earlier affiliation.

Further, the desire of volunteer sending countries and organizations to provide global learning opportunities for their own people through development work/service abroad originated in industrialized countries. Their learning needs in terms of numbers and types are as large as the population group concerned with international relations and cooperation. However, their fulfillment is determined by the willingness of the developing countries to cooperate and, of course, the availability of funds.

Finally, FV Services were also created to meet a need for global learning at home. In establishing them, the industrialized countries hoped that former volunteers, returning from service abroad, would feed back to all sectors of society a better understanding of the problems of underdevelopment, and of the people living under those conditions. The Canadian experience indicates that development education at home requires specific program targets for different population groups such as pupils, parents and lawmakers.

In the past, learning needs have not been sufficiently expressed by FV Services, neither in terms of policy nor of program. In the accentuation of the three major needs and the development of specific profiles, Foreign Volunteer Services today are at a crossroad:

- to continue the onesided approach to fill skill gaps and provide technical assistance as long as there are volunteer requests, or
- to develop a second track approach of a joint learning-service in development work abroad.

The major **Objectives** of Foreign Volunteer Services are consistent with the needs:

- to provide skilled manpower to development projects and to participate in international cooperation
- to learn from other cultures and work experience in foreign settings
- to promote understanding among the people of cooperating countries.

In addition, the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) is the only service that formally emphasizes development education at home, whereas the German Volunteer Service and the US Peace Corps pay special attention in their legislation to cooperation with and support of Domestic Development Services in developing countries.

In response to these causes, needs and objectives it was found that an **effective Foreign Volunteer Service** is characterized by the following features:

1. An institution which:
  - (a) clearly distinguishes between executive and supervisory functions
  - (b) enjoys the support of members or local committees in the home country

- (c) permits participation of volunteers and citizens in local activities, supervisory functions and program policy decisions
  - (d) restricts the support role of governmental agencies to the legal minimum of control and influence in decision-making.
2. Volunteer recruitment, selection, training and placement which:
- (a) draws on human resources from all geographical areas, cultural groups and different walks of life in the sending country
  - (b) gives priority to personal and skill qualifications compatible with technical assistance and partnership-cooperation needs
  - (c) directs the volunteer's attention early to his potential future job assignment
  - (d) conducts training, as much as possible, in project countries with the collaboration of national staff
  - (e) places volunteers in assignments assuring compatibility with skill background, and a full workload.
3. Volunteer Work Programs in developing countries which emphasize:
- (a) self-reliant development of marginal target groups through production-oriented projects supporting out-of-school education, skill training related to employment, employment creation through production expansion and self-employment on the local level
  - (b) improvement of living conditions of marginal target groups through consumption-oriented projects, i.e. health, nutrition, housing,—if they cannot be provided by national resources
  - (c) citizen participation—in contrast to “receiver” roles—through local leadership for outside assistance and joint work projects
  - (d) intermediate and appropriate technology which uses local resources
  - (e) volunteer allowances and living styles compatible with those nationals of equal background and assignment
  - (f) volunteer support structure concentrating on their local integration, professional performance and cross-cultural communication with host country people, rather than on volunteer administration
  - (g) low profile of the administration and representation of FV Services overseas, including staffing patterns compatible with those of nationals.

4. Financial Projects—where permitted—which emphasize citizen participation through:
  - (a) fundraising at home from non-governmental groups and individual citizens, which relates the development concern to specific projects for which the money is raised and thus educates the public
  - (b) small scale activities in local communities which directly serve people and not institutions
  - (c) improvement of self-reliance.
  
5. Development Education Programs at home which:
  - (a) encourage the returned volunteer to disseminate his experience with people and situations affected by underdevelopment
  - (b) cover:
    - all geographical regions
    - key population groups like school-age children and youth, parents, legislators, businessmen and women
    - issues of underdevelopment where behavioral patterns, business and foreign policies in industrialized countries can make a difference in remedying problems of underdevelopment
  - (c) affect school and adult curriculums, public policy and legislation.
  
6. Management structure and procedure which emphasize:
  - (a) planning toward targets of program output
  - (b) direct lines for decision-making and enforcement with overlapping of functions and responsibility restricted to areas which affect creativity and management of ideas (for example policy development, planning)
  - (c) minimum of committees, task forces, guidelines/regulations and written memoranda
  - (d) as much delegation of authority and responsibility as possible to the field, to volunteers and local communities
  - (e) supporting role of administration in contrast to a determining role, which satisfies the legal requirements for supervision and control, but resists undue requirements for approval, record keeping or reporting.

7. Reporting and feedback procedure which records the Program Output in terms of targets at regular intervals. Currently, volunteer and staff reports merely describe work programs and problems of volunteers' performance, they are insufficient to identify achievements of targets.

Foreign Volunteer Services involve skilled volunteers with a minimum age of 21 years and an average age of 25-27 years. About one-third of foreign volunteers are women. The skills required of volunteers differ among FV Services:

- completed technical/professional education and employment experience are required by the Danish DUU and the German DED
- completed technical/professional education only is required from the Dutch SNV and UNV
- possession of employable skills is required from the Canadian CUSO and US Peace Corps.

The service period is normally two years. Some non-governmental, church sponsored services assign for 3-5 years. All have provisions for service extension or reassignment.

**Volunteer training** in most services is exclusively conducted in project countries or the region of assignment. Exceptions are the German Volunteer Service (DED) and the Dutch Volunteer Service (SNV) which conduct large portions of training at home. Most volunteer training lasts 8-12 weeks, depending primarily on the needs for international and local language instruction. Cross-cultural training, combined with language instruction and country studies, are common features, and supplementary technical training is furnished when necessary. Volunteer training, during the past 16 years has largely contributed to the emerging "state of the art" of cross-cultural education and has influenced universities and the training of experts, businessmen and others. Thus, with respect to selection and training of volunteers, FV Services have demonstrated a normative mobilization capacity which significantly affected other sectors of society.

**Program Activities** of FV Services are more complex than those of Domestic Development Services as they must concern tasks at home and abroad, including:

1. Foreign assistance work programs by volunteers assigned to developing countries
2. Financial assistance in connection with volunteer work or independent of it; only CUSO and Peace Corps have a separate program sector in this respect
3. Materials Services by way of manuals and guidelines related to appropriate technology (Peace Corps) or development education at home (CUSO)
4. Development Education at Home by the FV Service as an institution, and by former volunteers as individuals; only CUSO has developed a program sector of significance in this area.

Comparing these program tasks with the causes and needs for which FV Services were established, foreign assistance work programs and development education at home are of primary importance, while financial assistance and materials services have supporting functions.

According to their mandate, foreign assistance work programs are conducted in these areas: technical training, general education, community development and social services, health, agriculture, administration, small scale industry, trades. Volunteers are assigned predominantly in rural areas. Preferred are local community, small scale, and work projects that emphasize intermediate technology, in contrast to large industrial and urban projects. The United Nations Volunteers (UNV) differs from this approach because volunteers are assigned only to UN financed projects which comprise more large scale and, often, industrial projects.

Work program priorities were found to include:

- Social Development (education, health, community development) with 62-75% of total volunteer assignments: CUSO, DED, PC
- Economic/Technical Development (agriculture, engineering, crafts, industry) with 40-61% of assignments: DUU, SNV, UNV.

These preferences for specific areas of project involvement are in line with the work program goals and guidelines of the individual services. They demonstrate that FV Services have changed from an initial "shotgun" approach to special emphasis of assignments of limited volunteer resources.

FV Services also specify target population groups. In work program goals or guidelines they are described as the "underprivileged" or "disadvantaged," "at the grassroots level," "local communities," or "preferably rural areas"—all of these descriptive terms point to serving people left aside from the mainstream of their societies. Most FV Services believe that, by giving preference to education/training, local community development, and employment support in agriculture, crafts and small scale industry, they most readily reach these target groups which, as they become able to help themselves, achieve long range change. However, these work program priorities were found to be too vague to direct the investment of volunteer manpower to projects where it would respond most effectively to causes and needs. Not the work program area, but the specific project, and not the type of project country, but a specific target population reached, indicates effectiveness. For example, education or training programs outside formal schooling that reach marginal groups are more effective than volunteer assignments to secondary or tertiary schools which reinforce the privileges of elites and do not respond to the primary needs of the unskilled and drop-outs.

Thus, the coverage of target population groups was found the primary criteria for work program priorities, and the extent to which this is accomplished indicates the effectiveness of a service. An improvement in local action-planning and application of project selection criteria is necessary to achieve this goal.

Further, if work programs are to assist in self-reliant development, preference should be given to production projects such as: education/skill training of underprivileged, improvement and expansion of farming, crafts, small industry, service sector of economy marketing, transportation, utilities infrastructure. The extent to which volunteers work successfully in such employ-

ment-oriented projects indicates their effectiveness in support of self-reliance. This presupposes that **consumption projects**, such as improvement of nutrition, health, housing, care for the sick and handicapped, etc., are primarily a task for domestic services, as these basic needs, according to Abraham Maslow<sup>73</sup>, represent the most vital level of survival and self-maintenance of any social entity. Dispersed by a foreigner, consumption type projects are charity and not developmental in nature—they do not further self-reliance.

**Development Education at Home** the other most important task of FV Services, derived from the causes and needs for which they were established. All Foreign Volunteer Services hope to make an impact on their home society; however, the emphasis placed on this mandate varies greatly from country to country.

For example, while Peace Corps does not support the various activities of their former volunteers at home, CUSO has established a separate program sector, largely carried out through their Local Committees and former volunteers, which can be exemplary for other FV Services. CUSO's goals for Development Education in Canada are:

- to introduce Third World studies and relationships to domestic issues in schools and adult education programs
- to effect change in Canadian Government policy in the area of trade/aid, and to achieve wider public awareness of the contradictions of Canadian involvement overseas
- to effect change in Canadian Government policy and business activity in Southern Africa, and to increase support for self-determination and human rights in this area.

It is CUSO's policy to go to the roots of the causes of underdevelopment at home; one step is to testify on overall national policies and legislation on crucial development issues before the Canadian House of Commons and the Senate.

In all, it was found that foreign volunteers have a four-fold role:

- They are **learners**: Only after volunteers have developed a learning attitude and have entered a learning process can he or she in fact become a helper. Learning concerns not so much professional or technical skills as social learning in multi-cultural environments, work learning and personal growth. As Manfred Kulesa points out<sup>67</sup>: *"We have learned that the educational process in volunteer service is not an automatic consequence of simply being abroad. We have to work at it. The process has to be assisted."*
- They are **helpers** for transfer of skills and knowledge, and in *"conflict handling roles, analysis roles, job-creation roles"* as Elise Boulding describes them<sup>87</sup>. That a helping relationship requires a learner is confirmed by Carl Rogers<sup>103</sup> when he states: *"... the optimal helping relationship is the kind of relationship created by a person who is psychologically mature. Or to put it in another way, the degree to which I can create relationships which facilitate the growth of others as separate persons is a measure of the growth I have achieved in myself."*

- They are **facilitators of peaceful relations**. Being perceived as a helper on the part of the “receiver” is a first step toward a peaceful relationship. But that is not enough. Only if the contribution of the volunteer helps to remove “structural violence”,<sup>47</sup> that is to help change structures which maintain inequality and injustices, has a permanent step toward peace been achieved.
- They are expected to be **ombudsmen at home** when they return to their communities from service abroad—ombudsmen for the cause of development and global understanding for which they worked abroad.

Among other Program Features and Problem Areas which were found to significantly influence the performance and effectiveness of Foreign Volunteer Services are:

- Citizen mobilization and participation largely depends on:
  - A membership structure which is the most important feature to open up an organization toward this goal, as CUSO demonstrates
  - Local constituency groups, committees at home which can support various program tasks
  - The delegation of volunteer training to host countries which encourages the participation of their citizens
  - Work projects which are identified and planned by local communities
  - A low profile of FV Services’ field offices, representation and administration—the more dominating the foreign staff roles the less local participation
  - A variety of Program Sectors which go beyond mere volunteer work assignments and extend the opportunities for citizen participation
  - The bi-lateral or multi-national nature of FV Services affects participation: UNV clearly provides less opportunities for citizen mobilization and obviously does not encourage it through specific program features. In bi-lateral services, those which are non-governmental and have some private funding sources are more inclined to citizen participation than those relying solely on governmental support.
- The one-sided emphasis on a foreign assistance role—which was justified during the past 15 years because of manpower needs—is now weakening FV Services. In neglecting the home-based reasons for their existence—that is, work/service learning abroad and development education at home—they have linked their right to exist nearly exclusively to a foreign cause. Hence the recurrent question “*How long will they be needed?*” as supplier of technical skills. From this angle, the emphasis on volunteer assignments in least developed countries is only a retreat to a dead-end street. Despite the importance of continued assistance to those countries—at least for a while—the future lies elsewhere. Only if a balance is achieved, and assistance

programs are continued alongside new partnership learning and development education at home can Foreign Volunteer Services live up to their mandate.

