

UNIVERSITAT POMPEU FABRA

Department of Political and Social Sciences

**Global Citizenship Education:**  
Study of the ideological bases, historical  
development, international dimension, and values  
and practices of World Scouting

*by*

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## 2. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WOSM (1924-2004)

Having looked at the figures of World Scouting, I would like to use this chapter to illustrate the evolution of one of its world organizations, the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM)<sup>27</sup> – the first to be established (1920) – from 1924, when it published its first membership census, to 2004. Once again, the main source of the information used were the census archives of the World Scout Bureau in Geneva, with the help of its Statistics Unit. To eliminate peaks, when no data was available for a given year, I opted to use the data for the previous year. I have taken the world censuses of 1932 to 1936, which do not exist in the World Scout Bureau archives, from the annual reports of the Boy Scouts Association UK – kept in the association's archive. In all events, none of the data prior to 1990 had been computer-processed.

I therefore had to collate the available information, process it on computer and detect possible errors. This resulted in the databases mentioned previously: the 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004', which includes the overall censuses of children, youths, leaders and adults for each country, and the 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004', which includes the censuses for each country broken down into three age ranges and excluding leaders and adults. The only major gap in the data is from 1939 to 1946, during World War II, in which the world organization had minimum staff levels and the censuses were not updated. This chapter also analyses the evolution in the participation of different countries in the World Scout conferences using data from the reports submitted by the World Bureau to the respective conferences, which were processed in my 'Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002' database. The evolution in youth participation in world jamborees has been analysed using the World Scout Bureau's 'World Scout Jamboree' data set, version 1.4.

This chapter analyses all of the available censuses of the World Organization of the Scout Movement, from the first, published in 1924, to the last (dated February 2006), which is from 2004, excluding 1939 to 1946 since no censuses were conducted during this period. There are four parts to the historical analysis of the WOSM censuses. Firstly, the evolution in member countries and, hence, its geographical presence, grouped into continental regions and contrasted against the list of independent states for each year. Secondly, the evolution in numbers of members, both regionally and worldwide. This evolution is broken down into three age ranges from 1968 onwards. Thirdly, the participation of member countries in world conferences, which are its main decision-making body, in order to determine the weight of individual continental regions at the body's meetings: every two years up to 1985 and every three years thereafter. And fourthly, the participation of young people from the different countries in Jamborees, which are World Scouting's biggest international meetings, held on a regular basis since 1920. They are also the most relevant world meetings of which reliable computer-processed data is available.

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<sup>27</sup> It was called the 'Boy Scouts International Bureau' from 1920 to 1973.

For the overall historical evolution, I used the *Correlates of War Project* database<sup>28</sup> mentioned earlier as the reference matrix of countries existing since 1920. This has enabled me to illustrate the parallel evolution of the number of WOSM member countries and independent states. The data processed would allow for quick analysis of the interaction between the evolution of the WOSM census in each country and wars or the introduction or fall of democracy, though it has not been studied in this research. This is possible for wars thanks to the fact that the *Correlates of War Project* contains a database of the war/peace situation of each country. For democracy, the data set of political regimes by Boix and Rosato (2001)<sup>29</sup> is used, also based on the list of independent states of the *Correlates of War Project*. The reason for this comparison is to see whether what Hilary St George Saunders<sup>30</sup> notes in his historic work on the significant growth of Scouting just after World War II is true of other wars. It will also reveal whether the fact that Scouting is found in democratic regions has implications, whether positive or negative, on its growth.

The unit of analysis in this section are countries that have been WOSM members between 1922 and 2004. The following variables or features have been observed for these countries:

- a) Geographical region to which it belongs (Africa, North America, South America, Asia, Europe and Oceania), using the United Nations database<sup>31</sup> (see Appendix 4);
- b) That it was an independent state, in accordance with the definition of Russett *et al.* (1968) and Small & Singer (1980);
- c) Membership of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM, called "Boy Scouts International Bureau" until 1973), and for each member country and year:
  - c.1) the total number of WOSM members (from 1924 to 2004);
  - c.2) the presence of the member country at World Scout conferences (1924-2002);
  - c.3) the presence of the member country at world Jamborees (1924-2002),
  - c.4) the number of members attending world Jamborees (approximate figure).

A descriptive analysis of the data has been carried out in line with the objectives of the study and of this section in particular. Each point describes the methodology used in more detail.

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<sup>28</sup> *Correlates of War Project*. 2004. "State System Membership List, v2004.1". February 2005. Online, <http://correlatesofwar.org>.

<sup>29</sup> Carles BOIX and Sebastian ROSATO: 'A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes, 1800-1999'. Department of Political Science, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 2001.

<sup>30</sup> ST. GEORGE SAUNDERS, 1949: 246-7.

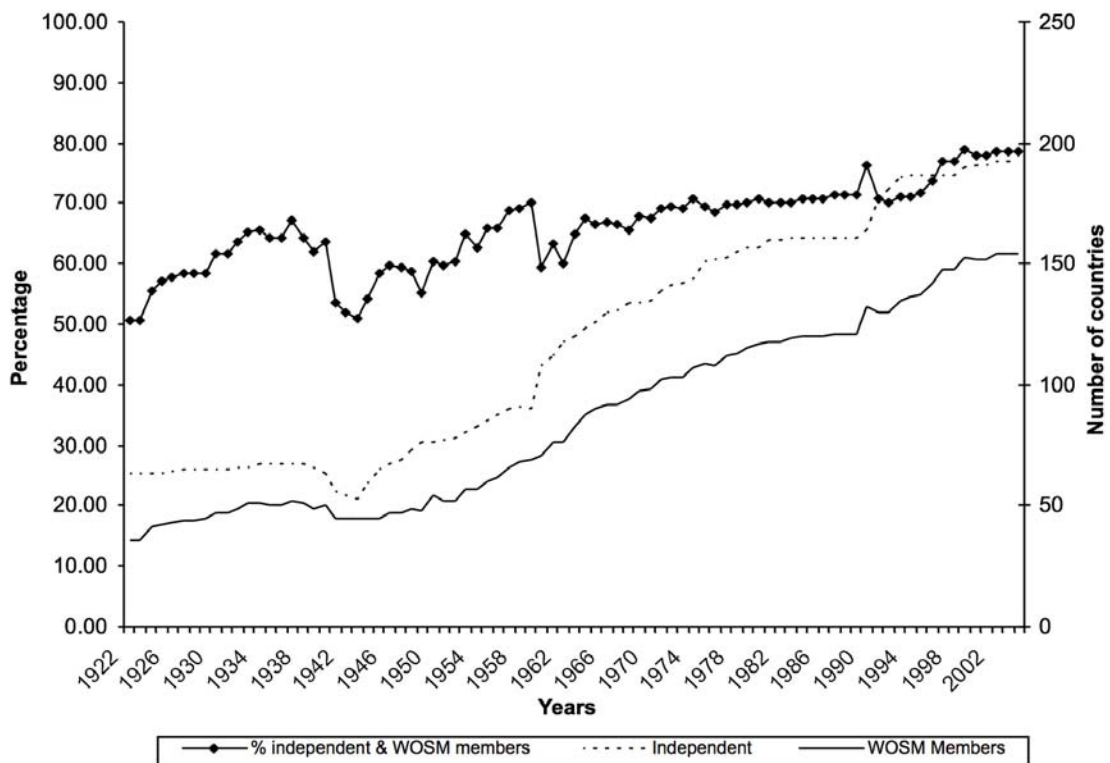
<sup>31</sup> United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical Supplement (1948-1997).

## 2.1. Member Countries

This section takes into account all countries that were WOSM members between 1924 and 2004 and observes whether they were independent states or not by comparing them with the *Correlates of War Project* for each year. The percentage of independent countries that were WOSM members was calculated for the comparison. The results are shown in Figure 23.

Over the years, there have been some WOSM member countries that were not independent states. For more detailed information on these countries, see the 'WOSM Census data Set, 1924-2004' database (Appendix 5). For each, the table indicates whether or not it was an independent country between 1924 and 2004 (if not, it is highlighted in green), whether or not it was a WOSM member (if numerical data are not available) and lastly, the number of members ('0' indicates that the country is listed as a WOSM member, but no data have been found).

Figure 23. Independent countries, WOSM membership and Scout censuses, 1924-2004.



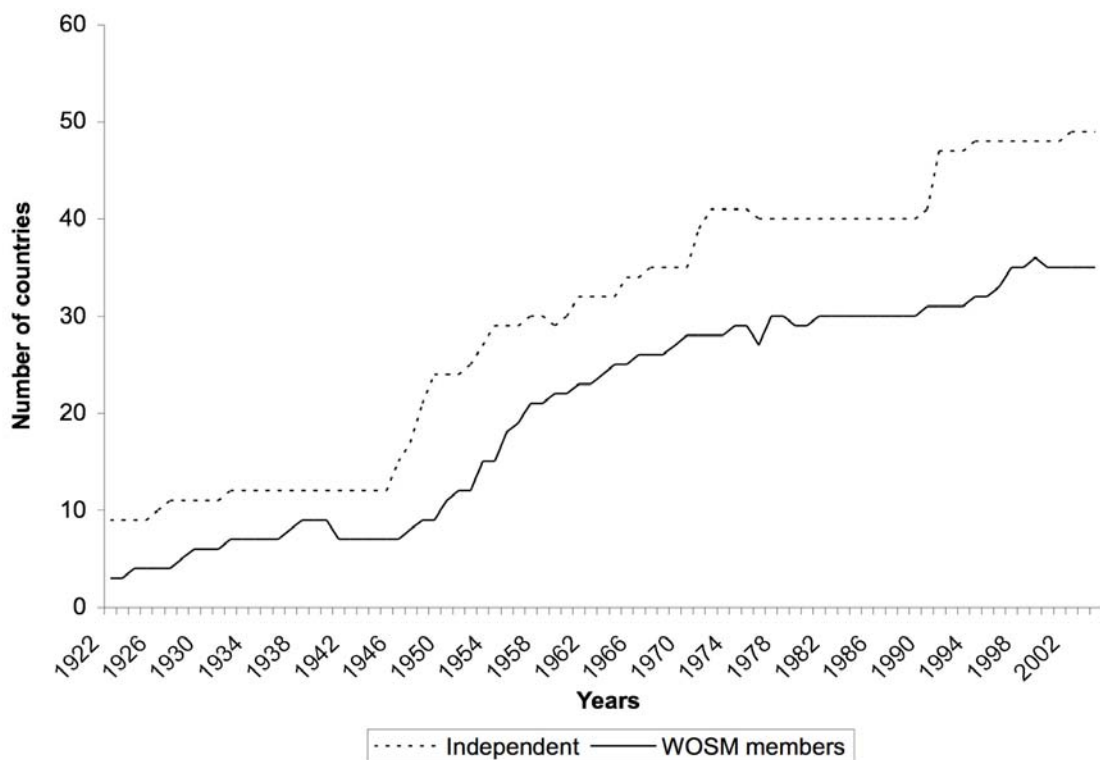
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 23 shows that the number of WOSM member countries has increased over the years almost in parallel to the number of independent states in the world. The important differences, such as the World War II period (during which the number of countries falls) or the decolonization period (in the 1960s) and the fall of the Soviet Union (early 1990s), occur in parallel. The percentage of independent states that are WOSM members illustrates the consistency of this parallelism. Interestingly, the

percentage of WOSM members increases from 50% to 70% up until 1940 and from 1945 to 1960, the start of decolonization. Nonetheless, from 1960 to the 1990s, membership remains fairly stable at around 70%. In 1990, just after the fall of the Berlin wall, there is another increase in independent states, which brings with it an increase in the number of WOSM members. The percentage levels off again until 1995. It then continues to rise until it reaches almost 80% in 2004.

It has already been pointed out<sup>32</sup> how, though it was founded in the biggest empire of the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Scout movement spread around the world and not only in British and French colonies. The increase in member countries during decolonization shows that the international expansion of the Scout Movement extended far beyond the industrialized world. This can be seen more clearly in the results broken down by geographical region. The information provided by the graphs includes the number of WOSM member countries, the number of independent states and the percentage of WOSM members among independent states, taking each region as a reference. This description by regions illustrates the evolution within each region and allows us to compare the percentage of WOSM member countries that are independent states.

Figure 23.1. Number of independent states and WOSM member countries in Asia



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

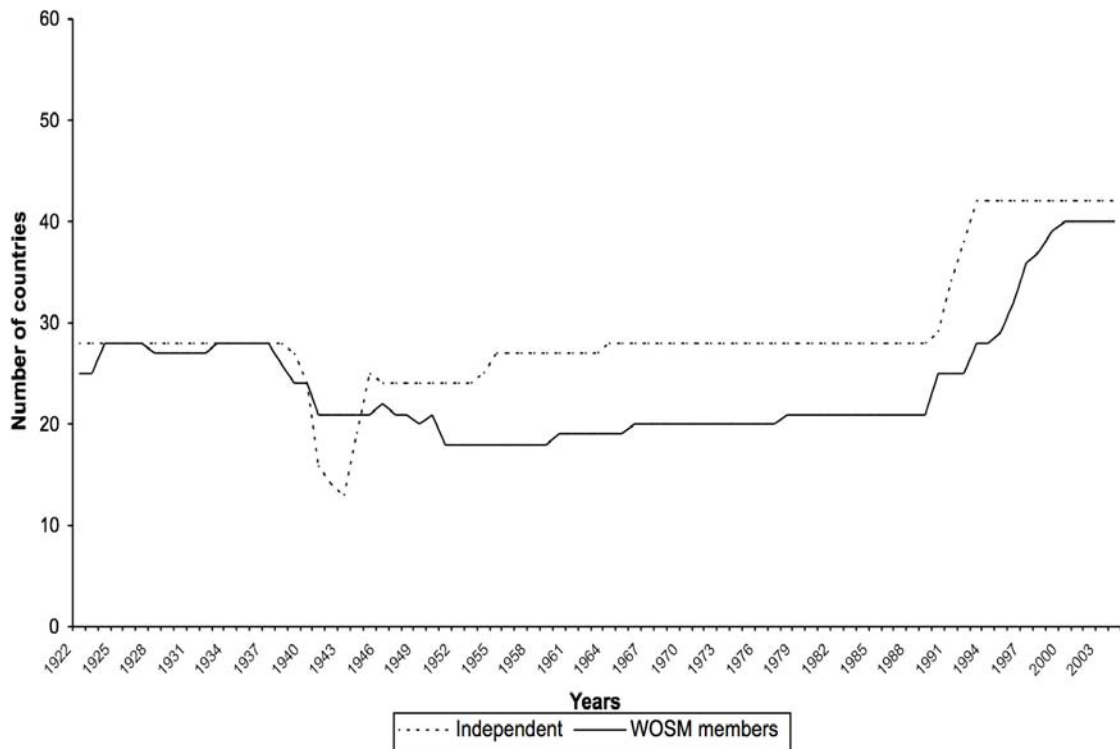
<sup>32</sup> NAGY, 1985; PARSONS, 2004.

Figure 23.2. Number of independent states and WOSM member countries in Africa



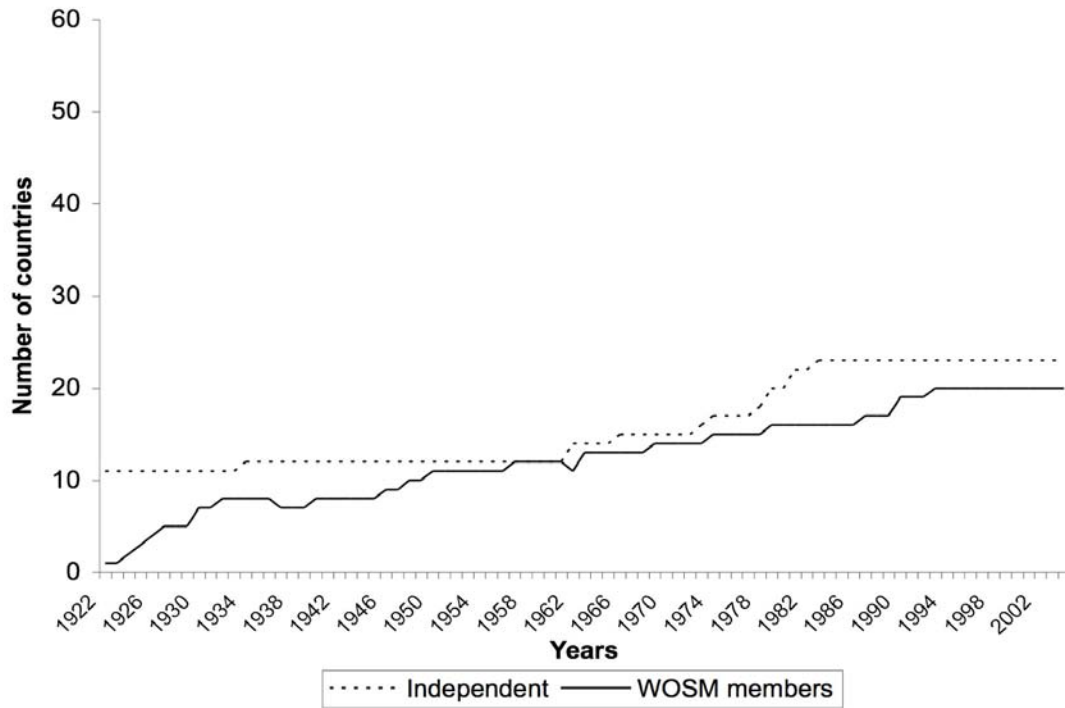
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 23.3. Number of independent states and WOSM member countries in Europe



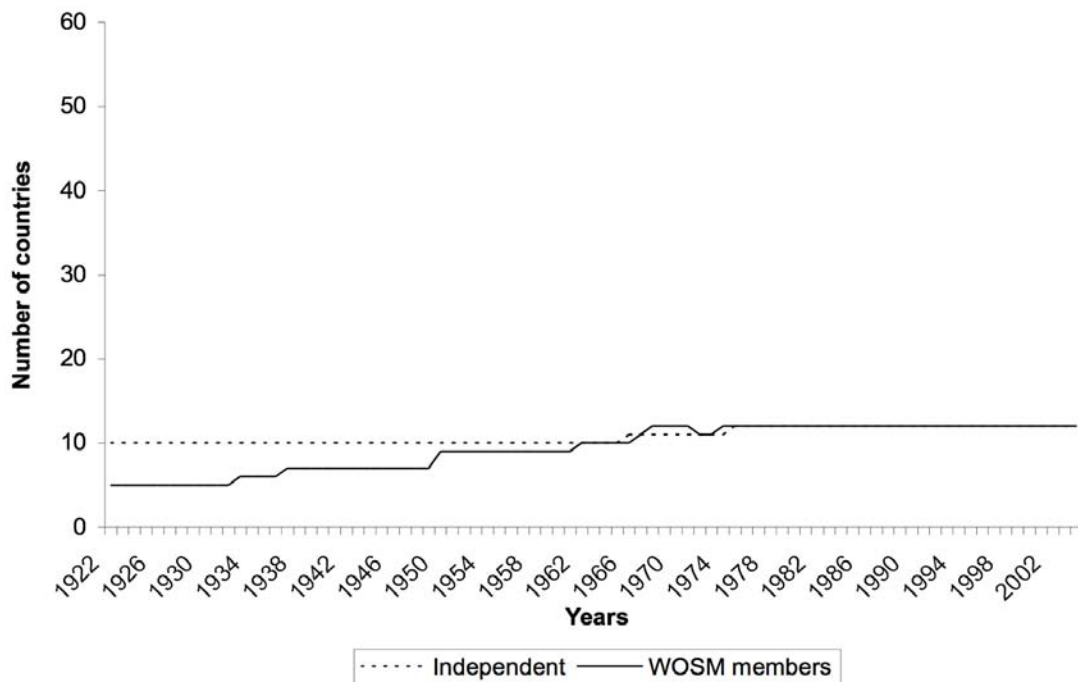
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 23.4. Number of independent states and WOSM member countries in North America



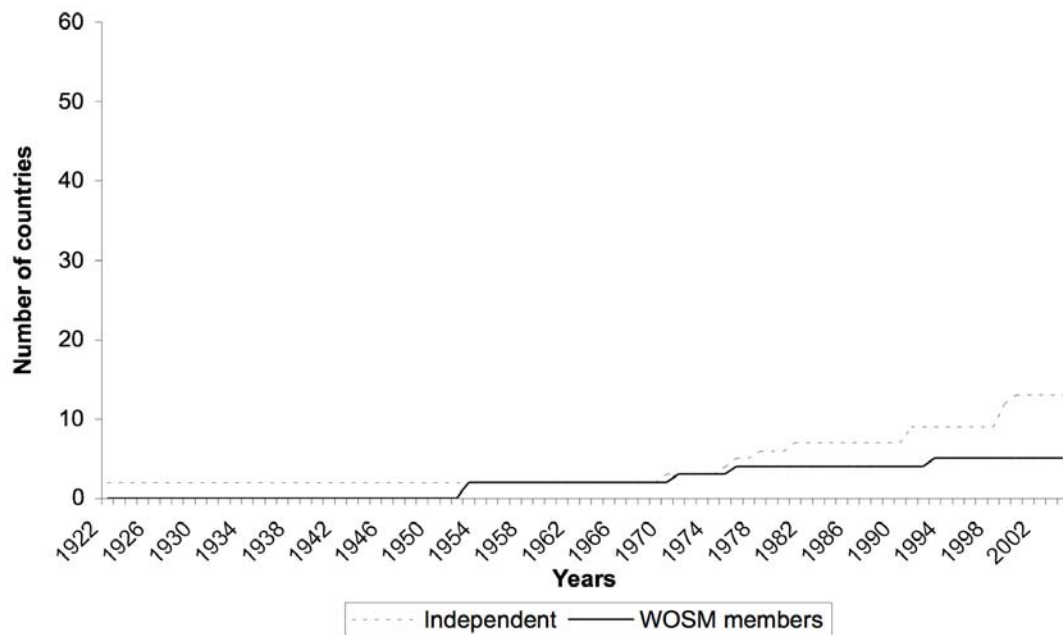
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 23.5. Number of independent states and WOSM member countries in South America



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 23.6. Number of independent states and WOSM member countries in Oceania



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

When we analyse the evolution in the percentages of independent states that are WOSM member countries, by region (Figures 23.1-23.6), we see certain unequal distributions. In particular, we see that Europe shows a similar pattern to the overall one, though with an increase of more than 30% after 1996, reaching 95% in 2004. Additionally, in the 1941-43 period, there are more WOSM member countries than independent countries, which is because *Correlates of War* does not consider seven WOSM member countries to have been independent during these years: Belgium, Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, Iceland, Norway, Netherlands and Poland. There is a general increase in the percentage of members in the North America region up to 1974, reaching 100% in the early 1960s. Nonetheless, after 1974, membership falls to 70%, possibly because of the increased independence of the mini-states in the Caribbean. This percentage increases again in the early 1990s, though much more moderately, reaching 87% in 2004. Distribution in the Africa region is fairly irregular until the early 1960s, when it starts to increase considerably until it covers almost 80% of the percentage of independent states in 2004. In the Asia region, the sharpest percentage increase takes place from the 1950s to 1960. Afterwards, membership remains fairly constant at around 70%. The region that took the longest to incorporate independent countries into WOSM was Oceania. It was not until 1955 that all independent states on this continent became WOSM members. Lastly, we can see an increase in South America sandwiched between periods without change (with the exception of Surinam from 1968 to 1971, which means that there are more members than independent states), until finally, in the early 1970s, it levels off to 100% of the countries.

To sum up, there has been a general increase in the percentage of WOSM member countries in five of the six regions compared to the number of independent states –



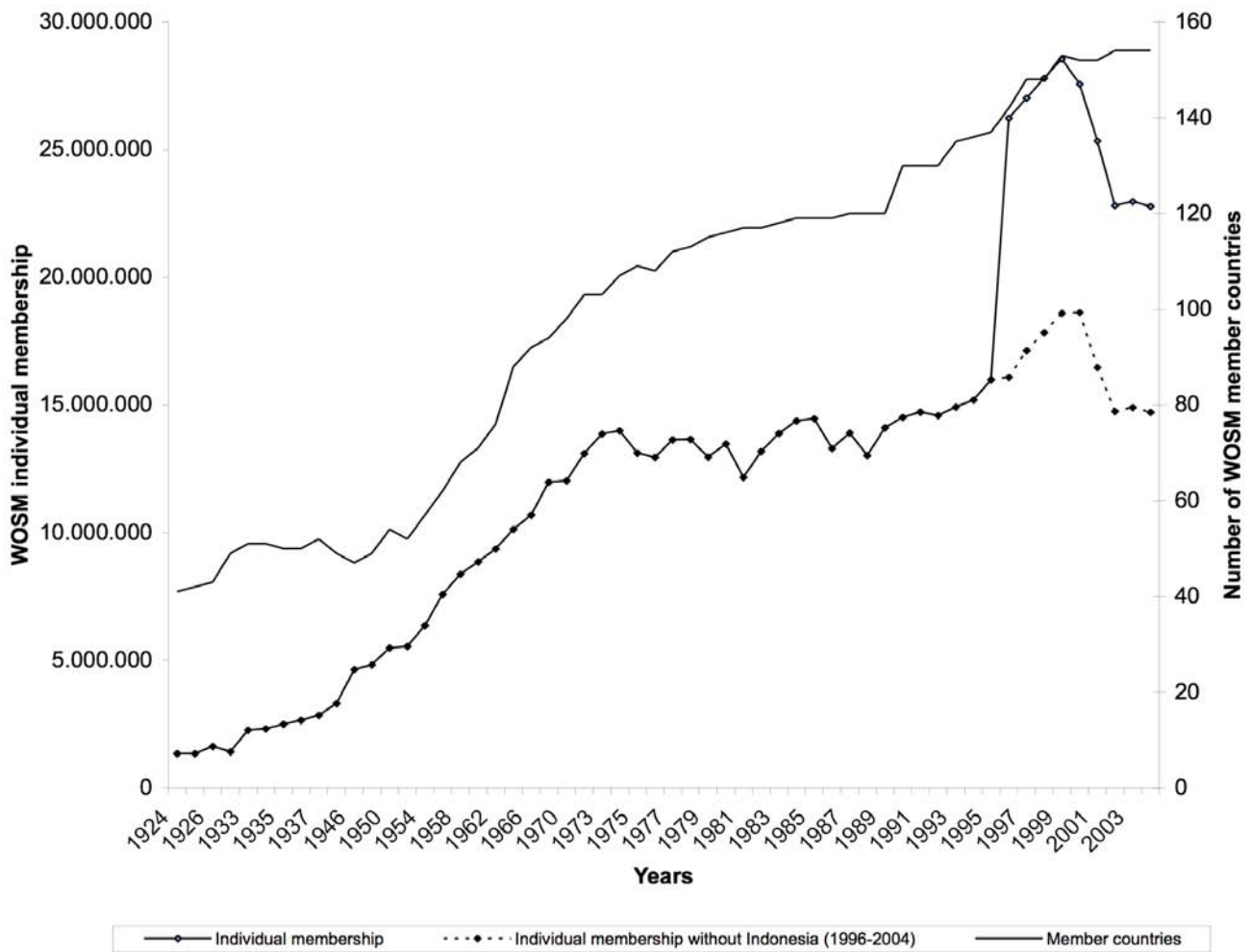
with the sole exception of Oceania. This shows that the international presence of World Scouting has evolved in parallel to the growth in the number of independent states. Nonetheless, we must compare this increase with the census of these countries to confirm that it was not simply an increase in associations and hence not relevant in terms of members. This is the point I will deal with in the next section.

## 2.2. Individual Membership

This section discusses the evolution in the number of WOSM membership between 1924 and 2004 – both youths and Scoutmasters – and compares it with the evolution in the number of member countries of the organization. The graphs are based on the 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004' (Appendix 5). Although the Boy Scouts International Bureau was founded in 1920, it only began to organize itself in 1922, so the first censuses were not published until 1924.

The results are shown for all countries and for each of the regions. Firstly, a graph is provided for all countries, which illustrates the evolution in the number of WOSM member countries and compares it with the evolution in the number of membership reported in the WOSM census. A second graph is then presented for each region, which indicates the evolution in the number of WOSM member countries in each region and the number of WOSM members in the corresponding region. This allows us to analyse the evolution in the number of countries and number of members in each region, albeit with raw data that require a cautious interpretation since they do not take into account the number of inhabitants in each country. The percentages of membership in each region have also been calculated and compared to the total for all countries. This reveals which regions have made the biggest contribution to the total number of membership for all countries.

