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ROLE OF VOLUNTARISM AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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Richard M. Kirby

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PREFACE

The redirection of the Agency for International Development's (AID's) foreign assistance programs in fiscal year 1973 calls for a new and expanding role for private and voluntary organizations in **collaborative** efforts to help those most in need. While national leadership is being persuaded to take a more active part in planning and carrying out assistance under the United Nations Development Program, AID is also encouraging foreign leaders to take a front-line position in joint efforts to further their development. Other donors are increasingly adopting similar tactics in their approaches to less developed countries (LDCs).

Aid is also highlighting the humanitarian goal: "Reaching the People", getting assistance directly to those most in need instead of permitting aid to "Trickle-Down" from the top as in the past. Under this strategy, AID is encouraging U.S. private and voluntary organizations to collaborate in a style of aid they have employed for years--working with the people directly at the grass roots. It is only natural that the governments and voluntary organizations of the LDCs also be encouraged to collaborate with us in the new humanitarian aid strategy.

Moreover, the Policy Determination on Employment and Income Distribution enjoins AID to examine specific new actions and place more systematic and continuing emphasis on considerations involving employment and

-b-

income distribution. This new Policy Determination re-enforces the redirection of AID calling for increased emphasis on problems of the small farmer and landless laborer and supporting small farmer credit and cooperatives. Among other points of special interest for private and voluntary cooperation activity is the emphasis given to labor intensive public works such as farm to market roads, drainage, irrigation, terracing, housing, etc. by food assistance and other means.

P.L. 480 Title II, Food-for-Work programs are effective tools to implement such labor intensive public works activities. Coordinated under the experienced and development oriented supervision and control of such American voluntary agencies as CARE or CRS, this type of foreign assistance is part of the strategy of the redirection of AID.

AID's innovative approach to voluntarism is documented in the presentation to the Administrator's Council by the new Bureau for Population and Humanitarian Assistance. This submission entitled "AID and the Independent Voluntary Sector" ~~contains~~ the new strategy calling for an expanded role of the independent voluntary sector. Background data, definitions and concepts underlying the partnership in development are also specified in this document.

In an effort to throw some additional light on voluntarism in the developing countries this paper follows the course laid out in "AID and the Independent Voluntary Sector", which was approved by the Administrator's Council on June 7, 1972.

The following quotation from page 1 of the presentation contains basic definitions and concepts applicable to the present paper:

"Private and voluntary organizations, in A.I.D. terms are associations which are (1) formally structured (i.e., have a legal existence, a charter/constitution, staff, etc.), (2) not-for-profit, (3) non-governmental (although they may be quasi-non-governmental), (4) whose membership and motivations are not commercial, and (5) whose aims deal with development, population and humanitarian activities in the LDCs or have the potential of being useful in the development field. The non-sectarian service arms of the religious denominations are included in this number. They can be American, multi-national, or native to the LDCs. (Universities and labor organizations which fall within the purview of other Bureaus within A.I.D. are not discussed in this memorandum.)

"The private nature of the great bulk of these organizations cannot be over-emphasized. While they may act in concert with government in joint undertakings and receive subventions in the form of cash or supplies, thus accepting a degree of accountability, they retain their independence and their right to determine their own programming. Most depend on their constituencies for contributions and support and are ultimately accountable to them.

"(There is a small group of organizations, often identified as "quasi-non-governmental" which have most of the earmarks of private organizations. In their style of operation, in their accountability, they are private. But the bulk of their resources comes from government, and usually they were created to provide a service or fulfill a need identified by government. The Asia Foundation, the International Development Foundation, the International Executive Service Corps, are examples of this kind of organization. In this paper they are treated as if they were truly private and independent.)"

THE CONCEPT OF VOLUNTARISM

As used in this paper, the concept of voluntarism is a modified version of that used by the Center for Voluntary Society located in Washington, D.C. It includes the traditional concept of voluntary services plus other activities which may or may not be related to altruism, which is often considered to be an essential element in any voluntary activity. To illustrate the various types of voluntary organizations which are covered in this paper, and which are described and delineated on page c above, the following listing by function may be found useful:

1. ^{1/}Service Organizations: these are the traditional people-to-people service and welfare groups such as the Red Cross, plus non-traditional self-help groups--the new "do it myselfers!"
2. Expressive-type Organizations:
 - A. Self-expressive: art association, country club, or any such voluntary organization for pure self-satisfaction.
 - B. Group-expressive: voluntary unions, fraternal groups, professional associations; Rotary and Kiwanis Club; to protect and enhance some group interest, is their goal.
3. Public Issue Organizations: focus on social, economic and political issues and problems for the nation, region, or some large group. Because these groups comprise the principal innovators and change agents or initiators, they are sometimes called Instrumental Organizations.
4. Fund Raising Organizations: the goal of these organizations is to raise funding for a wide variety of other groups and that is their primary purpose. In some ways they are quite similar to individuals related to the first group, the service organizations, whose only voluntary purpose is to solicit funds.

^{1/} In addition to the old-fashioned interpretation of service voluntarism, there are two groups which are overtaking the old and substituting a modernized rationale:

- (a) Self-help voluntarism--people helping themselves, volunteer groups working together, building houses, roads, schools; also includes the A.A.s, some of the most indigenous, virile and vital groups found anywhere in the LDCs--in fact almost everywhere, among undeveloped and developed areas. (See classification of Center for a Voluntary Society.)
- (b) The Goal succession service groups who have placed stress on development, not charity, in recent years, to grow at the most problem--not just water the plant daily.

SUMMARY AND HIGHLIGHTS

1. Of the contributions to development derived from voluntarism, illustrations are listed which refer to the service type of voluntarism from the small self-help type Brigades of Botswana to the DESMI voluntary association of Mexico, the PRRM of the Philippines, Retser of Taiwan, and the work of the Ghandigram Institute of India. Group-expressive voluntarism is best represented by hundreds of organic affiliates of national organizations throughout the less developed world. These are strictly local-run indigenous associations as are the instrumental/public issue associations such as IRAM of Brazil and IIRR of the Philippines.
2. A strong spirit of voluntarism is one of the best types of insurance against a totalitarian government, and thus might be called a "life saver" for democracy.
3. Emphasis on development is given in the following pattern for the functional role of voluntarism: (This is a new type of schedule for A.I.D. purposes.)
 - a. Instrumental/public issue -type Voluntarism:
 1. Ranges from a neutral or purely informative role to the high-pressure type groups. Conceivably all may have a role in development, from the neutrals who play an important role in informing the public concerning their rights, to the most radical group causing change the demanding more.
 2. A low-pressure type voluntary would be illustrated by the Mass Education Association in pre-communist China, the National Development Foundations and COLAC of Latin America. A high-pressure association representative is exemplified by AITUC, while HMS:-low pressure. (Both are in India) labor movement.
 - b. Expressive voluntarism: two types----self-expressive and group expressive.
 1. The purpose of the self-expressive group is self-realization. The goal is purely to gratify the wishes of the individual. Examples: Tennis Club in Nairobi; Gymkhana of New Delhi or Kenya. The group-expressive type, on the other hand, involves common goals for the good or benefit of the group. Individual gain results from group success----so the enlightened person forgets himself and works for group achievement. Expressive voluntarism, more likely the group-expressive, may be bi-functional.

with one type of function and/or goal at the local level, and another at headquarters of the national organization which may have national-type public issue themes blended into its objectives. Depending on the degree of development-orientation, these objectives could contribute to development at the national level while the local self-help activities stimulated at the organic affiliate level may, in a smaller degree, do likewise.

b. Service Voluntarism: OXFAM's slogan: "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day, teach a man to fish and you feed him for life!", by dividing it in half represents two types of service voluntarism. The first half is welfare/palliative service voluntarism. The second half: teaching to fish, represents welfare/development service voluntarism.

4. The extent of voluntarism is sometimes considered an index of development. Available research data apparently supports the view that, on the continuum from the least developed primitive society to the most developed, voluntary activity increases. The conclusion could be drawn that development produces volunteers. This may not be a one-way street. The other side of the coin would be that if voluntarism can be inspired, invigorated, strengthened, etc., at an early stage in development, conceivably it could be the catalyst to generate full-scale or at least accelerate development to some degree. There are numerous success stories which tend to support the latter contention, and additional research is needed to lend additional light to this general area, including, of course, how best to go about the collaboration with the LDCs so that the catalytic climate can be created.

5. Government Policy and Voluntarism in LDCs:

Given the stage of development of the society, the most important factor affecting the climate of growth for voluntarism is government policy and attitude. Between a public policy which forbids any outward signs of voluntarism and the opposite extreme of strong encouragement there is a tremendous range and variability in possible government relationships.