To realign these three program emphases in a response to the changed world conditions, will probably stir discussion and some power struggles at home, but this will be necessary to overcome the dependence on the one-sided "giver" role the past.

### **Conclusions on the Performance of Foreign Volunteer Services:**

Efficiency is expressed by the costs per volunteer man-year and the staff:volunteer ratio, costs ranging from \$ 8,200 (Canadian CUSO) to \$15,870 (German DED).

The Effectiveness of FV Services is indicated by:

1. The extent to which volunteer work projects give priority to:
  - (a) service of the target population (coverage)
  - (b) support of production projects (volume)
  - (c) maintenance of minimum health and nutrition standards for target population—provided no other assistance is available
  - (d) local community participation leading to self-help and upward mobility, thereby removing the "structural violence" from under-development—a necessary ingredient for the facilitation of peace structures.
2. The extent to which volunteer work assignments result in improvement and/or expansion of:
  - (a) local production in agriculture, crafts and small scale industry, services, and marketing and employment opportunities both for hire and self-employment
  - (b) access to skill training and recurrent educational opportunity
  - (c) equal distribution of income on the local level
  - (d) local structures, institutions or regulations, which—after the volunteer has left—maintain a higher level of citizen development participation over the previous stage.
3. The extent to which volunteers are integrated into the project hierarchy and maintain a status and living style comparable to national colleagues.
4. The extent to which FV Services reduce their formal representation and administration in host countries, including staffing pattern, and maintain a low key institutional presence.

5. The extent to which the distribution of authority and the organizational structure in FV Services permit a results-oriented management and administration, indicated by:
  - (a) clear distinction between executive authority and supervisory power
  - (b) minimum number of regulations required for operations
  - (c) provision of governmental funds with minimum budgeting, approval and reporting requirements
  - (d) delegation of responsibilities and participation in decision-making to volunteers and staff
  - (e) reduction of staffing hierarchy
  - (f) use of volunteer and similar tested resources for staffing
  - (g) direct communication lines between the decision-maker and implementor, and reduction of intermediate approval stages and overlapping responsibility for management of action
  - (h) maintenance of overlapping responsibilities for creative functions and the management of ideas.
6. The extent to which FV Services have a local basis at home, through membership of local committees, providing a balanced support for the two-fold foreign/domestic mandate.
7. The extent to which former volunteers become involved, and FV Services conduct a program at home, affecting:
  - (a) global/development education in schools and non-formal educational activities
  - (b) involvement of foreigners in community service at home
  - (c) support for development policies in the legislative branch of government which contribute to the reduction of imbalances between the rich and the poor countries
  - (d) citizens/community support for the service abroad, including fund-raising for financial assistance projects
  - (e) continued involvement in other forms of volunteer community service at home.

The results of this evaluation indicate that FV Services need a strong local home basis to provide the necessary continuum of support and guidance through all changes of needs, in foreign countries and at home, which affect program and institutional structure. This will be even more necessary in the

future when the increasing interdependence of nations will have its effect on the foreign assistance activities of FV Services.

There is no doubt, that an inter-relationship exists between a sound program at home and abroad. The more the one-directional foreign assistance role diminishes, the more important will be a two-way Foreign Volunteer Service cooperation capability.

### RECURRENT DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

That opportunities for recurrent education of volunteers later in life is an issue for Development Services can easily be derived from their mandate to conduct alternative educational activities. Whether these services provide literacy and basic skill training for the uneducated, experiential work-learning for the student, re-training for the graduate or global learning for the foreign volunteer, their task is not completed if it leaves the volunteer in the cold after he has finished his term. The opportunity to continue later in life, as needs for other or more education occur, is not only essential for the individual, but also for society which has made an investment in improving the volunteer's qualifications and should be able to gain from his lifetime contributions.

In the early years, Development Services faced an uphill fight to gain acknowledgement of this training for follow-up employment or further education. This has now changed.

**Recurrent Education** is an accepted principle, underwritten by the member countries of the United Nations. The concept aims at the right and access to life-long education for all people at any age, irrespective of the level of previous schooling or social standing. Recurrent education does not pretend to replace the whole education system, but provides alternative educational opportunities by radical modification toward<sup>150</sup>:

- access to education at any age
- availability of education at various periods during a lifetime
- plurality of education at various places and levels.

Recurrent Education would not prolong traditional schooling but would remove barriers between "formal" education and the "non-formal" out-of-school and adult education sector. A change of admission policy and grade promotion is required to provide this access to further and higher levels of education on the basis of possession of knowledge and skills, irrespective of whether they were obtained through classroom attendance, "non-formal" training or work experience during employment.

Equality of education opportunity through fairer and more effective deployment of educational resources is another principle. Equality is a problem not only within the same age group, the rural and urban population, but also between the generations, different tribes, sub-cultures and between sexes.

In its 1972 report "Learning To Be"<sup>159</sup> UNESCO ". . . proposed lifelong education as a master concept in the years to come for both developed and developing countries." The report pointed out that for centuries educational development followed economic growth but that—since the end of the Second World War—"education has become the world's biggest activity as far as over-all spending is concerned." UNESCO pointed to new characteristics:

- *for the first time in the history of humanity, development of education on a world-wide scale is tending to precede economic development*
- *for the first time in history, education is now engaged in preparing men for a type of society which does not yet exist*
- *for the first time in history some societies are beginning to reject many of the products of institutionalized education*
- *education does display a number of common trends and characteristics . . . the educational enterprise has the character of a worldwide concern."*

Adopted by the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education<sup>151</sup> in 1975 as a concept of public policy, Recurrent Education has also become part of national policy and legislation in Indonesia, Peru and Tanzania.

Overall, when compared to industrialized countries, developing countries are not necessarily at a disadvantage in implementing Recurrent Education. Their determination for an educational system that is relevant for self-reliance, and their interest in modifying schooling methods inherited from colonial times, propels the elimination of the barriers between different levels, places and times of education.

Finally, the question of costs is crucial if this concept is to have a chance: "How cost effective is Recurrent Education in comparison to conventional approaches?" These are some answers drawn from the detailed studies of Friedrich Edding and his colleagues<sup>35, 36</sup>:

- There is no way that the current conventional education of youth in full-time programs could be expanded to all youth and to those adults requiring equal opportunity—it would be far too costly. No country can afford such a concept, and pay not only for the costs of the educational program but also for leave of absence from work for adults during the education period—and absorb the loss of production at the same time.
- On the other hand, current social costs, the discrepancy between the requirements of life and the ability to meet them by adequate education, are high. Social welfare, health, delinquency, loss of production because of idle manpower, the slow progress to improve the overall quality of life, comprise these social costs. They are nowhere calculated in terms of money or wasted resources—but there is broad agreement that they are formidable. Therefore, alternative strategies for Recurrent Education are demanded.

- Costs are reduced if the motivation for learning is stimulated through reduction of time spent in school, through module structured curricula, learning in “real life” situations (such as work/service or work/study).

**Cost effectiveness of Recurrent Education** appears dependent upon:

- limitation of full-time obligatory youth education until age 18
- intervals of full-time learning and work periods primarily to age 25
- full-time adult education only if related to the advancement of careers leading to improvement of productivity
- part-time and/or short-term/full-time adult education tailored to specific social, cultural and economic needs of various population groups
- delegation of educational obligations both to schools *and* to a diversity of educational organizations such as Development Services
- open admission and grade promotion on the basis of knowledge and skills, in contrast to certificates.

**Development-Orientation of Education** is a concept deeply interlinked with the recurrent approach; in fact, it is the other side of the same coin. As development concerns “*the mobilization and advancement of people, to maintain and achieve an adequate livelihood and self-reliance, in contrast to institutions and profits,*” Recurrent Education moves the attention from an institution and curriculum emphasis to a **learner** focus in response to the needs of the individual. The learner and the person in the local community who is to be advanced through development efforts are the same. A multi-national study by the International Council for Educational Development<sup>62</sup> confirms this opinion.

The many forms of educational activities outside “formal” and conventional higher education are seen as part of “ . . . a continuous effort to strengthen what might be called ‘the learning capacity of the nation’ ”<sup>114</sup>.

There is one additional component tied to perceiving Recurrent Education as being development-oriented: the **global aspect of learning**. Education for life in today’s and tomorrow’s society is incomplete and inadequate if it does not include treatment and experience of the relationships and dependencies among developing and industrialized countries, and the related global problems which require peaceful solutions.

Thus, Recurrent Development Education is a person-oriented, community based opportunity to learn during an entire lifetime, and to participate as an active member in the community at large in an interdependent world.

**The Educational Potential of Development Services** was found to be category-specific and derived from their causes. Under certain conditions, it was found that Development Services are, in fact, educational organizations which are more cost effective than school systems. Among the current educational roles of Development Services and their potential are:

1. **Training and Employment Schemes which conduct “non-formal” training** in literacy, technical/vocational skills, culture and civics for illiterate and drop-out youth through combined classroom, workshop training and work/service programs. Their challenge today is to go all the way to make these services a true vehicle of Recurrent Development Education. This challenge is in three main areas:
  - to design work/service projects as a strong learning sector of the overall program
  - to change the current admission and certification requirements so that work/service learning is credited, the curriculum emphasis is on general vocational and work process skills, and non-certified teachers are admitted
  - to integrate the services’ goals and targets into national plans and allocate resources in accordance with their less costly revised educational role and the resultant expanded coverage of population groups in need of alternative educational opportunity.
  
2. **Study-Services provide “formal” education and training** for students under work/service conditions in local communities to gain employable technical, social and communication skills and work experience. While the existence of Study-Service at a college or university is per se a signal for development-oriented curriculum content and methodology, it does not necessarily imply that the educational institution as a whole has achieved the characteristics of an exponent of Recurrent Development Education. Only if the feedback from the Study-Service experience initiates changes in the institution itself affecting the overall policy, organizational structure and procedure, can one speak of an effective educational role of Study Services. Through Study-Services, Recurrent Development Education can be initiated in institutions of higher education with:
  - provision of Study-Service opportunities covering all disciplines
  - policy of open admission and work/service learning for credit as an equal part of academic learning
  - integration of Study-Service as an operational unit within the educational institution at a level equivalent to traditional departments or disciplines
  - participation of faculty in the work/service program and in the support of local community projects
  - participation of professionals from community and business in teaching assignments in colleges and universities.

3. **Social and Technical Development Services in fact provide “non-formal” job entry or career re-training for graduates or the less “formally” educated citizens who serve as volunteers.** Their training and work/service program in local communities leads to attainment of technical, administrative, social and cultural communication skills in problem solving roles.

The educational role of STD Services is not as clearly defined as in the previous two categories of Development Services. This is due to the broader range of causes and needs to which STD Services respond. In general, they do not perceive the individual volunteer as a learner. Their first emphasis is on the learning needs of the local communities they aid through volunteer assignments. However, by assigning young graduates for a sufficient length of time in a work/service environment, they introduce the volunteer to the world of work and employment. The service becomes a functional, rather than an intentional, job entry training. The work experience in the social field also often leads to reconsideration of career choices and a new outlook on what the volunteer wants to do with his or her life. Thus, the job entry training not only concerns prospects for employment, but also the volunteer’s individual role in society. Most STD Services conceive this educational role as a by-product –certainly not linked to a Recurrent Education effort and thus have no policy and do not support the volunteer through counseling, in-service training or other regular learning programs.

Finally, occupational re-training for the mature or retired person to take up a new role and/or employment later in life is a very important function of those STD Services which employ older volunteers. Unfortunately, most STD Services have not yet clearly perceived their role in Adult Recurrent Education, and consequently, have not developed an educational program in this respect. Providing learning-service for adults later in life is one of the least costly approaches to serve the needs of mature learners and, concurrently, gain the highest benefit from their contribution to the local community. Industrialized countries are especially guilty of neglect with their millions of early retirees who, together with their longer life expectancy, waste 15-20 years of their lives because they have no, or at least inadequate re-learning and involvement/employment opportunities. With the overemphasis on youth in most of the European and North American countries, the older generation is truly the “underdog” as far as educational opportunity is concerned; it represents a waste of useful resources in terms of their social service potential for the community.