Figure 24. Evolution in the number of individuals and countries that belong to WOSM



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

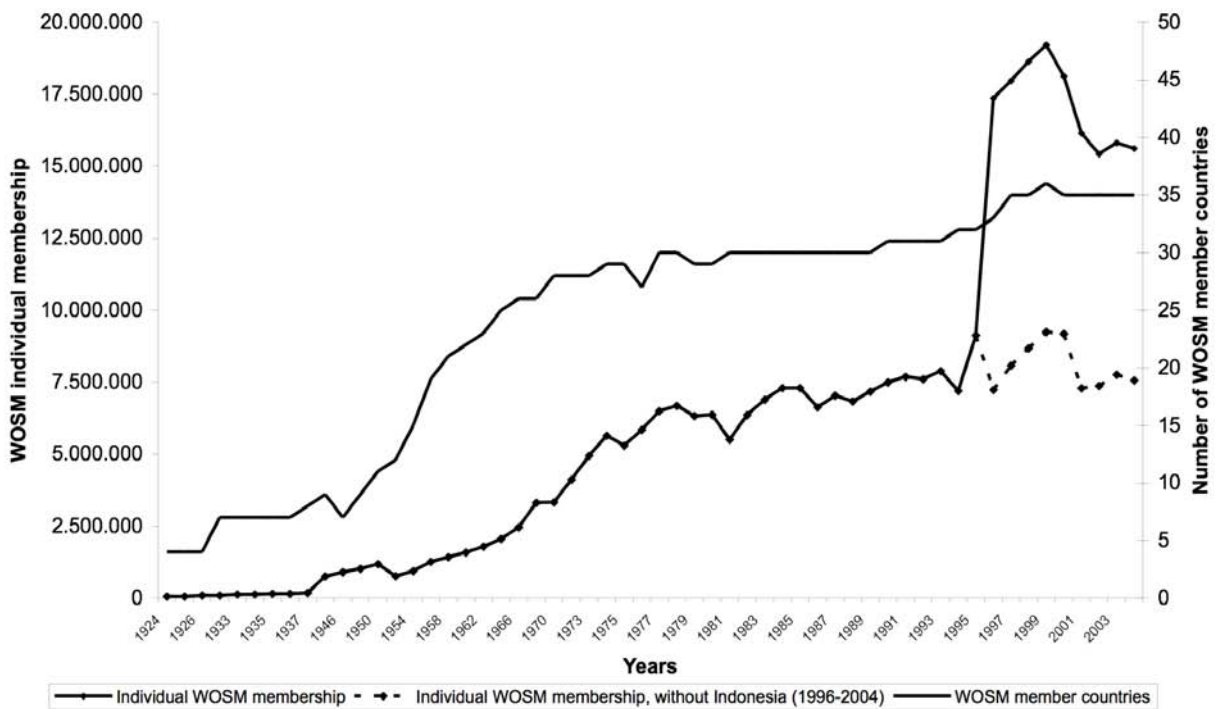
Figure 24 shows that, between 1924 and 2003, the number of WOSM member countries increased from 41 in 1924 to over 154 in 2004. In some periods, the increase was even greater. For example, there was an increase between 1946 and the 1970s, and then the number of countries remained more or less constant until the 1990s, when another slight increase took place.

There was also an increase in members from 1,345,073 in 1924 to 22,772,575 in 2004. As with the number of member countries, the biggest increase in individual members was observed between the 1940s and 1970s. After 1996, a substantial increase was observed in the number of members, which fell again in around 2000. There were also three major changes in the associations in Indonesia, the Philippines and the United States, which have affected the evolution of the WOSM census over the last ten years. In 1995, Indonesia reported a census – consolidated since 1982 – of 2.29 million members, which rose to 10.14 million in 1996 and fell again over the next six years, reaching 8 million members in 2004. In the Philippines, it increased from 2.5 million in 1995 to 3.3 million in 1997, and remained at this level until 2001, when it dropped to 1.89 million, and finally 1.87

in 2004. Lastly, the United States, which had 3.7 million members in 1995 – consolidated over the preceding fifteen years – rose to 5.6 million in 1996 and 6 million members in 1998 before falling again to 4 million members in 2002; these variations are possibly due to the way in which Boy Scouts of America counts its members for the World Scout Bureau.

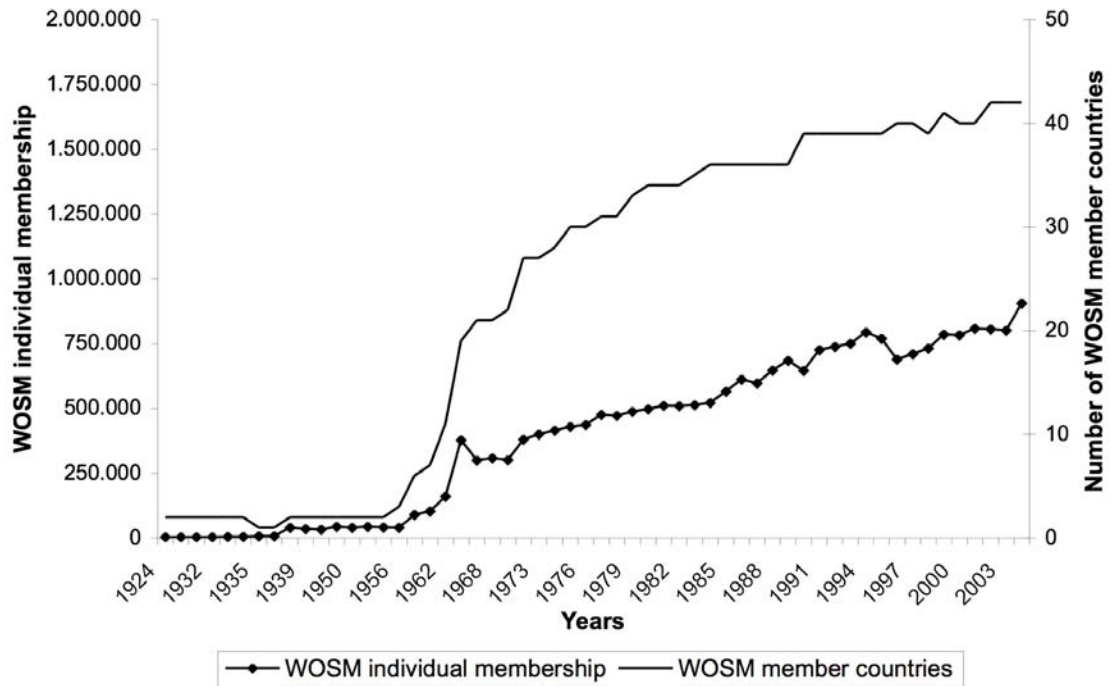
To identify the countries or regions that determine the direction of the evolution in members for all countries, the analysis is stratified by geographical region.

Figure 24.1. Evolution in the number of individual and country WOSM members in Asia



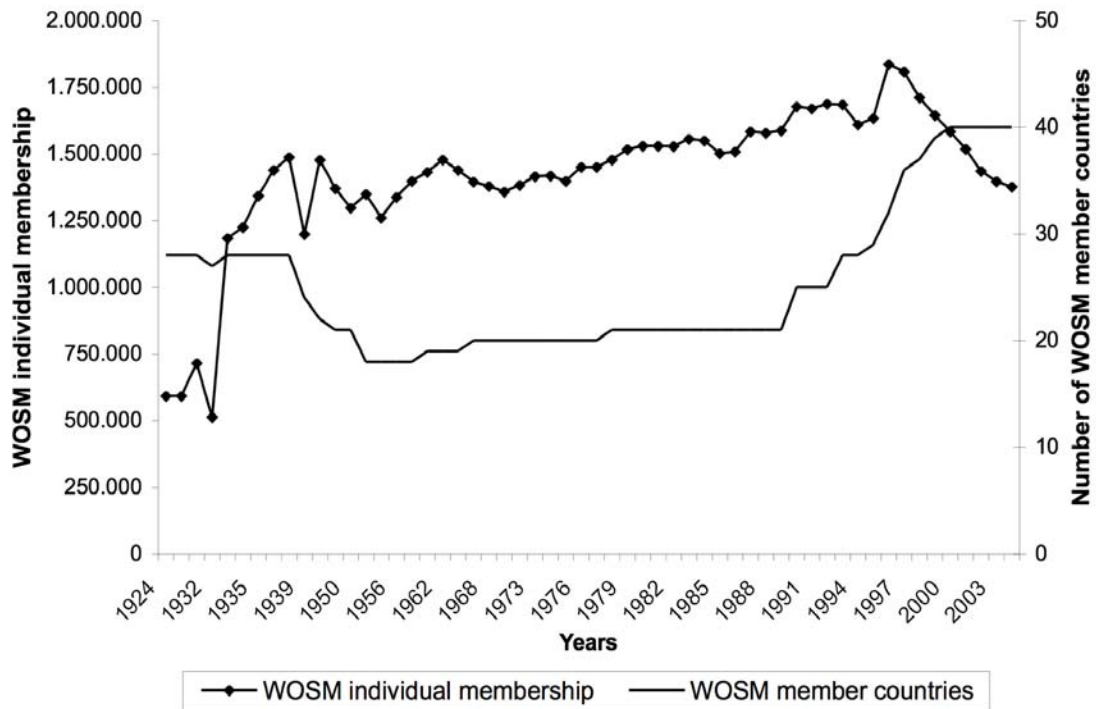
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 24.2. Evolution in the number of individual and country WOSM members in Africa



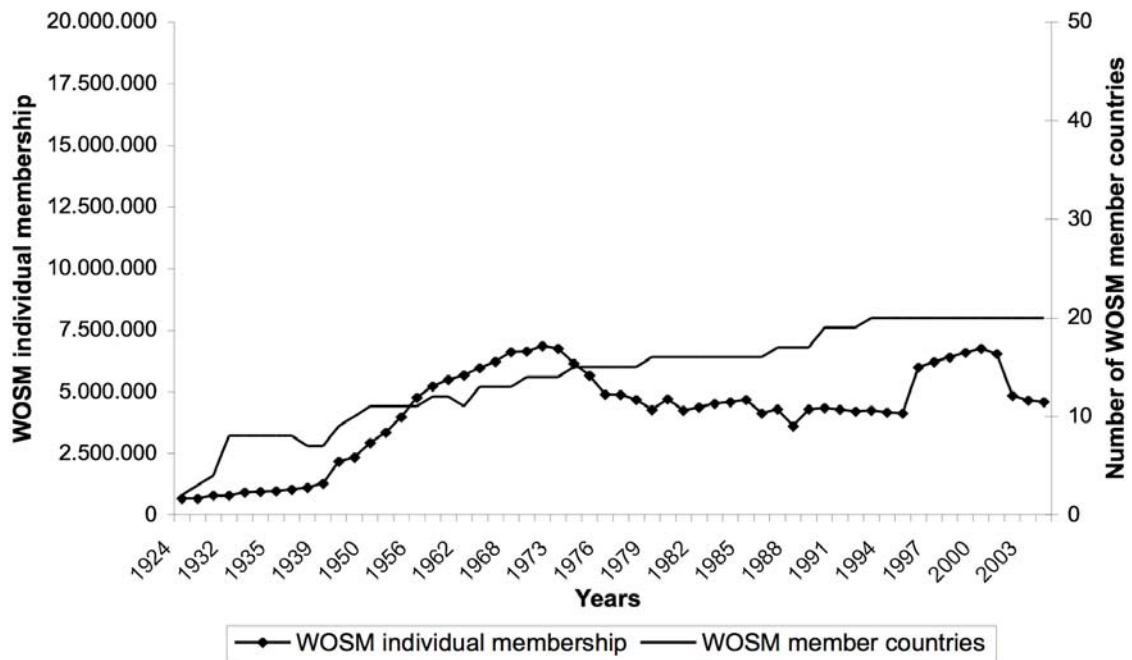
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 24.3. Evolution in the number of individual and country WOSM members in Europe



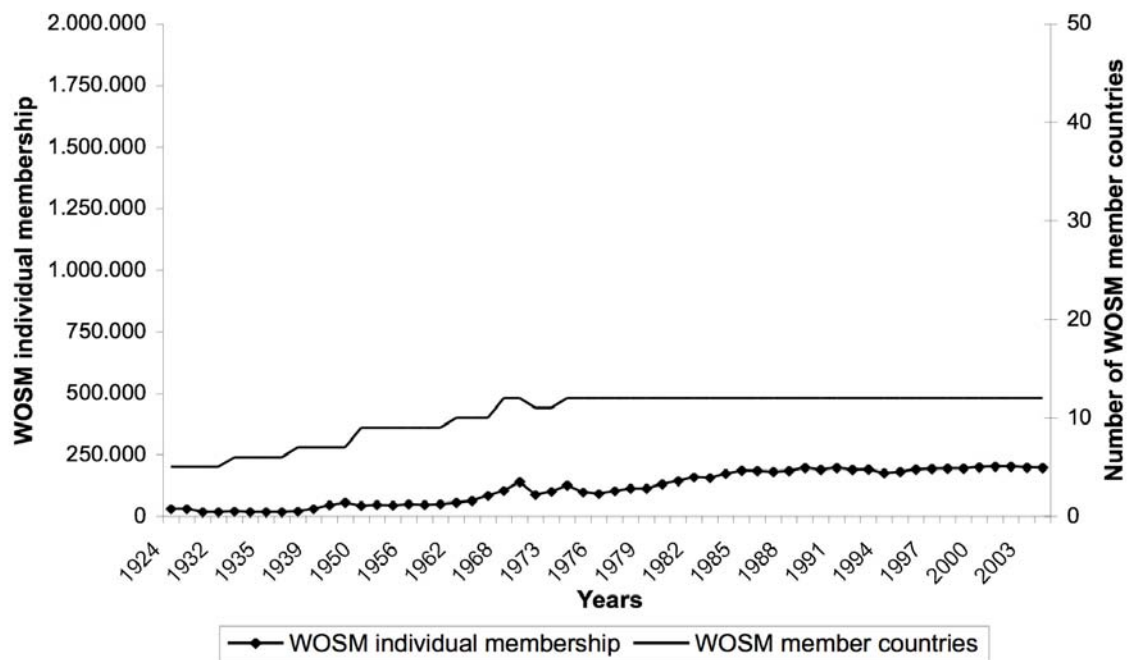
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 24.4. Evolution in the number of individual and country WOSM members in North America



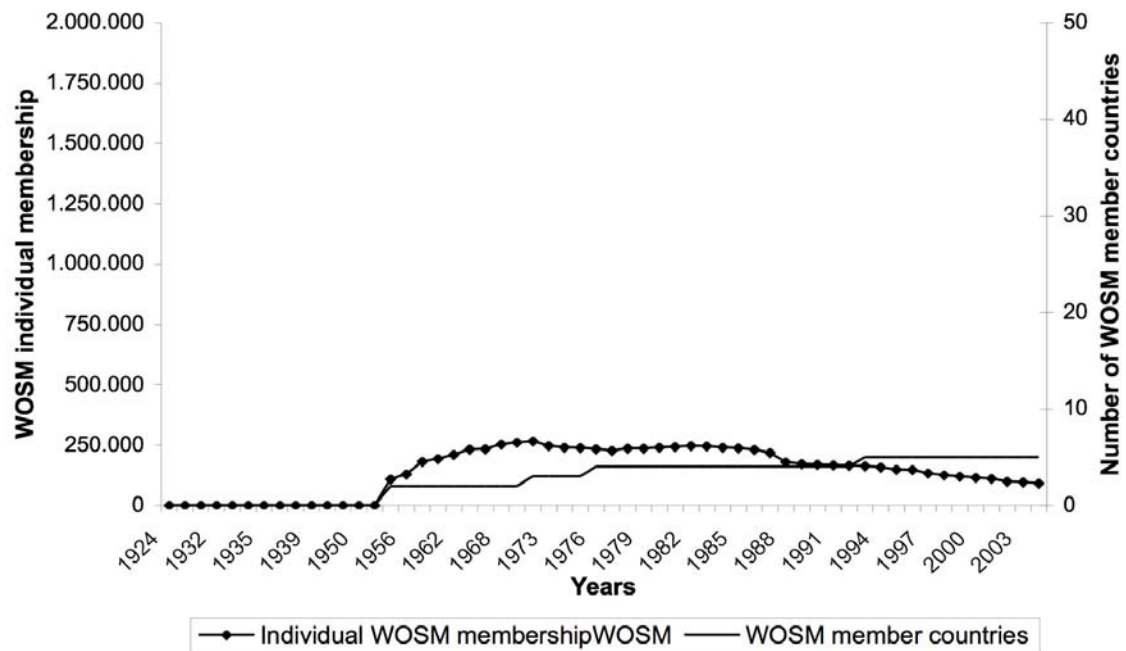
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 24.5. Evolution in the number of individual and country WOSM members in South America



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

Figure 24.6. Evolution in the number of individual and country WOSM members in Oceania



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

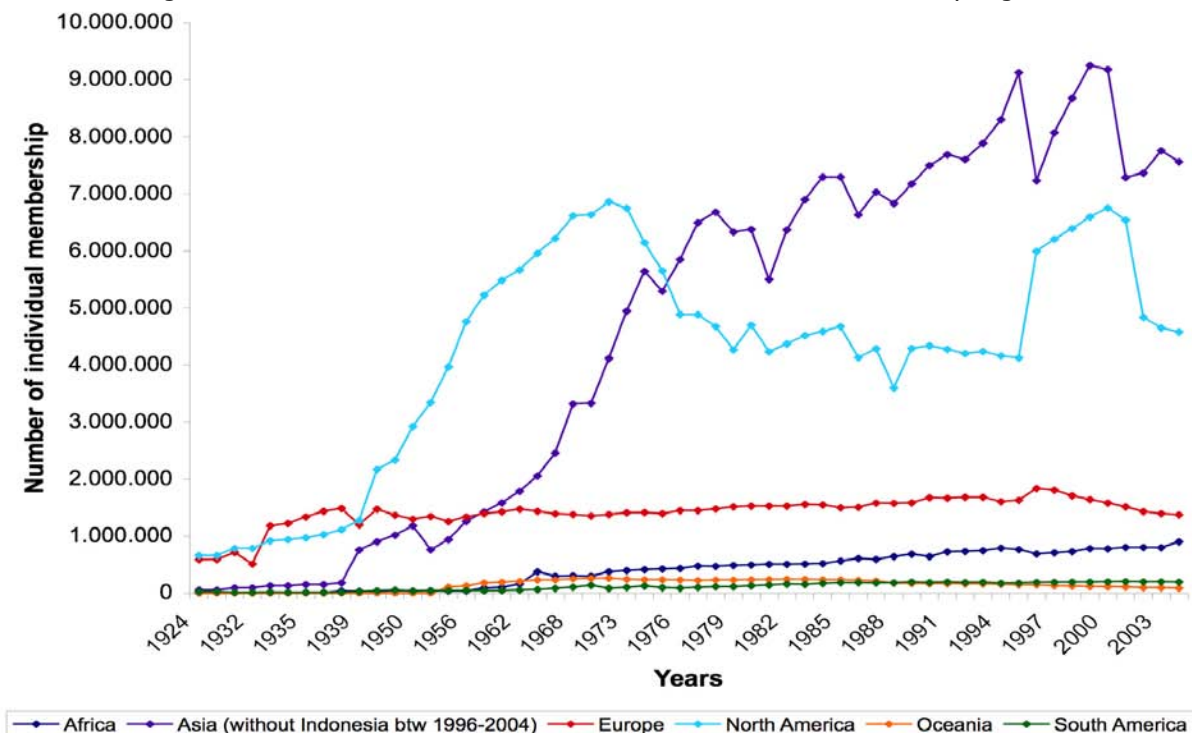
Figures 24.1 to 24.6 show the evolution in the number of country and individual members by regions. In general, the number of member countries has increased in all regions except for Europe, in parallel to the increase in independent states around the world. In Africa, there was a sharp increase between the end of the 1950s – the start of decolonization – and the early 1980s; from then on, the increase is constant. In this case, the number of individual members has increased more or less in parallel. The most relevant increase in Asia also takes place in the early 1950s and becomes more stable in the early 1980s; after the 1990s, the number of members increases again. A more or less parallel increase is also observed in the population census. Nonetheless, as in Figure 3, a very significant increase is observed after 1995, which is mainly due to the spectacular increase in the census of Indonesia, mentioned in the introduction. However, if we separate this country from the rest of Asia, we see that Asia's census increases in a similar way to Africa.

The evolution in member countries in Europe differs from the other regions. Until 1939, the start of World War II, the number of member countries is constant. From this point on, numbers decline because Scouting was outlawed in fascist regimes and communist countries. The slight increase observed in the mid-1950s becomes more significant in the early 1990s, with the fall of the socialist regimes and the renaissance of Scouting in Eastern Europe, before finally leveling off at the end of the 1990s. Throughout this period, there is a small increase in individual members that becomes sharper in the 1930s. Nonetheless, it drops again after the second half of the 1990s and until the end of the period of study, mainly because of two important cases: the number of members in the United Kingdom fell from 550 thousand to 440 thousand, in Poland from 186 thousand members in 1996 to 85 thousand, and in France from 100 thousand to 60 thousand in less than 3 years.

The number of member countries in North America increased during the period, as it did in the other regions. However, the number of individual members increases up until the 1970s and then declines and more or less levels off until the mid-1990s, when another significant peak is observed until 2000, when it starts to fall again. This is mainly due to the census of Boy Scouts of America (in the United States), which had 3.7 million members in 1995, 5.6 million in 1996, 6 million in 1998, 6.4 million in 2000, and just 4.5 million in 2002. Together with Indonesia, this last peak would explain why the census is distributed unequally in all countries in recent years. In South America, the number of member countries levels off in the 1970s, after which there is no change. The growth in the number of individual members is similar, though there are two important peaks in 1970 (caused by Colombia and Brazil) and 1975 (caused by Chile). In Oceania, the biggest increase in the number of member countries takes place in 1953 and continues until the early 1990s, when it starts to level off. However, in contrast to the above regions, individual membership has generally declined since the early 1970s.

We do, however, need to bear in mind the fact that a significant part of the extra-European census was included as part of the censuses of mother countries for many years in the United Kingdom, France, etc. In 1928, the British Boy Scouts Association published data illustrating the growth in the colonies between 1922 and 1927: India had increased from 6,216 members to 104,236; Canada from 35,601 to 47,485; Australia, from 16,002 to 37,537, and South Africa from 10,439 to 14,141 members<sup>33</sup>.

Figure 25. Evolution in the number of individual WOSM members by region.



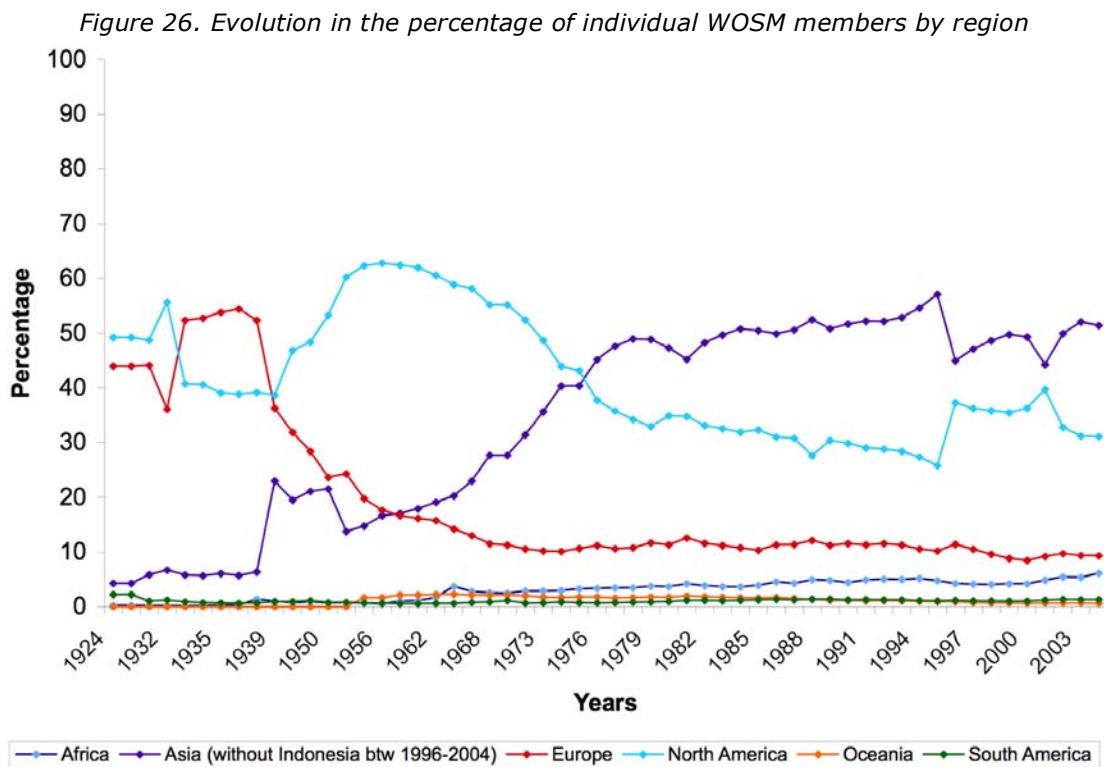
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

<sup>33</sup> The 19th Annual Report & Year Book, The Boy Scouts Association [UK], London, January 1928.



Figure 25 shows the evolution in the WOSM census broken down into regions. Indonesia is only included from 1996 onwards to eliminate the distorting effect of its spectacular census increase, as explained earlier. European and North-American Scouting were clearly the leading regions until the end of the 1930s, with the other continents lagging a long way behind. However, after the pause between 1939 and 1946 (for which period there are no censuses), membership in North America and Asia skyrockets in an ascending curve that does not level off until 1972 in North America and – with peaks and troughs – the end of the 1990s in Asia. North America increases from 1.2 million in 1939 to 6.8 million in 1972 and Asia increases from 760 thousand members in 1939 to 9 million in 1998, excluding Indonesia. In 1976, Asia took over from North America as the region with the most members, a position that it has not lost since. Membership in North America on the other hand drops to 3.5 million in 1988, though it increases again to 6.7 million in 2000. Asia has significant broken peaks between 1995 and 2001 (9.1 million in 1995; 7.2 million in 1996; 9.2 million in 1999, and 7.2 million in 2001), due to the fact that the graph does not include Indonesia (which had 2.2 million in 1995) from 1996 onwards and because of census variations in three important countries: India (1.5 million in 1996, 2.1 million in 1999 and 2,1 million in 2001); Philippines (2.7 million in 1996, 3.6 million in 1999 and 1.8 million in 2001), and Bangladesh (0.5 million in 1996, 1 million in 1999 and 0.7 million in 2001).

Since the graph is so highly conditioned by the spectacular growth in members in Asia and North America, Europe and, to a lesser extent, Africa, South America and Oceania do not display very sharp increases, although membership in Africa has undergone a constant increase since the mid-1960s.