Ideally, the democratic government would view the voluntary associations as agents of change in the society with a major role to play, and thus should be allowed to do "their thing". The government would refrain from interference, infiltration, domination, penetration, etc., in order not to curb the spark and spirit of voluntarism. This ideal situation, however, is rare. What in reality is the usual government policy? The usual politician, seeing the potential value for himself and the government, may adopt one of a number of courses or innumerable variations. These possibilities include: (combinations of two or more of these strategies, of course, are likely possibilities)

- A. **Political Image:** enact legislation which encourages voluntarism in such way as to gain favor and political mileage from the good government image created. This usually will not destroy the spark of voluntarism and if handled properly may even strengthen the groups. This is essentially the original policy followed in Uganda just after independence was gained.
- B. **Economic:** The government may seek the cooperation of voluntary groups to stimulate slow-moving sectors. This is the policy followed by the Government of Malaysia---- to stimulate agricultural production and rural development. Malaysia probably has the most complete records on groups of any free country. With a few exceptions every group having ten or more members must register and obtain a permit to operate as an organization. Farmers' groups are now permitted to operate without a registration. This is one of several steps taken by the GOM to encourage these groups in order to stimulate agriculture.
- C. **Subsidy:** This may take the form of "legal bribery" to gain control of voluntarism. Voluntary groups facing bankruptcy are easy prey. Later this occurred in Uganda. The

The Government of Uganda rescued a number of groups on the verge of bankruptcy, provided low interest loans to others, monopoly privileges for groups producing and marketing export crops, etc. In fact, important elements of the cooperative movement became virtually government partners in management.

D. Penetration: This is a more subtle, but subversive type of operation assigned to an elite group in those cases where the government begins to suspect that one or more associations are becoming a little too powerful. This occurs where the elite group gradually influences the group or groups to get back in line, not rock the boat, and thus preserve the status quo from any untoward changes that might result in sound development. Successive establishments in the seat of power in Uruguay have followed this "no-change" course for many years, after having achieved very significant economic gains up until that point.

E. Internal Security:

Malaysia's strong registration and control policy is basically for internal security. Many instrument/public issue type voluntary associations are not permitted to register. As a result the number of such pressure groups has fallen from 46 in 1955 to 37 in about 1970. This compares to expressive-type groups: social, sports, youth, which numbered 4,200 by 1970 and service groups: benevolent groups, 1,100. Because they are not required to register, the number of farmers' associations is not available, although 650 had voluntarily registered in 1969. Probably 1,000 exist.

F. Heavy constraint: This may be so restrictive as to preclude existence.

6. Internal Dynamics:

A. Advantages and benefits of voluntarism:

Social Integration--of particular value in easing the urbanization process

Advantages for the individual: many skills, new capacities are learned
management training--all phases involving
the operation of an organization

Social, political, psychological, cultural gains are common, depending, of course, on the local situation and conditions.

Some lessons, rules, caveats, etc.: The importance of the following factors is vital for an effective, goal-achieving association:

Flexibility: organization and operations

Procedures: keep reviewing and rationalizing, and eliminate quickly as possible the outmoded

Total participation: impossible, but something to strike to achieve

General administration:----Establish and/or install
the following:

modern communications that can be
fitted into the budget

long range planning

evaluation system:---for programs and
other activities to help
ensure effectiveness

Depending, of course, upon the type of voluntarism,

DYNAMIC GOALS-----possibly most important factor

For instrumental/public issue voluntarism:

Select GOALS which are:-----

In best interests of society

In best interests of development

To prevent goal-problems:-----

Continual research

Frequent evaluations

Set up alternative priority goals in
the event of need for goal suc-
cession and to avoid displacement
of goal problems

7. External Dynamics:

A. Voluntarism's Star Role in Society:-----

Linkage/mediation role

Integration functions

Affirmation of Values

Supplementary help to government

Role in development:-----process of change capabilities

Economic and social structure---flexibility

Pluralism

ROLE OF VOLUNTARISM AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIESI. Introduction:---

A. Volunteers and Development:

This paper is primarily concerned with the development role played by voluntarism whether at the bottom, middle, or top of developing societies; at the lowest levels: among the aborigines, community development groups, assisted by S.I.L.-----or the Mexican volunteer group DESMI, among 400,000 Otomi-speaking Indians; middle level: Kongsis and Huay Kuans societies of Malaysia; higher level: Instituto Brasileiro De Administracao Municipal (IBAM), private, non-profit, Brazilian organization, which assists other Latin American governments as well as Brazil----and COLAC, an international voluntary association representing the national credit union movements of 13 Latin American countries.

1. Democracy: Possibly the oldest developmental-type role of voluntary groups is the function of maintaining and furthering a pluralistic society. They have sometimes been called subtle but active nurseries of democracy. There was an element of the spirit of voluntarism in democracy long before the Boston Tea Party or Paul Rever's Ride. As in any revolt, there was a dynamic element of voluntarism in the ranks of those who supported the leadership of Simon Bolivar in the revolt against Spanish rule activated among the Latin American colonies of Spain. As centers for generating independent public opinion, voluntary groups have been active in supporting freedom of thought, expression and association. Moreover, as growing points of social conscience they have inspired social initiatives and action basic to pluralistic societies.

B. How does Voluntarism originate?

British authorities on voluntarism in the 1940s, including Lord Beveridge, G.D.H. Cole, A.F.C. Bourdillon, and A.D. Lindsay, among others, concluded that generally it stems from a "concern¹" that is, a determination that a wrong exists that the state is not correcting. If the man who has the "concern" is a leader, others are inspired to join him in a voluntary group which may become a formalized association. In any event the group of unpaid volunteers works for the attainment of its objective, the correction of the wrong or what it considers to be an injustice which may or may not be in accord with public policy at the time. The group may exert any pressure that the instruments at its disposal permit, possibly to influence public opinion in the process, as a major step in "pressuring" the authorities to correct what it considers an injustice. If the group is development-oriented, the change it advocates may further the process of development.

Usually voluntarism, and the voluntary action engendered as in this case, originates independent of government action and initiative. This is one of the fundamental values of voluntarism, usually permitted only in a pluralistic society. This extra-government action is a major role or function of voluntary associations. Moreover, even under authoritarian government structures, voluntary groups have had the courage derived from complete unity in the association to employ illegal action-instruments to generate changes which further the development process. Finally, the spirit of voluntarism exists at all levels of society. It is a latent power and force even at the grass roots level where the need and desire for change may be harnessed and encourage men and women to stand up for their rights as citizens and overcome oppression and tyranny.

Voluntary groups in LDCs may be classed according to structure, function, goals, accessibility or eligibility for membership, status conference or prestige, membership patterns, etc. One scholar studied 5,000 associations and finally endeavored to put them into three tidy groups according to the importance of the institutions which they served: major, minor and those which played a mediating role in society.^{1/}

II. Classification of LDC Voluntary Associations by Membership, Structure, Etc.

A. Membership

A fairly common type of classification is by membership groups: civic and social service; lodges and fraternal; church and other religious; social and recreational; military and patriotic (includes veterans); economic and occupational; cultural and educational; political (including pressure groups).

The weakness of this grouping is that while it shows membership patterns, it fails to show the structure or functions. Most of the LDCs under democratic forms of government have one or more associations in each of these areas however. Among those lacking in non-democratic societies would be the anti-government political pressure groups.

B. Structural:

A structural classification may be based on degree of control or authority: at one extreme would be the corporate type with strong

control over the association, while the federal type representing least structural control would be at the opposite pole; between these extremes lie various degrees of control from associations loosely organized to those more tightly administered.

C. Functional

For our purposes, a functional grouping of voluntary associations in the LDCs would be **more** useful:

1. Brief functional grouping of Voluntary Organizations (VOs)

In a 1959 study of typology, Gordon and Babchuk classed voluntary associations by two basic functions: instrumental and expressive. ^{1/}

Expressive groups: exist to satisfy or express the interests of the members themselves, as the end-goal

Instrumental groups: rather than furnishing activity for the members as an end in itself, as the expressive groups do, the organization is, an instrument or tool to create some desired change or serve as a social-influential power to obtain goals or objectives lying outside the organization itself.

Gordon and Babchuk tried to accomodate the groups which are not purely instrumental or expressive by setting up a third category which combined the functions. For example, a veterans' voluntary association in an African country might be recreational in function (expressive purpose) in its local community, but in addition ^{2/} might have social or economic aims (instrumental purpose) at a higher level, regional or national. Conversely, the Rassemblement Democratique Africain illustrates the case of an instrumental association which also had secondary expressive-type activities

for members. 1/ While the above grouping draws a clear distinction between the two major types, the third combination grouping is confusing; additionally, important groups are omitted. In a grouping below, the expressive functions and the instrumental have been broken down into sub-groups, which identify the voluntary associations in the LDCs more precisely. Also in order to make the listing more definitive as well as clearer, three major groups are defined with a separate category for: the social service volunteers. A breakdown follows:

2. Full Functional Grouping of Voluntary Organizations (VOs)

a. Expressive Function:

(1) Self-expressive associations:

Cultural groups: interested in some type of esthetic expression as an end in itself, such as music, painting, theater, dance, books

Socializing groups: meet more or less informally, except for necessary business meetings, as country clubs, sororities and fraternities, men's and women's clubs, youth, etc.