Overall, STD Services have the educational potential, by integrating their program in national recurrent education planning, to provide cost effective service learning in three areas:

- for graduates and other young adults a job entry or occupational re-training in response to employment needs and personal interests
- for senior citizens of various educational backgrounds, occupational re-orientation in full-time or part-time social service programs in response to community or public service needs

- for the less educated, handicapped, otherwise underprivileged or delinquent, general and occupational service-learning opportunities in response to their individual skills and knowledge and their needs to contribute and help others in the community.
4. **Foreign Volunteer Services provide “non-formal” development/global education to their volunteers through training and work/service assignments in a multi-cultural milieu in a foreign country. They also have to foster development education at home.**

Foreign Volunteer Services, in their educational activity to prepare the volunteer for service abroad, lack an active concern for the individual as a learner. They regard the volunteer, in their policies and programs, as manpower sent abroad to produce employment results. This notion is one-sided. It overlooks that, for the individual person, the service is a section of his lifetime: he comes with a certain educational background and employment experience (of which the FV Service takes advantage) and he will afterwards continue in employment and probably further education as well. Currently this 25 month learning period—which treats learning as a by-product—is a section of discontinuity in the volunteer’s overall life. From a Recurrent Development Education point of view it is a neglected link from previous education to later learning and occupation. FV Services have not—yet—taken up their mandate as an educational organization, but they especially have two potentials in terms of Recurrent Development Education principles:

- to develop self-learning capabilities in volunteers in a multi-cultural milieu and foreign languages which will be of value in later employment and citizen roles at home
- to link their pre-service training and work/service learning with “formal” post-graduate education or occupational re-orientation attainable for a later career, for example in teaching, in tropical medicine, agriculture, public administration, business, etc.

The “non-formal” and “formal” development education at home has—so far—been developed only by the Canadian FV Services.

It is this additional dimension of contribution to general education, occupational training, technical/professional education and various sectors of adult learning that would develop FV Services to their full potential as an educational organization both abroad and at home.

From the analysis of the evaluation materials, these are among the necessary **Elements for an Effective Role of Development Services in Recurrent Development Education:**

- Identification of needs in terms of coverage of overall target population.
- Identification of learning content, specifically the needs of

- (a) the volunteer as individual learner
  - (b) the community as a learning society
  - (c) the potential employment and market sector in terms of employable skills or marketable products.
- Educational policy on the part of the Development Service which reflects its potential as an organization to provide:
  - (a) alternative educational opportunity for those left aside from the schools and
  - (b) recurrence of opportunity to prepare for work or new occupations in youth, mid-career, or retirement age.
- Linkages with the "formal" education system to ensure:
  - (a) admission and grade promotion agreements for further education, and certification of service-learning
  - (b) development of learning modules which link work/service with classroom learning and integrate both in the overall curriculum
  - (c) staff development and exchange policy which provides teachers with work/service learning as staff and service staff with teaching experience in schools, colleges and universities, eventually leading to a more open teaching profession
  - (d) regular feedback to educational institutions related to both volunteer training and work/service experience to improve development orientation of the institution
  - (e) regular review of financial resources to provide equal educational opportunity for target population
- Community basis of volunteer training and work/service programs.

One can, of course, argue that these considerations are taking the educational role of Development Services too far. The educational advance of the individual volunteer may be perceived as contravening the principle of a voluntary contribution free of personal gain. Others may say that Development Services were meant to be the "outsider", an organization less endowed with an official education role.

But times and needs have changed. Development Services are a new breed which were established in response to exactly these needs, and receive significant public financial support. The arguments against going all the way in developing an effective educational role stem from a

past “we:they” perception of “formal” versus “non-formal” institutionalized education. They are linked to an erstwhile voluntary service concept which takes more pride in the aspect of “no personal gain” (which only the rich and well endowed can afford) rather than to provide opportunity for involvement and participation of all citizens, including the poor and disadvantaged.

With the acceptance of the Recurrent and Development Education master concept by all countries on a cost effective basis, and the consequent aim of eliminating the barriers between “formal” and “non-formal” education, the previous—sometimes vague—educational mandate of Development Services became more precise. They are the educational organizations outside the school system so badly needed to open up lifelong educational opportunities for all. The point is for Development Services to avoid turning into an educational bureaucracy. On the contrary, their strength is their flexibility, the practical community based work/service, and the broad range of citizens involved in their program. It will take all the force of good conceptualization, policy and effective management to keep it that way—not be tempted or forced to “bend” to conventional educational procedures but, rather, contribute to changes in the system by implementing Recurrent Development Education principles.

## EMPLOYMENT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Development Services are employment-oriented by their mandate. This mandate, growing from the causes for which they were established, is clearly defined for Domestic Development Services but less precise for Foreign Volunteer Services. Thus, the issue of employment-orientation is not one of “Why at all”? but “How”?

### The Employment Problem

That education and employment are interrelated has long been established. As Frederick H. Harbison points out<sup>52</sup>:

*“Human resources problems fall into general categories:*

- (1) those related to underdevelopment of skills, knowledge and talent of persons in the labor force and*
- (2) those stemming from underutilization of their energies and capabilities.”*

In the effort to advance people, education and employment feed on their respective achievements and failures—as the two sides of the same coin.

But the acknowledgement of a “right to work” principle is a fairly recent development. The members of the United Nations have added this postulate to the earlier principle of the “right to equal educational opportunities”. More and more, the “right to work” principle is commanding attention and endeavor. The 1976 ILO World Employment Conference declared<sup>143</sup>:

*“ . . . that past development strategies in most developing countries have not led to the eradication of poverty and unemployment . . . that industrialized*

*countries have not been able to maintain full employment and that economic recession has resulted in widespread unemployment . . . ”*

and the Conference noted:

*“ . . . that unemployment, underemployment and marginality are a universal concern and affect at least one-third of humanity at the present time, offending human dignity and preventing the exercise of the right to work . . . ”*

**Underutilization of Human resources** is the most serious and intractable problem facing us today. It is not only a waste of the most abundant resource, manpower, but is also a human tragedy. The problem concerns the open—and statistically traceable—unemployment as well as underemployment disguised in subsistence agriculture, occasional employment and the marginal sectors of society. While unemployment pertains to the labor force actively seeking work in the modern-sector economy—in developing countries averaging about 20-25%, in industrial countries between 5-12%—underemployment is not easily defined or identified in quantitative terms.<sup>52</sup> Underemployment, to quote Gunnar Myrdal<sup>84</sup>, relates to the labor force that is idle during part of the day, week, month and year, or to situations where working is “unproductive”.

**Productive employment**, according to the ILO data, “*depends both on the rate of economic growth, and on the pattern of development, as well as on ad hoc policy measures to face any immediate, emergency employment problems*”<sup>142</sup>. There is agreement that not one but many causes incite unemployment problems: the imbalances between economic growth, population expansion and educational opportunity, the imbalances between job needs and technology, the imbalances between peoples’ aspirations and expectations for work in comparison to available employment structures and opportunities, and—last but not least—the limitations in export markets, income distribution and worsening terms of trade.

Moreover, Employment Strategies should be based on a **Basic-Needs-Oriented Policy**<sup>143</sup>:

*“First, they include certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing, as well as household equipment and furniture.*

*Second, they include essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport and health, educational and cultural facilities.”*

The Basic-Needs-Oriented Policy further implies:

*“ . . . the participation of the people in making the decisions which affect them through organizations of their own choice.*

*“ . . . in all countries freely chosen employment . . . both as a means and as an end. Employment yields an output. It provides an income to the employed, and gives the individual a feeling of self-respect, dignity and of being a worthy member of society.”*

**A combination of measures to generate jobs in productive employment and to change the pattern of development is required if the under-utilization of human resources is to be rectified. These measures must distinguish between the urban and the rural employment problems.**

In most developing countries, it is expected that the **urban unemployment and underemployment** will worsen as the labor force increases more rapidly than the economy and consequent job opportunities. All experts agree that expansion of urban employment is limited, that, in fact, expansion can cause more unemployment because it creates false hopes and attracts even more rural migrants. Effective means to reduce urban unemployment include:

- a slowdown of population growth
- retention of rural labor force in their communities and regions, and
- reverse migration of the educated from urban centers to rural areas for certain employment periods.

**Thus, an Employment-Oriented Development Strategy must give preference to job generation in rural areas. Measures to create such jobs would comprise:**

- reorganization of agrarian structure encouraging small farms
- expansion and modernization (not to be mistaken for capital-intensive mechanization) of agriculture, and development of agro-based crafts, services, and small business and industry
- provision of both physical (roads, water, power, housing) and social (education, training, health, nutrition) infrastructure
- promotion of co-operatives for marketing, storage, equipment, credit, transportation, processing, distribution

Harbison explains<sup>52</sup>: *“The logic in favor of rural development is clear. It will help solve the problem of hunger and malnutrition; it can ease pressure on the balance of payments by reducing the need to import food; by increasing rural incomes, it will broaden the market for urban produced goods. And above all, since by nature most activities essential to rural development are relatively labor-intensive, it can be a powerful force for generating employment.”*

A prime bottleneck to achieve a concerted effort in rural development is the lack—in most countries—of organization and management beyond the traditional local leadership structure. The Program of Action of the ILO World Employment Conference<sup>143</sup> underlines the **importance of rural organization**. *“The main thrust of a Basic-Needs Strategy must ensure that there is effective mass participation of the rural population in the political process in order to safeguard their interests. In view of the highly hierarchical social and economic structure of agrarian societies in some developing countries, measures of redistributive justice are likely to be thwarted unless backed by organizations of rural workers. A policy of active encouragement to small farmers and rural workers’ organizations should be pursued . . . ”*

Finally, the World Employment Conference emphasized **social policies** for both industrialized and developing countries which "should be designed to increase the welfare of the working people, especially women, the young and the aged."

In sum, an **Employment-Oriented Development Strategy**, concurring with Basic-Needs principles gives priority to:

- utilization of human resources in rural areas through broad range rural development, emphasizing job generation
- rural organization
- social policies and programs with special attention to women, youth and the aged.

The Study singled out **the case of Kenya** as an exemplary illustration of the evolvement of an overall national employment strategy and the role Development Services can play in that effort. It should be read for the multiple approach to resolve the problems of an emerging nation.

### **Employment-Orientation of Development Services**

As employment organizations, Development Services are unique, combining both educational and employment activities under one roof. Thus they are a true bridge between both systems. Their **employment-oriented** role is three-fold:

- providing a transition between education and employment for the individual volunteer
- investing volunteer manpower in development work projects in response to community and national employment needs
- facilitating and/or generating continuous employment for the individual volunteer at the completion of the service assignment.

While the second is the most obvious function, and a current major concern of all Development Services' work policies and programs, the other two are neither as clear nor as fully accepted. The three functions are interrelated and their emphasis is category-specific.

1. **Training and Employment Schemes** perceive their employment role most clearly. Their objectives state in one form or another their transitory function to prepare the illiterate, drop-outs, and even school leavers for employment. However, increasingly T&E Services perceive

their role in transition to employment not only in terms of vocational/technical skill training but also preparation for various employment situations, such as:

- self-employment in trades, services and various informal sector activities
- self or cooperative employment in agriculture, including land settlement
- wage employment in agriculture, public services, construction or industry.

Preparation for self-employment would include: coping with contract work, marketing, selling products, obtaining material and financial resources, simple bookkeeping, re-investment, etc. Preparation for wage employment will focus on improving performance to the standards required for various positions and wage levels, including development of specialties.

The facilitation of permanent employment is the most crucial link in the chain of activities of Training and Employment Schemes. Without a clear policy and program to eradicate un- and underemployment, these services would defeat the very purpose for which they were established.

Most Training and Employment Schemes—in line with the background of their participants—give preference of support to the following permanent employment areas:

- agriculture through introduction of new cash crops, seeds, fertilizer, storage, cooperatives for supplies, marketing, credits, and participation in land settlement schemes
- services, especially in rural areas, in crafts, repair and maintenance, tourism, public services in national parks, utilities and transportation
- informal sector of rural trades, individual services, small land plot production, etc.

2. **Study-Services**, in contrast to the Training and Employment Schemes, have a less clear perception of their employment role. Their function in transition between education and employment is currently indicated by two policies:

- experiential learning in work assignments is tailored to the needs of the volunteer employer, and that
- reconsideration of career choices and fields of study are encouraged in response to manpower needs in the labor market, especially in social areas and for rural regions.

Study-Services, in general, are more concerned with the relationship of the work assignment to the volunteers' field of study than with the employment promotion that could ensue from the service they render to the local recipients.