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004



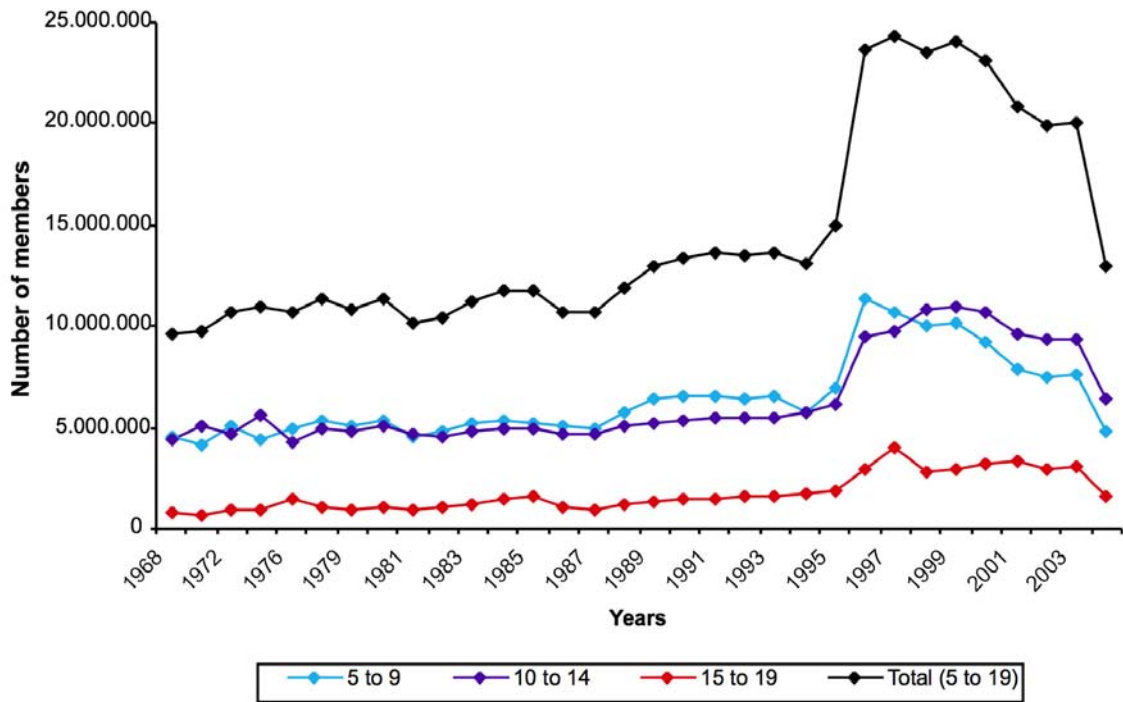
This evolution can be seen more clearly when we analyse the number of individual WOSM members in each region for the entire study period as a percentage of all individual WOSM members in each year. Figure 26 shows how the annual percentage and the evolution in the percentage vary considerably from region to region. We see that the regions with the highest percentages of individual members are North America, Europe and Asia. The rest of the regions never account for more than 10% of members for the period. The regions with the highest percentages from the early years to roughly the end of the 1940s are Europe and North America. After the 1940s, North America increases but Europe begins to decline considerably before more or less levelling off during the 1960s, from which point it remains constant until the end of our period. North America reaches its peak in the 1950s and subsequently declines until 1996, when it increases again until 2002 before falling until the end of the period due to census variations in the United States, as I have explained. Lastly, membership in Asia (excluding Indonesia from 1996 and 2004), unlike the regions above, increases from the end of the 1930s onwards and throughout the study period. It becomes the leading region in terms of membership percentage after the 1970s. As observed in Figure 15, the percentage of members in this region drops if we exclude Indonesia after 1996, for the reasons given for Figure 14 on Asia as a whole, though the percentages even out the peaks.

### 2.3. Age Ranges (1968-2004)

As mentioned in the first point of this chapter, "World Scouting Today", the role of World Scouting as an agent for educating in global citizenship is highly conditioned by the age range it is aimed at. The previous point in this section looked at the evolution in individual WOSM membership from 1924 to 2004, which gives us an idea of the world dimension of Scouting in figures. However, this does not give us an indication as to whether today's distribution over the different age ranges has been similar in the past. In WOSM's censuses, the division into age groups is only continuous from the mid-1960s, although some earlier censuses also divide members by age. The study period chosen for this analysis is therefore 1968-2004 and includes all years in which data is broken down by age. Because the age ranges are only approximate and vary from country to country, as I explained earlier (Table 3), I have combined them into three groups to match them to the United Nations population census: the child group, which covers children aged 5 to 9; the early adolescent group, which covers those from 10 to 14 years, and the late adolescent group, which includes youths aged 15 to 19 years.

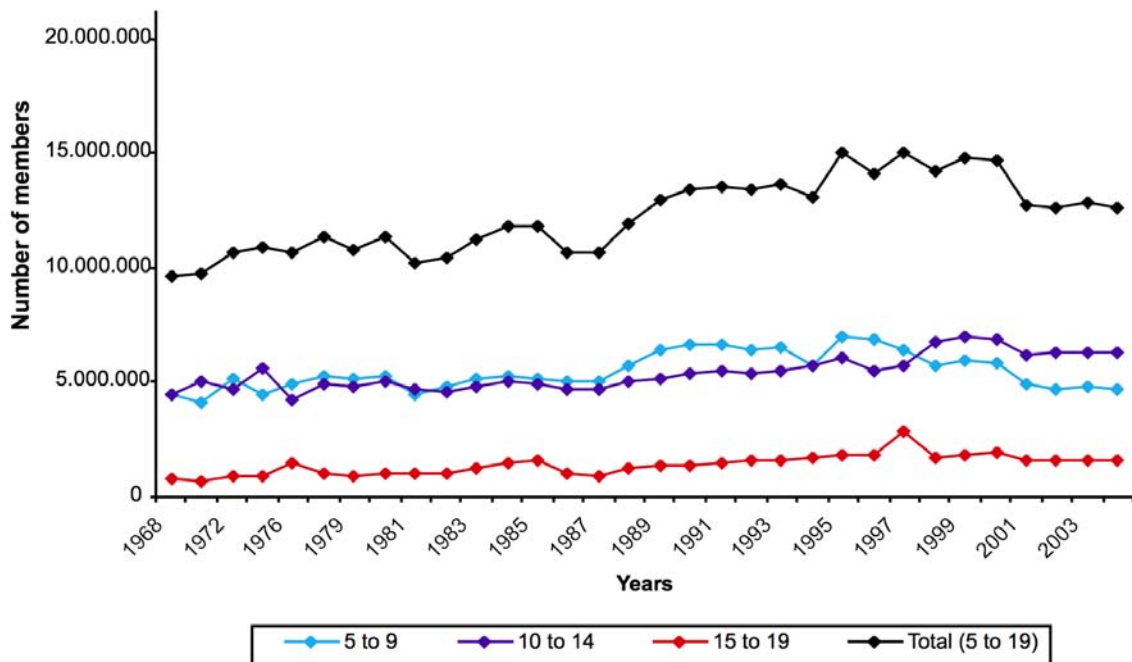
The decision to use 1968 as the start of the analysis of evolution broken down by age range was based on the fact that it is a point of inflection in the structure of the World Scout Bureau, when a new secretary general joined and a statistical data processing system was introduced to offer increased reliability. The product of processing this data was the 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004', on which the graphs in this point are based. No data could be obtained for the years that do not appear (1969, 1971, 1973 and 1974) because they were not broken down in sufficient detail. The data has not been contrasted with the United Nations population census because it was not available for all countries, though the database will serve for future analyses for most countries. There is also a significant lack of data on some countries in some years – particularly Africa and South America. I have not used the criterion I used for the 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004' database of using the previous year here, so greater peaks may be observed. Lastly, I have used three different scales for the graphs to allow for maximum uniformity without distorting the overall view.

Figure 27. Evolution in the number of World Scouting members by age



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

Figure 27a. Evolution in the number of World Scouting members by age (excluding Indonesia after 1996)



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

Figures 27 and 27a illustrate the evolution in the total number of young members of WOSM (hence, they exclude leaders) broken down by age group, from 1968 to 2004, for all countries, with and without Indonesia. Both graphs show that the children (5-9) and early adolescent (10-14) age groups are the biggest, with the late adolescent group (15-19) lagging a long way behind. Figure 27, which takes into account all countries, including Indonesia, shows that there was a considerable increase in the number of members between 1996 and 2004, which Figure 27a – without Indonesia from 1996 to 2004 – shows to come mainly from the variation in censuses of the latter country. Nonetheless, the two graphs show that the evolution in the total number of members by age remains fairly constant for World Scouting as a whole.

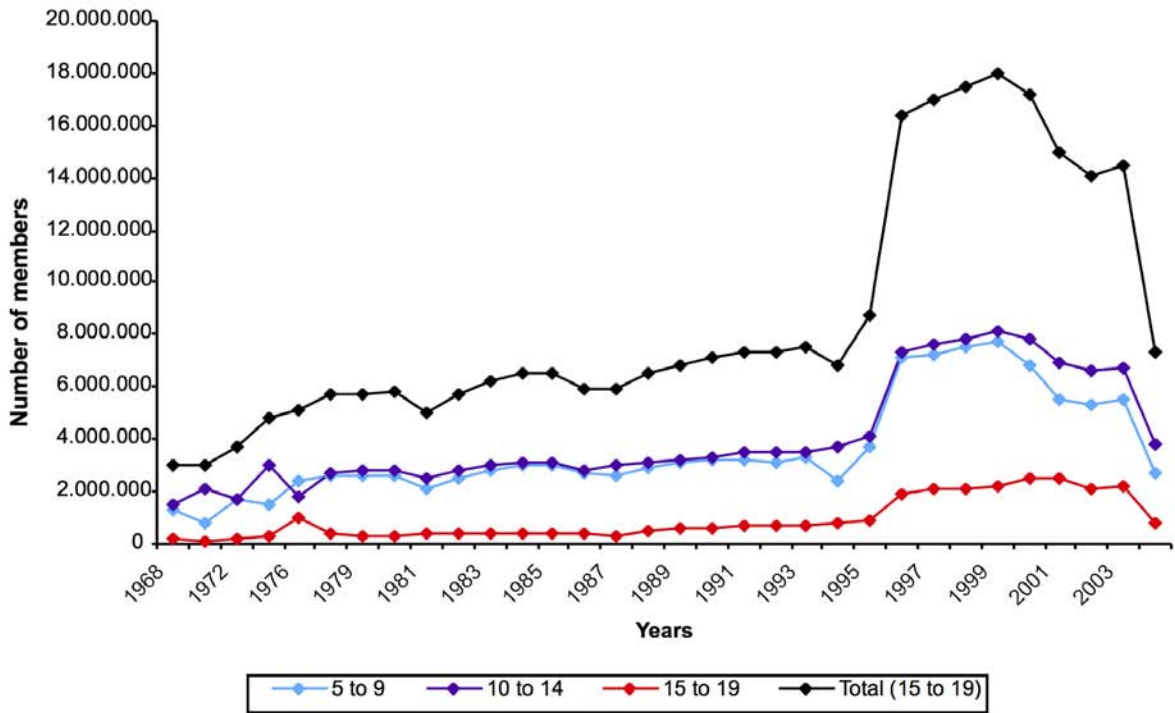
The child and early adolescent groups remain virtually level throughout the study period, though there are slightly more children between 1976 and 1997. From 1998, however, the early adolescent group becomes the biggest age range, with 1-1.5 points more than the child group, which appears to be shrinking. We also see that late adolescent group (ages 15 to 19), is considerably smaller than the other two groups. It has a series of growth spurts over the period that contrast with some major declines between 1977 and 1986. With the exception of the peak in 1997 (mainly due to the US association), however, there was a slight increase in the late adolescent range in the 1990s when it jumped to around 1.5 million members.

The interpretation of these figures then is that Scouting is still a markedly adolescent movement, rather than a children's movement, though the bulk of its members are in the early adolescent rather than the late adolescent phase. On this point, those in charge of World Scouting have stated, "le développement de nouveaux programmes pour les branches aînées [late adolescents] est notre priorité éducative principale au niveau mondial"<sup>34</sup>. To determine whether this distribution is similar in all continental regions, we must analyse the three age ranges by region.

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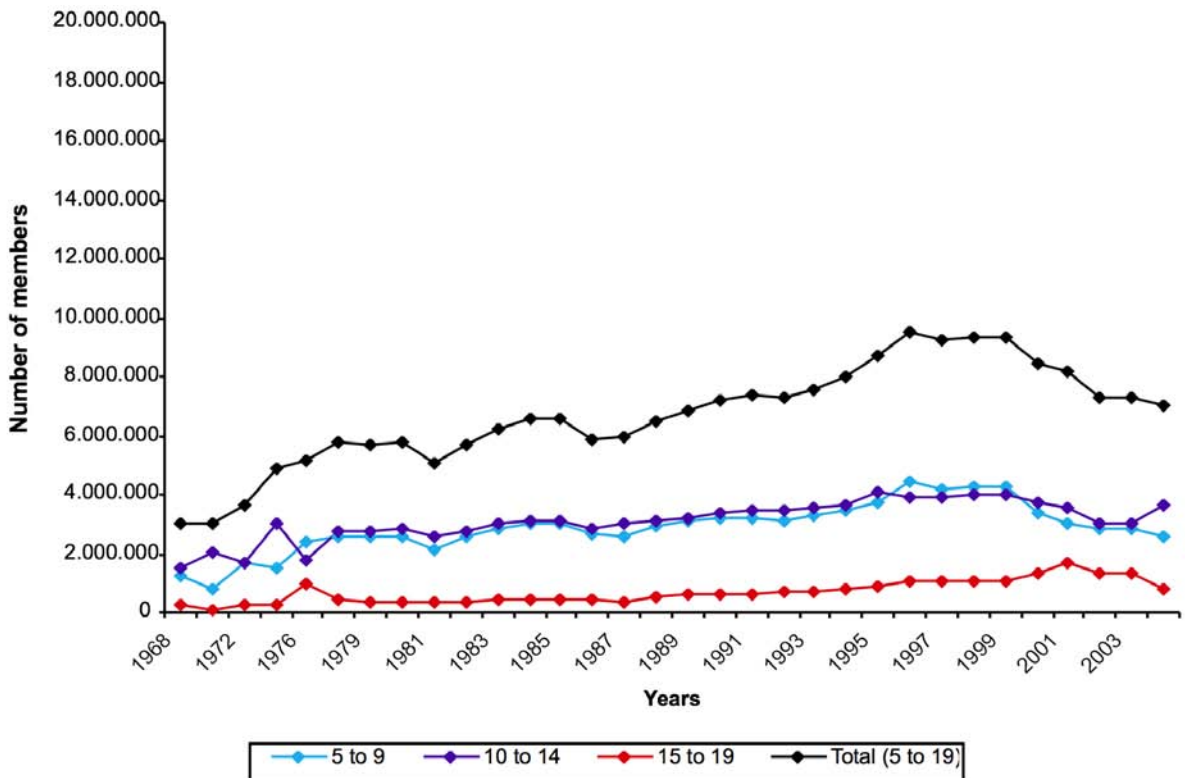
<sup>34</sup> ["The development of new programmes for the late adolescent category is our main priority in world education"]. Dominique Bénard, Assistant Secretary General and Head of Educational Methods of WOSM: "Inventer le Scoutisme du XXIe siècle", opening address of the États Généraux du Scoutisme Francophone Canadien. Canada, 20th May 2005, Association des Scouts du Canada (p. 4).

Figure 27.1. Evolution in the number of WOSM members in Asia by age



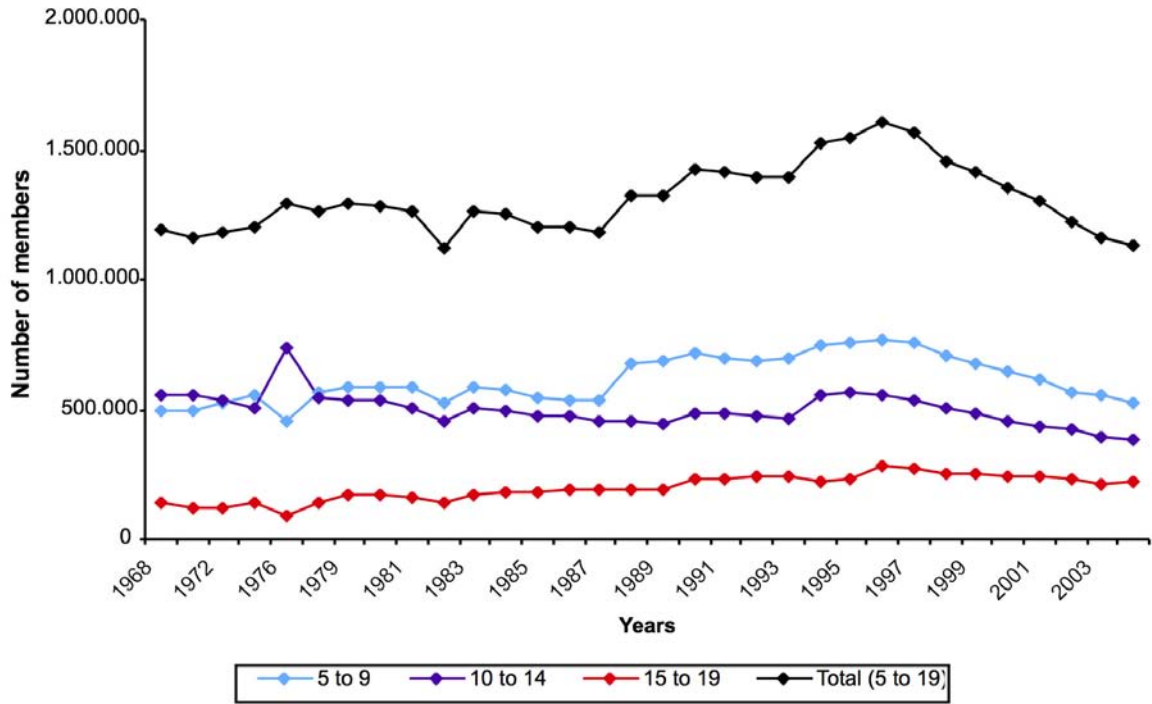
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

Figure 27.1a. Evolution in the number of WOSM members in Asia (excluding Indonesia after 1996) by age



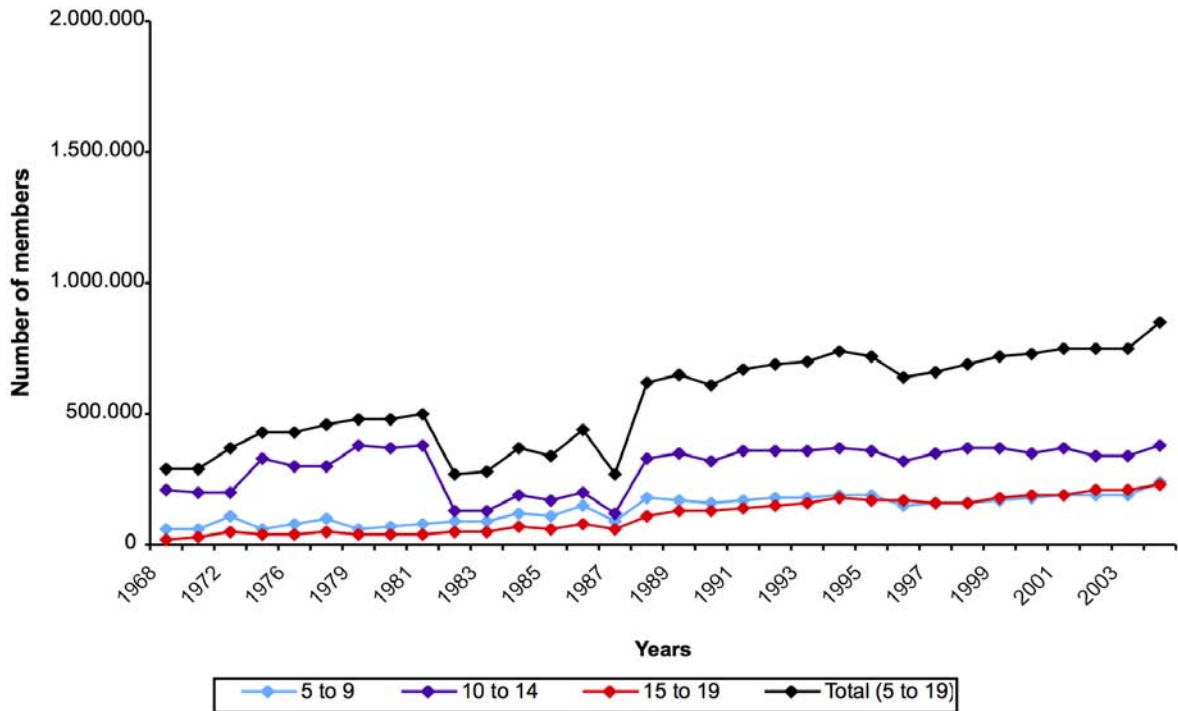
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

Figure 27.2. Evolution in the number of WOSM members in Europe by age



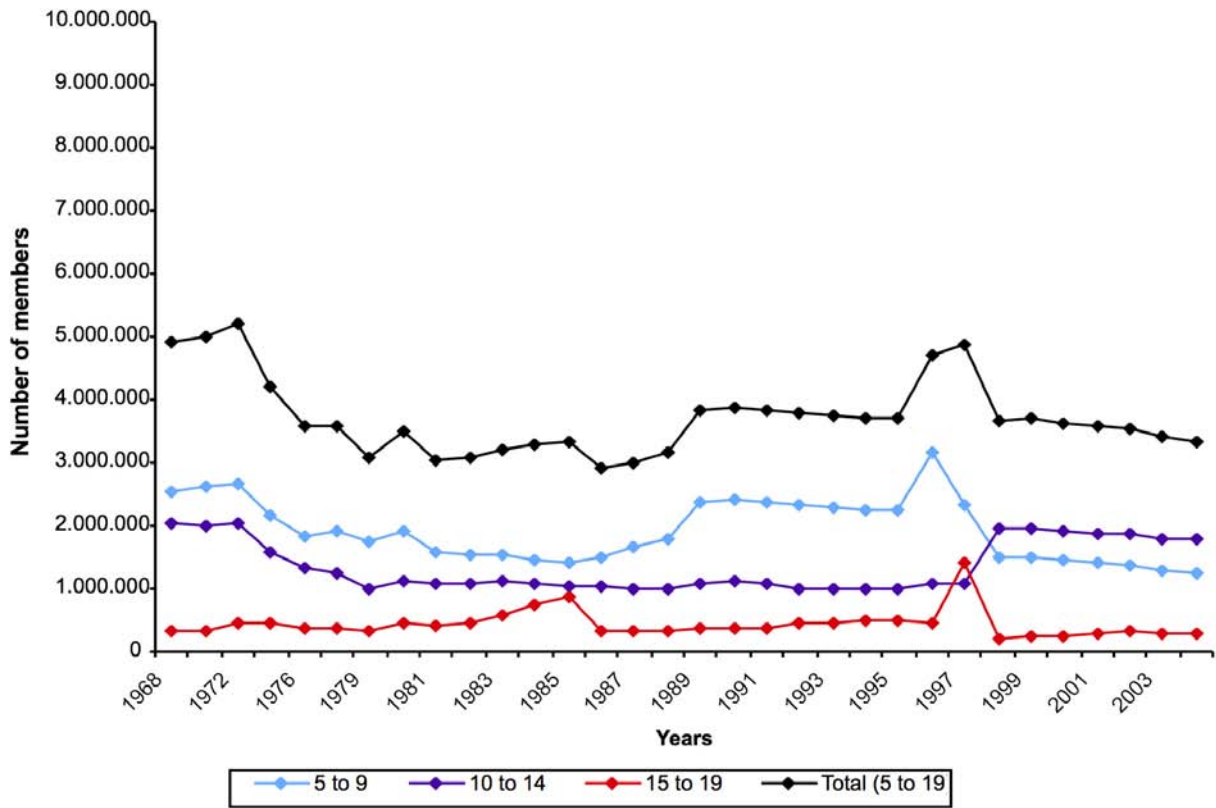
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

Figure 27.3. Evolution in the number of WOSM members in Africa by age



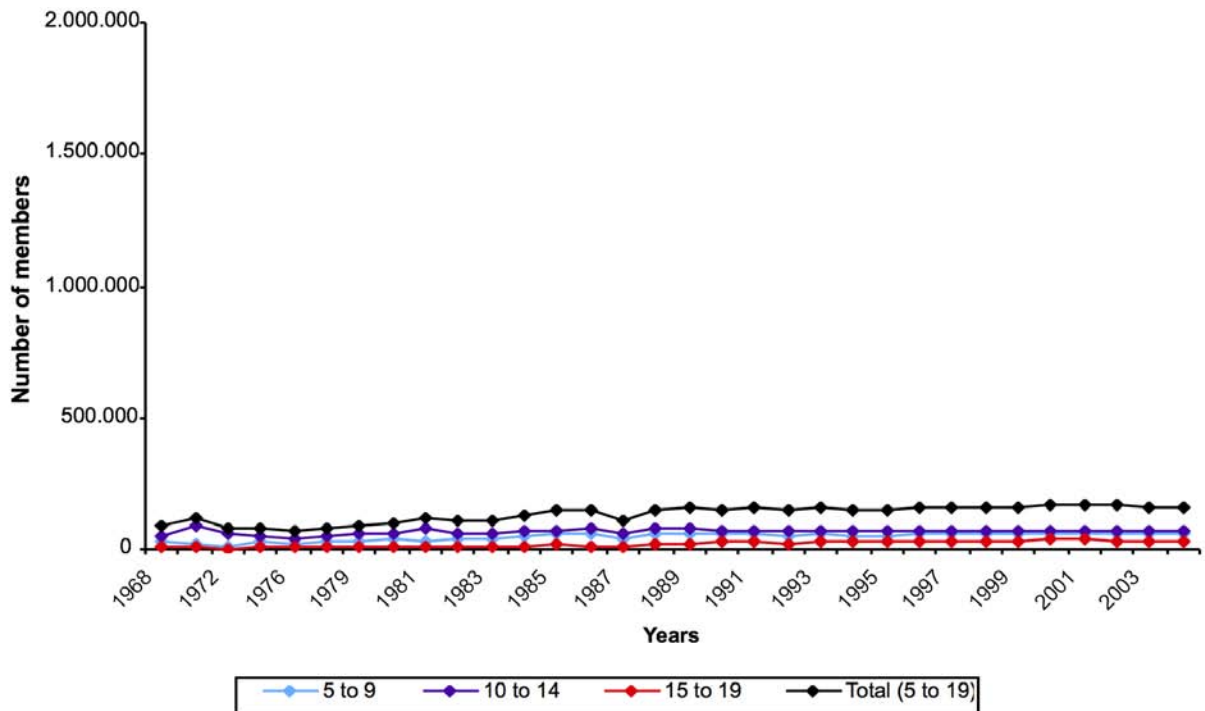
Author's own work. Source of data: WOSM, 1924-2004

Figure 27.4. Evolution in the number of WOSM members in North America by age



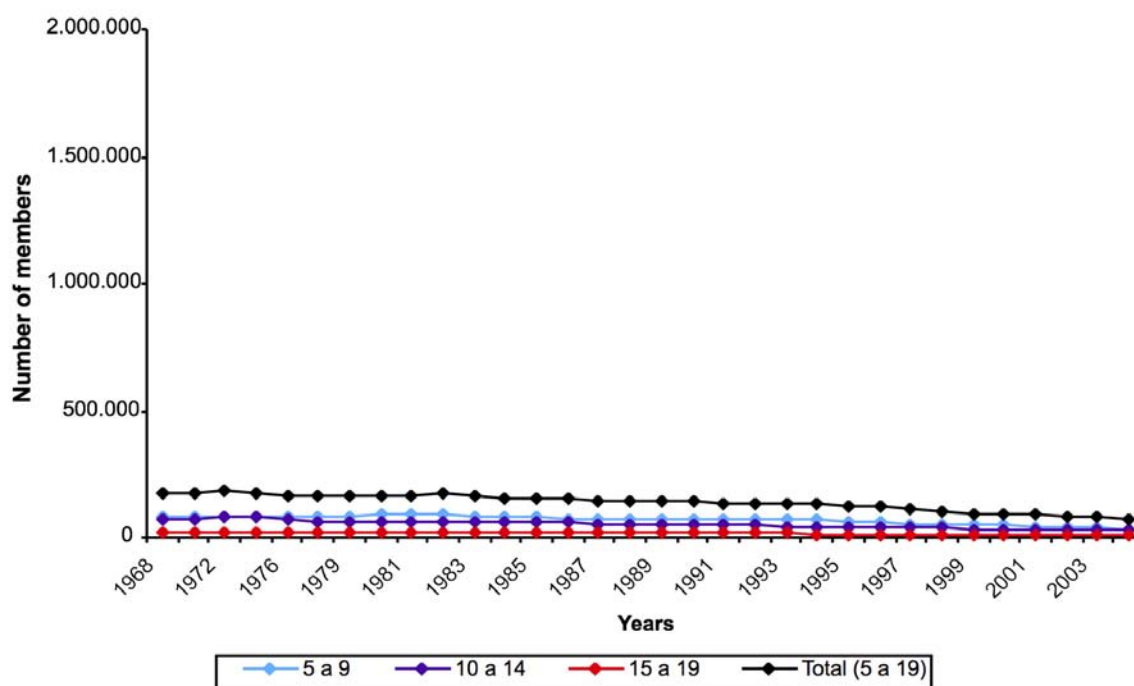
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

Figure 27.5. Evolution in the number of WOSM members in South America by age



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

Figure 27.6. Evolution in the number of WOSM members in Oceania by age



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

The analysis of the evolution in the number of members by age for each of the continental regions (Figures 27.1 to 27.6) allows us to determine the contribution of individual regions to the distribution of members illustrated in Figures 17 and 18. It also illustrates the most representative age groups in each region.