Recreation and Hobby groups: conduct activities which are the end goals of the associations

(2) Group expressive--functions

Voluntary trade unions, craft guilds, labor organizations: the end goals of these groups is the furthering of their skill groups

Business, industry, trade groups: the end goal is to improve the business, industry or related activity of the voluntary association

Professional voluntary societies: the end goal is to further the interests of the profession--medicine, teaching science, etc.

b. Instrumental function:

(1) Public Information voluntary groups: while in a sense

these groups are issue-oriented, rather than the promotion of a position on the question at issue, the end goal is to arouse public interest in the problem. Taking a neutral position, their stance is more or less that of an educational instrument or institution.

(2) Low Pressure Groups: taking a more or less dedicated and firm position on public issues, these groups tend to be more self-effacing, objective and altruistic than--

(3) High Pressure type action groups: who are the most change oriented of the voluntary groups. Whereas the low-pressure societies tend to rely on political instruments and institutions, this group could include revolutionaries who are too impatient to wait, in some cases, for political evolution to take its course in change processes.

c. Social Service Function: the voluntary service associations

~~includes~~ organizations dealing with people-to-people programs in health, the administration of disaster relief, urban and rural programs in welfare, housing, education, family planning

(a) These social welfare or service volunteer groups emphasize helping other people directly sometimes linked with an existing institution such as a welfare agency, hospital, school, etc., or with autonomous associations with direct service goals such as the Red Cross. This form of voluntarism is increasingly challenged by the needy who would prefer to help themselves.

(b) One of the early volunteer groups to help themselves were the Retser associations on Taiwan. Retser (Retired Servicemen) organized their own small fisheries (tiny lakes or ponds for projects) small farm operations, lumbering, etc. One of the early self-help housing projects: voluntary labor groups completed near Taipei, at Taichung.

early, if not earliest self-help housing projects was carried out successfully by a labor union volunteer group on Taiwan.

(c) Possibly partly as a result of such successful self-help voluntary associations, the welfare-service associations were more and more aware of a valid criticism: that they do little or nothing to eliminate the root-cause of poverty, for example, when they attack only the symptoms.

Since the early 1950s, partly as a result of these valid charges, the voluntary service associations have been more or less rapidly modifying their goals.--This is an excellent example of goal succession. "Goal Succession" is a term sociologists use to describe the adoption of new goals to meet the challenge of the change process.

By the early 1960s, the "goal succession" or adoption of a new goal or goals was in full swing. The philosophy underlying the new objectives has never been better exemplified than in the theme some voluntary associations have adopted (the words vary, but the theme is the same): "A fish will feed a man a day, but teach him to fish and he's saved for life."

As a result of the goal succession, the new objective of many, if not most, of these service associations is primarily development. Most of the American voluntary agencies engaged in overseas aid now fall in this group. One of the earliest groups to change did so in China in 1940. This group called itself the Mass Education Association. Volunteers, trained at a

demonstration school, succeeded in establishing mass education schools in each of the 472 villages of the Mainland China County, to teach the villagers literacy, farming, care of animals, health and child care, and education on life in other countries.

When the villagers had a grasp of the above, the objectives were broadened to include the national level of China; some enlightenment on the need for reform in government was given which tended to round out the nonformal-type of curriculum adopted by the Mass Education Association.

Following the evacuation from the Mainland to Taiwan, a similar program was developed in the Philippines under the direction of PRRM (Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement). On Taiwan, the JCRR (Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction) picked up the pieces and continued the program it had started on Mainland China. ^{2/}

3. New Classification of Voluntarism in LDCs including Development Synthesis:---A broad definition of development is used along the following lines: A process of change whereby the general wellbeing of the people (social, economic, political, cultural) is upgraded and on a course leading toward conditions constituting betterment.

In the following synthesis, those voluntary associations which were formerly service oriented but which have adopted a strong development emphasis in recent years would be shifted to the instrumental/public issue grouping. Under the broad definition of development given above, voluntary associations engaged in family planning, modernized nutrition and health programs with long-range promise for healthier adults due to better child care, etc., as well as those with education programs with a better "fit" for changing requirements of the development process would merit graduation from

the service group to a new category for development under the instrumental/public issue category. A development-oriented classification follows:

FUNCTIONAL/DEVELOPMENT SYNTHESIS CLASSIFICATION

a. Public Issue/Instrumental Voluntarism:

- (1) Public information voluntarism: In LDCs most of the associations represented here would have this as a secondary function. This neutral, educational/communications type category thus, might include groups primarily expressive in character and conceivably some primarily service-oriented.
- (2) Low pressure voluntarism: favor low-key action in attaining objectives. A sub-listing here would include the formerly service oriented associations who now are dedicated to development and take a firm stand on development issues.
- (3) High pressure voluntarism: this group would probably not include any of the former service groups, but nevertheless those falling in this category may contribute to accelerated development just because they may demand more. In other words government strategy may be conditioned by fear of revolution unless they permit enough change to keep most of the people relatively satisfied.

NOTE: This pattern for voluntarism is highly abbreviated partly due to the development accent. For example, the role of the fund-raisers is of primary importance. They are omitted in this abbreviated listing partly because we do not have reliable data as to funding allocation directions of these groups. Another short cut involves the broadening of the expressive group to include occupational/economic groups. This is tentatively justified because labor, business, professional, etc., have a function as group expressers or group "realizers" as a major goal--the individuals help themselves by promoting group interests. A point that many seem to disagree on is the extent of altruism in voluntarism. Undoubtedly altruism motivates many of the service volunteers. You do not find it in the self-expressive association, but in the group-expressive association, the members have a tendency to subordinate themselves to the interests of the group--at least enlightened self-interest is involved.

b. Expressive Voluntarism:

(1) **Self-expressive:** Primarily individual/self fulfillment; but could include some groups which conceivably would from time to time wish to make a contribution in the public arena falling in the information group of the public issue class.

(2) **Group-expressive:** Definitely includes groups which would be bi-functional putting them in one of the boxes under public issue voluntarism, depending on how radical a position the guiding spirit happens to advocate. Many of the associations in this grouping are vitally interested in development from a positive standpoint, while others are just as firmly committed to the status quo. Some service-type voluntary work might give some groups a tri-functional role.

c. Service Voluntarism: Now includes not only traditional welfare, but also a variety of self-help groups in community development as well as "Alnon". 1/ Secondary function would include recreational or other expressive as well as public issue voluntarism favoring development issues of one type or another. Alnon, however, is strictly self-help voluntarism, remaining apart from any public issues.

III. VOLUNTARISM AND DEVELOPMENT STATUS:

A. Primitive and/or least developed LDCs:

In primitive tribal groups without settled residence, associations are primarily involuntary in nature as they are usually based on kinship or caste or other distinction at birth. When a society shifts from an involuntary to a voluntary association basis it generally indicates a step upward in the development process. This normally is supposed to take place

when a tribe adopts a permanent residence. Elementary division of labor

1/Alcoholics Anonymous: definitely an indigenous group--100% today.

Numerous other groups that help themselves in some way are included from groups trying to eliminate the drug habit to those helping their neighbors and themselves in digging wells, building schools, houses, etc.

encourages a shift from kinship to occupation with the element of voluntary choice of association entering the picture. Also in primitive groups with settled residence, associations organized for recreation and mutual aid originate, as well as those based on rank in the group. As the community enlarges with accompanying diversity in the division of labor, associations not only evolve around economic pursuits, but also for defense purposes. Some government functions are also exercised by voluntary groups. In Melanesia culture, for example, associations with ceremonial and secular functions are initiated, but without any government functions according to researchers in this field. In Polynesia in the Society Islands, groups developed a strong religious orientation. Groups were also organized around a public entertainment function. ^{1/}

Voluntary associations composed of hunters and scouts act as judge and jury in Western Nigeria (Yoruba) and also in Sierra Leone (among the Mende). Criminals were executed and the punishment for minor offense was the seizure of property. These sentences were often carried out accompanied by ritual ceremonies or there were ritual associations which undertook the execution. The savings clubs which originated in Ghana, for example, have been given authority in some serious problems concerning personal conduct.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has been very successful, particularly among the aboriginal groups in Latin America, in organizing groups for community development purposes. Currently it conducts programs in twenty countries, half in Latin America. SIL has been instrumental in developing the written language for 450 minority languages. Tribal groups are assisted in vocational training as well. They are helped to bridge the gap

to the rest of society by teaching the national language and culture. In some of the primitive societies, The Summer Institute of Linguistics even has relatively extensive community development projects underway which include, among other things, the training of local paramedical technicians who can give first aid and treat common ailments. At least some of the groups which SIL assists on the path to development could conceivably be called primitive VOs.^{1/}

B. The Peasant Society

The peasant connotation is somewhat misleading for this stage of development--while it does indicate the growth of a stable farming population, it does not tell us that urbanization (early stages) is one of the major differences between the 'primitive and the peasant society. The urbanites (usually non-food producers in settlements of at least 5,000) reach a higher stage of development than the peasant groups, but peasant societies as a whole achieve a distinctly higher level of civilization than the primitives. Division of labor, particularly in urban areas, becomes more complex. Considerable advances are made in education, health, and elementary technology in agriculture and industry, etc. There is no need here to go into detail on the various differences: government institutions, capital accumulation, expanded money economy and foreign trade, various levels of social and economic infrastructure development, elite ruling groups, etc., which all contribute to making the classification of societies between

primitive and higher levels far simpler than between the peasant stage and the industrial society grouping.