A more aggressive approach is reported from the Study-Service KKN in Indonesia—the only one known to have an employment-oriented policy for student-volunteers' work programs. Dr. W.P. Napitupulu, the founding Director of BUTSI and now Director General for Non-Formal Education, argued in a paper on the employment situation<sup>86</sup> that the Study-Service

KKN can be a very forceful tool to reverse the very damaging “brain drain” to urban areas by providing “brain gain” in rural areas.

There is no doubt that an employment-oriented development work policy will enhance the effectiveness of Study-Services in two directions:

- improve development education by adding the employment dimension to the curriculum
- expand employment capacities in local communities through increased production.

Study-Services in industrialized countries appear to be even less conscious of the employment problems in their society and there are no indications that they have concerned themselves with—for example—increasing youth unemployment.

3. **Social and Technical Development Services** rank next to Training and Employment Schemes in acknowledging the employment problem. Even though they vary in employment functions, they are closer to the problem because many of their participants are themselves in transition.

The investment of volunteer manpower in employment generating work projects in local communities is undertaken by many STD Services. It is not clear whether this is due to an active employment-oriented work program policy or a happy occurrence because of local volunteer requests for such assignments.

Facilitation or generation of permanent employment for former volunteers was found to be clearly perceived in Social and Technical Development Services as a need, but has not been translated into a policy or program.

4. **Foreign Volunteer Services** also vary in their emphasis on employment functions. Their perception of a role to support the volunteer in transition between education and employment depends on the type of participant they enroll. Those FV Services which primarily employ graduates and students (VSO/UK, CUSO/Canada, Peace Corps/USA) are more closely meshed to the problem. In some instances they have arranged for certification of the service period to make volunteers eligible for employment, for example as teachers (Peace Corps).

Another employment oriented function of FV Services, to invest their manpower in development projects which further the employment opportunities of the recipients, is probably the weakest part of their program. While none of the FV Services states a clear employment-oriented development policy, two opposing trends can be identified:

- Volunteer assignments to technical/industrial projects indicate an excessive proportion of investment in the modern wage earning, industrial—often urban—sector, a sector which, according to the experts, has lower priority for employment expansion and generation, and may even worsen the unemployment problem in urban areas.
- Priorities assigned to volunteer work projects in agriculture, rural development, rural trades, small scale industry, cooperatives, community development, low-cost housing, etc. indicate labor intensive technology, expansion

of productive capacity and improvements in the informal sector of employment.

A third employment function, to facilitate employment of volunteers after completion of service, has from the start been a concern of all FV Services. Overall, the more technically skilled or professionally qualified volunteers are employed by a FV Service, the better the linkages into the employment system.

In sum, this review has highlighted the current broad range of employment-oriented activities in the four categories of Development Services. It also has indicated the gaps. Development Services should question whether volunteer assignments in modern sector projects, including higher levels of general and technical education, city planning, public administration, etc., are still justified. Clearly, in comparison to the overwhelming employment needs, a continuation in such volunteer assignments means serving a low priority development interest—it also means less effectiveness for the service.

**Elements for an Employment-Oriented Strategy of Development Services include:**

- Identification and statement of the employment problem of:
  - (a) Target population groups in rural areas: school age youth, young adults, women, senior citizens, land poor farmers, subsistence farmers (lacking cash crops), underemployed in service and informal sectors of employment system
  - (b) Target population groups in urban areas: unemployed youth and young adults, squatters and those underemployed in services and the informal sector
  - (c) Volunteers themselves, both during service and for permanent employment after completion.
- Identification and statement of priorities of employment needs for target population groups in terms of:
  - (a) Number and type of employment expansion needed for the underemployed, and generation of new jobs for the unemployed
  - (b) Number and type of available and potential volunteer manpower to invest their time most effectively in such employment-oriented training and work programs.
- Establishment of an employment-oriented development strategy based on the identified priorities and capabilities including:
  - (a) Preference of volunteer placement in employment generating and expanding assignments in rural areas, and critical examination of the current urban, technical industrial and administrative volunteer jobs in the modern sector

- (b) Cost-benefit accounting for each volunteer assignment, especially in STD and FV Services, in terms of benefit producing employment generation and based on data from "typical" work program areas
  - (c) Criteria development for employment-oriented volunteer training for: transfer of employable skills to others, generation of achievement motivation, acquisition of employable skills and motivation by the volunteers themselves
  - (d) Policies to publicly support and promote the removal of licensing regulations and of other conditions which hinder self-employment and job creation for marginal groups
  - (e) Provision of professional/technical advice to volunteers during service assignments
  - (f) Development of a self-employment module for training and work assignments taking into account the abilities of volunteers working on the projects
  - (g) Plans for loans, revolving credits or other forms of financing during the takeoff period in self-employment until the person has established a favorable credit history to obtain funds in the open market.
- **Linkage with the employment system** both the formal and informal sector through:
    - (a) Cooperation with national employment planning
    - (b) Relationships of various forms with employer organizations, labor unions, professional organizations, public service agencies, regional organizations concerned with employment generation and expansion
    - (d) Exchange between professionals in employment agencies and Development Services staff to improve both the effectiveness of the services' contributions and the agencies planning to alleviate the employment problem.
- **Community participation** in plan development and implementation of employment-oriented work and training programs, including community leadership and management of projects and maintenance of continuing programs after the volunteers have left.

## CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

This third major policy issue concerns the mobilization capacity that Development Services can muster to involve citizens in development participation in local communities and the society at large.

Citizen participation is both a means and an end in itself; it implies equality and action. Equal rights and duties are, of course, basic democratic principles—without citizen participation there is no democracy.

Partaking with equality is also at the core of development. Irrespective of the political system of a society—without citizen participation there is no development.

Partaking in several of equal duties, interests and concerns is the principle of self-reliance—without citizen participation self-reliance cannot be realized.

**Citizen Participation is a Mobilization Process** by which, according to Amitai Etzioni<sup>42</sup>, a societal unit—the family, community, an organization, the country—gains significantly in the control of assets. Assets include manpower, funds and loyalties. The mere increase in members does not constitute a mobilization, but a potential for a larger capacity. Only their actual investment, that is, of volunteer or local citizen manpower, represents a gain in mobilization level over the previous stage. Therefore, by definition, mobilization is both a process of change in the control structure of assets held by a social unit and a changing process of societal structures. Development Services which increase their investment of volunteer manpower in local development projects and, at the same time, provide recurrent education and employment opportunities, change the societal systems of education and employment and at the same time expand their boundaries. They gain a higher level of societal control of assets, and an increase in citizen mobilization is the result.

The forms of mobilization most important for Development Services include:

- utilitarian mobilization; for example, the change in control of manpower, i.e. the ratio of people employed by the mobilizing unit
- normative mobilization; for example, the change in attitudes toward other tribes, sub-cultures, the poor, the rural population, the country
- general societal mobilization; for example, increase in local community projects, or an increase in voters' participation which, according to Etzioni, also represents mobilization, a change from a collectivity to a polity.

*Thus, mobilization is a control concept. "Mobilization . . . implies a collective actor who is capable of controlling societal processes, at least to some degree, and is not merely subject to them."*<sup>42</sup>

The study identifies different levels of citizen participation—a hierarchy of partaking—which, in comparison to Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs<sup>74</sup>, explains that these levels represent

different social values for the involved citizen. Only after immediate personal and societal needs are satisfied can one proceed toward self-fulfillment and the higher levels of citizen involvement and duties. Maslow's hierarchy of needs are not culture-bound, and therefore limited to a "Western" society, but they reflect basic human values we all share. Thus, citizen participation is not only a political/societal phenomenon, but also an individual/social value.

**Organization Precedes Participation**, that is, mobilization of people to partake in community or national affairs, requires organization. Local level organizing and linkages to intermediate and national organizations determine the capacity for partaking. Edgar Owens and Robert Shaw found<sup>91</sup> that success in development participation by those in need is dependent upon the form of organization of any given society:

*"Dual society governments try to encourage economic growth with little trust in the capacity of their ordinary citizens. Instead, both investment and profits are concentrated in the hands of a few who are believed to have the necessary expertise and initiative. Small producers—farmers, artisans, businessmen—are not given access to the means of production, the financial system, the market and the knowledge. Village communities are essentially self-contained and are not linked upward to the much larger whole of the national society and economy . . . there is no systematic effort to build up in local communities the knowledge base of a modern production system." And: "Dual society government tries to extend its administrative arm to the local level and work directly with villagers and townsmen, to solve people's problems for them . . . The traditional relationship between government and people . . . remains essentially unchanged. The traditional system of rule by the few for the many, from top down, from the center out, has simply been expanded to encompass the new goal of development."*

They have become a dual society governed by benevolence.

In contrast, modernizing societies move to bridge the gap between the traditional "elites" and the masses of people:

*"This bridge consists essentially of establishing and strengthening local institutions and systems in which the people can solve their own local problems. These local institutions and systems are then directly linked to higher levels of the economy and society so that, for example, the local cooperative is directly linked to regional and national federations of cooperatives . . ." And: "Modernizing governments do not try to work directly with the great mass of people. Rather, they work with the local institutions and rely upon the leaders of these institutions to work with the people. Primarily through these institutions, small producers gain access to the means of production, the financial system, the market and the knowledge, for the first time . . . In a modernizing society, the relationship between government and the people can evolve in the direction of mutual confidence and respect. Some measure of social stability can be achieved as people begin to feel a 'sense of belonging' (quote from Oscar Lewis, who argues that what the poor want is a sense of belonging, of power and of leadership)."*

Third, Owens and Shaw point out that decentralization and participation—and not freedom—are the distinguishing factors in a modernizing society:

*“But participation is not synonymous with democracy. It can be achieved in any political system. The most important difference between countries is not their form of government. The realities of development at the grass roots level may have little to do with the forms of the political superstructure.”*

Thus Owens and Shaw find that, irrespective of the political superstructure of government, the local institutions function quite similarly in their modernizing effort—whether they belong to authoritarian or democratic societies.

Democratic organization adds dimension to participation by citizens: that of freedom, a share of ultimate authority in the dispersion of power, and participation in decision making at all levels of society. As the “Prospectus for a Citizen Involvement Program” states<sup>22</sup> “. . . democracy [is] the living principle which holds not only that a society’s leadership must earn the people’s consent but that it can rely on their wisdom.” Thus, it is the different level within the hierarchy of participation and social values which distinguishes democratic superstructures from authoritarian systems.

This analysis from an organizational point of view confirmed that citizen participation is a

- mobilization process
- control concept
- social and political value

**Citizen Participation in Development Services was found to have the following specifications:**

1. It is a mobilization process for development participation which increases involvement over a previous stage
2. New assets under the control of a service represent a higher level of mobilization and include:
  - (a) volunteer and local community manpower
  - (b) funds in cash and contributions in kind to support:
    - the Development Service organization and operation
    - financial development projects
  - (c) new norms, values, by changing attitudes of participants.
3. Development Services are organizations representing a higher level of mobilization for the duration of the service period. The internal mobilization level is enhanced by close to 100% investment of volunteer manpower assets, low costs per volunteer man-year and the “sparking” of participation in their recipient communities.

4. Development Services apply the following forms of mobilization:
  - (a) utilitarian mobilization, involving volunteer and local community manpower and investment of funds, to initiate modernizing organization of local communities in order to achieve development participation;
  - (b) normative mobilization to change attitudes and set new values through:
    - acceptance of the service idea by families and public
    - modernizing organization, training and work programs within the Development Service
    - joint work projects with villagers in modernizing forms of development
    - linkages with recurrent development education and employment generation.
  - (c) coercive mobilization in the case of obligatory services with the goal to provide learning and work/service experience to the total population of a specific age group, enables them to contribute to urgent development needs and makes a legal obligation a moral one as well. The ultimate goal is to mobilize new cultural, social and economic values essential for national self-reliance and self-fulfillment;
  - (d) societal mobilization on the local community level to respond to a broad range of local needs through a variety of projects, and provide them with upward mobility to the larger society.
5. Development Services primarily play the role of the outside mobilizer in local communities which requires the following conditions:
  - (a) to conduct the outside mobilizer role under the guidance of the internal leadership in local communities;
  - (b) to train and use other means of knowledge transfer, to build new internal sub-elites;
  - (c) to apply action-planning as an ongoing process on the local community level, constantly linking planning, action and feedback steps as a means of adjustment to the ongoing development mobilization;
  - (d) to use community organizing procedure to identify existing or to form interim or permanent structures which are capable of carrying the modernizing development process;
  - (e) to design work programs on the basis of "the community is the project" principle in order to permit mobilization take-off and turn-over to local elites according to the intrinsic schedule of a project, and enable the outside volunteer to proceed to new tasks within the same community.