To begin with, we can see that the early adolescent group (10 to 14 years) is higher than the rest for almost the entire period in the regions of Africa, Asia and South America, although it overlaps with the child group in Asia (5-9). In the regions of Europe and Oceania, however, the age group with the most members after the 1970s and throughout the period is, without a doubt, the child range. The opposite occurs with North America: the child age range is the biggest until 1998, when the 10-14 age group takes over for the rest of the study period. We find that the late adolescent range (15 to 19 years) is below the rest in all regions, although it catches up to the child range in Africa, which is also low.

If we look at the figures on the individual regions, we see that the evolution of all age groups in Asia is fairly stable (disregarding the change in Indonesia after 1996), although a slight increase can be observed in the early adolescent group (10 to 14 years) in particular. The rest of the groups show a slight decline in numbers of members, especially after the peak of 1996. This constant trend, which comes to a halt at the end of the 1990s, can also be seen in Europe, mainly in the 5-9 and 10-14 age groups. In Europe, there is also an increase in the number of members aged 5 to 9 in 1988. There is a sudden peak in 1976 because some countries changed their classification of sections. That year, the censuses of France, Greece,



Malta, Sweden and Switzerland did not divide members into different sections; they were all placed in the "Scouts" group – 10 to 14 years.

In Africa, a slight increase in the number of members can be observed from the start of the period in all age groups, though we should bear in mind that its figures are low considering its population. Nonetheless, the early adolescent group (10 to 14 years) is considerably larger than the other two groups throughout the period, except for an interval that begins in 1982 with a substantial decline in members from this age group, though the situation is restored in 1988 and does not occur again. The decline in members between 1982 and 1988 is due to the absence of data from some WOSM countries. While the overall analysis used the total from previous years, without breaking down the data by age, the analysis by age was done differently. These countries include the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda, Sudan and Ghana.

There is a decline in the number of members aged 10-14 and 5-9 in North America in the early 1970s. In the child age range, this situation is turned around in 1985 but the figures for the early adolescent range remain the same until the second half of the 1990s. Just after a very sharp peak in the child age range in 1996 and an equally spectacular peak in 1997 in the late adolescent range, both caused by the United States census, the early adolescent range overtakes the child age range in 1998 and becomes the biggest range for the rest of the period.

South America and Oceania, which both have very low Scout populations, experience different developments. South America's child (5 to 9) and early adolescent groups (10 to 14) appear to be fairly stable, despite some peaks in the mid-1980s due to missing data, while the late adolescent group (15 to 19) increases slightly from the mid-1990s. Oceania, however, reveals a fairly constant decline in membership, particularly in the two youngest age groups, which come close to the figures for the 15 to 19 range – the lowest.

#### 2.4. Participation in World Decision-Making Processes (1924-2002)

In points 1, 2 and 3 of this section, I have shown the evolution of WOSM in terms of the number of member countries, its distribution across continental regions, and the increase in its individual members, breaking these down into three age groups. Scouting's presence around the world has been a constant since its early days as an international organization but, due to limitations of mobility, it could be the case that it is mainly the wealthier countries that take part in decision-making processes, i.e., the countries that can afford to make the trip. WOSM's main decision-making body is the World Scout Conference, which was held every two years from 1920 and 1990 and every three years since then, with the sole interruption of World War II. Every country has the same influence on decisions taken at the World Conference, so analysing the participation of countries from different continents will indicate the type of representation they have had over the years.

This point deals with the evolution in the number of WOSM member countries in World Scout Conferences from 1924 to 2002 – the last one before 2004, which is the last year analysed here. I will also show the evolution in the number of WOSM member countries that have attended conferences and compare it to the evolution of WOSM member countries in each region. Thus, we can determine whether participation in conferences has increased or decreased in line with the number of member countries. I also indicate the regions that have made the greatest contribution to the evolution in participation in World Scout conferences out of all the countries, that is, the participation of each region in conferences as a fraction of all countries. This will allow us to analyse the evolution of participation in world conferences in each region while taking into account the number of WOSM member countries.

One determining factor for participation in many countries is the geographical location of the conference venue. We need to take into account the travel expenses of the delegates, which are covered by the associations and can represent a considerable percentage of their budgets in countries with a low GDP. Table 5 therefore indicates the years of the various WOSM world conferences and the countries where they were held<sup>35</sup>. As we can see, no conferences were held outside Europe until 1955 (Canada), and it was not until 1959 that a conference was held in a third-world country (India).

This analysis does not discuss the age of delegates at world conferences because that data does not exist. However, while the 1996 World Conference, WAGGGS approved the proposal that at least one of the members of the world and regional committees had to be under the age of 30, in a bid to gradually introduce young women into decision-making processes, such an explicit order has never existed in WOSM.

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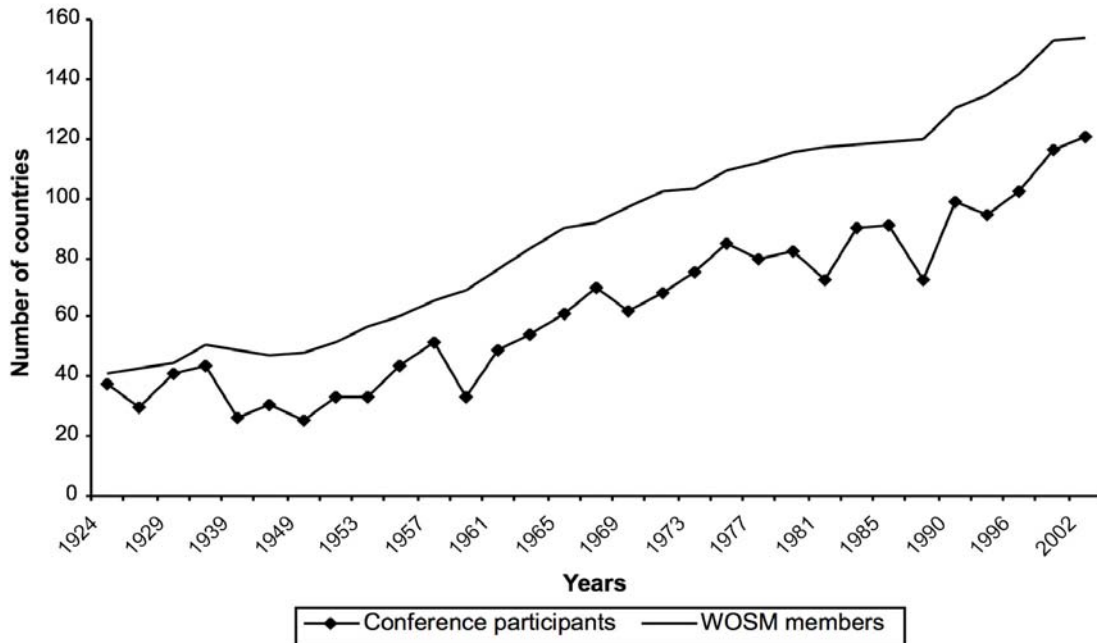
<sup>35</sup> No data is available on participating countries for the years in grey: 1920, 1922, 1931, 1935 and 1937.

Table 5. Years and venues of the world Scout conferences

<i>Year</i>	<i>Organizer</i>
1920	United Kingdom
1922	France
1924	Denmark
1926	Switzerland
1929	United Kingdom
1931	Austria
1933	Hungary
1935	Sweden
1937	Netherlands
1939	United Kingdom
1947	France
1949	Norway
1951	Austria
1953	Liechtenstein
1955	Canada
1957	England
1959	India
1961	Portugal
1963	Greece
1965	Mexico
1967	United States
1969	Finland
1971	Japan
1973	Kenya
1975	Denmark
1977	Canada
1979	England
1981	Senegal
1983	United States
1985	Germany
1988	Australia
1990	France
1993	Thailand
1996	Norway
1999	South Africa
2002	Greece

Source: WOSM

Figure 28. WOSM member countries that participated in world conferences



Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

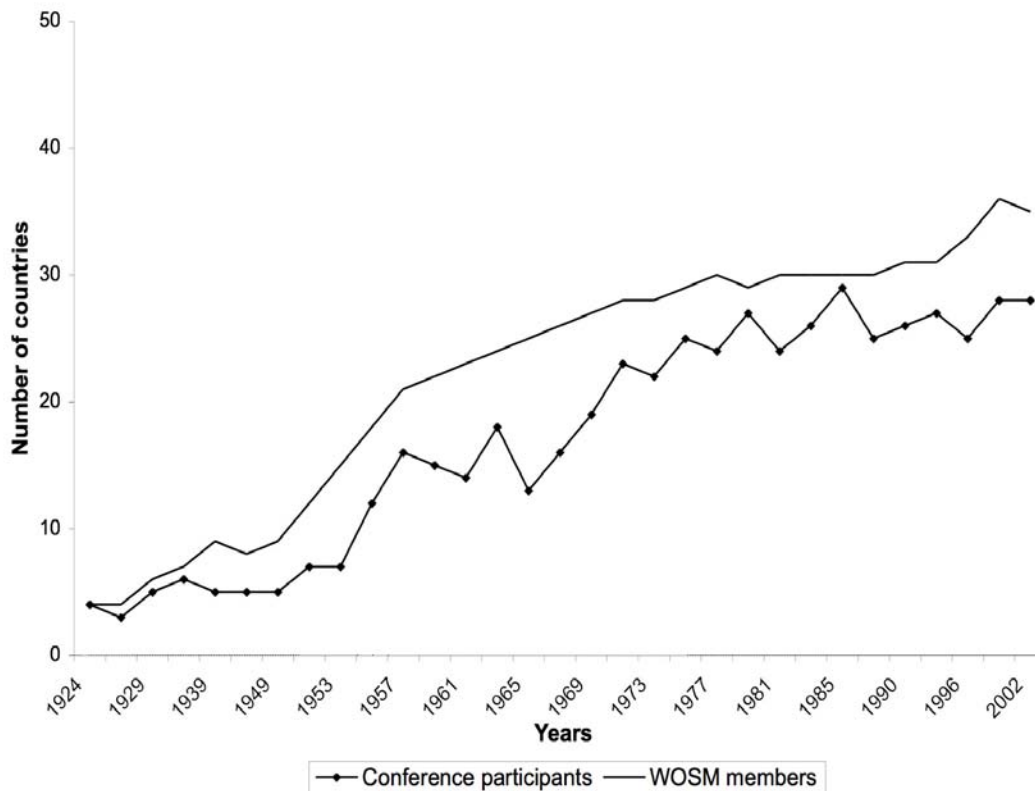
Figure 28 shows the evolution in the number of countries that participated in conferences compared to the evolution in the number of WOSM member countries. This comparison indicates whether the increase in members was accompanied by increased participation in the conferences. Generally speaking, we can see a gradual increase in conference participants throughout the period, just under the number of member countries, which means that no one conference has ever had a participation of 100%.

However, we need to take into account the obvious limitations of travel time and costs of transcontinental trips over the twentieth century. This is even more important if we remember that this is a world organization that held plenary sessions – i.e., with the presence of all of its member countries – roughly every three years. If we look closely, we see that the years with the lowest participation were 1939, with 26 participant countries out of a possible 49, and 1949, with 25 out of a possible 48 participant countries, both close to World War II. The maximum attendance was in 1924 (38 out of 41 countries) and 1929 (41 out of 45 countries).

The participation of countries in world conferences has been somewhat irregular. For example, from the end of the 1930s to the early 1950s, participation fell or remained practically the same. However, from this point on, the increase is permanent and the figures that do not fall again. In 1963, a minimum of 50 countries is established, which increases to 60 in 1965. In 1973, the minimum figure was 70 and rose to over 80 in 1975, with two exceptions, 1981 (Senegal)

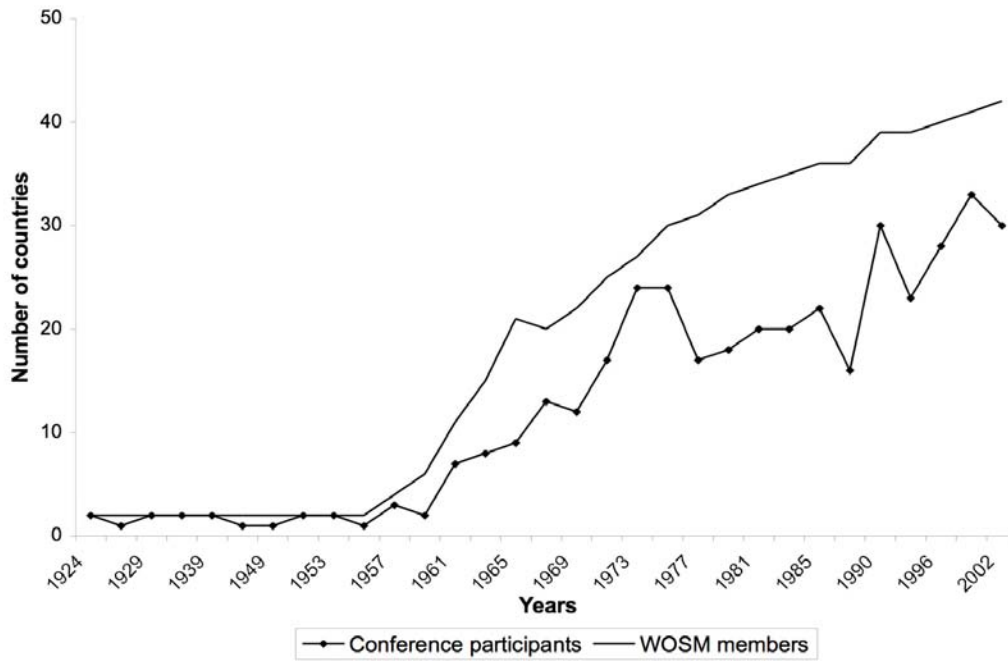
and 1988 (Australia), when it dropped back to 70. These two exceptions were also two of the years with the greatest differences in participation as a percentage of the total number of members: 62% and 60%, respectively. The lowest percentage of all occurs in 1959, with less than half: 47%, 33 participant countries out of 69 members, possibly because it was the first world conference held outside Europe or North America – the first outside Europe took place in Canada in 1955. In 1983, 90 or so countries took part in the world conference and, in 1996, this figure increased to 100. This development was parallel to the increase in the number of WOSM member countries. The irregular distribution can be seen more clearly in the analysis broken down into individual regions, as illustrated in Figures 28.1 to 28.6.

Figure 28.1. Comparison of the evolution in Asia of WOSM member countries and those that took part in world conferences



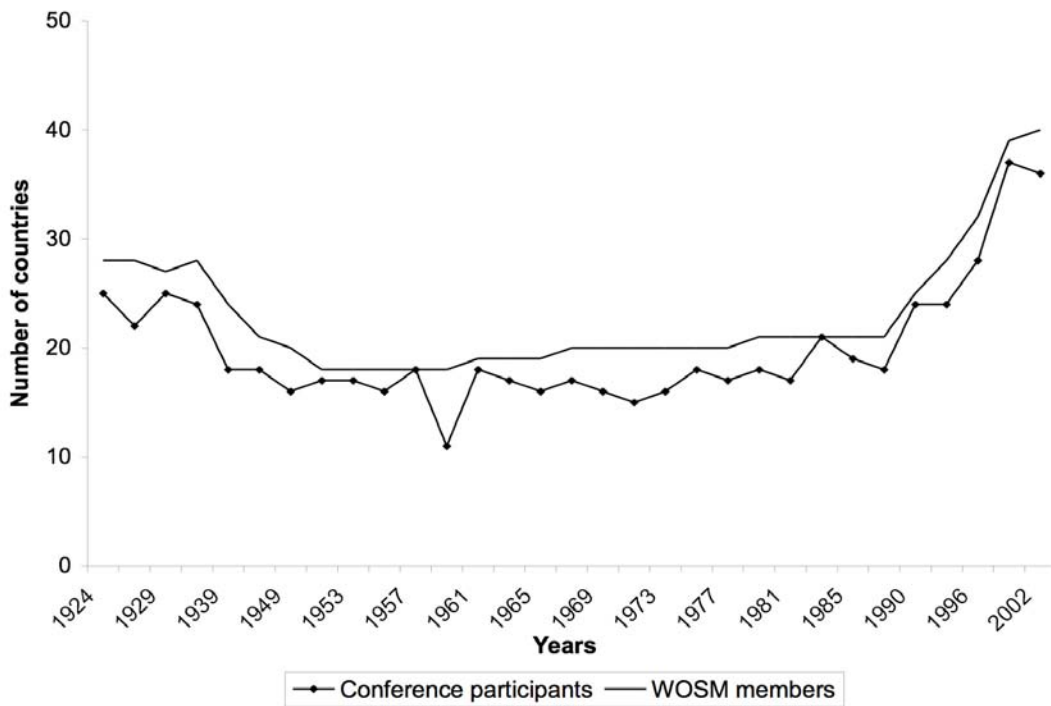
Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

Figure 28.2. Comparison of the evolution in Africa of WOSM member countries and those that took part in world conferences



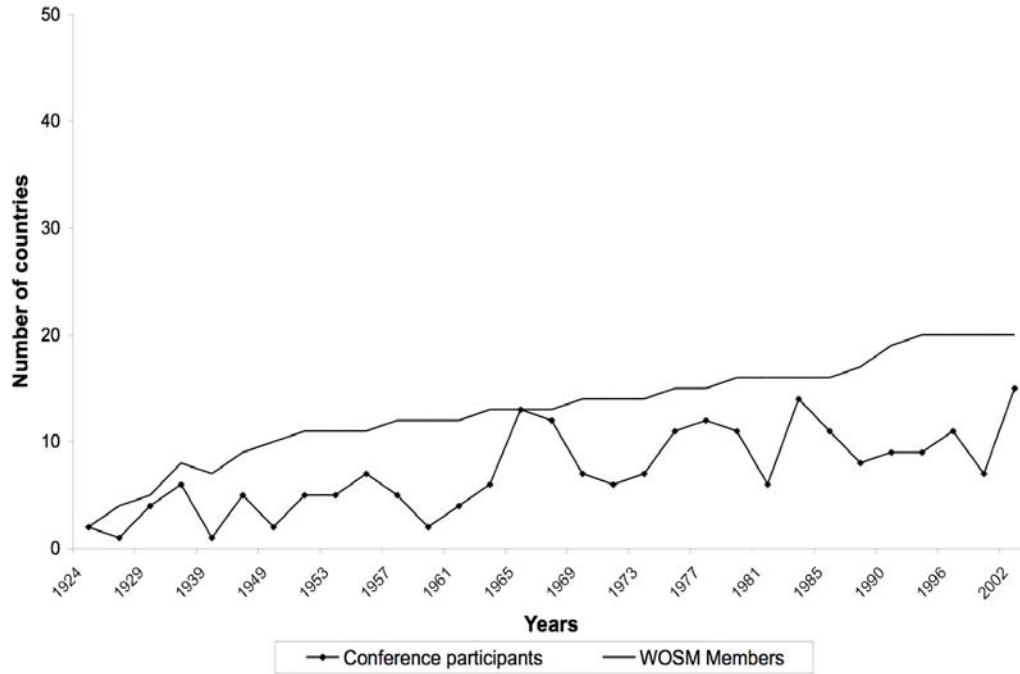
Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

Figure 28.3. Comparison of the evolution in Europe of WOSM member countries and those that took part in world conferences



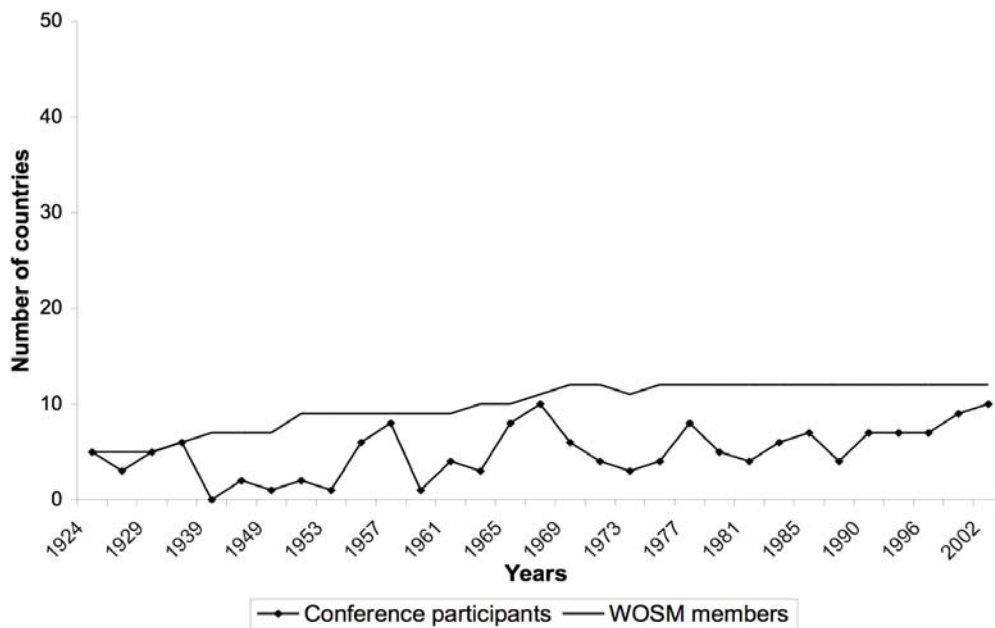
Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

Figure 28.4. Comparison of the evolution in North America of WOSM member countries and those that took part in world conferences



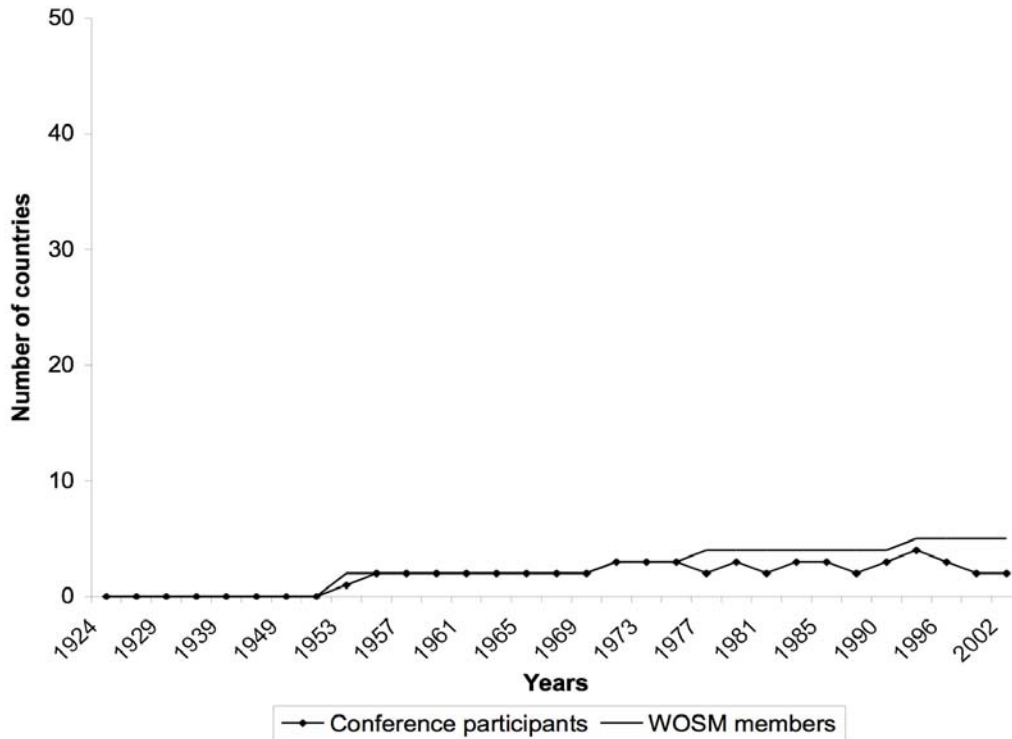
Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

Figure 28.5. Comparison of the evolution in South America of WOSM member countries and those that took part in world conferences



Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

Figure 28.6. Comparison of the evolution in Oceania of WOSM member countries and those that took part in world conferences

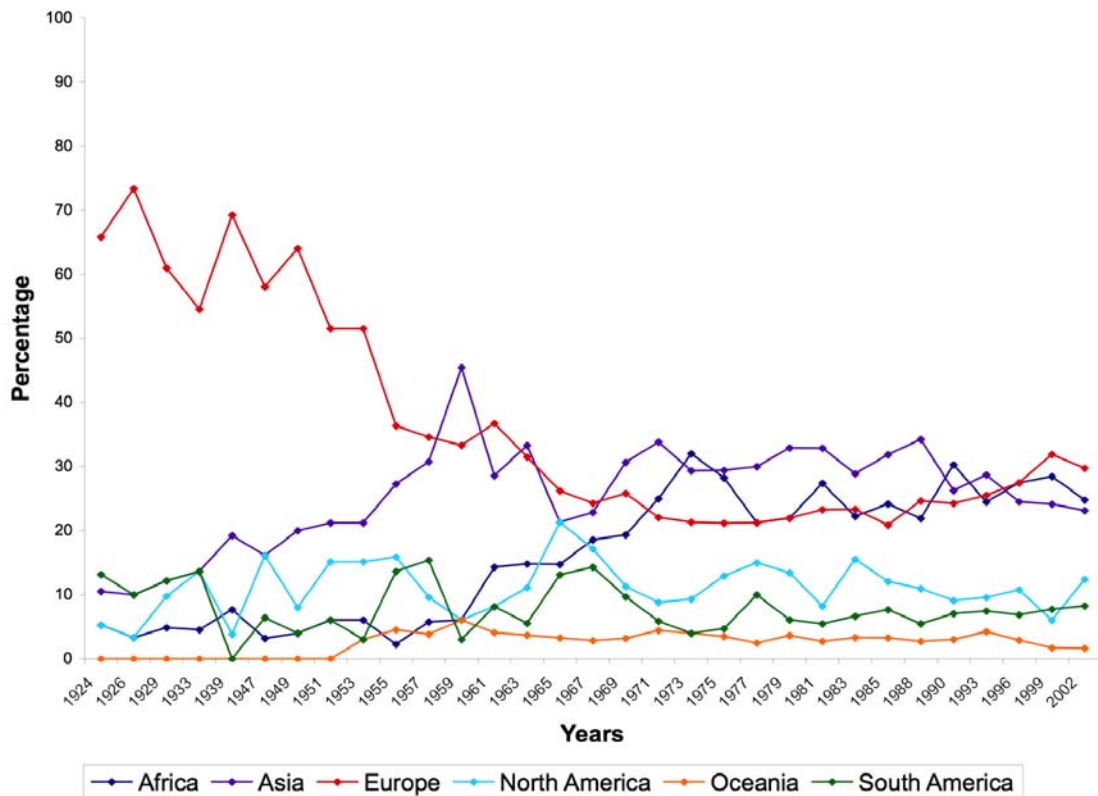


Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

The analysis of regional participation in (Figures 28.1 to 28.6) also reveals an irregular distribution that reflects the increase or decrease in country participation over the study period. This irregular distribution is most evident in the regions of America and Oceania. Yet, despite the irregular distribution, there is a general upwards trend in all regions except for Europe, where there is a decline until the 1950s that then levels off until the early 1990s, when it begins to increase again. In all regions, the evolution in the number of conference participants is generally similar to the increase in the number of WOSM member countries. Interestingly though, Africa had a higher percentage of participating countries up until the end of the 1960s. From then on, the percentage of participating countries compared to members began to wane. In Oceania, on the other hand, the number of participating member countries is high over the entire period, that is, almost all member countries participate regularly in world conferences.



Figure 29. Percentage of countries participating in world Scout conferences by region as a percentage of all participating countries (1924-2002)



Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

Besides the evolution in the actual number of countries participating in world Scout conferences, Figure 29 shows the evolution in the participation of countries from the different regions in the conferences as a percentage of the countries that took part in the conferences. Firstly, it indicates that Europe obtains its highest percentages during the first three decades (70% of all participating countries), a hegemony that gradually declines until the 1960s, when it begins to fight Asia for leadership until the latter eventually comes out on top in the 1970s. In the last three world conferences, Europe increases again, coinciding with the incorporation of the new countries from Eastern Europe.

We can thus distinguish between two stages in the distribution of percentages. The first, up until the 1960s, is marked by Europe's hegemony in terms of the number of countries participating in the conferences, with Asia challenging this leadership in the 1950s. The second, from 1965 onwards, sees two regional groups established that keep the percentage of participation stable: the higher percentages, obtained by Asia, Africa and Europe, and the lower percentages, obtained by North America, South America and Oceania. These two groups show that the countries in Asia and Africa have had a considerable influence on the governance of WOSM.