1. Voluntarism in Peasant Societies:

The spirit of true voluntarism begins to develop in peasant societies. Normal voluntary-type groups start to fill the needs of the people at this stage--needs taken care of in primitive societies by family, kinship groups and other institutions, membership in which is determined at birth rather than on a voluntary basis. Urbanization tends to break the link which existed between the individual and these primitive institutions--a gap to be filled in part by voluntary associations. Urban division of labor tends to generate occupational voluntarism (guild and craft groupings). At the loss of primitive group security, there is a need for associations in urban areas to safeguard against the insecurities that the new way of life produces. These groups are sometimes mutual aid societies, but frequently are broader, encompassing educational and political interests, thus offering material benefits of social solidarity, sometimes an element of prestige, as well as other social and economic benefits.

Another factor causing an increase in voluntary organizations in peasant societies is greater mobility of the individual as migration increases and also greater intercommunication between groups and among societies as a result of higher education levels (literacy and written records, etc.); also there is multiplicity

in interests and goals not found in less civilized groups
as a result of these factors and others such as the diversity of
activities and skills resulting from division of labor. New
values, beliefs, concepts and goals spread among various
societies, as communication levels rise, which naturally
tend to increase interest articulation within various peasant
groups serving as a stimulant for greater voluntary activity
within each group.

In African societies, the most universal voluntary association
and
at the peasant level which best meets the needs of the non-
educated migrant is the early credit union or savings club.

Although some are primarily for mutual aid purposes, they also
help in covering miscellaneous business expenditures. A few
even help in procuring capital goods for the expansion of
production and other credit purposes. 1/

Under the assumption that government constraints do not handicap
voluntary activity, a greater tendency to participate in collec-
tive activity, particularly in urban areas, increases the degree
of voluntarism in peasant societies compared with less developed
groups. In summary, while primitive groups have sustained high
levels of communications activity per capita, relatively speaking,
there is no question that peasant societies have more voluntary
group activity. This stems, partly at least, from greater frequency
in such motivators as collective action intensity, goals and
interests articulation.

- C. The Partially Industrialized LDC Society:---(At least one fairly important segment of industry using inanimate power, some technology and tools which multiply animate efforts)
1. Compared with LDC societies classed at a lower stage of development, the partially industrialized LDC ^{has} significantly more of the following indicators:
 - a. Urbanized society: more units and greater concentration of population
 - b. Literacy: higher average level, with many elite groups--distinctly above
 - c. Mobility: Mainly geographic mobility with some improvement in social mobility in some areas
 - d. Technology: High in special segments where mechanization, etc., developed
 - e. GNP; significantly higher and also per capita GNP higher, but spotty in urban slums, rural areas, etc.
 - f. Division of Labor: This again is evident in the special segments, but most rural areas retain peasant level of specialization
 - g. General level of economic institutions, commerce, communications and infrastructure in urban areas, at least, at higher level than in the lower stages of development

Why all this detail for the industrialized (partly) LDC?

Justification: Partly to show the difficulty of defining and computing an index which would provide any reliable gauge or measurement of one stage of a developing economies, e.g., the traditional or peasant stage as compared with LDCs in a so-called industrial stage.

The comparison of frequency of voluntary groups as between different stages, therefore, lacks a semblance of reliability. Probably, the most sensible conclusion that can be drawn is based on broad trends in voluntarism as the development process takes its course.

Research studies have produced data reliable enough to draw some conclusions as to certain correlations:

These correlations and comparisons follow:

Urbanization and voluntarism: Not only is there direct correlation, but the higher the concentration of population, the more voluntarism.

Why? Because the more dense the population, the more interaction in kinds, frequency, complexity, etc., which all generate more interests, more activities, and in turn more goals for voluntary groups and more bases for initiating voluntarism and group representation. Urbanites also, on the average, are more educated and socially active with higher social status, which accompanies voluntarism.

Can a limited number of factors be pinpointed and their trends measured as the development process unfolds (and higher stages are reached) and these data correlated with data on voluntarism at the comparable levels? The research director

at the Center for a Voluntary Society, Professor David Horton Smith, has been engaged for an extended period on such research projects. The high correlation between voluntarism's growth and the increase in certain "indicators" along the continuum of the process of development is an assumption which research so far has tended to support, and Professor Smith concludes that additional research is merited. The basic independent variables submitted to explain the prevalence of voluntarism and its corresponding relative growth as development progresses are: intercommunications networks, degree of goal differentiation, and degree of collective action orientation development.

Additional research to support this thesis is undoubtedly merited and should prove valuable for development studies related to voluntarism. If a sufficiently high degree of reliability in the coefficient of correlation is indicated by further research, then a valuable index and prognosticator may have been discovered.

2. Expressive, Service and Instrumental/Public Issue Voluntarism in Partially Industrialized LDCs:-----Both the expressive and the service categories of voluntarism are common at this stage with the instrumental/public issue type not being found as often, although more frequently in evidence at this stage than at less developed stages of society. The service-oriented voluntary associations are basically the same in type as at the lower levels of society. These include the welfare type, the self-help volunteers, and an increasing number of the associations shifting from temporary relief to assistance targeting root causes of poverty, etc. Both of these last two groups contribute significantly to development.

The self-expressive and group-expressive types become more sophisticated at this stage. Their basic functions do not vary greatly, however, as between societies at the same level of development except as conditioned by socio-cultural and economic cross-cultural patterns.

On the other hand, the instrumental/public issue function VOs vary greatly from country to country. By definition, this is understandable and logical, because of their tendency to play a countervailing role to the power of the ruling elite. Depending upon government policy and strategy, these groups may cooperate with the government performing constructive mediatory and linkage roles of various types or they may use the countervailing power functions as vigorous champions of the individual to the extent, of course, that the controlling elite permits, acquiesces, etc.

IV. Primary Relationship of Government to Voluntary Organizations:

From the least developed to the most developed of the LDCs there is a primary inter-relationship between the government and the voluntary organization (VO). In some primitive societies in Africa, the VO may help the government in defense and other administrative matters. In any society the Government ~~may~~ determine the degree of freedom and independence permitted the VO. What are the most favorable conditions for the growth of voluntarism? --- Naturally where the most freedom is allowed by the government. In fact, the spirit of voluntarism is strongest where the VO is permitted complete independence in membership, objectives, operations and self-government. ^{1/}

In reality there is a gradation of freedom permitted to VOs depending on the degree of authoritarianism exercised by the government. A strong government, opposed to voluntary societies, illustrates the least favorable situation for voluntarism, and as a general rule, the

converse would hold true, that is, the case of a weak government which favors and may even depend on voluntary associations for support. In the continuum between the two extremes of government control, almost an infinite variety of conditions are possible.

A. Malaysian Case

The strong and relatively democratic government of Malaysia strongly encourages the growth of youth and farm associations, which illustrates the conditions existing where a strong government encourages some associations which tend to contribute to GOM objectives. (Accelerated farm development)^{1/} What happens to the spirit of voluntarism if the government strongly encourages associations as in the case of the farmers' groups in Malaysia? Although government policy strengthens the associations, clearly the growth of the cooperative movement (assuming these are cooperative groups) does not result from a true spirit of voluntarism.