The analysis of Development Services demonstrated that citizen participation is an objective and program task which is not category-specific. It is in these five areas that the **Mobilization Capacity of Development Services is realized**:

1. **Accepting the service idea** on the part of potential volunteers, their parents, their home community, and the community they serve, indicated normative mobilization.

This acceptance introduces or confirms the social values this service represents to citizen groups. In cases of resistance at home, the mobilization barrier is raised for the individual volunteer who then must muster additional norms or values to realize his intent to join a Development Service. But normative mobilization is not achieved merely by better public relations—the usual approach Development Services use to “sell their idea at home”—but primarily by affecting other societal systems and changing the boundaries of the services’ influence. For example, if a service provides recurrent educational opportunities, or increases the potential for follow-up employment, or embarks on a development education program at home, it has gained control over a new sector which affects normative mobilization and, therefore, improves acceptance at home.

2. **Participating in Development Service Organizations**, especially as volunteers, represents a utilitarian and a normative mobilization of a higher intensity than other forms of participation.

According to Amitai Etzioni<sup>42</sup>, organizations as such constitute the most mobilized form of a collectivity. The fact that Development Services actually involve target groups in training and work/service, even though they reach only a smaller fraction of the uneducated and drop-outs, the students, elderly or graduates, still represents a higher level of citizen mobilization than unorganized development efforts.

Development Services have two **Organizational Design Characteristics** which raise their mobilization capacity in comparison to other organizations:

- (a) their accessibility by all levels of the social strata, including the poor, and
- (b) the equality of status and treatment of volunteers.

Another organizational aspect of the mobilization capacity of Development Services is related to the ratio between potential and actual use of assets, the **Level of Internal Mobilization**. The major asset is the recruited volunteer manpower which is brought to use in 70-95 percent of the cases. The missing 30-5 percent represent the attrition rate of volunteers due to selection process, emergencies or failure on the job. This ratio of internal mobilization also depends on the cost per volunteer man-year and the proportion of the total funds spent for administrative overhead—the higher the administrative costs the lower is the mobilization capacity of a service.

Finally, the **Nature of Program Inputs and Tasks** affect the mobilization capacity of Development Services. Here, the dual and modernizing organization concept can be applied to assess the level of mobilization. Any Development Service has an option to develop principles, structure and policies which lean either toward dual or modernizing approaches:

### Dual Organization Characteristics

- Centralized organizational structure with the administrative arm (field representation) directly extended to the local project level;
- Volunteer work projects which reinforce elites ("formal" and higher education, large industry, public administration, charitable projects—except emergencies) and encourage work for citizens rather with them;
- No formal linkages to institutions to enable recurrent education and facilitate or generate employment for volunteers after service.

### Modernizing Organization Characteristics

- Decentralized organizational structure with local autonomy in management decisions and control of funds affecting local operations;
- Volunteer projects which enhance local production, local body of knowledge, community organizing, upward mobility and interest representation;
- Formal linkages which enable volunteers to receive:
  - (a) certified training and work/service learning for later continued education and
  - (b) wage and self-employment in local communities after completion of service.

Most Development Services were found to have a "mixed bag" of dual and modernizing organizational characteristics—an indication that the mobilization capacity of a service was perceived more a matter of program effort than organizational design. In reality it is both.

And finally, Development Services are social institutions within their society at large, designated with a specific mobilization role. Mobilization as a process of change modifies the boundaries among various societal systems and requires a continuing investment to maintain the level of integration and organization. This, Amitai Etzioni was first to call **Societal Guidance**<sup>42</sup>. John Friedman explored the concept further<sup>43</sup>: "*Roles for societal guidance are most frequently embodied in organizations that are linked to each other in a distinctive pattern; this pattern may be called the Guidance System of a Society.*" And, "*Each of these roles has a potential but limited capacity for influencing the course of societal change . . .*"

The main role expected of Development Services within the Societal Guidance System is to modify or remove barriers and to bridge gaps with the education and employment systems, and thus help to permit access to, and free flow and promotion of people through these systems. The more successful Development Services have been able to establish new linkages with various other societal institutions in these areas, and thus to influence the direction of the Societal Guidance System.

3. **Receiving volunteers in local communities** and initiating and supporting participation in development on the part of local citizens enhances the community's overall societal mobilization. Most Development Services operate under the premise to "help people to help themselves". Their success in local community mobilization depends on:
  - the state of societal organization in which the community finds itself, and
  - the organizational characteristics and performance of the service itself.

The ultimate goal of overall societal mobilization, translated to the community level, is best described by a recent study sponsored by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation and carried out by Geoffrey H. Ball of Stanford Research Institute<sup>12</sup> as that of the **effective community**:

- economically viable
- politically effective
- socially vital
- esthetically satisfying
- personally fulfilling

*“The Effective Community would seek to establish problem-solving as the normal process for coping with community issues.” Further: “People, individually and collectively, would have a sense of belonging to their community. By definition, then, such a community does not foster anomie, or isolation, or injustice.”*

**Service of Volunteers in Another Community**, tribal area, culture or country provides the receiving community with the “outsider impulse” needed to move it from a self-containing state to a developmental form, wherein people are not only maintained, but advanced. The crucial point, of course, for the outside volunteer assignment is the change-over to local citizens of responsibilities at project take-offs<sup>42</sup>. This situation is least clear and understood by both Domestic and Foreign Volunteer Services.

From this study, some tentative conclusions can be drawn on the **conditions for an effective “outsider” role of volunteers**:

- The presence of the outside volunteer enhances the chance for sparking local mobilization.
- The internal leadership of the community is essential to guide the outside volunteer.
- It is not the individual volunteer, but the local image and bureaucratic profile of his service organization which may hinder local participation.
- The type of project in which the volunteer is engaged determines how project take-off and turn-over of responsibilities are achieved.
- A broad community-focused project approach to volunteer assignments is imperative. Many services, and especially the Foreign Volunteer Services, look primarily at individual development projects for determination of their project policies, specification of volunteer qualifications, and development of indicators of effectiveness. For them, a community is a location where a project operates. From a citizen mobilization point of view, the community is the smallest societal unit to be covered by outsider roles, if local development participation is the objective. Here, “the community is the project”.

- A community project focus on (a) the expansion of the local knowledge basis and (b) community organizing for local participation is required.
- Changes in volunteer policies on the part of Development Services are needed. While highly qualified volunteers may be required in special instances, the community focus of assignments in most cases demands the more broadly educated or life experienced volunteer. Also, the take-off and turn-over should be determined solely by the readiness of the local people and organizations to proceed on their own. Outside volunteers must be adjusted to this intrinsic timing of their assignments.

Also, mobilization requires an **Action-Planning Approach** where local planning goes along with action and is viewed under two aspects: (1) with the eyes of the receiving community, and (2) with a concern for overall societal guidance. For Development Services' action-planning, these yardsticks ensure that volunteer work leads to community action:

- joint and continuous action-planning with internal leadership and potential action groups of the community
- establishment of needs and objectives: (a) immediate, and (b) long-term in terms of modernizing development participation
- development of plans for volunteer activities in local communities which include: identification of local community groups for joint work projects, organization, technology, financing, output, feedback, schedule and timing of turn-over.

This requires changes in policy and management procedure for Development Services to accommodate such a continuing process of action-planning under the aegis of local mobilization. Planning at headquarters or in field offices before the start of the volunteer assignment is not enough to ensure the continuous process.

A somewhat different situation prevails when **Volunteers Serve in Their Home Community**. Then, the outsider impulse for mobilization comes from imported knowledge, advice, funds, materials (foodstuff, fertilizer, seeds, etc.) and technology (tools, machines, facilities). While the same principles for community mobilization prevail as for the outside volunteer, the local volunteer is part of the internal system and, most probably, does not belong to the traditional internal elites. It is part of the service objective to provide them, especially if they belong to minorities, the lower class or the disenfranchised, with access to educational and employment opportunities and, therefore, to growth in a modernizing way. The most important point appears to be internal leadership and reduced dependence on central government decisions.

Both domestic and foreign volunteers are expected to be **mobilizers** in their community of assignment. Three modes for a modernizing form of development participation initiated through volunteers were found to stand out:

- the volunteer's role as an Ombudsman
- volunteer work programs centered around action-planning, community organizing, and participation in decision-making as continuing processes
- the use of community facilities, resource centers—which is the least aggressive mode to mobilize citizens.

4. **Supporting Development Services through provision of funds, volunteer time, housing, equipment and others**, on the part of individuals and groups represents utilitarian mobilization of additional assets.

This fourth area of mobilization capacity developed somewhat "around the edges" of the program of Development Services, especially those which are government supported. For non-governmental organizations, this mobilization capacity plays a decisive role of survival.

5. **Dispersing authority, supervising and advising Development Services** as individual citizens or representatives of groups in the institutional bodies of the service represents democratic societal mobilization.

This form of mobilization capacity is largely dependent on the legal structure of a service. Three principle forms of organization to mobilize have been identified:

- **Membership Organization** centered around membership of volunteers. Citizens—primarily students, volunteers and individuals in their personal capacities—form the basic authority of these services.
- **Program Organization** centered around programs for volunteers—in fact, all governmental Development Services are program organizations for others. Here, citizens are primarily a manpower resource and do not participate in authority or management of programs. This means that their embeddedness in home communities is less intensive than in membership organizations. They have only two areas to expand their external mobilization capacity:
  - (a) to obtain acceptance of the service with the volunteers' families and home communities
  - (b) to achieve participation in development on the part of the receiving community.

There is a third approach, focusing expansion of these services on their internal mobilization—despite the limits set by the legal structure—and that is through provisions for participation of volunteers and staff in policy development:

- **Participatory Program Organization**, these are Development Services for volunteers via legal structure with far-reaching provisions for participation of volunteers in decision-making. These services attempt to overcome their legislative shortcomings in order to raise their level of internal mobilization through the introduction of new decision-making structures and procedures. The most notable example is the German Volunteer Service (DED) with its "Participation in Decision-Making Bodies" (Mitbestimmungs Ausschüsse) and Volunteer and Staff Assembly (Mitarbeiter Konferenz).

In this fifth area of mobilization capacity, Development Services demonstrate the highest level within the hierarchy of partaking they are capable of achieving—that of dispersion of authority and decision-making on the part of participating citizens. That—in accordance with Maslow's hierarchy of needs—represents the highest social value, the self-fulfillment of development participation, the control of the assets by its citizens.

The assessment revealed these **Elements for Effective Citizen Participation in Development Services**:

1. An **overall development policy** which furthers modernizing development in both sending and receiving societies.
2. A **detailed mobilization policy** which addresses:
  - (a) normative mobilization of citizens aiming at acceptance of the service idea in home and receiving communities
  - (b) expansion of the mobilization capacity of the Development Service in terms of modernizing organizational structures and development policies
  - (c) relationship of the Development Service with the receiving community aiming at: internal leadership guidance, local action-planning processes, community organizing, outside volunteer roles, which spark local mobilization and turn-over responsibilities to internal elites, and specification of other mobilization modes and techniques
  - (d) external mobilization of manpower, funding and loyal support for the Development Service organizations and their programs
  - (e) dispersal of authority and participation in decision-making in policy and management through:
    - internal mobilization of volunteers and staff, and
    - external mobilization of individual citizens and institutions.
3. An **organizational structure and program procedure** of Development Services which provides diversified entry points for mobilization of participants and outside citizens at various levels, including participation in:
  - (a) Program inputs, such as:
    - public relations
    - organizational decentralization and delegation of management functions to local communities
    - financial and material support on the part of project agencies, individual citizens and community groups
  - (b) Program Tasks, such as:
    - volunteer selection participation by receiving communities
    - volunteer training participation by recipients and outside professionals, especially from the employment system
    - increase of joint work programs with citizens in receiving communities

(c) Leadership and Supervision, such as:

- establishment of membership-type local structures for participation of volunteers and staff in the decision-making of the service
- dispersal of authority in institutional bodies by volunteers, staff, outside individual citizens and institutional representatives providing enabling and functional linkages for the service.

So long as the overall policy of a Development Service consistently aims at development participation of the internal assets of the service and the receiving community, a high level of citizen mobilization is ensured.

The assessment of the ORGANIZATION AND ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT SERVICES and these POLICY ISSUES revealed that Development Services are social movements to the extent that they aim at removing deprivation resulting from societal structures, and promoting legitimate expectations of people for education, employment and participatory government. The realization of these expectations in the three policy areas will have consequences for Development Services:

1. Their leadership should consist of action-planners, contain more professionals than politicians or ideologues
2. Their relationship to governmental agencies should emphasize collaboration as partners rather than deference to supervising powers which divert valuable manpower and funds to unproductive administrative activities
3. Their role as social movements within a societal guidance system is primarily that of mediator—mediator on behalf of the volunteers and of the recipient communities for access to education, employment and upward mobility
4. Community mobilization and institutional linkages to recurrent education and employment are the most effective means to improve conditions for wider access to equal opportunities for marginal groups
5. Feedback procedure which routinely report program performance in the three major policy areas according to national indicators should provide data to:
  - (a) identify current access to education, employment and levels of mobilization
  - (b) specify unmet needs and possible innovative future alternatives
  - (c) review allocation of resources (volunteer manpower and funds).