Paradoxically, however, the first black person to chair the World Scout Committee – the executive body elected by the World Conference – was not elected until 2002.

Figure 29 shows, in general terms, that North and South America have similar and fairly constant distributions throughout the period, although South America is almost always below North America except in the early years of the study, but both always obtain under 20% of the percentage of participation. The region with the lowest participation percentage is Oceania, which is also the region with the least member countries and it has a fairly constant evolution over the period. The distribution in Africa is more or less stable until the early 1960s. From this time on, it begins to increase, just as the absolute number of African countries in WOSM's total increases, reaching very high percentages comparable to those of Asia and Europe.

The results of country attendance of world Scout conferences give us an idea of the level of participation of WOSM member countries in its main process for making global decisions. However, to complete this analysis, we must find out the participation of young people in international meetings, using the world Jamborees as our point of reference. This will allow us to find out whether the percentage of participation by continental regions behaves in a similar way.

## 2.5. International Youth Camps (World Scout Jamborees), 1920-2002

One of the most interesting aspects of data to analyse, international interrelations between young Scouts, is also the most difficult because it is one of the least automated. International camps of young Scouts from different countries have always been an educational tool of World Scouting ever since it was established. In fact, the formalization of World Scouting in 1920 was agreed at what was the first World Jamboree, called by Robert Baden-Powell and UK Scouting after the end of World War I. However, there was no single platform for youth "participation" until 1971, when the World Scout Youth Forums were established, the first of which was held that year in Japan (which also organized the World Scout Conference that year).

Nonetheless, it was not until 1996 that the World Scout Youth Forum began to be held on a more regular basis (Japan 1971, Norway 1975, Canada 1983, Australia 1990, Switzerland 1992). In 1996, the decision was made to coordinate the World Scout Youth Forum with the World Scout Conference as part of WOSM's policy to incorporate young people into its global decision-making processes. The policy attempted to encourage youths to join the delegations of their country at the conferences and ensuring that the issues dealt with there had been discussed previously to some extent at the World Youth Forum. Simply analysing the World Forums, however, does not give us a sufficient timeline to detect an evolution of any significance. Hence, I have decided to use the world Jamborees.

In the Scouting context, the word 'Jamboree' has taken on a special meaning: a gathering of young Scouts. A great many non-systematized national and continental Jamborees are held, which are always also attended by Scouts from outside. The world Jamborees, however, are the stars of the show. They have been called since 1920 by the World Organization of the Scout Movement<sup>36</sup> and organized by the member country elected by the world conference from the candidatures. The world Jamborees have always been the gathering of reference for Scouts around the world. They were designed for the "Scouts" age group (approximately 11 to 14 years), the range that Scouting was originally aimed at and which is still the main age group in many countries and on many continents. The first Rover Moot, a rally for the over-15s, was held in 1931 and these have been held ever since. However, the Jamborees are much more popular and, more importantly, there is less data available on Moots.

Unlike the other data I have used, the figures on Jamboree and Moot attendance have been systematized by the World Scout Bureau in the 'World Scout Jamboree' database, version 1.4, though it does not contain data on the number of participants in some of the early years. When comparing this database to the 'World Scout Moot Chart', version 1.1, also by the World Scout Bureau, I found that the Jamboree data had fewer missing values than the Rover Moots for all countries and years. For the study of Jamboree data, it is the number of adolescents who attend the gatherings that interests us. However, some data is missing on certain

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<sup>36</sup> Called the Boy Scouts International Bureau until 1973.

years and countries, so it is difficult to see the evolution as it should be. As a result, I have substituted this analysis with the study of the number of countries attending the Jamborees and comparing this to the evolution in WOSM member countries, as I did with the study of world conferences. In doing so, I analysed the data for all countries and each of the continental regions, calculating the participation of each region as a percentage of that of all countries. I have also drawn up a classification for the 25 countries that brought the most adolescents to the rallies, which account for almost 87.6% of participants of Jamborees held during the period studied (1924-2004).

The geographical location of the world Jamboree is a very important factor in the participation of individuals from other continents, even more so than for the world conferences – which have a maximum of delegates – since the number of young people attending the Jamborees from any one country can run into thousands. Table 6 indicates the years of the World Scout Jamborees organized by WOSM – formerly, Boy Scouts International Bureau – since 1920, the countries where they were held and the total number of participants.<sup>37</sup>

*Table 6. Years, venues and total young attendants of World Scout Jamborees*

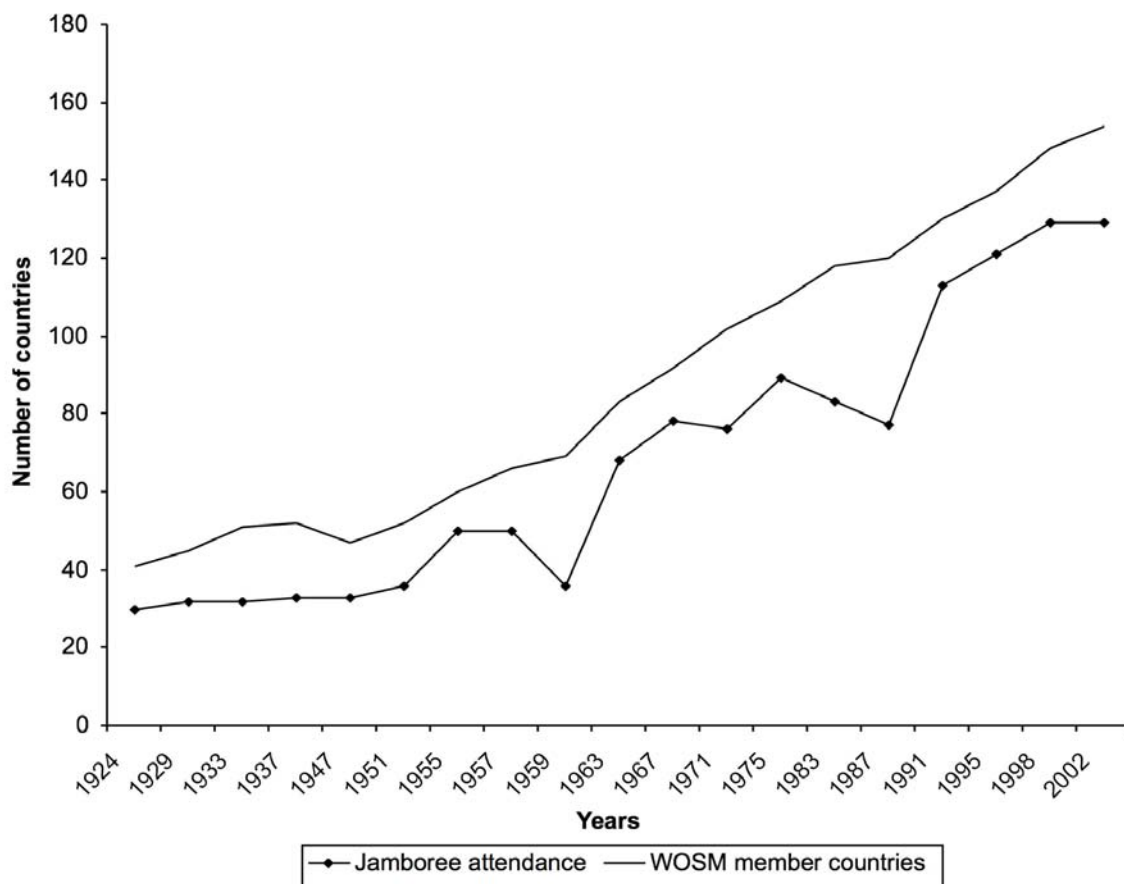
<i>Year</i>	<i>Organizer</i>	<i>Total attendance</i>
1920	United Kingdom	8,000
1924	Denmark	4,549
1929	United Kingdom	50,000
1933	Hungary	25,792
1937	Netherlands	28,750
1947	France	24,152
1951	Austria	12,372
1955	Canada	10,315
1957	United Kingdom	25,191
1959	Philippines	10,703
1963	Greece	11,111
1967	United States	10,682
1971	Japan	20,567
1975	Norway	15,211
1983	Canada	13,615
1987	Australia	14,630
1991	Korea	15,785
1995	Netherlands	23,966
1998	Chile	30,036
2002	Thailand	22,376

*Source: WOSM, World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4*

<sup>37</sup> This total is indicated in the database as "total participating Scouts".

If we compare the evolution in WOSM country participation in the world Jamborees with the evolution in the number of member countries (Figure 30), it becomes clear that the presence of young Scouts from member countries at Jamborees has increased in parallel with the growth in WOSM member countries discussed earlier. There are only two exceptions to this increase, 1959 and 1987, which registered a decrease in the number of countries attending. These two exceptions are probably due to the geographical factor: in 1959, the World Jamboree was held in the Philippines and in 1987, it was held in Australia.

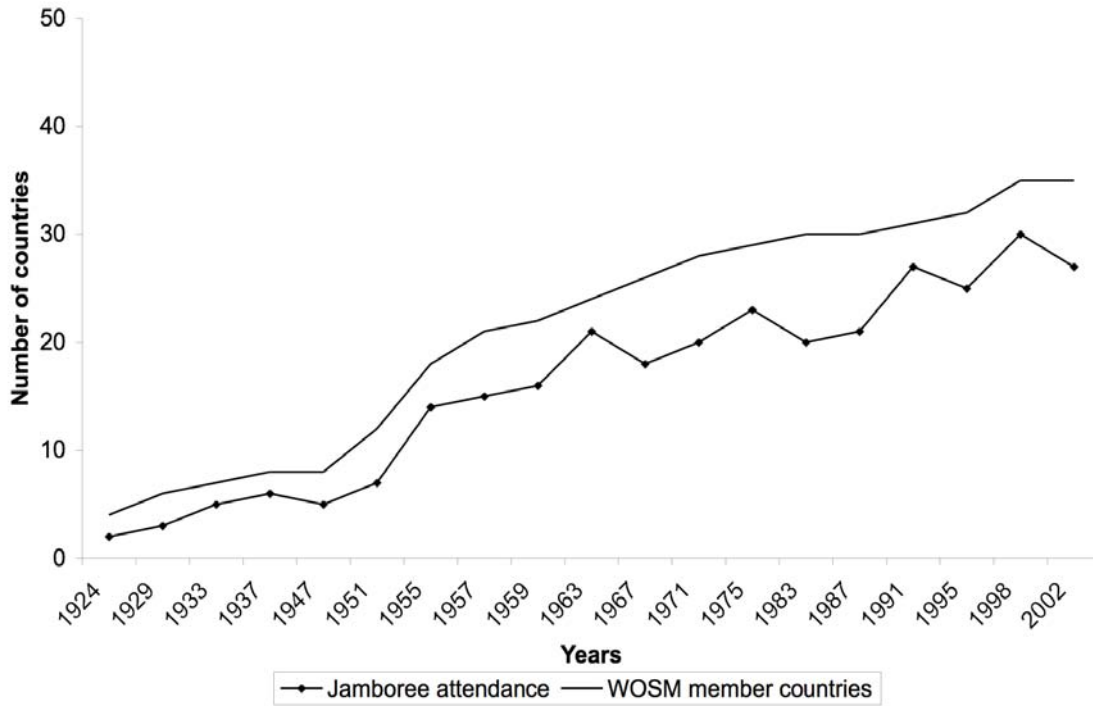
Figure 30. Comparison of the evolution in WOSM member countries and countries attending the World Scout Jamborees (1924-2004)



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

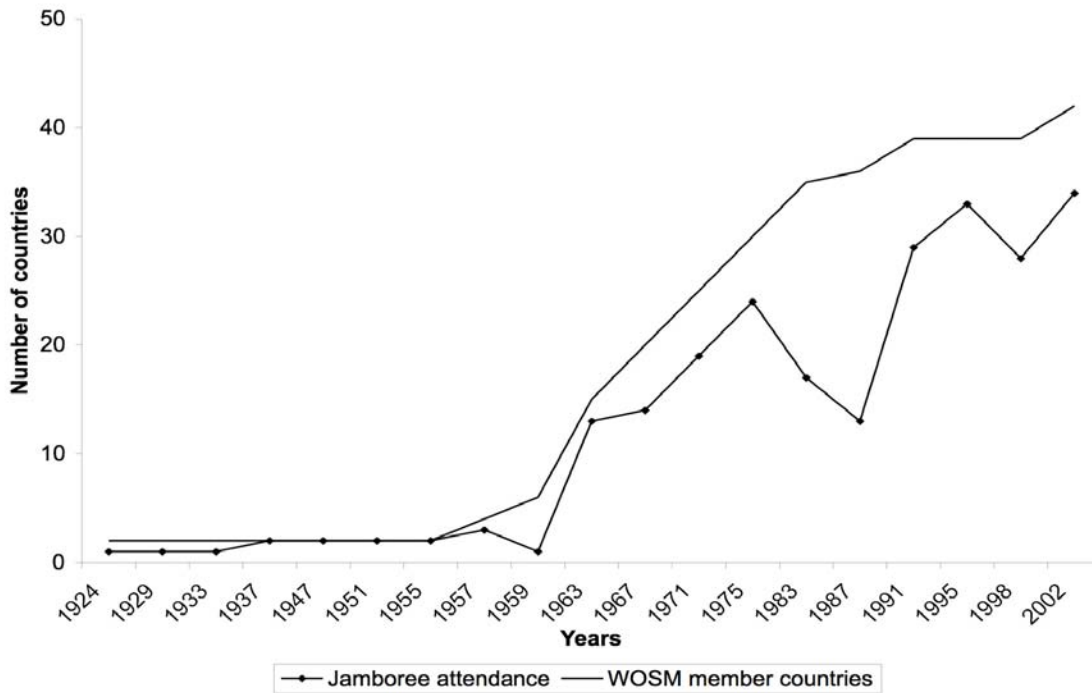
If we analyse the evolution of Jamboree attendance by geographical region (Figures 30.1 to 30.6), we see that, as with the world conferences, all regions display an increase in the number of countries attending except for Europe. Once again, the American regions have an irregular distribution. There is also a change in tendency in Africa between 1983 and 1987. In all regions, there is a similar evolution in the number of people attending the Jamborees and the number of member countries.

Figure 30.1. Comparison of the evolution in Asia of WOSM member countries and countries attending the World Scout Jamborees (1924-2004)



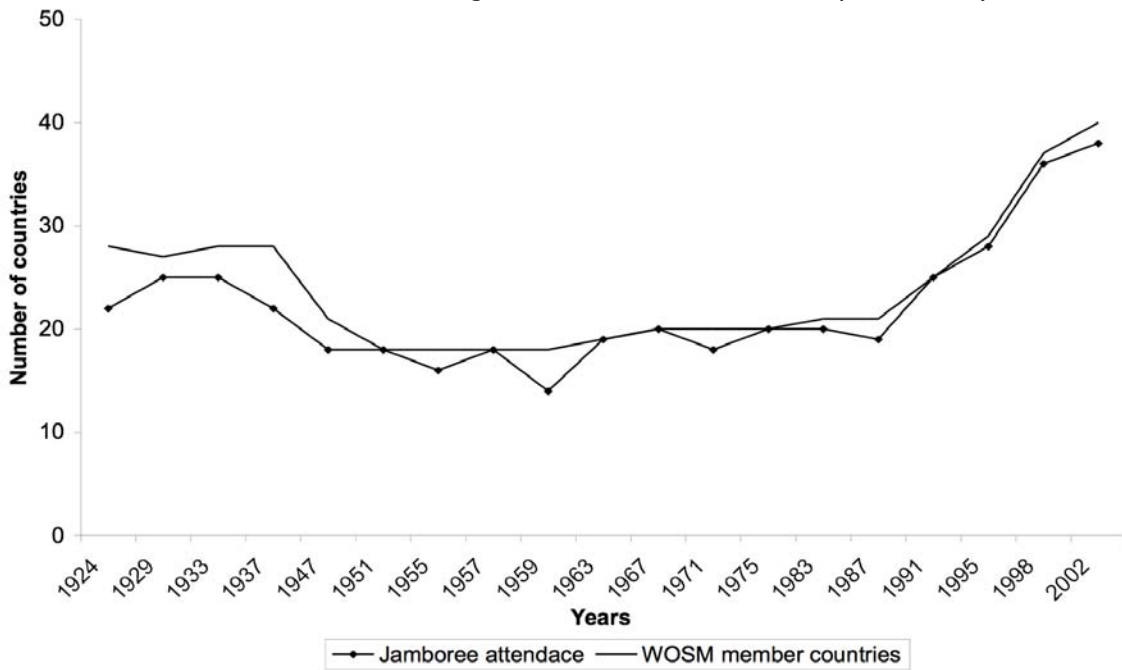
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

Figure 30.2. Comparison of the evolution in Africa of WOSM member countries and countries attending the World Scout Jamborees (1924-2004)



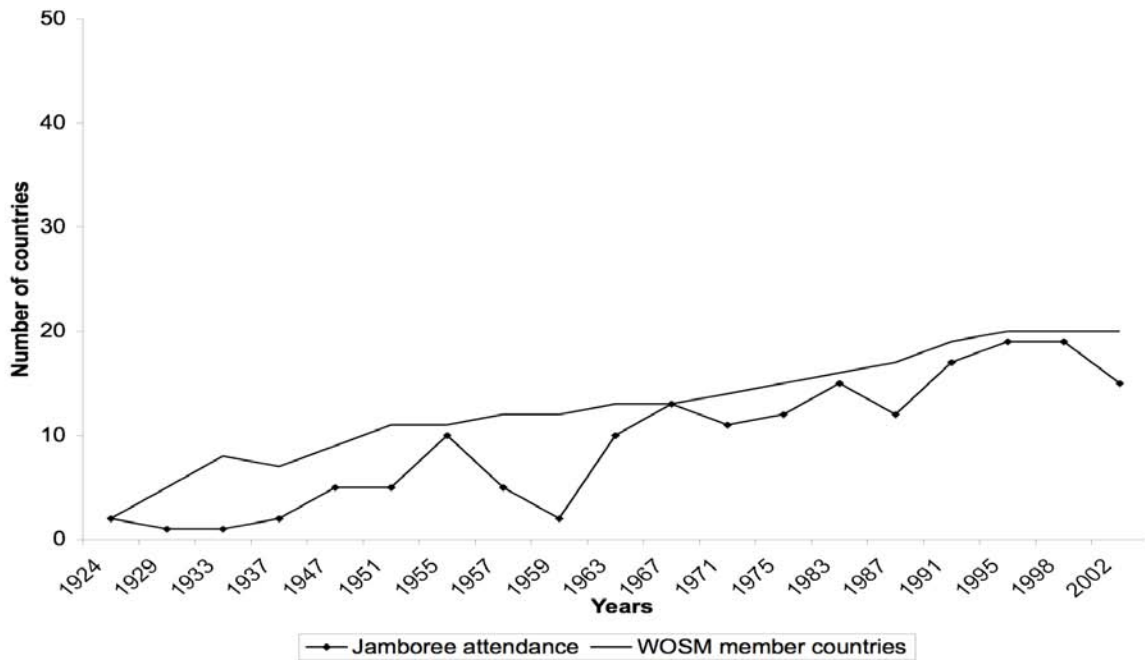
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

Figure 30.3. Comparison of the evolution in Europe of WOSM member countries and countries attending the World Scout Jamborees (1924-2004)



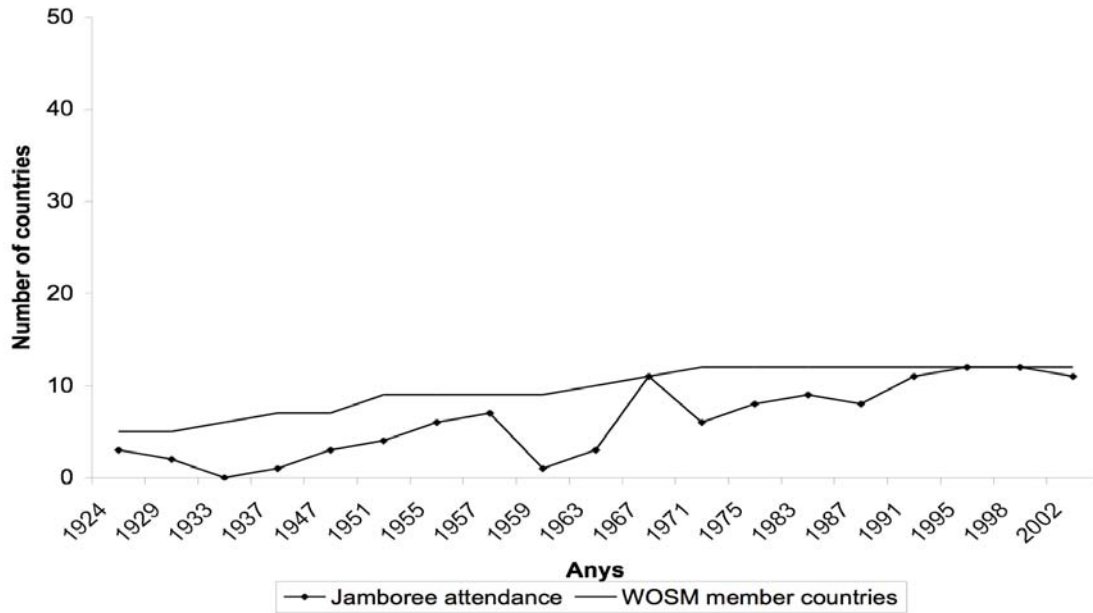
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

Figure 30.4. Comparison of the evolution in North America of WOSM member countries and countries attending the World Scout Jamborees (1924-2004)



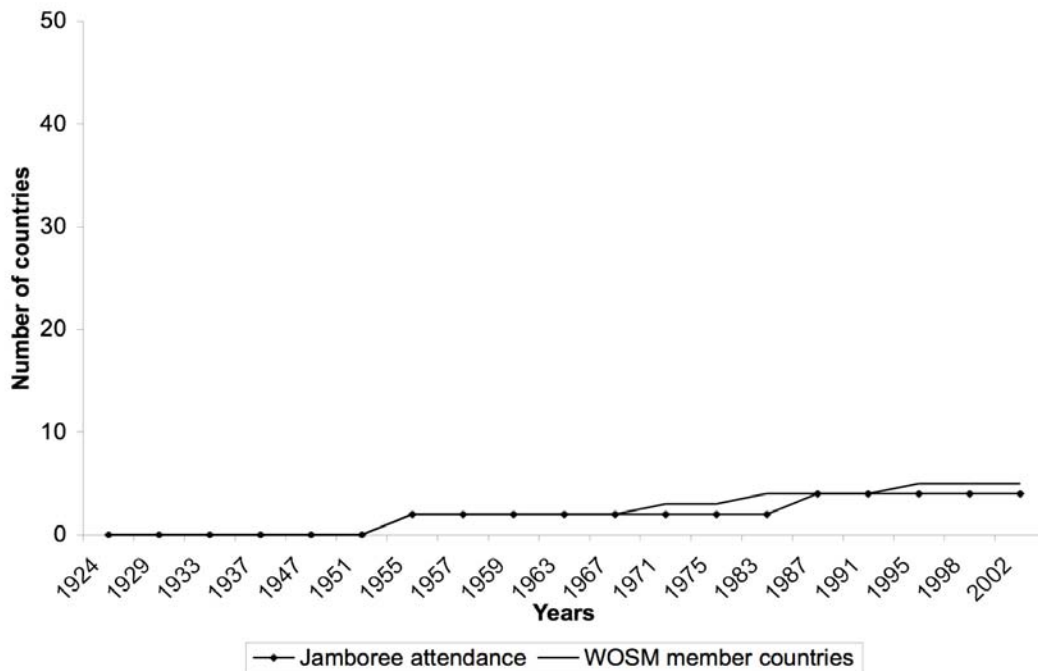
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

Figure 30.5. Comparison of the evolution in South America of WOSM member countries and countries attending the World Scout Jamborees (1924-2004)



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

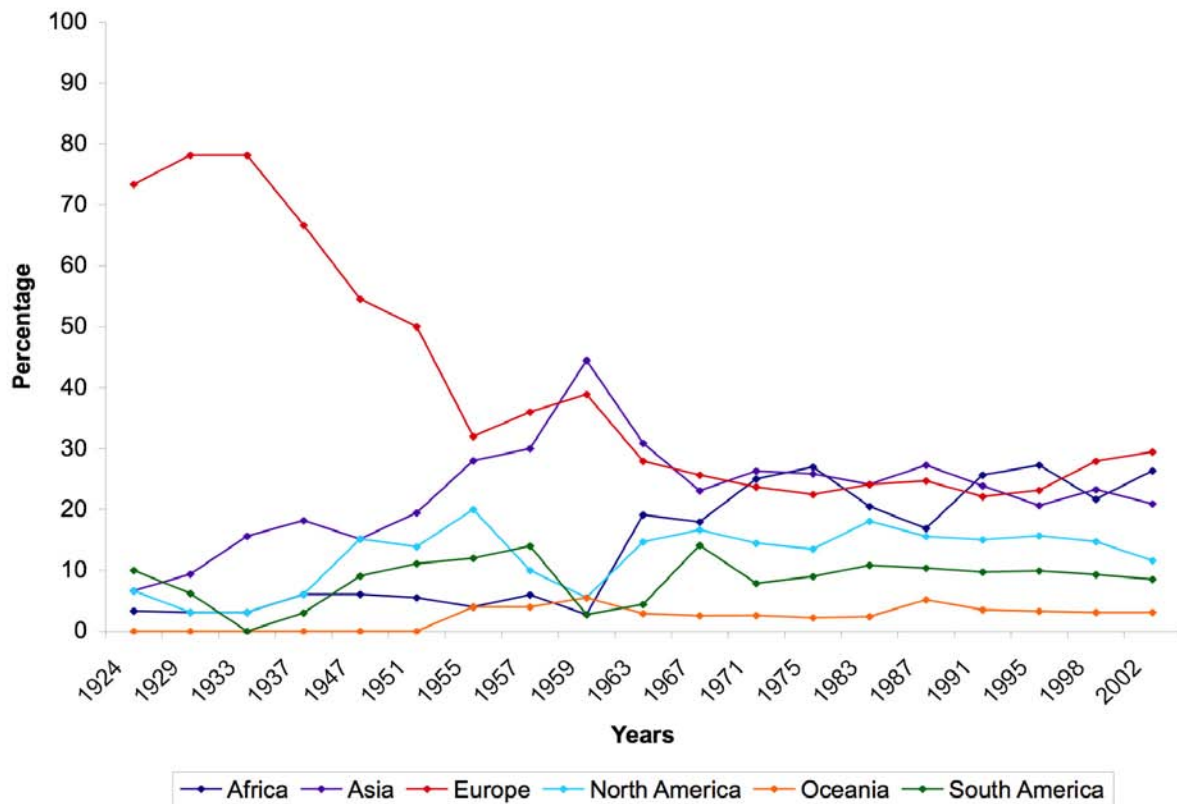
Figure 30.6. Comparison of the evolution in Oceania of WOSM member countries and countries attending the World Scout Jamborees (1924-2004)



Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)



Figure 31. Evolution in WOSM member countries attending World Scout Jamborees, by region, as a percentage of all attending countries (1924-2004)



Author's own work. Source: WOSM, World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4

Figure 31 illustrates the evolution in the percentage of WOSM member country participation in World Scout Jamborees, broken down by region. Generally, all regions (except for Asia and Europe) have a fairly similar distribution over the study period. The region with the lowest participation is Oceania, though it is also the region with fewest countries. The regions of North and South America have fairly similar distributions. Specifically, we see that their evolution is fairly constant over the period. In Africa, however, the distribution is fairly constant until the end of the 1960s but then begins to climb to higher percentages than North and South America. Lastly, the regions of Europe and Asia have very different distributions from the rest. Europe's higher figures for the 1920s (around 80%) begin to wane after the 1930s and fall to the levels of Africa and Asia in the 1960s, which, with Europe, remain the highest-ranking countries in terms of attendance. Conversely, Asia has lower participation percentages at the start of the study period, which begin to increase after World War II and reach their peak in 1959 (Philippines). After a slight decline, it recovers to the levels of Europe and Africa. Lastly, the 1959 Jamboree (Philippines) led to increased participation from Oceania, Asia and Europe and a lower participation from North and South America.