If our facts are correct for Malaysia, the elite is penetrating the social structure from the top to mobilize and/or control rural groups to accelerate agricultural development. Prior to the penetration, these associations may have been more representative of true voluntarism. Whether or not the associations could still be classed in a voluntary category would depend on the effect of the penetration of the elite upon the goals, membership, operations, etc. Government support of Ugandan farm groups has some of the same earmarks as the Malaysian case, involving similar matters of

interpretation of effects on the spirit of voluntarism.^{1/}

B. Uganda Case:

Are constraints on VOs only those precluding freedom and independence per se? These constraints are virtually self-explanatory. But temptations offered by the government--funds, legislation, etc., as in Uganda, exploit the spirit of voluntarism and circumscribe its freedom of operations. Using the association as an instrument or tool tends to exploit the institution for the achievement of government objective of mobilization and control. Assuming bona fide objectives, long range benefits for marginal groups are conceivable. There are other cases, however, where penetration by elite groups is intended to preserve the status quo, safeguard the privileged position of the few, and thus preclude sharing of benefits with the less fortunate members of society. Common result: short-circuiting the development process.

C. Goal Succession

Following World War I there were periods when VO leaders were not necessarily suspicious of becoming a government tool, but that their function would be assumed by the government as it shifted from Laissez-Faire to a more authoritarian posture, taking over more responsibility for welfare, social needs of the poorer classes, etc. The usual outcome has been that the VOs worked jointly with the government in cooperation to help the needy or shifted objectives

and goals. The lesson to be learned from this is that the spirit of voluntarism has a place in society which is difficult to replace. Moreover governments are never perfect, and as people achieve higher standards they seek even better ways of living. The human spirit and drive which secured or helped achieve reforms and improvements will live on to seek others. As LDC governments and societies change so will VOs. The role may be compared to a Beethoven ^{1/} symphony with many variations on the same basic theme.

D. Conclusion:

In conclusion: The role of the government is a vital one in relation to voluntarism. If opposed, a climate may be created which mounts so many restrictions and constraints on freedom and independence as to stifle growth. On the other hand, VOs may be encouraged and supported while permitted to do their own "thing", so that the spirit of voluntarism is not circumscribed. Between these poles, government policy may have various motives and resulting effects.

Intervention of Government Arises from Policies:

1. Of control for internal security (semi-restrictive)
2. To gain political mileage at grass roots in LDCs
3. To accelerate growth by mobilizing economic groups
4. Restricting freedom, independence, etc., stemming from fear of organized opposition to government

5. Penetration by elite groups to maintain status quo.
6. Of subvention: funds, legislation, priorities, etc., to gain control and use as government instrument for its own ends, which may or may not have long-range betterment or development in view.

V. Voluntary Associations in LDCs -- Internal Operations:

A. The Individual Member

Why join? A number of investigations have come to the conclusion that the case is oversimplified to assume that a man joins a VO to find personal gratification, because the usual situation seems to be that he joins only after much persuasion. He will remain, however, because it affords him some reward of a social, political, service or other personal nature. As opposed to latent functions, these constitute the manifest components which are very important but are more or less self-evident and require little explanation.

Compared to the manifest, the latent are more subtle, and deserve more attention. Latent functions include: social integration, various capabilities and skills and possibly knowledge of the total management role and group leadership.

Brief description follows:

1. Social Integration (in Latin America): One of the most critical and urgent needs of the individual in the LDC occurs at a time of accelerated urbanization. As good an example as any today may be found in Latin America. There is an acute need in the case of the migrant who comes to one of the larger urban areas from his village in the hinterlands. Who is going to help the migrant make the adjustment from a traditional rural society to the completely different structure of society in the urban area? Not only are there differences of an outward and physical way of life, but there are subtle variations such as that of the

challenge created by an achievement-oriented climate and other complexities of urban mores. To cut a long and involved comparison short, suffice it to say that the voluntary association offers the migrant an opportunity to achieve urban integration, thus easing the transitional pains in the jump from a traditional to a more modern environment.

Urbanization . . . creates similar problems everywhere. In Africa, voluntary associations sprang up to perform the services that the tribe and family could no longer perform and the government was not prepared to do. 1/ Some had an occupational base: fellowships, social clubs, sport groups; still others were based on religious, political or economic grounds. These organizations are voluntary in that no one's membership was automatic or required or foreordained at birth; they are associations 2/ in that they are formalized from the point of view of society as well as the individual member, and, of course, are smaller than the society as a whole.

2. Enhancement of Individual Skills and capabilities

The voluntary association provides opportunity for an individual to function effectively as an official in a formal capacity. Following, for example, Robert's Rules of Order or other organizational manual for conducting meetings, the individual learns how to handle groups by parliamentary procedure which provides a capability and skill he carries with him through life: training in democracy.

Management training is also provided -- by getting practice in decision-making on operating policies, form and structure, handling the paid staff, and engaging in a total management role in an environment composed of his peers.

Not only is the association a training ground for leaders in technical skills for the executive of an organization, but often in the substantive appreciation of political doctrine and government. This provides satisfaction to the individual, but more important, it often enables him to advance in his career.

One of the more subtle values may be described in the view that the voluntary organization constitutes a kind of subconscious school for the individual to appreciate the democratic way of life. This produces a unique type of political orientation.

B. Internal Decision-Making Apparatus

One of the recurrent problems in voluntary associations in Uganda or elsewhere involves participation of the membership. This inactivity may be caused by any number of factors:

1. Membership -- too large. It was found in Uganda that beyond a certain number of members, it was virtually impossible for a much membership participation to occur.

Heterogeneity: -- too much causes problems of participation.

2. Experience in leadership: -- leadership is a specialized skill requiring much time and experience to develop; also temperament is an important factor.

3. Activities of the association: -- lack of concrete tasks to be performed; conflicts occur with other interests preventing regular participation.

4. Minority Rule: In spite of the fact that the voluntary association usually has a constitution, by-laws, etc., specifying participation by all the members in democratic procedures, this requirement is often not fulfilled.

Max Weber was one of the first writers to observe and note that organization authority takes the form of minority rule -- those qualified by process of selection or virtue of competence to assume leadership.

The term "Iron Law of Oligarchy" stems from this situation as originated by Michels in 1911. As opposed to the view that lack of participation is due to apathy, Michels' oligarchy control concept is based on the theory that in any organization a minority tends to take over the leadership, a tendency which derives from the structure of a democratic association.

This role of a minority group is only a hypothesis, but assuming it is a fact the explanation of Weber seems to make sense, that members tend to depend on a small group of apparently competent individuals to make their decisions especially where they are not more or less deeply involved in the point at issue.

C. Internal Dynamics and Growth:

The unplanned process (hit or miss) that a typical voluntary association experiences at the beginning when it is composed of a few believers with the same or similar objectives or goals is called the incipient stage. This loosely constituted group gradually establishes certain patterns of behavior and also expectations of activity within a more or less fixed framework. This phases into the organization stage when the association is formalized and is recognized as an institution. Membership and income as well as expenditures and staff keep growing until its life cycle enters a phase of stability. What occurs after the stability phase is reached is conditioned by the organization's functions and goals. A self-expressive society, such as a country club or garden society may experience no major changes or problems. Normally, a service-oriented association would also experience no eruptions during the stability phase which could continue indefinitely depending on the community. In tropical Africa, for example, voluntary associations sprang up almost everywhere to perform the services that the tribe, the family and the government could not or did not take care of. These associations were so flexible they were able to meet the basic needs of the community including necessary expenses connected with the transitional ceremonies of the life cycle (birth, initiation, marriage, death).^{1/}

An issue-oriented association designed to function in the change process in an orderly pattern of operations is relatively formal and bureaucratic in structure and usually will become more conservative and bureaucratic during a so-called period of stability or the stability phase of its operations. On the other hand, the higher pressure-oriented group with a radical-ideological base

conforms to no fixed pattern, but is fluid and rather informal in character. This more dynamic association will have an experience of more or less frequent change not only in its approaches or operating means to achieve objectives, but also will adjust itself to the need for goal succession in an accelerated fashion compared with the more conservative groups. The more authoritarian the government, the more frequent will be the clashes between the ruling elite and the radical voluntary association which understandably is feared by the establishment. In Malaysia, for example, where the conservative cooperative associations are strongly encouraged by the GOM, because of similar development objectives, such radical-ideological groups as mentioned above would be subject to considerable constraint by the authorities with every move cautiously monitored to keep the group in line.^{1/}

D. Goal Selection and Goal Achievement: --

The reader will have noted the accent so far given to the role of development and the change processes related to the efforts of LDCs to accelerate progress toward development goals. Naturally, the development oriented voluntary organization -- the instrumental/public-issue type of group -- is of more interest to us to the extent it strives to keep the ruling elite on a development course or change governmental policies to that course by any means or instruments that it happens to have to such change processes. On the other hand, unless it combines a dual purpose or function of public policy achievement, the usual run-of-the-mill expressive-type organization is not concerned with larger goals of furthering progress in the development process.