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COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

At the start of this study it was assumed that foreign assistance to Domestic Development Services in developing countries provides a direct approach to those marginal population groups left aside from the mainstream of development. From this assumption, three questions arose:

- What foreign assistance was provided in the past and what were the experiences?
- What are the conditions under which the presence of foreigners or outside funding does not interfere with the internal mobilization of citizens?
- What are the indications for future international cooperation between Foreign and Domestic Development Services beyond the current "giver: receiver" relationship and the dependence that ensues?

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT SERVICES

Foreign assistance was identified as a relationship characterized by differences between the "giver" and the "receiver", differences in:

- control of assets of aid
- extent of decision-making power
- consequent influence on decision outcome and dependency on outside conditions
- personal wealth and monthly income
- living standards
- mobility and information

- access to project management and supervision
- social status, "pecking order".

Originating from social, economic, political and value causes, foreign assistance was identified as a mobilization concept, as an early attempt to mobilize assets of the "receiver" by "giving" aid, to closing the gap between the rich and the poor. The starting proposition was that aid to developing countries would mobilize local manpower, financial and value resources to enable countries to help themselves, that imbalances in wealth would be moderated, that peace would be fostered around the world, old alliances maintained and new friendships created. Today, we know that such a proposition was too simplistic; aid alone does not close gaps between the rich and the poor, and it does not necessarily create friends. The reasons range from the continued control of assets in the hands of a few internal elites in dually organized societies of developing countries, the population explosion and other causes of underdevelopment, to the "giver: receiver" conditions maintained by industrialized countries.

Thus, from a foreign assistance point of view, the continued control by the few internal elites **and** the "giver:receiver" relationships pose incompatible conditions for the success of such assistance—they conflict with the mobilization concept and the goal of local equal development participation. It was the concern of this part of the Study to probe the factors that cause conflict in foreign assistance to Development Services and to determine how they can be minimized.

In the past, the following Foreign Assistance Programs to Domestic Development Services (DDS) were conducted:

- Personnel through assignment of experts or foreign volunteers
- Financial
- Equipment/material through provisions in kind
- Staff development through training seminars and staff exchange
- Policy and program development through international seminars, regional directors' conferences and directors' visitation programs.

An **Overview of Sponsors** of such foreign assistance can be found in Chapter 11 of Volume I, including assistance provided by governments, United Nations and its related agencies, non-governmental development organizations, Foreign Volunteer Services, Domestic Development Services, the International Secretariat for Volunteer Services (ISVS) and the Coordinating Committee for International Volunteer Service (CCIVS). In overall perspective it was found that personnel assignments, staff training and program development conferences dominated the past foreign assistance to DDS, while the other types of aid played a lesser role.

For foreign assistance institutions, aid to DDS was, in most instances, of minor importance. This is indicated by the fact that their assistance to such services was not easily identifiable as a separate category; it was hidden in larger program sectors such as social services, technical

training, community development. In addition, in many instances, the DDS as the “receiver” institution was not clearly identified in the records of the “givers” but was listed as part of a larger receiving agency, such as a Ministry of Agriculture. Such lack of “receiver” profile was seen to prevent a more dovetailed investment of the limited outside resources to those areas where the largest gain in effectiveness can be achieved.

**These Elements were found to influence an Effective Foreign Assistance to Domestic Development Services:**

1. **A need determination**, based on the causes for which DDS were established, which specifies target groups, coverage and service volume necessary. Needs are also determined by the internal stage of development of a DDS and by national policies.
2. **A specification of assistance content to support DDS:**
  - that volunteer training is conducted to secure recurrent educational opportunities—a simple filling of skill gaps is insufficient
  - that training, work programs and volunteer follow-up support are employment-oriented in terms of skills, organization and funding of self-employment implementation—an employment preparation in work programs, based on experience alone, is insufficient
  - that volunteer work in local communities is conducted under internal leadership, revolves around action-planning and community organizing processes and adheres to modernizing development participation—community based volunteer work per se is insufficient.
3. **Modes of foreign assistance** that are selected on the basis of the impact they can make to meet needs; the following findings should be kept in mind:
  - Financial assistance is most helpful:
    - (a) to enable preparation and take-off of new DDS, until the success of the implementation phase attracts sufficient national resources,
    - (b) to enable expansion of geographical and population coverage along with the necessary consolidation of the organization, and
    - (c) to permit improvement of quality of program—such as certified training.
  - Short-term expert assistance will be increasingly desirable among equally strong partners, primarily for program evaluation, planning purposes and idea generation: long-term expert assignments will diminish as national staff capabilities are developed.
  - Long-term foreign volunteer assistance, primarily in a technical trainer capacity, will be needed for some time to come by a limited number of Training and Employment Schemes which have not yet been able to develop sufficient national staff capabilities.

- Staff training assistance on a regional or sub-regional basis has been most helpful in the past, but—since the termination of ISVS—no institutional basis is available to fulfill this task. However, since staff development primarily requires national resources and provisions, and as an increasing number of qualified nationals becomes available, the need for regional training will diminish and shift to international seminars for joint considerations of issues and ideas.
  - Issue and idea seminars, as mutual assistance, are of increasing importance for both DDS and Foreign Volunteer Services, and in all regions in the world.
4. **Sources of foreign assistance**, the “givers”, that differ in the attention they pay to a DDS as a specific “receiver” in its own right. In general, governments and UN agencies use a non-specific approach, and subordinate aid to DDS in larger social assistance programs. Consequently, their contributions are often less dovetailed to the specific need of a DDS. The governments of Canada, Norway and Sweden, and UNICEF use a different approach: they provide their assistance to DDS largely through voluntary agencies, knowledgeable and involved in the field. AID in the United States now is considering a similar approach. These foreign assistance institutions found that channeling their aid through voluntary agencies is most effective because it reaches local people in need directly, and with a minimum of loss in administrative costs and in time.

Primarily, DDS in industrialized countries, and secondly, Foreign Volunteer Services are best suited for an outsider role to DDS in developing countries. They are closest to the “receivers”, their approach is subtle and they have a clearer understanding of operational needs of their partners.

5. **Organization of foreign assistance** that specifies its mobilization goals and procedure permitting or inviting citizens to participate in development. Foreign assistance, as a “giver:receiver” relationship has a built-in mobilization problem due to lack of local control of the assets: the human manpower, the funds, the upward mobility. Organization of foreign assistance must help to overcome or to minimize these built-in barriers to development participation along these lines:
- perceive transfer of knowledge and skills as preparation for take-off community participation
  - work under internal community leadership and develop new sub-elites
  - build intra-community units/organizations to take up responsibility for development projects
  - plan for turn-over of responsibilities to community organizations, i.e. effectuate internal control of assets, including foreign aid, to achieve this higher level of mobilization and ensure continuity
  - realize that organization of foreign assistance should enhance the social value of mobilization, that is, help attain the satisfaction and self-maintenance of basic needs by avoiding one-way dependencies, and thus foster self-reliance.

More specifically, the **Assessment of Foreign Assistance to DDS** concerned the following areas:

1. **Financial Assistance** was found to be needed most under three circumstances:
  - At the start when a new Development Service takes-off and until governmental or other local sponsors are convinced that the Service is worthy of support
  - For expansion at a certain stage of development when a service attempts to reach more geographical areas or involve more population groups
  - For investment in equipment for training or work programs which cannot be met by local means.

The following conclusions can be summarized:

Financial assistance as such was found not to enhance international cooperation between DDS and foreign assistance partners. Only people cooperate. In other words, the provision of funds will always be conducted in a "giver:receiver" relationship and cannot be changed to partnership and reciprocity, unless aid changes to trade under equal terms.

Caution is urged with financial assistance to obtain outside materials or equipment which cannot be supplied locally.

From a citizen mobilization point of view, outside funds provided by any foreign assistance agency will have a participatory effect only if these new assets come under the control of the internal, "receiving", local institution. So long as these funds are commanded largely by the "giver"—both in terms of conditions attached to them and the schedule of actual disbursement—no new assets are mobilized and development participation remains low.

2. **Material Assistance** to DDS that is, the direct provision of food, clothing or work equipment, occurred only in a few instances. While these materials helped in the initial implementation of Domestic Development Services, they were found to construe the real purpose of the work/service program over the long run. A different matter was the joint development between local and outside volunteers of an appropriate technology. Here, local materials were used, rather than foreign, but the foreign expertise made their application possible. This kind of material assistance has a high participatory effect.
3. **Foreign Personnel Assistance by Experts** was found to be provided in three different approaches:
  - Short-term assignments of expert teams, primarily for planning or program evaluation purposes
  - Short-term individual assignments of experts, primarily for concept or policy development
  - Long-term assignments of expert teams or individuals as advisors and/or staff assistants for support of programs.

It was concluded that successful short-term assistance by foreign experts requires the following conditions:

- Strong partners: The appropriate internal leadership on the one side: professional expertise and cross-cultural understanding on the other
- A formalized relationship between contractor and advisor sufficient to send a proposal to appropriate authorities
- An institution and resources available to carry out the advice
- A timing that coincides with the availability of strong partners and the preparedness of the receiving institution
- A presentation and communication of proposal content which takes into account societal status and power structures, and which addresses both those affected and the leaders who will carry out recommendations.

In no case was it acknowledged that the third party role of the neutral professional advisor can be a helpful tool in the hands of the internal leadership. It is in these instances—when two strong partners meet—that outside advice is most successful, and it appears that the future trend for foreign expert assistance will emphasize this short-term role.

The Long-term Assignments of Experts were found to differ in principle from the short-term. Experts are placed in roles very similar to those of the national staff, and they are perceived as staff by recipient colleagues and volunteers irrespective of whether they, in fact, are assigned as advisors. As foreigners they have easier access to the top level management and the decision-making authorities—and often use it to achieve their purpose. Yet, upon leaving, they wish to turn over their work to national staff who previously have been so often by-passed. This situation clearly is troublesome and counterproductive to the basic attempt to leave a self-sufficient service behind.

From interviews, it became clear that foreigners, by far, underestimate the technical/professional qualifications expected of them by nationals; they give their leadership roles higher importance. The assessment indicates that there are misperceptions of the role of the long-term foreign expert on the part of both the foreign “givers” and the national “receivers”.

4. **Foreign Personnel Assistance by Volunteers** was provided to Domestic Development Services in two ways:

- in staff assignments, primarily to Training and Employment Schemes, under bilateral agreements between sending and receiving organizations, and
- in multi-national volunteer teams (MVTs) with the foreigners working side by side with domestic volunteers.

Foreign volunteers as staff were found to be well accepted in their technical capabilities, primarily as trainers for the unskilled national volunteers. Their personal integration into the hosting DDS was more difficult, especially for those who chose their housing outside the DDS compound. Occasionally, it was reported, they posed a “threat” to their national staff counterparts, especially national staff who did not choose their assignment with a DDS but were

seconded as civil servants. These assignments of foreign volunteers to DDS are based on a "giver:receiver" relationship. Foreign volunteers are paid and placed under the conditions and administrative supervision of their sending organizations; their allowances provided them with a monthly income far higher than that of local volunteers and staff. Thus, while foreign volunteers receive equal treatment and low pay within their peer group they have the characteristics of the "giver" in the eyes of the "recipients".

**The multi-national Volunteer Teams** in Chile, Panama and the Dominican Republic were assessed. They were experiments ahead of their time and it was found that much can be learned for future cooperation among Development Services.