As I explained at the start of this point, the participation of young people in the World Scout Jamborees is just a small example of the many exchanges and gatherings held each year around the world. It is worth noting that, although the world Jamborees are "official" events, the absolute figures on the individuals sent

by each country vary considerably. There are many reasons for this, from the traditions of Jamboree participation in each country to purchasing power (given the cost of sending youths) and communication issues caused by linguistic difficulties. I would therefore like to end this point by indicating which countries have the most participants in World Scout Jamborees. Table 7 classifies the 24 countries with the most participants over the study period as a whole.

*Table 7. The 24 countries with the highest participation in World Scout Jamborees (aggregate figures, 1924-2002)*

<i>Region</i>	<i>Participating country</i>	<i>Attendance</i>	<i>% attendants</i>
Europe	United Kingdom	35,778	13.9
North America	United States of America	33,247	12.9
Europe	France	19,410	7.5
North America	Canada	16,142	6.3
Asia	Japan	15,037	5.8
Asia	Philippines	9,644	3.7
Europe	German Federal Republic + Germany	9,092	3.6
Asia	Thailand	8,651	3.4
South America	Chile	7,766	3.0
Europe	Switzerland	7,398	2.9
Europe	Belgium	7,353	2.9
Europe	Netherlands	7,075	2.7
Asia	South Korea	6,364	2.5
Europe	Italy	5,936	2.3
Europe	Denmark	5,710	2.2
Oceania	Australia	5,691	2.2
Europe	Austria	4,878	1.9
Europe	Sweden	4,368	1.7
South America	Brazil	3,874	1.5
South America	Argentina	3,520	1.4
Europe	Finland	3,360	1.3
Europe	Norway	3,115	1.2
North America	Mexico	2,507	1.0
Asia	China, <i>Boy Scouts of</i> (Taiwan)	2,280	0.9
	<i>Total (all countries)</i>	257,977	100.0

*Source: WOSM, World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4*

The classification shows that over 25% of all participants of World Scout Jamborees since 1924 were from the United Kingdom (The Scout Association) and the United States (Boy Scouts of America), followed some way behind by France (7.5%), Canada (6.3%) and Japan (5.8%). Interestingly, eight out of the nine countries with over 3% of all participants have, at some point, been organizers of a World Scout Jamboree. The only exception to this is Germany.

## **CHAPTER 5. COHERENCE OF PRACTICES**

### **1. GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: COHERENCE BETWEEN VALUES AND PRACTICES**

- 1.1. A Global Movement: Managing Identities
- 1.2. Peace Culture and Human Rights
- 1.3. Community Development
- 1.4. Legitimation of International Institutions
- 1.5. The World Scout Parliamentary Union

### **2. INCOHERENCIES IN PRACTICES**

- 2.1. Social Values, Inclusion, Cultural Change and Personal Criteria
- 2.2. The Influence of the USA Case

## **INTRODUCTION**

"Our aim is to bring up the next generation as useful citizens with a wider outlook than before and thereby to develop goodwill and peace in the world through comradeship and cooperation, in place of the prevailing rivalry between classes, creeds and countries, which has done so much in the past to produce wars and unrest"

Robert Baden-Powell: *Jamboree*, October 1932

The ideological bases and statistical data I have discussed in previous chapters show World Scouting to be a global movement, both in conception and territorial scope. It could equally be a global movement that did not reflect the diversity of the world community and simply connected people from different countries who embrace Western ideals, but it is this very plurality – chiefly cultural, national and religious – that makes World Scouting a truly global movement.

In this chapter, I will deal first of all with the coherence of the values of global citizenship on which Scouting is based and then move on to its practices. Before I start, however, I would like to explain how Scouting is a movement that reinforces social identities, particularly national identity – traditionally regarded as equivalent to cultural identity – and religious identity, as well as personal and group identities on another level. Scouting has never chosen to exclude these identities, though their classification is not free from contradiction and controversy. In fact, the interest of this research lies precisely in the fact that a plural and diverse movement that reinforces particularist identities can be just as committed to the idea of global citizenship through a moral connection with individuals and a binding commitment to peace. I will then discuss the coherence between the values and practices of Scouting in the three main aspects of global citizenship: peace culture and human rights, community development, and the legitimation of international institutions. I will not discuss environmental commitment, one of the classic issues of global citizenship, because, despite being a defining feature of the Scout Movement, it is dealt with primarily at local level and through life experiences.

To determine the level of coherence between values and practices, I will first explain the theoretical bases of the three aspects, as described in World Scouting

documents, and then present examples of projects carried out in different countries along the same lines. However, one of the limitations of World Scouting (possibly because it is a network) is that it does not have a single comprehensive record of projects carried out by the associations nor do the associations of individual countries have a record of the projects carried out locally by their groups. As a result, the examples described here are just that, examples, and cannot be considered representative because we do not know the global scope of the work of Scouting around the world. I will also describe and discuss the World Scout Parliamentary Union, an organization whose members are representatives from state legislative bodies and in which the plurality of World Scouting is as coherent with global citizenship as the Scout organizations themselves. Lastly, I will describe some cases that could be deemed incoherent with Scouting values and practices, to ascertain whether they are the exception rather than the rule. I will focus more specially on US Scouting because of its impact on society and academic debate.

### **1. EDUCATION FOR GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP: COHERENCE BETWEEN VALUES AND PRACTICES**

As I explained in the theoretical framework, global citizenship is a highly fragile concept and is, to all intents and purposes, more descriptive and aspirational than prescriptive: on the one hand, the concept holds that citizens all over the world are affected by issues beyond the borders of their countries and, on the other, it aspires to a republican idea of citizenship in which citizens are also aware of their global rights and duties. Simply by talking about “global citizenship” we come closer to it. Nonetheless, “global citizenship” does not mean being in favour of a “global government”; rather, it draws on the idea of belonging to the community of human beings, a community that has proclaimed a series of human rights for which we should take responsibility.

If we look at the definition of “global citizen” adopted by the international NGO Oxfam, one of the most active NGOs in terms of cooperation and development education, we see that many elements are shared by scouting:

"Oxfam sees the Global Citizen as someone who: is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen; respects and values diversity; has an understanding of how the world works; is outraged by social injustice; participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global; is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place; takes responsibility for their actions"<sup>1</sup>.

This definition reveals characteristic traits of the Scout Movement: the international dimension, the active role of citizens beyond the borders of their country, living with diversity and respect for it, an interest in how society works, the commitment to those weaker than us, social participation at every level, the will to leave the world in a better state than we find it in, and taking responsibility – commitment.

To compare Scouting’s explicit formulation of the values of global citizenship and their application to projects carried out by young members of the Scout Movement,

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<sup>1</sup> Oxfam, 2006.

I have divided my analysis of the coherence of practices into three sections. Firstly, I will discuss *peace culture and human rights*, which includes initiatives to increase understanding between people of different cultures and origins, and to promote peace and human rights as a single, indivisible concept. The second section will focus on *community development*, which covers networked campaigns to promote service to the community, community development and cooperation, and environmental actions. And thirdly, I will discuss the *legitimation of international institutions*, which covers interaction between World Scouting and the United Nations system, a legacy of its complicity with the League of Nations of the 1920s and by which it reinforces the legitimacy of institutions of global governance with its practices. The part on values in each of the three sections is based on seventy-six documents on World Scouting, the references for which are listed in Appendix 2<sup>2</sup>. Before moving on to these three sections, however, I will explain the complexity of classifying identities in World Scouting.

### 1.1. A Global Movement: Managing Identities

World Scouting was formalized in 1920 and is an educational movement that constantly interacts with elements of common identities. For identity in reference to social actors, I use Manuel Castells' definition (2006: 4), "the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority over other sources of meaning".

World Scouting is characterized by its education of individuals as citizens without discrimination, national loyalty with an international vocation, spiritual development, improving the living conditions of individuals and its commitment to peace. In most countries, Scouting has been supported by state institutions and religious confessions since it was founded there. In the past – and this is still the case in many countries – boys and girls have been separated. This means that Scouting accepts, promotes and comes into conflict with: national identity (and loyalty) and state interest; religious identity and beliefs; gender identity; civil rights, and social progress. In the words of Mayor Zaragoza, "because of its diversity, the [World Scout] Movement is one of the biggest multicultural and multiconfessional networks for education and joint action with youths, within the fine-tuning of a culture of peace, tolerance and solidarity"<sup>3</sup>.

The reasons for the main episodes of conflict in the twentieth century have been: imperialism, self-determination, xenophobia and racism, the separation of church and state, religious conflict, the founding of pluralist societies with no single definition of good and bad, mass migration, discrimination on grounds of gender or sexual orientation, the struggle against social inequalities. As Parsons (2004: 7) argues, Scouting appears to uphold the status quo in the main spheres of society: it upholds the legitimacy of the state, it upholds national loyalty and it upholds religious commitment. But the other side of this reality, no doubt encouraged by social support for the Scout Movement, is the conflict that occurs when the ethical principles of its members contradict the official view in cases that transcend the

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<sup>2</sup> The documents contained in Appendix 2 are indicated by the abbreviation '(A2)' in this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> MAYOR ZARAGOZA, 1995: 16.

limits: when it is the legitimate state that discriminates; when national identity is used to attack others, or when religious confessions are sectarian.

The *Janus* nature of Scouting, then, lies in its antagonistic relationship with identities. Could we say that Scouting, as a conglomerate of identities, also moderates their excesses? Under the guise of the principle of non-discrimination, under the notion that no one nation is better than another<sup>4</sup>, that no religion is above another and that no race is greater than any other, is it not attacking the very core of identity essentialism? I concur with Parsons and his theories on decolonization (2004), in which he states that the seed of equality is intrinsic to Scouting and that this gives rise to a contradiction between the apparent dominant logic of Scouting as a reinforcer of the status quo and its underlying ethics that encourage decolonization as a process that breaks racial barriers, stands up to discrimination, opposes fundamentalism and, in short, seeks justice<sup>5</sup>.

The values of World Scouting, i.e. the values formulated after 1920, are inclusive: citizenship, which means responsibility in common life; non-discrimination, which involves empathy, taking into account one's neighbours and acknowledging them; living together in peace, which requires prioritizing the dignity of human life over any conflict, and improving the present to build a more inclusive future. Why then has Scouting so often been accused of having exclusive values? Possibly because it was founded on the basis of two elements that lie at the very limit: nation and religion. And Baden-Powell was well aware of this. He himself had transgressed the limit, as we can see in some of his pre-World War I writings praising the British Empire and the central role of Christianity<sup>6</sup>. In 1926, however, he stated:

"As in nationalism, so it is in religion. Support of one's own form of belief is a right and proper thing, but it becomes narrow sectarianism when it does not recognise and appreciate the good points in other denominations"<sup>7</sup>.

Indeed, nation and religion, as a source of identity, are both inclusive and excluding. They are inclusive when they are used to unite, to create a sense of community. But they are excluding when they are used to limit the people 'inside' and separate them from those 'outside'. Those who are of the same identity, blood, origin and colour from those who are not; those who believe from those who do not. Amartya Sen (2003: 328) illustrates the point by explaining his reservations on politics based on identity:

"My complaint about identity politics is not meant to question, in any way, the contributions that the sense of identity of deprived groups can make in changing the predicament of those groups. Gender or class or caste can be taken up from the

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<sup>4</sup> Sen (2003) complains about the failure of trying to make us believe that we belong to different groups and that, as a result, the identities we choose to prioritize are our decision, and about the incendiary use of identity policies to terrorize those who are not members of a privileged identity.

<sup>5</sup> In the words of Parsons (2004: 25) when describing British colonial Africa, "Scouting was thus both an instrument of social control and equally potent expression of social protest".

<sup>6</sup> Writings that were not part of the movement, such as this one from 1914, illustrate the point too: "One of the first principles instilled into the mind of every embryo boy scout is that he is part of the British nation; that he must honor God and the King, and if duty calls, he must be prepared to stand by his King and country". Cecil, Price W.: 'Boy Scout Movement'. *Britannic Review*, VIII (London, 1914), 453. Quoted in SCHEIDLINGER, 1948: 741.

<sup>7</sup> BADEN-POWELL, Robert, "Religion in the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement": an address by the Chief Scout to the Joint Conference of Commissioners of Scouting and Guiding at High Leigh, 2nd July 1926. Cited in *Scouting and Spiritual Development* (A2): p. 1.

perspective of deprivation and can then be an important part of resisting inequality and injustice. Part of my unease with identity politics lies in the use that is made of the bonds of identity by privileged groups to act against the interest of others. Identity is invoked not only by impoverished groups seeking redress, but also by privileged groups that try to suppress and terrorize the others".

When World Scouting was established, with Baden-Powell's explicit commitment (as Chief Scout of the World) to the values of the *League of Nations*,<sup>8</sup> the role of nation and religion in Scouting became a tool rather than an obstacle for promoting the values we now call "global citizenship": an awareness of belonging to the world community, respect for diversity, citizens' involvement and vocation to serve others, the commitment to trying to leave the world in a better state than we find it in<sup>9</sup>. Although quoted earlier, it is appropriate to cite here the 1924 Resolution in which the International Scout Conference declared the principles of World Scouting:

"The Boy Scouts International Conference declares that the Boy Scout Movement is a movement of national, international and universal character, the object of which is to endow each separate nation and the whole world with a youth which is physically, morally and spiritually strong. It is *national*, in that it aims through national organisations, at endowing every nation with useful and healthy citizens. It is *international* in that it recognises no national barrier in the comradeship of the Scouts. It is *universal* in that it insists upon universal fraternity between all Scouts of every nation, class or creed. The Scout Movement has no tendency to weaken but, on the contrary, to strengthen individual religious belief. The Scout Law requires that a Scout shall truly and sincerely practice his religion, and the policy of the Movement forbids any kind of sectarian propaganda at mixed gatherings"<sup>10</sup>.

The national reference is clear from the very start of the resolution, both in the statement that "there is no national barrier in the comradeship of the Scouts", and in the fact that it "insists upon universal fraternity between all Scouts of every nation". The religious reference is also covered when the Resolution states that the policy of the Scout Movement "prohibits any kind of sectarian propaganda" at mixed gatherings. Not one of the resolutions passed by the respective world conferences in the almost 90 years since the two organizations were created contradicts these principles. However, I would like to mention one last aspect. World Scouting has not been exempt from the evolution of the concept of identity itself. As Imma Tubella (2003: 19) has said when discussing Scouting in the network society,

"[In our society] Peoples and cultures that believe they only have to maintain their current status become peoples and cultures of mere anthropological interest. In the information society, the network society, the future lies with peoples and cultures which, based on their specific nature – being – are able to transform themselves, to become something else".

Although this research does not aim to compare approaches to national identity in Scouting over the years, the elements I have analysed illustrate this evolution from an early "conservationist" understanding of identity to a much more modern

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<sup>8</sup> SICA, 2006: 23; COLLIS, HURLL and HAZLEWOOD, 1961: 97 (quoted in JEAL, 2001: 511).

<sup>9</sup> "Try to leave this world a little better than you find it", extract from Robert Baden-Powell's last message, quoted in HILLCOURT, 1964: 445.

<sup>10</sup> WOSM, 1985: 3 (Resolution 14/24, "Principles of Scouting").

understanding linked to the project, particularly in countries with immigration influxes.

In earlier chapters (Ideological Consistency, Origins and Historical Consistency), I have used numerous examples to illustrate how Scouting, in parallel with society, has evolved from its early understanding of matters of national identity (border changes and the rise of new states, national minorities, refugees, nations without a state), the identity of discriminated groups (racial segregation, colonization, homophobia) and religious identity (religious interventionism, spirituality without divinity, laicism). I would now like to concentrate on analysing some examples of the consistency between World Scouting's principles of universal fraternity, which it has promoted since it was formalized in 1920, and its practices. The analysis is split into the three main aspects of the concept of global citizenship: peace culture and human rights; community development; and the legitimation of international institutions. It also includes an analysis of the World Scout Parliamentary Union. The three sections analyse the values of World Scouting, based on documentation from both world organizations and a case study. Finding records of such a great many practical initiatives that could be used for comparison purposes (that is, indicating the number of participants, dates and evaluable effects), proved a very difficult task given that there is no tradition of producing documents of this nature. The choice of examples has therefore been based more on data availability than on a desire to strike a balance in geographical origin, originality, diversity of type and the extent to which aims were achieved.

## 1.2. Peace Culture and Human Rights

### 1.2.1. Peace Culture and Human Rights Values

As with the *League of Nations*, it would be difficult to understand World Scouting without its strong commitment to the idea of peace, forged in response to World War I. Peace is the basic condition for citizens' rights and a universal value linked to the value of life. Peace culture cannot be separated from the idea of an understanding between people of different characteristics, since modern conflicts are generally caused by confrontations between groups with different elements of identity. This broad understanding of peace is that used in the definitions adopted by the World Organization of the Scout Movement and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts:

"Peace is not simply the absence of war. Peace is a **dynamic process** of collaboration between all states and peoples. This collaboration must be based on a **respect** for liberty, independence, national sovereignty, equality, and respect for the law, human rights, as well as a just and **equitable** distribution of resources to meet the needs of peoples"<sup>11</sup>.

"Peace includes not only the absence of war, violence and hostilities at the national and international levels, but also the enjoyment of economic and social justice,

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<sup>11</sup> *Scouting and Peace* (A2): 13.



equality and the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms within society"<sup>12</sup>.

Similarly, the Human Rights declared at the plenary meeting of the United Nations Organization in 1948 are a universal framework asserting the equal moral status of all human beings, a statement that appears in World Scouting resolutions made before World War II<sup>13</sup>. The conceptual limits of what is meant by peace education and the promotion of human rights are therefore somewhat hazy in the Scouting definitions. Yet, the definition of "peace education" is vital, particularly if we take into account that World Scouting is essentially an educational movement. For WAGGGS,

"Peace education aims at the promotion of social structures which reduce and abolish violence and oppression, and which lead to peaceful ways of solving conflict. Peace education aims at providing people with ways to become active members of their communities, actively contributing to the safeguard and development of internal and external peace. Peace education cannot be imposed on others. It needs to develop as a dialogue between equal partners and be linked to the reality of every day life"<sup>14</sup>.

For WOSM, the definition of peace has three broad dimensions. Firstly, peace as opposed to conflict, which is the *political dimension*. Secondly, the *dimension of personal, interpersonal and intercultural relations*, which is concerned with the development of individuals and their relationships with others and their cultures. And thirdly, the *dimension of relations between human beings and the planet* covers issues such as justice, equality and the environment. Nonetheless, the development of the definition does not lose sight of the fact that Scouting's contribution to peace is indirect rather than direct. Scouting creates the conditions for peace, but it is not a peace-making agent:

"It is a definition which explicitly links peace to justice and manifests implicitly that there can be no peace without justice, but that there can be no justice without peace. More fundamentally, it is a definition that stresses the importance of indirect contribution to peace (which is precisely Scouting's relationship to peace), as compared to direct "peace-making."<sup>15</sup>.

World Scouting's general contribution to peace, therefore, goes far beyond explicit references to it. As WOSM explains, Scouting has contributed to peace building since its formalization by creating a sense of brotherhood and understanding that transcends national borders. The movement has also promoted democratic and responsible citizenship at all levels: local, national and international. For Scouting, peace can refer to its contribution to helping individuals to develop a sense of personal identity and to develop mature, responsible and enjoyable interpersonal relationships, also from an intercultural point of view. Lastly, Scouting helps to build peace around the world with its contribution to the "cause of justice and social

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<sup>12</sup> Nairobi Forward looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women in 1985. Quoted in *Creating Peace Worldwide* (A2): p. 11, Worksheet 12: "Pluralism and Diversity".

<sup>13</sup> In this 1937 Resolution, at the time that Nazi Germany was persecuting the Jews, it is made very clear: "The Conference resolves that the International Committee be requested to do all that it can to ensure that Scouting and Rovering in all countries, while fostering true patriotism, are genuinely kept within the limits of international cooperation and friendship, irrespective of creed and race, as has always been outlined by the Chief Scout". WOSM, 1985: 15 (Resolution 15/37).

<sup>14</sup> *Creating Peace Worldwide* (A2): p. 2, Worksheet 1: "Peace"

<sup>15</sup> *Scouting and Peace* (A2): p. 13.

development", and by encouraging relations between people and their environment<sup>16</sup>.

Although I have discussed this in detail in the Origins and Historical Consistency and Ideological Consistency chapters, the relationship between Scouting and religion is also part of its contribution to peace. Primarily, because it is based on the fact that "the spiritual dimension in Scouting unifies people and should not divide them. A *true Scout* activity should give birth to or reinforce a feeling of tolerance, respect and understanding of the faith of others"<sup>17</sup>. Since the development of the spiritual dimension of individuals is a fundamental part of the educational task of Scouting, its interaction with religious organizations has been significant since its early years, particularly with major religions: the various Christian churches, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism, some of which have consultative status and many run local Scout groups. Scouting's ability to be seen as 'belonging' to different cultures and confessions is undoubtedly one of the keys to its success. A document issued by WOSM's network of Muslim Scouts (the International Union of Muslim Scouts), for example, states that

"Scout movement, which includes millions of youth both in the east and west, was not a novelty to the Islamic world, since its core and its basics organization and humanitarian principles, as well as its original slogans as enumerated by Lord Baden-Powell<sup>18</sup>, were all basic Islamic principles"<sup>19</sup>.

Be that as it may, WOSM's stance is that "Scouting cooperates with the family, the school, the State, the Churches and the spiritual communities, but is not subordinate to any of them"<sup>20</sup>. Thus, as I explained earlier, the existence of confessional networks within World Scouting is a way of avoiding uniconfessional splintering and maintaining different religious confessions in the same movement. A number of initiatives have been developed to encourage interreligious dialogue within Scouting.

One of the benchmark documents on this issue, *Scouting and Spiritual Development* (2001), was drawn up as a result of WOSM's International Interreligious Group meeting held the year before. In the letter of introduction, the then-Secretary General of WOSM, Jacques Moreillon, noted "Scouting seeks to contribute to the development of young people who are strong in their convictions yet who are open and tolerant, firm in their faith while respectful of the faith of others – far away from fanaticism"<sup>21</sup>. This statement takes on greater relevance if we consider the strength of the Scout Movement in countries with a major Islamic and Christian fundamentalist component. Along these lines, in 2003, WOSM organized the 1st World Scout Interreligious Symposium in Valencia. The event was attended by Scout representatives from 33 countries linked to 12 religious confessions. One of the conclusions requested that Scout associations include

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<sup>16</sup> *Scouting and Peace* (A2): 59-60.

<sup>17</sup> *Scouting and Spiritual Development* (A2): 45.

<sup>18</sup> It refers to the text of the *Scout Law*.

<sup>19</sup> *Promises and the Law in Islam*. International Union of Muslim Scouts, Saudi Arabia. (Not dated, but probably between 2004 and 2006).

<sup>20</sup> *Scouting and Spiritual Development* (A2): 51.

<sup>21</sup> Jacques Moreillon, Circular 41/2001: 'Reference document: Scouting and Spiritual Development', World Scout Bureau, December 2001.

aspects of interreligious education and dialogue in leader training<sup>22</sup>. The second symposium was held in Taiwan in May 2006.

The global "triennial themes" of WAGGGS are another way of explaining the movement's open understanding of peace. WAGGGS allocates three years to promoting each of these themes among its associations. The theme for 1996-2002 was "Building World Citizenship", which was based on the mission that WAGGGS had just adopted: "To enable girls and young women to develop their full potential as responsible citizens of the world". Projects were carried out by member associations in six main areas: culture and heritage, education, environment, food and nutrition, health and peace. The degree to which objectives were achieved was assessed on four levels: results for children (personal development), for their communities (community development), for the associations (greater experience and growth) and for the world organization (global achievement of objectives)<sup>23</sup>. The theme chosen for 2002-2005 was "Our Rights, Our Responsibilities", which had a clear educational aim: "to raise awareness about universal basic rights helps people to take active and positive responsibility for claiming rights for themselves and others". For WAGGGS, "People who are aware of their rights are more likely to become active and effective citizens". They also pointed out that "Activities have been developed to help young people consider their rights and responsibilities as individuals and as members of their local and the global community"<sup>24</sup>.

Having dealt with World Scouting's principles on peace and human rights, I will now illustrate the coherence of their application by local Scout groups using examples of practices. But before doing so, I would like to make two points. Firstly, Scouts carry out projects besides awareness raising that are very relevant to their communities, sometimes changing people's lives decisively. In many of these cases, the motto "you can make the difference" does in fact hold true. And secondly, I would like to go back to the network idea I touched on earlier: in most cases, activities are not dictated by the world or regional organizations; they are actually local initiatives that come about through the interaction of Scouts with their immediate context, which the world organization later takes up to illustrate the reality of Scouting. Shared values are the real driving force behind the network.

### *1.2.2. Peace Culture and Human Rights Practices*

Although there are many examples of Scouting actions to promote peace culture, I will focus on cross-border initiatives, which means that I must leave out some very interesting projects such as that to disarm young people carried out by Scouts in Brazil and the Egyptian Scouting project to improve living conditions for child labourers. I have chosen five examples: the project for peace in the African Great Lakes region, an outstanding achievement considering the social context of this region; the project to promote social harmony between the British and the Irish in the framework of the Northern Ireland conflict; the joint project with the Gypsy

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<sup>22</sup> 'I World Scout Interreligious Symposium: 'Learning to Live Together: Tolerance and Solidarity'. General Conclusions" (A2).

<sup>23</sup> 'Building World Citizenship': 1996-2002 Summary" (A2).

<sup>24</sup> "Our Rights, Our Responsibilities" (A2): p. 3-4.

minority in Slovakia; the integration of juvenile delinquents in Hong Kong (this is the only one that does not cross borders); and the post-war exchange project for Serbs, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia.

However, the information available varies substantially from project to project. While we find a great deal of information on the Great Lakes programme, there is very little on Hong Kong and Bosnia. I have therefore opted to discuss the projects at length when there is more information on them and supply all of the available information in cases where there is little.

*a) Peace Education in the Great Lakes Region (Africa)*<sup>25</sup>

The first practical example of a project to develop a peace culture is the peace education project launched in the framework of the crisis in Burundi in October 1993, the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and the two 'liberation wars' in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire). When these events took place, various local Scout associations from the Great Lakes region of Africa organized Scout activities with children in the refugee camps, both in the country and abroad, particularly in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Tanzania. The project organizers were the Scout associations of Rwanda (ASR), Burundi (ASB) and the two provincial associations (North and South Kivu) of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The cooperation between Scout leaders of diverse organizations in this vast region generated by the conflict led almost automatically to the idea of creating a flexible structure for cooperation between the Scout associations of Rwanda (ASR), Burundi (ASB) and the two provincial associations (North and South Kivu) of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This structure was named the "Concertation Scoute des Grands Lacs" (Dialogue of Scouts of the Great Lakes).

In the circumstances, the leaders dealt initially with emergency situations, but the need soon arose to do more so they prepared a comprehensive Plan of Action for the education of future generations "in the spirit of peace, tolerance, understanding and reconciliation". This Plan of Action was approved at the first seminar held in 1996 in Bujumbura, where the "Peace Charter of the Scouts of the Great Lakes" was passed.

The general Plan of Action focuses on the educational approach of Scouting and on the philosophy and practice of non-violent methods of action. Its general aims are: (i) to give a new boost to peace activities for young people; (ii) to promote exchanges between young Scouts and non-Scouts and (iii) to qualitatively and quantitatively improve the management of leaders in "Concertation Scoute des Grands Lacs" member associations.

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<sup>25</sup> Sources: *Scouting and Peace* (A2): p. 37; 'Promising Practices. Scout Sub-Regional Peace Education Programme in the Great Lakes Region of Africa' (A2); 'The Bottom Line. Scouting and Peace "We were too late last time" (Rwanda)' (A2).

The general Plan includes the organization of national and regional seminars/workshops that involve the leaders of the four partner associations. The guidelines approved in the latter are then transferred to sub-regional, provincial and local levels by multiplying agents. This means that thousands of young people receive the same message and are educated in the promotion of peace through Scout method's characteristic "learning by doing" and modern educational techniques; these techniques and method are used not only in seminars and workshops, but also in the activities for young people. The initiative uses every available opportunity to generate intercultural and inter-ethnic contact, such as work camps to rebuild houses in Burundi with the participation and efforts of young people from a range of different countries.

Given the social task carried out by Scout associations in this complex socio-political context, these activities have been supported by leading regional, national and international organizations, including various town councils and the bishops of the affected dioceses, the Damien Foundation, the leprosy relief organization AHM (Munich), Save the Children and a number of representatives of UNESCO, UNICEF and the UNHCR. The Global Development Village organized for the 19th World Scout Jamboree (Chile, 1999) and the 11th World Scout Moot (Mexico, 2000) put on a series of peace-culture workshops, hosted by the regional leaders, to provide a platform for the multiplication of knowledge.