1. Goal Selection and Public Policy--

The goals selected by the voluntary association depend on how highly pressure-oriented it is and, of course, on the development policies of the decision-making authority. Those nations without VOs of an instrumental type lack any countervailing influence, as a rule, to protect the individual, particularly in the lower classes, from an overly suppressive central authority. Although Ethiopia has no powerful public issue/instrumental type associations, fortunately the monarch is sufficiently development minded to minimize the need for countervailing pressures. In the case of Indonesia, the following statement by Soedjatmoko indicates a more constructive policy than in Ethiopia:

"Voluntary Associations are of tremendous significance as a means of breaking the traditional dependence on government action and government initiative. They make possible the harnessing of the desire for change at the grass roots level; they give us the feeling we can take our destiny and our future in our own hands-- they are necessary to political growth in a democratic direction."

When the ruling elite permits some appeasement of the masses to curb their appetite for major development changes, a unified and vigorous VO (assuming it is permitted to use some pressure-type influence) will strike out for accelerated change by the selection of a development type goal to be attained by the instruments at its disposal under the guidelines of its operating policies.

2. In Malaysia and Singapore, instrumental type VOs are permitted although under close wraps unless major goals coincide with those of the central government. Because they have been development minded for some years, the need for changes in the development process, however, are not as great as in those areas of Latin America where continuation of the status quo is the major government policy. As a rule,

in just those areas strong VOs are not permitted. Those that are permitted are often not qualified to meet the challenges involved at this time, but hopefully the time will come when an increasing number will be so qualified.

3. Other goals: Depending on indigenous conditions, these would approximate those mentioned in illustrative cases involving reforms in various sectors; education, health, agriculture, population, urban development, export development, manpower development, community development, training and nonformal education, and others as related to the specific development needs of the LDC.

4. A study of how the VO in the LDC operates in the selection of goals and the relationship and connection between the goals and the functioning of the VO throws considerable light on the group behavior. Of particular interest, of course, is the operational procedure followed by the VO to set about accomplishing objectives. A more or less accurate picture of the character of the VO may be disclosed by an analysis of the goal-action policy and strategy, as related to the organization's statement of purpose.

While the purpose of the VO may be outlined in writing in some detail, there are many factors which cause groups to be diverted from objectives. The choice of, and manner of handling agenda activities, including instruments utilized will, depending on indigenous factors and conditions, not only contribute to the success or failure of goal achievement, but also the degree of membership participation and the capability of holding current members and increasing the membership, if desired. Often neither the leaders nor the membership realize that as interpreted from the constitution procedures have become rituals so sacrosanct and inflexible that the means tends to become the end thus divert^{ing} the VO from the optimum route to goal achievement.

5. Goal Displacement

Failure to achieve an objective in a reasonable time may not be accidental; leadership, ambitious to remain in office for prestige or other reasons (easy life compared to the alternative of returning to the "bench") or a strong minority group ("iron law of oligarchy") for reasons of personal nature may purposefully divert the VO from its goals.

Because of various kinds of diversions or detours and also as a result of a change in circumstances or conditions surrounding the end that is sought, very frequently the VO fails to achieve the full objective. Commonly it is possible to be at least partially successful in attaining the goal. One of the indications of a flexible VO with capable leadership is shown by a modification of objectives or a complete shift in goals at an opportune time in order to preserve the organization and membership. This procedure is known as "goal succession."

6. Internal Dynamics: Rules, Lessons and Caveats:

If there is a lesson to be gained from the above, it might be described along these lines: The VO should consider taking any measures feasible and practical, as appropriate, to rationalize internal operations, maintain dynamic characteristics or create a dynamic organism.

Summary of Rules and Caveats for Internal Dynamics

- Preserve flexibility; organization and operations.
- Preclude "sanctifying" outmoded procedures, or allowing rituals to creep in which subordinate the objective to the means.
- Encourage total participation: a negative policy followed by some VOs is to ask non-participants to leave the group. This may be considered a last resort after all alternatives have failed.
- Incorporate measures to prevent the "iron law of oligarchy" from exploiting or subverting the spirit of democracy.

- Ensure against any other divisive tendencies which tend to divert the VO from pursuing objectives.
- Build safeguards into the structure to prevent loss or displacement of goal destroying a group which has other potentials or worthwhile energy capable of direction to achievement of equally or even more important objectives.
 - install systems of communications and long-range planning.
 - establish an evaluation program to measure effectiveness of:
Programs and activities of VO on a periodic basis goal achievement.
- Select dynamic goals in best interest of society and development and by continual research and evaluation be prepared for goal succession and/or displacement by having alternative priority goals.

VI. The External Role of Voluntary Organizations in Society:
(external Dynamics)

A. Linkage/Mediation Role:

One of the important roles of the voluntary association is to act as a mediator between the state and the primary level of the society in the rural areas. It acts as a critical two-way communication link between the government and the local community, providing a legitimate means to articulate the interests and felt needs of the small farmers, for example, on the one side; on the other, it enables the ruling elite to have a channel of communication which penetrates the structure of society. If the government is development-oriented, the voluntary association may serve as an instrument to promote planned innovations. If the

governing elite is authoritarian, the VO may voluntarily or involuntarily serve as an agent for internal security or other control capacity.

Through public relations activities, the VO may mediate between membership and the public at large. For licensing purposes, and obtaining research funds and legislation, professional VOs may mediate between the government and their profession. Churches and other religious associations may act as mediators between members and the establishment. In some Latin American countries the church is so powerful that it needs only to inform decision-makers of its position; acting as a pressure group is unnecessary in such cases.

B. Integration Role:

VOs may serve to integrate minority groups into the national social structure in plural societies. The transformation of peasants into citizens may be realized even if the purpose of the association happens to be to endeavor to preserve ethnic identity. (See section above on social integration.)

C. Affirmation of Values Role

VOs especially interested in this role are the veterans' groups, patriotic societies and political groups. These VOs serve to strengthen local and national aspirations as an expression of values. Even under some so-called democracies, these groups are not given complete freedom of operation, because of the fear of unrestrained freedom of association. Although lacking a spirit of voluntarism in such instances, dictatorships may take the initiative in organizing certain pro-regime patriotic organizations primarily to serve their ends.

D. Public Administration Support Activities:

There is a curious correlation between the participation of VOs in public sector administration as a government supplement and the size and development status of the community. We noted the important role played by VOs in primitive social groups in Africa on behalf of the government: defense, justice, punishment for crime, etc. As the society reaches the next stage in development, the VO no longer needs to play an active government role in a direct capacity. A recent study, 1969, of a rural area including some small towns in Panama disclosed that certain VOs assisted in administrative functions but in an unpaid capacity. Four types of VOs were identified: the Padres de Familia Clubs founded by the schools, and the health committee formed by the integrated health center; second, the branches of national organizations such as the Lions Club, the Firemen's Brigade and the Amas de Casa Clubs; third, the Boards of Education, Health and Sports and the Municipal Council; and finally, temporary VOs established to carry out a specific project to help the community. For example, the Sociedad Pro Mejoras de Macaracas was formed in order to help the integrated health center get started. The association went out of existence after it had taken care of a location for the center.^{1/}

In the largest metropolitan areas, on the other hand, it is rare that you find a VO which is directly involved in government decision-making. Almost invariably in the largest cities, the VOs role is that of a kind of pressure group to exert its influence for change or reform on the government agencies. Of course, these VOs do not include self-expressive or service-oriented groups, but rather the instrumental/purpose issue types.

Examples of voluntary groups which have unique relationships with government institutions follows: In Brazil, the Panelinha has served as a link of stability between successive governments. It is an informal voluntary group but strongly tied together by a web of cooperative relationships. There are or have been such groups at all levels of the government structure in Brazil. A typical Panelinha includes a business man, an accountant, a banker, a customs official, an insurance man and one or more legislators. At the municipal level, ties are established with the juridical political hierarchy which reaches up to the top level of government in the country. Ties are of many kinds and each tie has its reciprocal set of relationships. As indicated above, the Panelinha helps to overcome the discontinuity from one formal government of Brazil to the next, providing a certain amount of systematic continuity and stability. ^{1/}

-----Another is Fundacomun in Venezuela. It was founded in 1961 as a voluntary group to assist in improving government at local levels. As a community development foundation, it has assisted in the development of the structure and practice of local administration in Venezuela.

-----In Guatemala, INFOM was founded in 1957 as a type of intermediary credit and technical assistance association, a pioneer among municipal credit institutions in the Western Hemisphere. Objectives: the training and development of human resources at the local level of municipal government. ^{2/}

-----Dominican Republic, LIGA, an association to assist at municipal levels of government. Requirement: local participation must be involved and show significant interest before any project is undertaken. Technical assistance is available for budgeting, personnel training, administration, etc. It also makes credit available when justification is given.