- The qualifications of both foreign and domestic volunteers did not pose problems for they were in accordance with the requests.
- In principle, the intra-group problems encountered within MVTs were not different from those experienced within groups of one nationality. If the intra-group relations in an MVT are positive, the ease of cross-cultural and cross-national communications tends to enhance the creativity of individuals and work performance.
- Projects which were based and accepted in local communities fared best—even if suprastructures of national organizations faltered and local officials from other governmental agencies did not cooperate.
- None of the MVTs worked well without good internal leadership and they folded when the institutional structure was withdrawn. A solid and efficient internal leadership and organizational structure is a precondition for successful cooperation between domestic and foreign volunteers.
- Traditional bi-lateral approaches to multi-national projects created problems: the members of an MVT received different allowances according to their regular volunteer contracts—and therefore had unequal privileges and often status. Primarily, the domestic volunteers and those from other developing countries worked on the shorter end of the scale.
- Another issue was the occasional misuse of the MVT for internal political purposes, party politics or election campaigns. It became clear that the hosting institution which provides the internal leadership must guarantee a sailing free of internal politics if multi-national cooperation is to succeed.
- Finally, the one-way assignments of foreign volunteers to a DDS, even on almost equal terms, still retained certain characteristics of a "giver:receiver" relationship. While the foreigner enjoyed the challenge that was gained from the assignment in a foreign culture and nation, the domestic volunteer had no prospect to anticipate a comparable experience abroad.

The study made clear that the "recipients" made a distinction between the acceptance of the individual foreign volunteer and a Foreign Volunteer Service as an institution. The foreign volunteer is well appreciated for his technical expertise, and he will be needed by certain services for some time in this capacity. However, more services indicate that they wish to discontinue the assignments of foreign "givers" while at the same time expressing the value of

future cooperation in terms of volunteer exchange, sharing of ideas, joint learning and working. In contrast, there was disapproval of the service institution in the host country, especially Services which have a highly structured and institutionalized overseas administration. It was felt that their operations are too removed from national efforts, and their image as a "second embassy" was disliked. A number of DDS made it clear that foreign volunteers in future should be coordinated by an effective national organization if a cooperation with DDS ever should materialize.

5. **The Provision of Staff Training** was found a necessary to assist in the development of a qualified staff. While sufficient staff positions, open recruitment and career structures are matters of internal organization, the staff qualifications can be aided through outside assistance. It was found that the following conditions largely influence the effectiveness of international staff training:

- selection of those participants who can make the most use of the training
- host country involvement and leadership in the preparation and conduct of the training seminar
- a curriculum which combines exchange of experience with specific topics related to an effective management of Development Services.

**Staff exchange**, often attempted and in a few instances carried out, appears to be not an effective means to assist in the development of better staff capabilities. A more helpful course would be short-term travel scholarships with the limited goal of studying other services' experience.

Past assistance provided by Foreign Volunteer Services to DDS has achieved three things:

1. It has provided technical skills—primarily in Training and Employment Schemes—to solidify the DDS when no nationals of equivalent capability were available
2. It has provided a testing round and experience for cooperation among foreign and domestic volunteers of about equal qualifications
3. It has identified the common ground among various categories of Development Services and clarified the problems and conditions for future cooperation among both Domestic Development and Foreign Volunteer Services.

## **PARTNERSHIP-COOPERATION AMONG DEVELOPMENT SERVICES**

The concluding chapter of this study dealt with Partnership-Cooperation among Development Services and concentrated on five issues:

- the three stages of interrelationships
- a brief review of earlier partnership-cooperation experiences
- the discussion of new causes, needs and consequent objectives which demand the new relation of partnership
- the identification of elements characteristic of partnership-cooperation, and
- outlines for action to implement partnership among the various categories of Development Services.

The three **Stages of Interrelationships** among Development Services were assessed under three aspects: their common or overlapping institutional nature, their mobilization characteristics, and their degree of cross-cultural communication and helping relationship. While the institutional and mobilization aspects were assessed in earlier parts of the study and were applied here to define the stages of interrelationships, two new concepts were introduced to analyze the inter-personal communication. The "Concepts of Attraction and Self-Image as They Affect Communication and Education in a Multi-cultural Milieu"<sup>81</sup> concerned these principal points of cultural differences:

- First, the concept of attraction and self-image found that initially, cultural differences between people is primarily perceived as negative: the other different person—the outsider—is feared, mistrusted, When under such conditions the other different person appears to be "right" then, consequently, those who accept the different person must be "wrong". The initial perception of a "right" outsider persists as a "threat" to the personal identity, and creates conflict and uncertainty for those who perceive themselves as "wrong".
- Second, the abatement of this "threat" is essential for any lasting communication between people from different cultures. The process to reduce this "threat" starts when people from different cultures experience cooperation and interdependence. The fear, dislike and mistrust are gradually removed—even though conflict, uncertainty and "threat" occasionally recur.
- Third, if the "threatening" aspect of the difference is further removed, the perception of this cultural difference is reversed: the other different person's positive qualities appear, and the difference becomes non-"threatening" to

one's own identity. The removal of "threat"—or appearance of dominance—requires three conditions:

- (a) shared coping
- (b) equal status participation
- (c) common value resources.

Here, the relationships between culturally different persons become more attractive than between similar persons: they now reaffirm certainty, which enables growth and maturity—even more so than within a group of culturally similar persons.

The second concept is that of the helping relationship which Carl Rogers<sup>103</sup> developed when he raised the question: *"Can I act with sufficient sensitivity in the relationship that my behavior will not be perceived as a threat?"*

He submits ten considerations which should guide behavior to create helping relationships. They include:

- *... the most basic learning for anyone who hopes to establish any kind of helping relationship is that it is safe to be transparently real.*
- *Can I let myself experience positive attitudes toward the other person . . . can we learn that it is safe to care?*
- *Can I be strong enough a person to be separate from others . . . can I let myself go and accept him because I am not fearful of losing myself?*
- *Can I permit him to be what he is . . . can I give him the freedom to be?"*

In applying these principles to the evaluation materials, these three stages of interrelationships among Development Services were identified as representing a hierarchy of growth in cooperative relationships.

1. **No Cooperation** is a dormant stage of relationship. The institutional commonalities among Domestic Development Services (DDS) and the Foreign Volunteer Services (FV Services) exist, but they have not been put into action. This stage indicates a lower level of organizational mobilization, as the assets of supra-unit cooperation—that is of outside manpower or funds—have not been brought under control. It was found that this absence of mobilization of outside resources indicates that the organizational efforts are still concentrated on bringing the internal assets under control. In terms of Maslow's hierarchy of needs<sup>74</sup>, the organization's prime concern is still the establishment of a framework of self-maintenance.

Study materials revealed these specialties of the no cooperation stage:

- the prime desire of the service to establish itself as an organization and self-maintain its existence

- the conception as a transitory stage, confirming that the dormant relationship can be activated
- the awareness that higher levels of organizational growth and self-realization with the help of outside resources can be achieved only if they are provided under conditions of equality and internal control.

In terms of cross-cultural communication of people, the no cooperation stage indicates a negative perception of the foreign, culturally different, person. As no experience of collaboration and interdependence can be developed, the culturally different outside volunteer as a "giver" is viewed at this stage as a "threat". A domestic volunteer, or staff member, who perceives himself "wrong"—because of a "right" appearing outsider—can be paralyzed in terms of development participation, if the outsider maintains the "giver" position and does not promptly transfer his control over assets.

Thus, a no cooperation stage was found not only justified, but necessary, if the cooperation conditions offered are inappropriate for internal mobilization to achieve the level of self-maintenance of the organization.

2. **Foreign Assistance** is characterized by the "giver:receiver" relationship among Development Services. It is here that collaboration between people of different cultures is experienced, and the "threat", that is, the negative perception of cultural difference, is gradually removed, and replaced by positive acquaintance with the cultural differences of others.

It is also the stage where the blown-up perception that the culturally different outsider is "right" recedes. Not only are fear and dislike diminishing, but also the too strong image of the desirability of the foreigners' way is cut down to accommodating size. It is a relationship where conflict and frustration still exist, but the cultural "threat" is reduced, and the certainty about oneself can begin to grow. The mobilization theory underlines this point: development participation cannot grow through foreign assistance if the control of the assets remains in the hands of the "giver". Turning over the responsibilities to the community is the condition where not only a higher level of mobilization is attained, but the positive experience with the culturally different begins.

Edward C. Stewart, in his study on "American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective"<sup>116</sup> looks at the "giver's" situation. While at home there is certainty in how to act in any given situation, each simple act in a foreign culture requires planning and decision. *"The deepest shock . . . may come when he has penetrated into the world of work."*

Thus, in a foreign assistance situation, both the "giver and the "receiver" act from a position of uncertainty—but with different consequences. While the "receiver" perceives the actions of the foreigner (growing from his uncertainty) as a "threat", the conviction of the foreigner that his ways are "natural", together with his actions to overcome uncertainty, appear to make him "right". The premature judgment and action on the part of the foreigner to overcome his uncertainty reinforces his appearance as dominating. This uncertainty also explains why foreigners tend to cluster together in a host country—to reassure each other in their differentness.

3. **Partnership-Cooperation** is defined as the equal-term relationship when cultural difference turns into creative growth relationship, when the prejudices regarding each other's differences are further removed. Reduction of prejudice requires shared coping, equal status participation, and common value resources. Cooperation under such conditions reduces external "threat", removes uncertainty and leads to the discovery that the other cultural group is not intrinsically different. This discovery of a "*common humanity in the midst of difference*"<sup>81</sup> establishes the meaningful and creative linkage where cooperation and intercultural learning is experienced.

Translated into the relationships among Development Services, partnership-cooperation is then defined as:

- joint work/service in development projects
- under equal terms, status and reciprocity of service conditions, and
- on the basis of common causes.

It is under such conditions that joint work between domestic and foreign volunteers enables learning and growth more so than within a group of national volunteers. To be sure, while the development emphasis of work/service projects continues—only now jointly—the equal term conditions among national and foreign volunteers and staff are the new requirements. The manner in which volunteers relate to each other is changed.

**Earlier Examples of Partnership-Cooperation** which were developmental in character and carried out under work/service conditions, include the international work camp organizations, the instances where foreigners participated in Study-Services or Social and Technical Development Services because they happened to be in the country, and the Volunteers to America (VTA) program which existed in the 1960's.

These earlier examples of partnership-cooperation, even though limited, are most important for current considerations. Their experience cannot be dismissed and should help to revamp the past "giver:receiver" relationships with DDS in developing countries.

However, it is primarily the change in scope, the complexity and acknowledgement of the emerging global relationships which signal the beginning of a new era. That foreign volunteers in an assistance capacity will be less and less needed is only a small indication that foreign assistance as a response mechanism to development needs is coming to an end. The new global relationships are already emerging and they were found to form the new causes or reasons why Development Services should continue and expand—but under new conditions.

### **New Causes for a New Era**

The survival and security of the people on this globe is less and less in the hands of individual nations. Our current global conditions, and the direction we take, demand considerably enhanced joint management of affairs among nations—which includes the respect for the need of self-reliant decision-making and action by developing countries. **Interdependence and Self-**

**Reliance** are a pair of global causes which cannot be separated; they affect all our lives. They demand new forms of action.

During the past ten years, scientists from various disciplines and from all regions of the world studied these new relationships and the probable futures on our globe<sup>78</sup>. While these scholars differ on solutions, they agree on the underlying problems: *"Humankind faces five major problems: war, poverty, social injustice, environmental decay and alienation."* It is these five major problems which bind us together and give a special interpretation to interdependence and self-reliance.

The past years have demonstrated to all of us the limitations of this globe in terms of resources, environment, political power and personal affluence. The growing economic, technological, energy, monetary and communication interdependence requires more than new aid or trade contracts or international agreements between nations, as important as they are in their limited realm. **Interdependence** requires—as Lester Brown puts it—*"a world order in which conflict and competition among nations will be replaced with cooperation and a sense of community"*<sup>17</sup>. But there is no awareness of these problems by the majority of the world's people and, in fact, by many national officials who are not directly concerned with these affairs. The majority of the population today is not conscious of global needs—and if they are, they act as though they do not exist. There is certainly a very limited awareness of the urgency to prepare people for these increasingly global relationships.

Sirkin speaks to all industrialized countries when he points to the question of leadership and political will: *"... to persuade the... people to postpone satisfaction of its material wants and to modify its 'consumerism' in favor of 'quality-of-life' values will require courage and imagination..."*<sup>13</sup>. It is clear, living with interdependence requires a normative mobilization, the setting of new values and priorities, which begin with restraint and adjustment at home. It is here that Domestic Development Services in industrialized countries and the Foreign Volunteer Services have a special obligation and opportunity to respond to these new causes.

**Self-Reliance**, the other side of this global coin, is of utmost importance to the nations in developing regions of the world. For them, self-reliance is a precondition and *"a search for more equitable and just ways of interdependence"*<sup>93</sup>.