More specifically, the Peace Project in Rwanda was launched in 1996. During the genocide of Rwanda and Burundi, a group of Scouts led by a young Scout from the Goma province buried dead bodies, distributed food and clothing, and generally formed a core of support for the international NGOs operating in the refugee camps of the area. The organizers were the Scout associations of Rwanda, Burundi and Congo, with the support of the regional WOSM office, the Belgian NGO Broederlojk Delen and the Queen Silvia Fund of the World Scout Foundation. Together with Scouts from other associations in the region, they secretly organized a camp for young Hutus and Tutsis, Rwandans, Congolese and Burundis. Youths from the various associations involved also took part in two work camps to rebuild houses for people who had lost their homes in the conflict. A total of 1194 leaders and 48,638 Scouts took part in these programmes. In 2002 and 2003, the participating groups diversified their actions: the preparation of leaders was increased and they were trained as multipliers of non-violent conflict-resolution techniques; a profile-raising campaign was launched; cross-border and cross-community workshops were organized on living in peace, tolerance and interdependence, and this project was related to other themes developed by Scouts in the area, such as AIDS prevention programmes.

*b) Ireland: A Citizenship Project Challenging Prejudices, Violence and Hatred<sup>26</sup>*

The second example is a citizenship education project organized jointly by the two Irish Scout associations – which merged into Scouting Ireland in 2004 – and the

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<sup>26</sup> Source: 'The Bottom Line. Peace takes time... but it can be achieved' (Northern Ireland conflict) (A2).

Scout Association UK, with support from the European Union Programme for Peace and Reconciliation and the International Fund for Ireland.

As the organizers explain, despite the political developments of recent years and the peace agreement, the communities of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland remain fiercely at odds. A number of solutions were used to try and reduce the conflictive situation: financial investment, industrial development and, most significantly, building trust and promoting cross-community and cross-border exchange. With this aim in mind, the island's three Scout associations developed a *Scout citizenship project*, with an educational programme for all age groups.

For this programme, the three organizations set up leader exchanges, carried out joint activities and organized youth exchange programmes. Hundreds of *Scouts* (adolescents) and *Venture Scouts* (youths) took part in the programmes, staying in homes "on the other side", making friends and realizing that the people "on the other side" are as "normal" as they are.

A programme is being designed that will be split across two strategic activity centres: one on the border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland and the other in the middle of Northern Ireland. They will be Centres for Peace and Reconciliation. Around 60,000 young members of the Scout associations organizing the programme will benefit from the initiative. There are also plans to extend the Peace Programme to schoolchildren and members of other youth organizations.

*c) Slovakia: Joint Work with the Romany (Gypsy) Community<sup>27</sup>*

The third example of peace culture and human rights practices is the Slovak Scouting programme to integrate a very marginalized minority: the gypsies or *Romanies*. Many countries have a mix of ethnic, religious, cultural and social groups and the marginalization of certain minorities sometimes means that young people from these groups do not have the opportunity to join Scouting, which is responsible for ensuring that young people from all walks of life and diverse parts of society are able to join the movement. The initiative draws on the fact that Scouting is probably one of the few organizations and institutions capable of carrying off this integration by working with young people during their educational years. One example is the Romanies.

The Romanies, or gypsies, live all over Europe. They have a long cultural tradition and their own language. They are rarely integrated into the society in which they live. They live in poverty, suffer from discrimination by non-Romanies, have erratic education and unemployment. These are some of the reasons why Romany parents in Slovakia wanted to establish connections with Scouting a few years ago. A network of Scout groups was set up with the task of raising the project's profile among Romany communities. It sought ways of collaborating with the leaders of the Romany Scouts, and a specific programme for Romany Scouts at Slovensky Skauting, the Scout association of Slovakia, has been in place for some time now.

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<sup>27</sup> Source: 'Promising Practices. Scouting in the Roma Community in Slovakia' (A2).

The key actions and results included the creation of a Scout programme covering the needs of Romany children. Other achievements were:

- The construction of a network of Romany and non-Romany volunteers to carry out fieldwork with a view to setting up new Scout groups, organized by positive local leaders.
- Support for the training of Romany leaders.
- Activities for Romany and non-Romany Scouts in Slovakia.
- Special activities for non-Scout children – Romany and non-Romany – based around the theme of responsibility and cultural tolerance. So far, over 800 people have taken part in these activities.
- The Romany Scout leaders are currently taking part in national and international Scout events and training opportunities.
- Schools and teachers have noticed an improvement in the behaviour and attendance of Romanies who have become Scouts. The number of students continuing with their secondary-school studies has also increased.
- The parents of Romany Scouts have observed an improvement in their behaviour, notably greater respect for their parents and a readiness to help around the home and in the community.

Scouting also has 651 new members, which represents an increase of 6% in the number of associate members of Slovensky Skauting in Slovakia.

*d) Hong Kong: Scouting in Prisons for Juvenile Delinquents<sup>28</sup>*

One small example of peace and human rights is the Scout association of Hong Kong, which has been working since 1988 with the Cape Collinson Correctional Institution (Hong Kong Island) and Lai King Training Centre (New Territories), where juvenile delinquents are serving sentences. Many countries have problems rehabilitating marginalized young people, especially once they have committed a crime. As a result, they often return to a life of crime when they leave the correctional centre. The project draws on the fact that Scouting can have a positive impact on the lives of these young people, before or after they have committed a crime.

In the Hong Kong project, a team of leaders set up Scout groups for juvenile delinquents in correctional centres. The programme is a real Scout programme that offers outside activities, skills training, a troop system and leadership development. The Scout programme is offered to all inmates though membership is voluntary, as is the case with all Scouting.

The supervisors of the centres have reported a considerable improvement in inmate behaviour, attention to personal improvement and self-esteem. From 1988 to 2004, some 2000 youths joined the programme and the association claims that none have

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<sup>28</sup> Source: 'The Bottom Line. All my Scouts... are in prison! (Hong Kong)' (A2).

committed crimes since they left the correctional centres. UK Scouting developed a similar project: "The Essex Experience".

e) *Bosnia: 2000 PaxAn*<sup>29</sup>

The last example of peace and human rights is the Bosnie 2000 PaxAn project, organized jointly by Scout associations in France and Germany and the Scout federation of Bosnia Herzegovina. The project consisted of an exchange programme between young Serbs, Croats and Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina and French and German youths, with the support of the leaders of the two Scout organizations of the region – the Republic of Serbia and the Croat-Muslim Federation.

The initiative sought to ease the ill feeling between young people from the different communities and had two other structural aims: to establish a lasting partnership on educational issues and a review of the educational programme between the two associations of the communities at loggerheads, and to secure funding in order to develop long-term bases.

The Bosnie 2000 PaxAn exchange took place from 29th July to 13th August 2000 in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the participation of 750 Serbs, 100 French and German youths and 70 Federation Scouts. The event was given a lot of press – the Prime Minister visited in person – and it was considered an important indicator of the role of Scouts in Bosnia and Herzegovina as pioneers in restoring peace to the Balkans.

### 1.3. Community Development

#### 1.3.1. *Community Development Values*

Serving the community and environmental awareness are another two areas on which the Scout Movement hinges. Scouting's vocation to serve the community is its main tool for citizenship education, simplified in the 1908 text by the idea that every Scout had to do a "good turn" every day. This logic of serving the community has been developed from local to global level in four areas: service to the community, community development (i.e. contributing to the development of one's own community), development education (i.e. awareness of the development of other communities) and development cooperation (i.e. taking joint responsibility for the development of other communities)<sup>30</sup>. There are another two reasons for this crucial link between Scouting and the environment. Firstly, because nature is Scouting's educational space par excellence. In the words of Baden-Powell (1922),

"And yet in it all there is life and sensation, reproduction, death and evolution going on steadily under the same great law by which we ... are governed. Man has his Nature-comrades among, the forest plants and creatures. For those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, the forest is at once a laboratory, a club and a temple".

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<sup>29</sup> Source: 'The Bottom Line. Never again! "We do not remember - but we were told"' (Balkans War) (A2).

<sup>30</sup> 'Community Involvement Resource Pack' (A2): p. 3-4.



And secondly, because the commitment to the conservation of the natural world is a constant in the movement: "By instilling love and respect for nature among millions of children and young people that have passed through its ranks, Scouting has made an extremely significant contribution to the present momentum of the environmental cause throughout the world"<sup>31</sup>. Although it is an inseparable element of the Scout identity, environmental work is carried out chiefly at local level, through experiences, so practices in this area focus more on community development.

The concept of development cooperation as an extension of the early idea of serving the Community was adopted in the 1960s, when the movement began to take off in developing countries. In 1971<sup>32</sup>, the World Scout Conference officially made community development an integral part of Scouting's educational programme and it has since been fundamental for developing countries<sup>33</sup>. This incorporation is indicative of Scouting's ability to adapt. In developing countries in particular, the educational method was modified to involve more young people in the movement. Scouting's aim of educating "for good citizenship" could not overlook the growing reality of the movement, as explained in this 1971 text:

"Considering that, in 57 member countries of the Scout Movement, good citizenship is inconceivable unless it were directed towards the economic development of the country, the relationship between Scouting and development becomes obvious. Economic development has become, today, the fundamental problem involved in the national-building of poor countries; by the same token, it has become the *raison d'être* of Scouting in these countries"<sup>34</sup>.

There are a number of reasons for the Scout Movement's proficiency in development cooperation<sup>35</sup>. Firstly, it is a voluntary movement, which means that participants are motivated and resources are used more efficiently. Its educational method focuses on the roots rather than the symptoms of problems, a method validated in diverse social and cultural environments, including developing countries. The non-governmental and non-partisan nature of Scout associations increases the range of social acceptance of Scouting, which is reinforced by a strongly local approach allowing for long-term perspectives. And lastly, the links between Scouts from different countries encourage Scouts in developed countries to cooperate with those from developing countries.

Thus, the benefits of bilateral cooperation programmes extend way beyond the project per se: they give Scouts and the communities of the respective countries the opportunity to develop cooperation and the understanding of peace and peace culture<sup>36</sup>. Scouting's environmental commitment has been linked over the years to community development. It is through its environmental activities that Scouting can mobilize communities to participate in constructive projects, creating meaningful activities for many young people outside Scouting. They also increase

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<sup>31</sup> *Scouting and the Environment* (A2): 7.

<sup>32</sup> WOSM, 1985: 73. Resolution 14/71: Development).

<sup>33</sup> *Scouting: An Integrated Approach to Development* (A2): p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> *Scouting and Peace* (A2): 8

<sup>35</sup> *Community Development Programme, 1987-1989* (A2).

<sup>36</sup> *Scouting and Community Development* (A2): p. 4-5

the self-esteem and quality of life of those living in these communities through their own efforts<sup>37</sup>.

Scout community development programmes are based on selectivity – approaching the individual situation of each country – and specialization – centring the programme on specific sectors: health, hygiene, water and water facilities; renewable energies; food production and literacy, and occupational and educational skills<sup>38</sup>. However, the benefits for the countries involved lie in their long-term educational effects rather than in the development of the community itself. Experience has shown that the long-term benefits can be greater if the association's management skills and the abilities of those in charge are improved when the development programme is being implemented<sup>39</sup>. The training quality of the project leaders is vital for the success of these programmes, which is why it is prioritized as part of the programme. Moreover, these actions are made possible by the technical assistance and financial aid of many development agencies, international organizations, governments and public institutions, particularly in developed countries, as well as the Scout associations themselves<sup>40</sup>.

The efficiency with which World Scouting has managed cooperation projects from the beginning can be seen in a very interesting document published in 1982 by the veteran US agency USAID (United States Agency for International Development): 'Evaluation Report: USAID Grants to US Foundation for International Scouting'<sup>41</sup>, which contains the results of an external audit organized to find out how the World Scout Bureau had used the funds (over 1.8 million dollars) it had received since 1977, over six years, through the United States Foundation for International Scouting. The consultants based their findings on meetings held at the Geneva headquarters and on field studies in seven of the 20 "target countries" where cooperation programmes were carried out with the funds: Egypt, Nepal, Thailand, Indonesia, Kenya, Rwanda and the Upper Volta. The conclusions were clear:

"Objectives of the grants as laid out in the logical framework generally have been achieved as measured by staff grow and competence, publication of training manuals, and leadership training seminars and workshops conducted at the regional and national levels. As concern the national Scout associations in the target countries, they are now producing community development plans and concerted programs on a national level and in most of the community development is accepted as the primary scout activity"<sup>42</sup>.

The document also points out the importance of community development indicators for producing accurate assessments. It states that, if we gauge the success of community development by the effect it has on society as a whole, Scouting actions cannot be considered successful enough. However, if community development is

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<sup>37</sup> *Scouting and the Environment (A2)*: p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> *Community Development Programme 1987-1989 (A2)*: p. 3, 12-14, 22.

<sup>39</sup> *Scouting: An Integrated Approach to Development (A2)*: p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> *Scouting and Community Development (A2)*: p. 4-5.

<sup>41</sup> 'Evaluation Report: USAID Grants to US Foundation for International Scouting' (Evaluation Report: USAID Development Program Grant and Institutional Support Grant to the US Foundation for International Scouting to Strengthen Community Development Capability). Maurice Kilbridge and Robert Smail, Washington DC, February 1982.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p. iii.

understood to mean "the education and guidance of young people and the creation of opportunities for productive activities among unemployed youths", then, it states, the Scouts have been "vastly successful".

One of the points made in the report is that Western models of Scouting were put to one side with the emergence of local leadership, generating "a sense of priorities and values appropriate to the needs of poor countries. Scout activities have thus become relevant and important to the main stream of economic development". And it cites the case of the Upper Volta to illustrate the point that, in some countries,

"scouting is the only form of interesting and productive activity available to the unemployed rural youth and they cling to it into their twenties. As scouts they perform community services and lead in community development and this is just enough involvement to prevent their migrating"<sup>43</sup>.

The consultants' assessment of the twenty development projects coordinated by the World Scout Bureau with US funding, along the lines of the Scout cooperation policy launched in 1971, was very positive:

"In any fair and comprehensive evaluation of the so-called community development activities of the scout associations in the "target countries" one is compelled to broaden the base of the measurement to include the education of youth, development training, employment substitution and community assistance. On this broad measure, the Scouts, in their great variety of activities and programs, are being wonderfully successful"<sup>44</sup>.

The consultants also commented on the subtle but effective results of the silent long-term educational task of Scout community development actions:

"By funding the scouts' community development activities, the US Agency for International Development has more or less accidentally hit upon an extremely effective and frugal means of development training. We have dug for silver and we found gold. In the opinion of the consultants, *it is in this long-run educational effect, more than in community development projects themselves, that the national benefit lies*"<sup>45</sup>.

One final point to make on this topic is that the consultants highlight the support given to the development projects by the governments of the seven countries they visited and conclude that there is a logical reason for this: "The scout associations, without exception we believe, are the largest youth organizations in each of these nations. Governments recognize their potential as instruments of development and as citizen training institutions"<sup>46</sup>.

On the theme of its Scouting development cooperation projects, in 1989, WOSM organized a discussion forum in Kigali with the aim of improving the quality and quantity of partnership projects. This led to the 'Kigali Charter', a preliminary text that establishes equality among parties and sets down the guiding principles of the

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p. iii.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, p. iii.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145 (the italics are mine).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p. 144.

projects, which include "The refusal to enter into partnership with any association which supports an oppressive regime"<sup>47</sup>. Five years later, in 1994, an international symposium on "Scouting: Youth Without Borders, Partnership and Solidarity" was organized in Marrakech, leading to the Marrakech Charter, the benchmark document for Scouting cooperation. Its bases were very clear:

"Our world is becoming more and more like a *global village*, and "earth-home-land"; at the same time it is becoming a complex, troubled and fragmented planet. Partnership, with its three dimensions – a contribution to the development of Scouting, a contribution to the development of the community, and a contribution to the meeting of peoples and to peace – should act as a driving force in the internal dynamics of the Movement that the Strategy seeks to establish"<sup>48</sup>.

The Marrakech Charter defines the main aspects of partnership in Scouting's cooperation, and its connection with educational action. It also highlights the importance of arranging multilateral partnerships, which add to its educational action. Lastly, it refers to the supportive role of Scouting during emergencies – before, during and after – and the need to arrange contracts to regulate partnerships<sup>49</sup>. The impact of cooperation projects reached the point where, in 2002, the World Scout Conference confirmed that Scout partnership in development cooperation was "the only way of promoting genuine international solidarity"<sup>50</sup>. In 2005, a seminar evaluating 10 years of Marrakech was held in Bangalore, which reinforced certain points of the Marrakech Charter<sup>51</sup>. The precision of these documents, particularly the Marrakech Charter, is very avant-garde in comparison to the current policies of development NGOs. It provides a very clear definition of the relationship between parties in order to guarantee the satisfaction and equality of organizations. It develops the relationship between partnerships and development education, and the need for projects to be evaluated as a whole. Lastly, it points out the need for development to be as sustainable and efficient as possible and for funds to come from sources that will give maximum autonomy to the project<sup>52</sup>.

In education, a methodological tool was developed at the 1995 World Scout Jamboree held in Holland called *Global Development Village*. The tool was initially designed for young people aged 14 to 18 years and its educational aim is to make them aware of their responsibility towards their own future and that of others. It does so by illustrating the interdependence of the themes dealt with and developing the youths' readiness to act in conjunction with others along the same lines. It also promotes the exchange of knowledge and encourages Scouts to become more involved in their communities<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> *International Symposium 'Scouting: Youth Without Borders, Partnership and Solidarity'. Key Texts (A2):* p. 6-7.

<sup>48</sup> *The Marrakech Charter (A2):* p. 4.

<sup>49</sup> *The Marrakech Charter (A2):* p. 10-11.

<sup>50</sup> *Partnership and Solidarity: Evaluation of the use of the Marrakech Charter (A2).*

<sup>51</sup> *The Marrakech Charter. Bangalore Revised Edition (A2).*

<sup>52</sup> *The Marrakech Charter (A2):* p. 7-9.

<sup>53</sup> *Planning Guidebook Global Development Village (A2):* p. 3, 6, 9.

The formula is designed to generate a space for exchange between Scouts and non-Scouting organizations that share the same values (Amnesty International on human rights, the Red Cross and the UNHCR on refugees, an environmental organization on renewable energy, etc.) so that activities can be carried out that are both appealing to and educational for youths<sup>54</sup>. The Global Development Village has been introduced into international meetings and national activities, and offers a practical approach to working on the idea of interdependence and links with other organizations in civil society<sup>55</sup>.

To finish off, I would like to mention three thematic documents in which World Scouting focuses on issues of particular interest. The first, *Scouting's Involvement in the Elimination of Leprosy*, was the result of a long-running cooperation agreement between WOSM and AHM (a leprosy relief organization in Munich), with the support of the World Health Organization (WHO). Instead of taking a healthcare approach, the document looked at leprosy as a social issue and not simply a medical problem. Its aim was to help associations in countries with leprosy to reduce the number of patients in each country to less than one in 10,000. It makes a clear distinction between the role of the health worker and the Scout, and promotes the idea of cooperation between the two roles. Most importantly, the document explains that it would be very difficult to fully reflect "the situation of very different countries and socio-cultural settings" and that it must therefore be seen as an educational tool that can be improved upon. These improvements should then be shared and their results sent to the World Bureau for processing<sup>56</sup>.

Another document is *HIV/AIDS, Fighting Ignorance and Fear*, which was published by WAGGGS and emphasizes the fact that AIDS is a social rather than individual problem: "The social context determines individual behaviour and not the other way round"<sup>57</sup>. This document describes projects run by WAGGGS associations, chiefly in Sub-Saharan Africa, and explains the need for international mobilization to guarantee the right treatments, cures and intervention to prevent AIDS and reduce the impact of the disease.

It focuses on girls because they are the most affected for a number of reasons. Firstly, because they are discriminated against "in terms of education, employment, credit, health care, land and inheritance"<sup>58</sup>; secondly, because they have less control and independence of their body and sexuality (sexual customs, arranged marriages, being sold by their families as sex slaves, etc.) and finally, because they are biologically more vulnerable to the illness. The projects are therefore aimed at the *empowerment* of young women, but also include awareness-raising and educational campaigns with the affected population, sex workers, etc. The document points out that the extension of the disease is such that the Guides

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<sup>54</sup> *Jamboree: Developing Your Own Global Development Village (A2); How to Organise a Global Development Village (A2)*.

<sup>55</sup> The Global Development Village at the World Jamboree in Holland organized over 50 workshops and 150 activities for participants. It had an average daily attendance of 2,500 people over ten days. (*Scouting and Peace (A2)*: p. 47).

<sup>56</sup> *Scouting's Involvement in the Elimination of Leprosy: Resource material for National Scout Organizations (A2)*: p. 1, 2, 38, 47, 48, 51, 53.

<sup>57</sup> *HIV/AIDS. Fighting Ignorance and Fear (A2)*: p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> *HIV/AIDS. Fighting Ignorance and Fear (A2)*: p. 7.

themselves are very often infected. As a result, the Girl Guides Association of South Africa, for example, has developed resources to help Girl Guides and their leaders to deal with HIV issues<sup>59</sup>.

Finally, I believe that the *Thank You – Your Giving Is Our Gratitude* document published by WOSM in 2005 is interesting because it describes projects carried out to reconstruct areas devastated by the Tsunami with money raised by Scout associations from all over the world, establishing a Tsunami Scout Aid Fund. A total of 800,000 dollars was raised for the fund in seven months, the biggest response in the entire history of the Scout Movement. The fund will carry on growing and has already helped 42 projects run by Scout organizations in the affected areas. These focus on restoring elements to cover basic needs, such as drinking water, the rehabilitation of infrastructures and community infrastructures, the rebuilding of educational facilities and environmental repopulation. It explains that the projects providing support to victims, especially children, are the biggest challenge because they require lots of creativity and training – including psychosocial rehabilitation. Lastly, the document points out that the population is being prepared for potentially similar catastrophes by teaching people skills and training them in the emergency actions to take when faced with a natural disaster<sup>60</sup>.

### 1.3.2. Community Development Practices

Scouting's task of citizenship education has generated countless examples of Scout associations being involved in their communities. Nonetheless, based on the criterion I established earlier, I have mainly selected cases that show a commitment to sustainable community development through collaboration projects between different countries. The five I have chosen are: the extension Scout project carried out in Kenya by Scouts of the country in collaboration with British and Canadian Scouts; the joint project on disabilities by Girl Scout associations in Pakistan and Nepal; a short list of cooperation activities carried out by associations in the Arab region with the collaboration of international institutions; the solidarity project with children from Chernobyl in 1990 and 1991; and the initiative to halt the increase in gangs in El Salvador, which is not a cross-border project but illustrates an attempt to break internal barriers.

#### a) Kenya: *The Extension Scout Programme*<sup>61</sup>

The first example of community development is the programme launched in Kenya by Scouts from Kenya, the United Kingdom and Canada during the 1980s under the name "The Extension Scout Programme". The more than 60,000 street children in Nairobi and other big cities in Kenya were the starting point. The programme's aim was to incorporate these children and young people living on the streets or in extremely difficult circumstances into Scouting to offer them an alternative way of life. The main aims were:

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<sup>59</sup> *HIV/AIDS. Fighting Ignorance and Fear (A2)*: p. 12.

<sup>60</sup> *Thank You... Your Giving Is Our Gratitude (A2)*.

<sup>61</sup> Source: 'Promising Practices. The Extension Scout Programme in Kenya' (A2).

- To reunite the children with their parents or families wherever possible.
- To allow units to become self-sufficient by participating in profit-making projects.
- To enable these young people to mix with other Scouts in local, national and international activities.

The units are run by leaders who have received excellent training both in educational issues and in dealing with the specific problems of street children – drug abuse, the sexual health of adolescents, etc. A comprehensive record is kept of each child participating in the programme so that individual progress can be monitored and the child's special interests and needs can be identified. Besides productive projects, a free clinic was set up to care for the participants.

Through this project, the Kenya Scout Association has incorporated 1200 children and young people into the Extension Programme and has managed to reunite 450 with their families. The members of the programme are split into 24 units distributed across the country. The Kenya association has also inspired and given its support to the Uganda Scout Association for the development of a similar programme with its street children.

*b) Pakistan and Nepal: Improving Conditions for the Disabled<sup>62</sup>*

The Sindh Sindhuli disabilities project was launched jointly in 1997 by the WAGGGS associations of Pakistan and Nepal. This three-year development cooperation activity was a health project in which each of the associations from the two countries worked in the other country. So Scouts from the Pakistan association of the Sindh province worked in the Sindhuli district of Nepal, while Scouts from Nepal did so in the Sindh province of Pakistan, which lies just south of their country. The main aim of the joint project was to build awareness of a global community by sharing in the same problem and working together to improve health conditions in the two local communities.

The project in Nepal was the Sindh-Sindhuli Handicapped Project, the purpose of which was to provide medical and orthopaedic treatment for as many disabled people as possible in the region, where funds allowed. The project also had a subdivision for examinations and analysis and to set up medical and surgical camps to provide orthopaedic extremities and hearing aids. Initially, the project studied the medical history of eighty disabled people living in poverty. The first case was a sixteen-year-old girl who needed an orthopaedic bed. Her treatment began in December 1997 and she was later transferred to a school where she learnt to use the new bed and carry out activities that would give her an income.

In February 1998, a medical camp was set up in Sindhuli. A team with a Pakistani doctor treated one thousand patients with the support of the Girl Scouts who helped to organize the camp, translate and move patients. Many patients were

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<sup>62</sup> Sources: 'Building World Citizenship Projects Summary' (A2); e-mail from Lydia Mutare, WAGGGS, 10th April 2007.

found to need physiotherapy, so nine Scout leaders in Nepal went on a three-month course to learn the skills needed to set up a centre in Sindhuli with the support of a visiting team of professionals. The physiotherapy centre opened in March 1999, which was followed by a second, temporary one in a mountainous area where two physiotherapists treated patients (mainly children). The group performed small surgical operations in Janakpur and Sindhuli (Nepal), while bigger operations were performed in Pakistan. In 2000, another patient camp was set up, the costs of which were covered by fund-raising operations organized by the Girl Scouts.

*c) Arab States: Development Cooperation Projects*

Given the lack of data on cooperation projects carried out since the 1970s by Scout associations around the world, I believe that it would be useful to describe some examples from the WOSM Arab region list "A Report on the Achievements of Cooperation Activities with Related World Organizations (1989-2004)" (A2). The document lists a number of community development and environment projects organized by Scout associations in the WOSM region of the Arab states. They include:

- *Nurturing the skills of children and adolescents and developing their creative abilities* (Scout associations of the region and the Arab League, from 1995 to date) [p. 28?]. This cross-border project not only includes activities to cover basic needs – vaccinations, work with street children, water purification, etc. – but goes a step further by fostering creativity among children.

- *Reproductive health and AIDS prevention actions*. A number of initiatives have been carried out on this issue: (i) Raising awareness of reproductive health, with the participation of Scout associations from Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Tunisia, Sudan, Palestine, Morocco and Lebanon, together with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), from 1997 to date; (ii) AIDS control projects, with the participation of Scout associations from Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Qatar, Sudan, Yemen, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt, in partnership with various organizations (the World Health Organization since 1987, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement from 1990 to 1999, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS since 2000, and the United Nations Development Programme since 2001).

- *Young Arab Decision-making Conference* (14 Scout associations from the region together with UNESCO, from 1997 to date) [p.42]. This initiative is to train Scout leaders in decision-making by designing a framework in which Scouting can help prepare young people to participate in decision-making processes.

- *Environmental protection actions* (Scout associations of the region and UNICEF, from 1994 to date) [p. 32-33]. This is a series of eighteen projects aimed at raising awareness of the need to protect the environment and pay attention to nature spots, such as the protection of beaches and the conservation of unspoilt natural areas.



*d) Operation Chernobyl: Solidarity in the Face of Nuclear Disaster*<sup>63</sup>

The fourth example is the solidarity shown by World Scouting (WOSM and WAGGGS) in Europe after the nuclear accident in Chernobyl, Belarus (then the Soviet Union). In response to a request from the Soviet authorities channelled by UNESCO to organize holidays away from the contaminated area for as many children as possible, the European regions of WOSM and WAGGGS launched the "Solidarity with the Children of Chernobyl" operation with the support of the Swiss foundation "Pro-Victims". In 1990, the children were organized with the support of the aviation branch of the Soviet army and joint camps were set up for over 1200 children and 75 leaders in Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Cyprus. The following year, this figure rose to 1560 children and 165 leaders, with Australia, Korea, Japan and Malta also joining.