-----Ghana, Farmers' Cooperative Marketing ^{1/}, became joint manager of the cocoa industry in Ghana (marketing). Following a dispute with the Government's Marketing Board, the cooperative was given sole rights to buy all cocoa from producers. By this arrangement, however, it forfeited its voluntary position in the country, at least to some degree.

With the exception of Panelinha, all of the five associations listed above have more or less of a partnership arrangement with the government. An outstanding exception, a voluntary association which is strictly non-government is the Instituto Brasileiro De Administracao Municipal (IBAM). In fact, IBAM probably is unique in the annals of the history of voluntarism in Latin America. It is non-profit but principally funded by its own activities and membership plus grants and contracts other than the Government of Brazil. It is non-political with objective primarily to strengthen municipal government institutions. To the extent that it is successful in re-enforcing local government in the face of extreme centralizing tendencies of the national government, it is one of the best countervailing forces in the country to the powerful central government.

E. Development---The Process of Change Role of Voluntarism in LDCs:---

If the instrumental/public issue voluntary is development-oriented its major purpose for society is to bring about change in support of the development process. With the new and expanded role of some of the service associations who, by goal succession, have shifted primary goals from welfare of a palliative-type nature to assistance affording long-run betterment and development, they can now be shifted to the public issue/instrumental category, and promote development (low-key). For these groups, the shift to development did not involve a very great increase in outlay----mainly it required better planning and programming and a shift in emphasis from short to long run objectives with some significant steps in rationalization of logistics.

No matter which of the three groups the association falls under, if it is so minded, it can make a significant contribution. For the neutral-type, its job is simply to inform the people of their rights as citizens, disseminating such information by the most up-to-date channels of communication at its disposal. This alone constitutes a valuable contribution considering the fact that so few of the lower classes in the LDCs have any idea of what citizenship means.

The low-pressure agencies, working from within the structure of government using low key approaches, sometimes or even in most cases, will achieve more than the radical group unless the government is weak and permits change because it is afraid of the consequences at the hands of a dissatisfied populace aroused by the rabble, so to speak.

Unfortunately, just working at the grass roots doesn't get an indigenous LDC-VO far in achieving its end, unless it is a local objective. A multiplier effect stemming from a very successful pilot operation conceivably could result ultimately in an important change if enough communities reproduce the innovation. A more expeditious route in the change process usually requires involvement of decision-making authorities at the highest levels possible at the outset. Naturally not many VO possess the kind of external dynamic formula which is needed to influence not only the local government, but the provincial and eventually the national authorities as well. Depending on the conditions and type of change involved, one or more government ministries must be sold on the change and consider that a favorable cost/benefit ratio can be delivered by the change to the people within a reasonable time period.

With some embellishments, (written agreements, government contractual arrangements, detailed planning of inputs, transport, labor, etc.) the "Partnership Development Program" instructs community leaders by demonstration on the spot in how to proceed under the above formula. This is the strategy of CARE, calling for immediate involvement of local groups, the highest level of the government necessary to provide long-range support for regional, or even national-scale programs eventually, (the government as well as the locality contracts to be responsible for specific inputs of labor, transport, materials, equipment, etc.) with CARE also providing some of the equipment, plus the supervisory knowhow needed to make the project tick; to be completely successful, the government must be agreeable to replication and local people trained and

and prepared to carry the ball, help with supervision, knowhow, etc., in the replication or reproduction of the project activity.

The usual procedure for an indigenous VO is, of course, far less ambitious and lacks the long-range, and mass production concepts. The Lions Club in Panama has many voluntary local branches, the sole purposes being to render service to the community where the branch is located. Focussing for a moment on the town of Macaracas, we find that the Lions Club raised the funds through donations to build a library in 1967 on land that someone had donated for library purposes back in 1942. The Club is very active in the health field, and in various infrastructure activities. In carrying out its projects, the Lions Club uses the following tactics:

1. Lions Club Health/Nutrition Program (Panama)

The local branch of the Lions Club acts as a link between the need and the elite (local) in the community to initiate the program. The activity is sold to the upper strata as a prestige move for the community -- a health delivery system would enhance the area as a sign of progress and civic pride. To the grass roots people needing the service most urgently, it was "sold" because it would help in the control of disease, and furthermore, save a ten mile walk to the nearest health center for medicine, etc.

In the nutrition phase of the program the Lions Club helped sponsor the Comedor Pre-Escolar, (a feeding program for pre-school children) with PL 480 Title II **food** distributed through CRS/Caritas with the Club providing a cook and assisting in transportation.

NOTE: There are four categories of associations in Macaracas district: First, Organs of the Municipal Council, Boards of Education, of Health and of Sports; second: branches of the organic affiliates of national organizations such as the Lions Club, the Cattlemen's Association Chapter, the Firemen's Voluntary Brigade, and the Amas de Casa Clubs; Third: Padres

(Continued bottom p.38)

Organized as it is on a national basis, the Lions Club has the potential of becoming an issues-oriented, instrumental type association, using its national connections, while maintaining its service-orientation at the local base. Many group expressive VOs ~~have~~ this potential power combination -- public issue functions at central headquarters (the highest level of a fraternal, professional or labor organization) concomitant with service-orientation at local branch levels, which, of course, cooperate with higher levels as appropriate.^{1/}

2. Social Change Process in Rarotonga (Cook Islands)

Prior to the 1950's there were no organized adult education programs in the Cook Islands. Rarotonga Sports Association was indirectly responsible for establishing voluntary education association groups in all the villages of Rarotonga. (This is the main administrative island in the Cook Islands groups.) Early in 1952, after completely voluntary organizational activities over a six months period, every village had a voluntary education association which offered classes one night a week in the village school buildings along the following lines: literacy for older people, advanced classes for recent drop-outs, health and welfare lessons, educational films plus social activities. Eventually, voluntary sub-committees (youth, social, grounds and finance) were organized and voluntary activities expanded to include: arts and crafts, a library, medical clinic, carpenter workshop and kitchen. ^{2/}

Conclusion: -- A striking example of what community voluntary spirit can accomplish by voluntary labor, voluntary funding, with people of all levels and of all religious denominations cooperating side by side to effect numerous outward/overt

(Cont. from p.37) improvements in the community. There are many social and de Familia Clubs, founded by the schools, and the voluntary health committee formed by the Integrated Health Center; Fourth: Spontaneous voluntary groups organized to meet a need such as the four improvement committees in Llanco de Piedra. ^{1/}

economic changes of a manifest nature, but latent changes also resulted from the voluntary spirit manifested in the Cook Islands, including subtle social integration functions individual and group-type skills and capabilities.^{1/}

One of the later group activities which also occurred on Rarotonga, not covered above involved the voluntary organization of cooperative buying groups and other types of cooperatives. This leads to a brief discussion of: - - - - -

3. Cooperatives -- Role in Change Process:

In some LDCs such as Uganda and in parts of Central America cooperatives have had more or less economic impact on the total economy, but the effect upon the processes of social change have probably been more general and possibly more dynamic in terms of the development process. Before the advent of the cooperative, the small peasant farmer was helpless in most cases. An organized group of peasants, however, is a force to be reckoned with. In the experience of learning to meet together, make decisions as a group, and then work together to implement the decisions they have made, the small farmers act as change agents in the community. The sociological impact takes place in the village first, having an impact on the peasant. For the first time in his life he may have something to say about his role in society, by his gaining at least a small degree of control over the forces which previously had used him as a pawn or tool with little or no influence in the decision-making machinery dominated by the elite of the village. Even if the cooperative fails economically they are not always successful and neither are profit-making groups --

a tiny nucleous fire, a miniscule part of a social revolution, has probably been started, because the peasant now realizes and appreciates the fact that he has certain rights and privileges; that he is a citizen with a role to play in political processes. As his group gains a little more experience, he may also find that economic forces are not willed by God and the elite decision makers.

(b) Flexibility: A little more flexible social and economic structure is another key result in the change process as initiated by cooperative development. Flexibility increases as cooperatives at the primary level band with others at the regional and eventually the national level. The structure, frozen in its traditional trappings, becomes mobile as the stranglehold of those controlling the supply of inputs need by the farmer for production, as well as transport, storage, marketing, etc., is broken. By organizing institutions in these various areas, the successful cooperative movement may be the instrument of social and economic change to bring about the horizontal and vertical flexibility needed to further the development process. If this were as easy as it sounds, including penetration of the credit system by credit union cooperatives, vigorous efforts in the technical assistance field by U.S. and third country as well as international organizations in the cooperative movement would not be necessary.

While the cooperative instrument, when successfully utilized, is as influential as any, it is needless to say that other voluntary organizations exist in the developing countries which are also powerful as agents of flexibility in the change process. Several have been mentioned above. Another is the VO, DESMI.