**New Values** are demanded abroad in all societies if the global problems of war, poverty, social and economic injustice, environmental decay and alienation are to be tackled. *"Purposeful world reform is a quest for the realization of new values, a question of defining new moral preferences"*, says Ali Mazrui of Tanzania, in his contribution on "World Culture and the Search for Human Consensus"<sup>75</sup>. He underlines that new orders—such as interdependent and self-reliant relationships—require for their realization a change of attitudes and new priorities. *"To have new values accepted is, by definition, a question of consensus."* And: *"To move from national to global perspectives requires in turn a globalization of processes of socialization and cultural convergence. Normative convergence entails interaction between groups."*

As Development Services cooperate in "real world" local community situations, they can be the perfect mode for interaction among culturally different groups of ordinary people—and not elites—and thereby contribute to forming global consensus by people. As they operate within the dichotomy of interdependence and self-reliance they must translate the big problems into small coins, cut them down to local size—and the new consensus and preferences will emerge also on this scaled down community level.

**Mutuality of Learning and Helping:** In a world where interdependence, self-reliance and new preferences for moral values have become the parameters for existence, the new partnership roles must be learned mutually.

Mutuality of group interaction, by way of joint learning and helping in real world situations, furthers a kind of consensus of preferences necessary to guide the emerging interdependent and self-reliant cooperation. It is through mutuality of learning and helping that *"fresh leadership"* can emerge and *"a sense of global community"*<sup>17</sup> can evolve.

Hence, the new reasons and the new place for Development Services.

Mutuality of learning and helping to develop consensus and new priorities for successful interdependent and self-reliant relationships have implications for Development Services:

- International cooperation is no longer an option which only the richer or more settled services can afford—it has become a national interest to be **globally prepared and to participate in the convergence of cultures**, and make own ways and demands known in the forming of consensus.
- Partnership-cooperation on equal terms alone enables mutuality. It is not so much an option opened after the foreign assistance "givers" become obsolete—but a need for the "givers" and the "receivers" to learn a partner's way.
- Horizontal mutuality of learning and helping among DDS, located within one region, is important for growth and for the development of intra-regional relationships.
- Global mutuality in learning and helping is necessary to develop a perspective and consensus to face the problems of interdependence and self-reliance. Therefore, Foreign Volunteer Services are not obsolete when their foreign assistance role diminishes. After all, Development Services together represent the dichotomy of North:South relationships—and it takes North:South mutuality of service to match this perspective. But this means too, that mutuality entails also reciprocity of service—the service by volunteers from the developing regions to the industrialized North.

The old causes of Development Services, and their resulting mandates, have not changed: they still respond to the basic needs of target populations for food, health, housing, clothing, education and employment, and help to enable development participation for all. What has changed are the global relationships which will govern their future development efforts as new common causes: interdependence and self-reliance, intercultural convergence to form consensus and new values in mutuality of learning and helping.

## Common Needs

To serve the causes of interdependent and self-reliant development in global perspectives, the common needs for partnership-cooperation to which Development Services must respond can be summarized:

- to enable a broad range of population groups in all regions of the world to participate in partnership-cooperation development projects
- to provide upward mobility for people, irrespective of their educational background, to contribute to mutual learning and helping in partnership-cooperation projects and avoid exclusivity of such international projects normally open to only a few elites
- to base such projects in local communities and adhere to their needs for development participation
- to maintain equal service terms and assignment conditions for all volunteers –irrespective of their educational background, previous income or social status
- to observe participation in decision-making on the part of local communities and the multi-cultural volunteer groups in order to develop consensus for action.

In quantitative terms these needs are virtually unlimited as people from all walks of life should participate, and it is up to the individual services to ensure that partnership-cooperation remains not restricted to a few elites.

These new causes and common needs provide the yardsticks for objectives and the actual response system, that is, the partnership-cooperation activities and their measure of effectiveness.

The **Elements for Partnership-Cooperation** were in principle derived from the equality, reciprocity and mutuality in the engagement between two or more Development Services. These three standards are conceptually interrelated and must be in balance if partnership-cooperation should materialize, as the Diagram in the main report demonstrates. These were the elements found to be required for partnership-cooperation:

1. **Equal service conditions and status for all volunteer partners** including allowances, housing, access to work responsibilities and positions for intra-group management in accordance with personal abilities.
2. **Reciprocity of service from developing to industrialized countries** as a built-in principle which guarantees all partners both giving and receiving roles.

3. **Equal conditions, status and reciprocity of staff assignments** to partnership-cooperation projects according to the host country's procedure.
4. **Mutuality of learning and helping applied** to the design of the various program tasks:
  - Final selection of volunteers requires the participation of hosting Development Services and the communities they serve
  - Joint work assignments in local communities should aim at development participation of target populations
  - Joint learning programs require a design and methodology which apply the work experience of volunteers to gain insight in work content, environment, and cultural and global relationships. This is a new program sector which demands a separate designation of time, place and curriculum.
5. **Organization and Administration** of partnership-cooperation programs is a responsibility of the hosting Development Service, providing the leadership, organizational unit and management to carry out the activities.
6. **Institutionalization** of partnership-cooperation programs, involving standard form contracts between the sending and receiving Development Services, concerns designation of an organizational unit, authorization of leadership and supervision, and development of a solid funding basis.
7. **Co-financing** is a requirement for partnership-cooperation: While a broad range of sources of funds should participate, the financial administration of such programs should be in the hands of the hosting service.

These seven elements of partnership-cooperation need further development into generally accepted standards if the new relationships are to become a reality. The elements also require specification and adjustment to local conditions when applied to practical situations—but without dilution of the principal theme of balance.

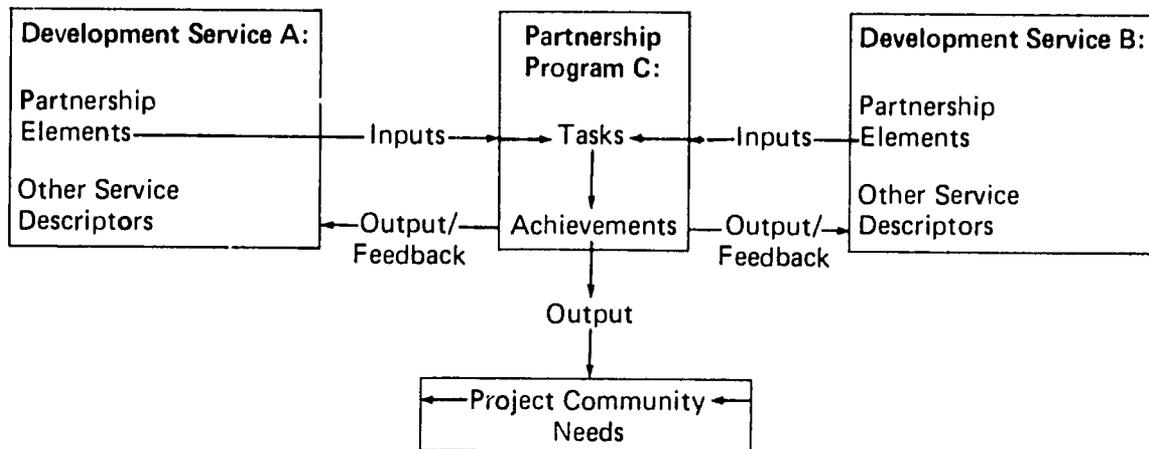
### Outlines for Action

Three principles guided the development of the action outlines

- the seven elements of partnership-cooperation discussed above become design characteristics of each program
- partnership-cooperation should use existing structures and relate to ongoing programs
- the findings of this study concerning effective Development Services should be integrated into partnership-cooperation projects.

In applying these principles, certain changes in the management process of Development Services are initiated, as the following Diagram describes:

**DIAGRAM 2. BALANCE OF PROGRAM ACTION IN PARTNERSHIP-COOPERATION**



While the inputs represent volunteers, staff, organization and funds of a service, the tasks stand for the mutuality of problem solving, i.e. learning and helping programs. The tasks produce achievements, the program output, which should meet the needs of the community and feed back to the input sustaining Development Services A and B.

This Diagram, adopted from a problem-solving model<sup>71</sup>, illustrates that the traditional one operation of a Development Service (See Diagram1) is transformed into three units: the Services A and B provide the inputs, and the actual Partnership Program C balances inputs and tasks, and thereby bridges between partners. In implementing Partnership Program C, the Development Services A and B actually interface their management and thus move to an interdependence in action.

With these principles in mind, four types of partnership action programs were outlined for each category of Development Services:

- Joint volunteer projects among DDS in developing regions and/or with Northern volunteers from their DDS and Foreign Volunteer Services
- Staff partnerships both parallel to joint volunteer projects and independent of them
- Reverse service of volunteers from developing regions to DDS of industrialized countries
- Volunteer exchange through "sister programs" between services, communities or universities.

The **action outline**, discussed in detail for each category of Development Services, shows the following partnership-cooperation emphases:

**Training and Employment Schemes:** points for departure into partnership-cooperation were found to include:

1. Joint volunteer projects in border areas between neighboring countries
2. Staff partnerships with foreign volunteers
3. Reverse service in industrialized countries attached to apprenticeship assistance/technical training programs.

**Study-Services** were found to be equipped to develop all four types of partnership-cooperation projects within current organizational structures and programs:

1. Reverse service by foreign students, especially from developing countries, together with domestic volunteers in industrialized countries
2. Faculty partnerships within Study-Services, in both industrialized and developing countries
3. Exchange of student/volunteers and faculty between sister universities
4. Joint volunteer projects conducted by Study-Service in developing countries with student volunteers from industrialized countries under a variety of service arrangements.

**Social and Technical Development Services** were, in principle, found to be equipped to handle all four types of partnership-cooperation. The feasibility, however, to go ahead early with these new forms of relationships differed, and current conditions suggested the following priorities for action:

1. Volunteer exchange on a bi-lateral basis among STD Services both within developing regions and with industrialized countries
2. Sister community exchange programs with various types of community services—including those restricted to local level organizations
3. Joint volunteer projects in developing countries with participation of both STD and Foreign Volunteer Services
4. Staff partnerships parallel to various forms of ongoing volunteer programs
5. Reciprocal service of volunteers from developing to industrialized countries has the least chance for early realization as it requires not only changes in legislation/funding but also of citizen attitudes in industrialized countries.

From a **Foreign Volunteer Service** point of view—and especially with the diminishing foreign assistance needs in mind—the following outlines for action were found to deserve priority:

1. Joint training of foreign volunteers with staff from Training and Employment Schemes to develop both partner relationships and staff capabilities in the service
2. Joint work assignments with staff of Training and Employment Schemes to primarily improve employment-orientation of programs
3. Joint volunteer projects in ombudsman and manpower extension roles conducted by Social and Technical Development Services (STD) in developing countries
4. Staff partnerships between STD and FV Services, especially since the field representation of the latter is eliminated in partnership-cooperation projects
5. Support of volunteer exchange and reverse service which Foreign Volunteer Services can further at home:
  - through development education efforts to open the minds for such reciprocity of service, and
  - by offering their services as a conduit to facilitate selection and preparation of candidates in developing countries and service partners in developing countries and service partners in the North.

**Partnership-Cooperation of the United Nations Volunteers** requires a different stand. The current legal framework of UNV does not permit the participation of nationals in UN technical assistance projects unless they are trainees. Thus, only if UNV is permitted to assign volunteers to non-UN assisted projects, and delegate the supervising power to the hosting DDS instead of the UNDP Representative—only then will UNV be able to conduct true partnership-cooperation.

Finally, while many questions may be raised regarding priorities and organization of partnership action, some principles are firm:

1. **Interdependence** between developing and industrialized countries cannot be realized in a satisfactory manner for all parties if equal term conditions and reciprocity of fairness among people are not established. Partnership-cooperation among Development Services would be a modest attempt to start at one place to learn these new conditions and treat the **average population** from all parts of the world with equal consideration.
2. **Self-reliance** of developing countries cannot be achieved in this interrelated world unless there are non-dominating relationships with industrial countries.

3. **Mutuality** of problem solving is required if our world is to remain livable and peace maintained. Mutuality of learning and helping among Development Services would be a modest attempt to allow the average citizen participation in the solution of problems, thereby contributing to a new consensus and conscience among culturally different people.

Thus, partnership-cooperation is not just another change in fashion, but a new relationship demanded for this new era of world interdependence which respects the need for self-reliant development of developing countries. To realize this new relationship, the political will of the people and even handed leadership are required.

When Development Services were established in the beginning of the development era one thought of them as a way to aid the poor. They were perceived as helping to solve a problem with an end in sight. Today we know differently. Development Services have participated in and contributed to societal change. With others they have entered a new era and have a full task ahead to improve, expand and grow as organizations for recurrent education, employment facilitation and the participation of citizens in development. They are no longer a limited outsider organization set up to fill a current gap, but a cultural institution in their own right to help guide the growth of their own societies and that of the global community.

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## **APPENDICES**

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