In a remarkably short period, less than a decade, 400,000 Indians in the state of Hidalgo, Mexico, converted their pre-biblical culture to a stage of development far above primitive levels. DESMI spearheaded this structural change bringing a significant element of flexibility into the economic, social and cultural institutions of the Otomi Indians. Mexican businessmen provided leadership and some local funding supplemented by a consortium of voluntary organizations and AID who also provided financing and technical aid.

(b.) Effect on Contemporary Culture:

To what extent does the cooperative make a contribution to the development of contemporary culture? The multi-faceted program of the cooperative movement, with its broad horizontal multipliers attacking the basic roots of the social and economic elements of the rural areas, penetrates the sociological framework of community, combined with a more or less intensive influence upon various micro-economic targets of the local groups. Those movements which are firmly entrenched in the society when they are organized into regional associations and national federations, and quite frequently international organizations, make an indelible impression upon the macro-social and macro-economic fibre of the country with indispensable contributions to the contemporary culture molding it with gradual but powerful pressures. This is also conceivable for other instrumental-type voluntary associations we have mentioned thus far, but it is possible that the cooperative is as development-oriented as any of the instrumental/public issue type organizations and has a potential for greater influence upon the social and economic as well as cultural fabric of the society than most.

F. The Pluralistic Role in the LDC

Not the least important function of the VO in the LDCs is its role in the preservation of a plural society. This includes both social and economic. It is active in preventing monopolistic conditions on the economic side, for example, a forceful contribution toward competitive business and industrial climates in the economy is attributed to some VOs, especially the cooperative in say, the fertilizer field -- the effect of the cooperative is on the vertical structure tending to preserve competition in many cases at all levels of production, distribution and consumption of this vital farm supply input, the normal pluralistic role is to act as a countervailing force or influence upon the government by

power distribution.

When the Federal Government is isolated from the interests of the masses with no mediating linkages to intervene on behalf of the individual, there is more possibility for a strong government to become overly autocratic or authoritarian in its control of the people. Voluntary agencies may serve as the link, but if the federal agency is very powerful and firmly in the saddle, the VO must be the focal point for a strong unified pressure-oriented association with considerable vigor or it will not be equal to the task of acting as a countervailing force to protect the rights of the individual. Limiting the power of a repressive central government may be done by creating strong centers of power in secondary groups such as VOs or possibly in the local or regional segment of the government, assuming that one or both of these centers of power may be established. At any rate what is needed to preserve pluralism in the society, among other things, is a two-way process of communication penetrating through the social structure and political system up to the central command of the elite decision-making apparatus. A VO can assist in this two-way linkage when it has created a consensus of opinion and a strong unified organization. 1/

FOOTNOTES

PAGE AND NUMBER

1.
 1. Addressing the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Historian Arnold Toynbee said: "Thanks to your work for the Indians, the terrific impact of modern material civilization upon their life is being eased, so that their encounter with the modern world may perhaps have a happy ending."
2.
 1. See Lord Beveridge, Voluntary Action, A Report on Methods of Social Advance, London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1948, pp. 121-186; and A.F.C. Bourdillon, (Ed.), Voluntary Social Services, Their Place in the Modern State, Methuen & Co. Ltd. London, 1945, pp. 26-30; 298-306.
3.
 1. Sherwood Fox, Voluntary Associations, Harvard Doctoral Dissertation, 1953
4.
 1. C. W. Gordon and W. Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations" American Sociological Review 1959:22-29
 2. Technical School Old Boys' Club in Atbara, Sudan, is expressive at the local level, primarily; at national level, it has social and economic aims putting it in the public issue class at the national headquarters. (See Saad Ed Din Fawzi, The Labour Movement in the Sudan, Oxford Press, London, 1957; pp. 34-44.
5.
 1. Georges Balandier, "Afrique Ambigue" Les Temps Modernes, XII, p. 71; quoted in Coleman and Rosberg's Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa. (See below)
8.
 1. JCRR (Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction) is difficult to classify not only because of the Sino-American jointness (incidentally still continuing) but also because of its peculiar relationship to the GRC. It is a quasi-government group, but has a remarkable record in organizing farmers' associations as well as other outstanding accomplishments. The RETSER group mentioned on p.6 (bottom of page) was given considerable assistance by JCRR.
11.
 1. Although the research studies on voluntarism in primitive societies has been somewhat sporadic in nature, it is believed that the need for formal voluntary organizations greatly expands at the loss of basic primitive institutions and the security provided the migrant before he departed the village for the city. The basic weakening of the primitive institutions also occurs in the village with social and economic changes taking place. See Wallerstein, Immanuel, Voluntary Associations, Chapter 8 of Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa, U. Of C. Press, L.A. 1964

12.
 1. W. Cameron Townsend, They Found a Common Language, Community Through Bilingual Language Education, Harper & Row, New York and London, 1972. The latest book by the founder of Summer Institute of Linguistics; also other publications of the institute.
13.
 1. Smith, David Horton; Richard K. Reddy, and Burt R. Baldwin, (Eds.) Voluntary Action Research: 1972. Lexington, Mass. : Lexington Books, D. C. Heath and Co. 1972. Types of Volunteers and Voluntarism, by David Horton Smith, Director of Research, Center for a Voluntary Society, 1972. David H. Smith, Research and Communication Needs in Voluntary Action, Occasional Paper No. 2, Center for a Voluntary Society, Washington, D.C. 1972. Much of the theory underlying the relationship between the change processes involved in Development as correlated with the growth of voluntarism is attributable to Professor Smith and the Center for a Voluntary Society where he is the Director of Research. The material in this section on Voluntarism and the stages of development is mostly based on the research of Professor Smith as noted herein.
14.
 1. Wallerstein, op. cit. p. 328.
17.
 1. The assumption here is that other constraints of a socio-economic or cultural nature do not offer significant barriers to the growth of voluntarism.
18.
 1. Stephen A. Douglas, "Voluntary Associational Structure in Malaysia; Some Implications for Political Participation" The Journal of Voluntary Action Research, Volume I, Number 1, Winter Issue, January 1972, pp. 24-38.
19.
 1. See my paper on the Ugandan Cooperative Movement, a study made for the Local Action Capability Task Force of A.I.D., chaired by TAB.
20.
 1. A.F.C. Bourdillon, op. cit. pp. 298-306.
23.
 1. Fenner Brockway, African Socialism, The Bodley Head, London, 1963, p. 67.
 2. Immanuel Wallerstein, op. cit., p. 322.
26.
 1. Fenner Brockway, African Socialism, op. cit. p.67
27.
 1. Stephen A. Douglas, Op. cit. pp. 30-34
33.
 1. J.W. Green and Jose Raul Garcia de Paredes, Paramanian District, A case Study in the Sociology of Development, USAID to Panama, July 1969, pp. 141-9

34.

1. Anthony Leeds, "Brazilian Careers and Social Structure: An Evolutionary Model and Case History," American Anthropologist, Dec. 1964, p. 1321.
2. J. Miller and R. A. Gakenheimer (Eds) Latin American Urban Policies and the Social-Sciences, Sage Pub. Co. Beverly Hills, Cal. 1971, p. 225.

34A.

1. Anthony Giddons, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory, Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 101

38.

1. J.W. Green, op.cit. pp. 141-149
2. Clarence King, Working with People in Small Communities, Harper & Bros. New York, 1958, pp. 93-101

39.

42. 1. Ibid.

1. Earle Lippincott and Elling Aannestad, "Management of Voluntary Welfare Agencies", Harvard Business Review, November-December 1964, pp. 87-95.

Colin Bell and Howard Newby, Community Studies, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1971, pp. 229-252.

The following references also contain related materials:

E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World, New York: Alfred A. Knopf: 1957, Chapter 10.

Victor A. Olorunsola (Ed.), The Politics of Cultural Sub-Nationalism in Africa, 1972, Chapters on Nigeria, Uganda, Sierra Leone and Kenya, Respectively, Chapters I, II, III and IV.

Charles J. Erasmus, Man Takes Control, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1961, Case Study on Cultural Development in Northwestern Mexico, Chapters 9 to 12.

Rudolf Bicanic, Turning Points in Economic Development, Mouton, The Hague, Paris, 1972, Chapter 5.

Margaret Mead, "Pattern of Worldwide Cultural Change in the 1960s" and Melvin M. Tumin, "Social Stratification and Social Mobility in the Development Process" in Social Problems of Development and Urbanization, U.S. Papers for UN Conference on Science and Technology for LDC Areas, Volume VII.

Bernard Barber and Alex Inkeles, (Eds.) Stability and Social Change, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1971; Chapter on Stability and Change in Ethnic-Group Relations by H. M. Johnson, pp. 311-357.

Study of Cross-National Comparisons as related to voluntary associations:

See: James Curtis, "Voluntary Association Joining: A Cross-National Comparison", American Sociological Review, 1971: volume 36:872.