Depending on the country, the operation was coordinated by groups of two to twenty people, with the full cooperation of the Soviet Children's Fund. UNESCO sent letters to embassies officially informing them that the initiative was organized under its guidance and the Soviet embassies offered interpreters and translated documents, provided medical services and helped with visa applications. The programme was designed to include a range of activities, some for the delegation as a whole and many more for small groups in which the children of Chernobyl interacted with local Scouts. They included the organization of camps, stays in people's homes, group visits to areas, sporting events, etc. The stays lasted from 20 to 40 days, depending on the country that took the children in.

Of the children who took part in the delegations, 60% had medical problems ranging from anaemia, loss of eyesight, symptoms of skin disorders, heart problems and fatigue to a predisposition to infection. Medical care was provided for all children who felt ill and everything possible was done to improve their health. The assessment of the initiative highlighted the most successful results as being an improvement to the health of many children, the educational effects on the boys and girls who took part, both from the Soviet Union and from the countries that took the children in – including the friendships made – and the raising of the public profile of the Chernobyl disaster in the different countries.

The World Scouting leaders drew attention to the fact that, while Scouting had been outlawed in the Soviet Union since the 1920s, it had been called upon to help young Soviets and had been able to mobilize twenty countries into doing so in less than two months. Lukyanov, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet (the Soviet parliament), publicly thanked them for their support and wished world Scouting every success around the world "and in the Soviet Union"<sup>64</sup>. The assessment of the activity also pointed out that the initiative had increased interest in Scouting in Belarus, Ukraine and Russia. By the time of the fall of the Berlin wall at the end of

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<sup>63</sup> Sources: WOSM Secretary General Monthly report, May 1990, December 1990; "Scout Movement Launches Operation of Solidarity with Youth of Chernobyl", Press Release, WSB, 21 June 1990. "Solidarity with Youth of Chernobyl 1991. Consolidation of Evaluation Forms", WSB, December 1991.

<sup>64</sup> WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, December 1990.

1989, exchanges had already been organized between Soviet Pioneers and Scout groups from Northern Europe. In September 1989, leaders of Komsomol (the Union of Communist Youth) informed the representative of the World Scout Bureau that youth organizations were free to carry out their activities in the Soviet Union<sup>65</sup>.

*e) El Salvador: Scouting as an Alternative to Gangs<sup>66</sup>*

The last example of community development is the project called "Solidarity Brigades", launched in 2001 by the Scout association of El Salvador. A civil war that lasted until the peace treaties of 1992, a loss of social values caused by internal migration and rapid urban development have all contributed to the growth of a culture of violence in El Salvador, which young people have reacted to by organizing themselves into gangs.

To tackle the problem, the Scout association of El Salvador invited students aged 15-20 years from different schools with rival gangs to attend a holiday camp, giving them the option of joining "Solidarity Brigades" instead of gangs. Between April 2001 and May 2004, 3600 young people attended the camps, which focused on working in teams. At the camps, the youths were organized into small groups called "Solidarity Brigades", which carried out activities and worked together. The activities were designed to bring out the creativity of the youths and to help them develop non-violent forms of expression, learn about others and appreciate their differences.

Five camps were organized between April 2001 and January 2004, which were attended by 800 non-Scouts and 200 schools, each with 600 students. Although it was not the main aim of the project, some of the participants eventually went on to become Scouts. The programme was structured around five modules: integration; teamwork; brigade life; learning useful skills and community service.

The Scout association of El Salvador arranged a partnership with the country's Ministry of Education to adapt the camp structure and some of the activities to schools. So, when they return to school, the students create "brigades", made up of the young people who participated in the camps and others who did not, which has a multiplying effect. The Brigade organizes social activities, inter-school dialogue, community service projects, etc.

It is estimated that around 400 students have joined the brigades and a further 950 members of school staff have been trained in non-formal education techniques (Scouting), thus gaining experience in conflict-resolution techniques. According to Civil National Police reports, student participation in violent acts has fallen by 80% since 2001.

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<sup>65</sup> WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, November 1989.

<sup>66</sup> Source: 'Promising Practices. Scouts Combatting Conflict in El Salvador' (A2).

## 1.4. Legitimation of International Institutions

### 1.4.1. Values of Legitimation of International Institutions

World Scouting was formalized by legitimating the establishment of international institutions. This may seem rather obvious, but when the World Scouting Organization was constituted in 1920, most Scout associations had been set up or supported by state institutions, many of which were unwilling to legitimate a framework above that of the nation-state. Although I have already explained it in the Historical Framework chapter, I would like to recap on the link between Scouting and the *League of Nations*. This institution was the forerunner to the United Nations and was established after World War I by the British and US governments in 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference, under the Treaty of Versailles, "to develop cooperation among nations and to guarantee them peace and security". Baden-Powell, who saw Scouting as a youth movement of the *League of Nations* was not oblivious to the resistance to this idea from those promoting British Scouting, who opposed it just as they had opposed the 1920 Jamboree, which led to the formalization of World Scouting<sup>67</sup>. Nonetheless, Baden-Powell was determined to link the ideals of World Scouting to those of the League of Nations, as revealed in his 1919 letter to the Mayor of London and member of the association that founded the *League of Nations*:

"I need scarcely say how, in common with most people, I am anxious to do anything to make the League a living force. ... Through the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement we have already instituted ... the training of young citizens of the different countries to think in terms of peace and good will towards each other, so that the League of Nations shall, in the next generation, be a bond between peoples rather than a pact between Governments"<sup>68</sup>.

The last sentence of this excerpt, "that the League of Nations shall ... be a bond between peoples rather than a pact between Governments", reveals the cosmopolitan ideals of Scouting's founder, which contrast with the internationalist view that believes in the main importance of an international society of states.

Two years after the United Nations Organization was set up in 1945, the World Organization of the Scout Movement and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts were given consultative status with ECOSOC (the United Nations Economic and Social Council), together with 41 other big international NGOs. Since then, diverse United Nations organizations and agencies have created consultative committees with international NGOs and World Scouting is present on many of these<sup>69</sup>. ECOSOC, however, is allocated almost 70% of the human and financial resources of the entire United Nations system and its task is coordinated by fourteen specialist agencies, ten functional commissions and five regional commissions. In 1998, ECOSOC established a general consultative status, which was only given to around a hundred of the over two thousand organizations that already had consultative status. WOSM and WAGGGS were two of the organizations

<sup>67</sup> SICA, 2006: 24-25.

<sup>68</sup> Archives of the Scout Association UK, Box "Co-operation-League of Nations", Chief Scout to Lord Mayor of London, 23 September 1919. Quoted in SICA, 2006: 23.

<sup>69</sup> *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): 6.

given this general consultative status, which allows them to attend all United Nations conferences and preparatory meetings, and to make oral and written statements on the Economic and Social Council<sup>70</sup>.

World Scouting currently cooperates with the following United Nations agencies through its two world organizations: UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization); UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund); UNDP (United Nations Development Programme); WHO (World Health Organization); FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization); ILO (International Labour Organization); UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees); UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme); UNAIDS (United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS), and UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund)<sup>71</sup>. World Scouting is a key partner for the United Nations system. We would have difficulty finding other organizations that reach and involve so many millions of young people as active members in practically every country and territory in the world, on a local scale, whether in rural environments or in cities. Very few international NGOs work in such a diverse range of areas that are relevant to so many United Nations agencies<sup>72</sup>. World Scouting also collaborates with the United Nations system through other channels, notably the different forums, committees and initiatives involving international NGOs, such as the Conference of NGOs in Consultative Relations with the UN (CONGO), of which WOSM and WAGGGS are board members, and the UNICEF NGO Standing Committee<sup>73</sup>.

The two world organizations have published educational resources and documents to encourage the participation of national associations and groups in projects run by United Nations agencies. These include 'How to work with the United Nations', by WAGGGS (2002), or 'Scouting and United Nations: Relations, Partnerships and Initiatives. A Guide for National Scout Organisations', by WOSM (2005). Besides describing the collaboration between Scouting and the United Nations, these documents show how national associations can work with United Nations agencies, explaining how to obtain consultative status on the United Nations ECOSOC or with the Department of Public Information (DPI), how to sign memorandums of understanding with an agency and how to create partnership proposals, as well as participation in projects run by the world organization. The External Relations and Partnership unit of the World Scout Bureau has published two documents<sup>74</sup> to explain the chief activities carried out around the world in partnership with United Nations agencies or other organizations so as to encourage its members to participate in them or set up new ones. The WOSM 'Scouts of the World' programme has been particularly innovative. This experience is geared towards young people between the ages of 15 and 26, both Scouts and non-Scouts, and

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<sup>70</sup> *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): 14.

<sup>71</sup> This 2005 list keeps on growing. According to WOSM, "The presence of Scouting within the UN system is largely spread throughout the traditional areas of development, environment, culture and peace. Due to the global approach of our youth programme, in particular the new programmes and projects (Gifts for Peace, Scouts of the World, etc.), and to the necessity of keeping up with the needs and interests of young people, we are in a process of extending our relationships, and perhaps, partnerships to other fields and agencies such as disaster relief and humanitarian affairs, meteorology and disaster prevention, climate change, space and its pacific use". *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): 41.

<sup>72</sup> *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): p. 13.

<sup>73</sup> *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): p. 39-41; "International Education Kit" (A2): Section 3, p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> 'External Relations and Partnership': 'April Report' and 'October Report' (A2).

aims to contribute to implementing the goals of the Millennium declaration, approved in 2000 by the United Nations General Assembly<sup>75</sup>.

WOSM cites three challenges as the basis of its collaboration with the United Nations system: firstly, that these relations are only meaningful insofar as they strengthen the quality of Scouting's educational work (the *raison d'être* of the movement); secondly, they must allow young people to participate in national and world decision-making processes, and last but by no means least, "The third challenge is wider and global. It relates to our possible influence, as an organisation of civil society, on the evolution of world governance structures and policies"<sup>76</sup>.

WOSM<sup>77</sup> and WAGGGS also form part of international non-governmental organization networks with which they share aims and objectives. It is through this collaboration that they can promote the Scout Movement and tackle global issues, thus contributing "to the formation of world policies"<sup>78</sup>. They have worked with the International Coordination Meeting of Youth Organizations (ICMYO) since 2004. This informal network is made up of international "membership-based", democratic, representative youth organizations that are able to give accounts. It meets once a year to strengthen cooperation between its members and coordinate their political influence in global processes of youth politics<sup>79</sup>. A more *policy-oriented* network is the Alliance of Youth CEOs mentioned earlier, which was set up in 1997 under the leadership of WAGGGS and WOSM and includes the CEOs of four big youth organizations: WOSM, WAGGGS, YMCA and YWCA<sup>80</sup>, together with the Red Cross<sup>81</sup> (a large humanitarian movement with a strong focus on young people) and the International Award Association (a global youth programme). In 2000, the CEO of the International Youth Foundation, the biggest international foundation for youths, joined the network.

The benefits of this alliance lie in the fact that Scouting has an impact on the global agenda as a group, rather than as the Scout movement alone, while it also defends World Scouting's position on long-term global policies. The statements made by this alliance are signed by the CEOs and do not represent agreements made by the world conference or committee. In a way, this formula was used by the CEOs to allay the apprehensions of the world organizations about *lobbying*.

The first declaration made by the Alliance (1997) was aimed at raising the profile of the concept of non-formal education, previously defined by UNESCO, and to ask

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<sup>75</sup> Circular 33/2004, World Scout Bureau. The eight "Millennium Development Goals" adopted by the United Nations General Assembly are: 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; 2. Achieve universal primary education; 3. Promote gender equality and empower women; 4. Reduce child mortality; 5. Improve maternal health; 6. Combat HIV-AIDS, malaria and other diseases; 7. Ensure environmental sustainability, and 8. Develop a global partnership.

<sup>76</sup> *Scouting and the United Nations*, (A2): 41.

<sup>77</sup> "Our work with the UN system is not exclusive; nothing can be achieved in isolation in a globalising world. This is why collaboration with other inter-governmental and non-governmental institutions and organisations is also important". *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): 41.

<sup>78</sup> "International Education Kit" (A2), Section 3, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): 40.

<sup>80</sup> YMCA: World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations; YWCA: World Young Women's Christian Association.

<sup>81</sup> The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

governments to extend their educational policies beyond school; the second (1999), was to request long-term national youth policies; the third (2001), to promote the role of women with a view to establishing an equal-opportunities society; the fourth (2003), to launch an initiative for Africa to unite against aids, which has since been put into practice, and the fifth (2005) dealt with the participation of young people in decision-making processes in order to foster a democratic culture that starts with the younger generations<sup>82</sup>. There are two points to consider with these documents. Firstly, they show World Scouting taking on the role of an *advocacy group*, even if only through its CEOs: declarations made over practically the last ten years cannot merely be put down to the individual actions of a CEO, independently of the organization he/she represents. And secondly, the documents consider it normal to use United Nations agencies as a global reference. As I explained earlier, the founding declaration ("The Education of Young people") actually uses the classification of education designed by UNESCO in the 1970s and brings it up to date to stress the force of organized education outside school. The HIV/AIDS document and initiative go one step beyond making a declaration and I will deal with this in the section on Practices.

#### 1.4.2. Practices of Legitimation of International Institutions

The legitimation of international institutions is one of the most important actions in fostering global citizenship. Without global institutions and frameworks of reference, global citizenship would lack references and simply become a moral stance. As I have explained, since it was formalized in 1920, World Scouting has continuously legitimated international institutions by recognizing and reinforcing their authority and by working in conjunction with them. I will illustrate this with four examples: firstly, the mutual recognition of World Scouting and the *League of Nations* in the 1920s; secondly, coordinated action to combat AIDS in Africa; thirdly, the joint project with the World Bank, and lastly, the *Scouts of the World* project in the framework of the UN Millennium Development Goals. Along these lines, the "Scouting and the Humanisation of Globalisation" symposium for Arab, African and European countries, was organized in 2003 by the Algerian Scout association and WOSM with the support of the government of Algeria<sup>83</sup>. The aim of the symposium was to discuss the environment, sustainable development, peace and solidarity, and it arranged for the participation of guests from Scout associations, ten United Nations agencies and the leading international youth associations<sup>84</sup>. In the end, though, it was not held because of government stability problems.

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<sup>82</sup> Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005.

<sup>83</sup> 'Scouting and the Humanisation of Globalisation' (A2).

<sup>84</sup> 'Scouting and the Humanisation of the Globalisation': letter from the General Commissioner of the Algerian Scouts' (A2).

a) *World Scouting and the League of Nations: Mutual Recognition*<sup>85</sup>

The first example I will deal with is the interaction between World Scouting and the League of Nations in the 1920s. Nowadays, we think nothing of an international NGO cooperating with the United Nations system. In the 1920s, however, when the League of Nations was a coy, preliminary attempt to create global frameworks of legitimacy, its interaction with World Scouting was more relevant.

The League of Nations archive in Geneva's Palais des Nations contains the report of the League delegates who attended the International Scout Conference held in Denmark in 1924. Extracts from the report and the reproduction of its plenary addresses reveal the complicity between the two institutions, the League's interest in obtaining the recognition of Scouting and World Scouting's willingness to give it.

In his speech, League representative Dr. Nitobe explained how, in 1923, the League assembly – made up of state governments – had unanimously adopted a resolution asking governments to make the conditions for Scout trips between different countries easier. He also pointed out that an "Advisory Committee on Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Youth Organisations" had been set up in the League Secretariat. He later added:

"All this shows the interest which the League of Nations is taking in the Scout movement and the brotherhood of youth. This interest will, you may be sure, increase as the points of contact between the boy scout and the League grow closer and more frequent, and perhaps the League can be of assistance to a movement which stands like yours so pre-eminently and so effectively for international co-operation, fraternity between peoples and universal peace"<sup>86</sup>.

In his report to the Secretary General of the League, Nitobe referred to the positive effect of the League's recognition of Scouting, which reinforced the cosmopolitan view of an embryonic educational movement that had only been formalized as a world organization four years earlier.

"There can be no doubt that the interest which the League of Nations has displayed in the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movements has had a great effect in directing the attention of the leaders of these Movements to the importance of international fraternity. The very "leitmotif" of this Third International Scout Conference has been international co-operation and brotherhood. Every one of the 34 national delegations seemed fully to realise that it was heir bounden duty to educate the young people committed to their charge in the ideals of international co-operation and human solidarity. This spirit was not so apparent at the international Conference of 1920 (London) and 1922 (Paris). Therefore some influences must have been at work, and the greatest of these influences is, we believe, the kindly interest shown by the League of Nations in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guide Movements"<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> 'Report to the Secretary General: Report of the League representatives to the Third International Scout Conference, Copenhagen, August 1924'. Document No. 38.191, League of Nations archive, Geneva.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* p. 3.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.

Nitobe also asked the question whether the League's successful promotion of Scouting could not be repeated with other organizations reaching population segments that Scouting did not:

"Should not this experiment, which was proved so successful in the case of one large organisation, grouping over three million young people throughout the world, be repeated in the case of other similar organisations, grouping other classes of young people which the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movements may, for the present at least, be unable to reach?"<sup>88</sup>

The next International Scout Conference, held in Switzerland in 1926, adopted as standard a series of resolutions<sup>89</sup> that directly supported the League of Nations. One even asked associations to urge their government representatives in the *League of Nations* to ensure compliance with an agreement made previously:

"The Conference strongly supports the resolution of the League of Nations Advisory Committee for the protection of children that in future town planning the question of the provision of open spaces for recreation and of swimming baths be kept in view and requests the members of the conference to bring this matter to the notice of their respective national delegates to the League of Nations"<sup>90</sup>.

Another resolution gave the Conference's support to the declaration on children made by the Comité d'Entente des Grandes Associations Internationales, which contained the following text:

"The child must learn that civilisation has been, and still remains the common work of all the peoples, including those which in history have been most strongly opposed; and that, from the consciousness of this common heritage, and the desire to maintain and develop it, notwithstanding divergences, the League of Nations came into being"<sup>91</sup>.

#### b) *The Emancipation of Young Africans to Combat HIV/AIDS*<sup>92</sup>

The second example is a World Scouting initiative launched in 2003 in the framework of the informal Alliance of Youth CEOs network mentioned above. It is the first of a number of initiatives promoted by the Alliance (non-formal education, youth politics, women, youth participation) in which it switches from advocacy to coordinated action. The initiative, called "The Empowering Africa's Young People Initiative", was developed to combat AIDS in Africa and

its main aim is to reduce AIDS transmission among young people (aged 10 to 25) over a period of five to fifteen years in a number of sub-Saharan African countries. The initiative works on two levels: it expands on programmes and services for

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.

<sup>89</sup> For some reason, these resolutions are not contained in the collection of resolutions quoted as 'WOSM, 1985'; the text quoted is taken from the original Report of 1926.

<sup>90</sup> Resolution 18/26. 'Resolutions Adopted by the Fourth International Scout Conference', International Boy Scouts Bureau, 1926. World Scout Bureau Archives.

<sup>91</sup> Resolution 19/26. 'Resolutions Adopted by the Fourth International Scout Conference', International Boy Scouts Bureau, 1926. World Scout Bureau Archives.

<sup>92</sup> Alliance of Youth CEOs, 2003; BERTRAND, 2004.



young people and supports national associations in applying these programmes locally. Over the first five years (2003-08), the initiative was implemented in Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia; by its third year, it had already been extended to Senegal, Togo, Mauritius, Rwanda, Madagascar, South Africa, Gambia, Côte d'Ivoire and Zimbabwe, among others. The initiative has the potential to be exported to countries in Asia or the Caribbean that have also been hard hit by the pandemic.

The global dimension of the initiative lies in channelling the efforts of Scout and non-Scout associations and donor institutions from around the world towards the fight against AIDS in Africa. It has a budget of around 48 million dollars over five years for actions in fifteen countries and involves nearly 80 national organizations. These actions draw on the fact that young people are the main agents of global change in this field and not simply passive recipients of information. A holistic approach to prevention and treatment is also needed in order to tackle stigma and discrimination by supporting those infected with the virus. The project highlights the vulnerability of women to AIDS and the need to concentrate on them specifically in the fight against the disease.

Its programmes seek to stop transmission through decentralized local actions focusing on: girl/boy peer education; non-formal educational actions that equip young people with the skills they need to make decisions, build their self-esteem and develop the skills they require for living and treating others with respect; giving young people all the available information in order to make intelligent choices; carrying out *advocacy* and developing leadership to combat damaging cultural practices, stigmatization and discrimination, and providing support to AIDS sufferers and those infected with the virus.

In a second phase, in March 2004, Senegal hosted the "Panafrikan Youth Forum on AIDS: A Matter of Education", to evaluate the initial progress made by the initiative and to extend it to more countries. It was attended by 85% of African countries and the experience of working locally in partnership with the *Alliance* organizations was regarded as very positive, with over forty plans of action being submitted<sup>93</sup>.

### *c) Scouting and the World Bank: Learning to Work Together*<sup>94</sup>

The collaboration of the World Organization of the Scout Movement with the World Bank is the third example of the legitimation of international institutions, albeit from a more critical stance. Collaboration began in 2003 to further World Scouting's aim of promoting national youth politics<sup>95</sup>. The aim was to design consistent global, regional (continental) and national youth policies by drawing on World Scouting's expertise in youth politics, participative working methods with young people and generation of concrete and effective actions.

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<sup>93</sup> Bertrand, 2004.

<sup>94</sup> Sources: 'Circular N. 33/2004 bis, December 2004' (A2); 'Strategy News: World Scouting and the World Bank (A2); 'Youth Development & Peace 2004, Learning to work together. Review of the Dialogue between the World Bank and Youth Organisations' (A2).

<sup>95</sup> Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1999.

The World Bank's policy on children and young people is important to WOSM because of the impact that its policies have on developing countries, and it justifies the collaboration by saying "the WB is taking a *more "human"* approach to development (approach which involves working with people, involving them and identifying their problems, and finding solutions) and the children and young people in developing countries (that in some cases are around the 50% of the population) and also have ideas which need to be listened to"<sup>96</sup>

Thus, the World Scouting Bureau decided to draw up and implement a youth strategy, particularly for developing countries, and begin a consultative process with youth organizations in order to define this strategy on a local and global scale. The process took a year to complete and defined the sectors in which the World Bank should implement youth politics: education, healthy behaviour, employment, conflict resolution, development and participation in the definition of the youth strategy, and the creation of the ICMYO to provide a common, transparent space for the coordination of policies to be implemented by youth organizations and the World Bank.

The conclusions on this preliminary collaboration experience point out how important it is for young people to acquire leadership skills and the need for change within the World Bank. They also suggest a review of the concept of development used by the Bank. Thus, 'Designing a vision for the future' states that

"the humanisation of globalisation refers to an ethic of development (...), without a clear acceptance of certain principles on which we can build on, our common vision and then the priorities that will address the right issues, we can reject the proposed model of development, we might even reject development as such". ... "Visions of economic development, social development and human development are in a constant change, to the point that we are forced to ask if it is still relevant to continue the quest for development"<sup>97</sup>.

In the same section, the report adds "the WB youth strategy should be the beginning for a WB where democracy, transparency, human rights and good governance are the business of the day in the promotion of a social economy. The youth strategy if it is to succeed must be preceded by a serious reform of the World Bank".

Lastly, the conclusions point out that the World Bank must recognize young people as interlocutors and that, to do so, it must take into account their possible shortcomings when it comes to *advocacy* skills: the report therefore concludes that the Bank must encourage equality of opportunities as the first step towards this recognition. It considers that the World Bank Institute (WBI) can play a vital role in the emancipation of young people:

"The catalogue of actions undertaken by WBI in 2003/2004 shows the real and concrete possibility that the Bank can offer to upgrade the youth leaders and youth workers in their advocacy and operational roles. This is a call for a greater and real cooperation between the youth organisations and the WBI in identifying the needs in

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<sup>96</sup> 'Strategy News: World Scouting and the World Bank (A2).

<sup>97</sup> 'Youth Development & Peace 2004, Learning to work together. Review of the Dialogue between the World Bank and Youth Organisations' (A2): p. 18.

terms of training and researches, and for using the expertise of the youth movements. Here too, this is a question of mutual recognition"<sup>98</sup>.

d) *Scouts of the World*<sup>99</sup>

The fourth example is the *Scouts of the World* initiative launched by WOSM in the framework of collaboration with the United Nations system and the strategy for promoting the younger age range of World Scouting. The programme's aim is to help Scout associations to reinforce the adolescent and youth age range (15 to 26 years) by giving young people the opportunity to confront the challenges of the planet's future through the UN Millennium Development Goals.

In September 2000, one hundred and eighty-nine UN members adopted the Millennium Declaration:

"We will spare no efforts to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, to which more than a billion of them are currently subjected. ... We believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world's people ... for while globalization offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared".

According to the Secretary General of WOSM, this Declaration touches on universal values shared by Scouting: freedom, tolerance, equality, solidarity, respect for nature and shared responsibility. The three big challenges to the world's future identified in the Millennium Declaration are: (i) Peace, security and disarmament; (ii) Development and the eradication of poverty, and (iii) Environmental protection.

Although the project covers two of WOSM's strategic priorities (youth and adolescent participation), the idea is that it will extend beyond Scouting and also involve non-Scouts. An open website has therefore been set up ([www.youthoftheworld.net](http://www.youthoftheworld.net)) to explain the Millennium Development Goals and create a network to help reach them. The people behind the initiative would like Scout organizations from the different countries to integrate the Scouts of the World programme into the activities of their young branches. The programme's development began when the UN made the declaration and took four years to complete. It involved the work of young Scouts and leaders from a range of countries, with the support of regional Scout offices.

There are three parts to the Scouts of the World programme. Firstly, the *Scouts of the World Award*, a motivational distinction based on a scale of individual progress, which is given to Scouts who have completed a series of training modules and periods of voluntary work, "proving they have acquired the motivation and skills to become real citizens of the world". The second part is the *Scouts of the World Network*, an international network of Scouts who have been given the award allowing them to share their experiences and efforts and help one another to

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<sup>98</sup> 'Youth Development & Peace 2004, Learning to work together. Review of the Dialogue between the World Bank and Youth Organisations' (A2): p. 23.

<sup>99</sup> Sources: 'Circular N. 33/2004, November 2004. Scouts of the World / Youth of the World', (A2); *The Scouts of the World Award Guidelines* (A2).

develop projects for the good of the world. And lastly, the *Scout of the World Prize* and *Youth for Development Prize*, designed to promote and acknowledge innovative and useful community projects developed by young people in the fields of the environment and the Millennium Development Goals.

The aim of the programme is to help young people to achieve seven educational objectives: the skill of explaining the main challenges of the world today; the ability to live and act in an intercultural context; the sense of solidarity and community spirit; the skill of finding and analysing information; autonomy and leadership; the ability to use negotiating, mediating and problem-solving techniques, and the skill of developing and managing group projects.

#### 1.4. The World Scout Parliamentary Union (WSPU)

Scout associations in many countries use the name and example of leading figures in society to enhance their prestige; these figures range from politicians, businessmen, journalists, association coordinators to sportsmen and women, etc. who have been Scouts in the past<sup>100</sup>. A circular from Jacques Moreillon, the then Secretary General of WOSM presenting Scouts Australia's publication *Scouting: The Way to Success*<sup>101</sup>, which contains over fifty examples of former Scouts, explains that there is no comparable worldwide systematization, even though many countries have produced similar publications – the Secretary General cites the case of France and the *Scouts toujours* book<sup>102</sup>. However, the concept of “successful scouts” is not without controversy, particularly when applied globally. What one country may consider successful – economically, culturally, politically, etc. – may have negative connotations for another, particularly if there is a conflict between countries or religions. Moreover, a renowned figure could be appointed to public office and praising them in this way could be negative for Scouting if their behaviour is found to be morally controversial or legally punishable. In all events, the lack of systematized data means that we cannot come to any clear conclusions about the impact of Scouting on social responsibility, with one exception: parliaments. Although it was thought that many politicians in diverse countries were former Scouts, this could not be demonstrated until 1991 when, in the context of WOSM and with its support, a number of parliamentarians created the World Scout Parliamentary Union (WSPU), proving the hunch right and even going a step further.

The first known case of an association of ex-Scout parliamentarian's dates back to 1946, just after World War II, when the British Chief Scout suggested the creation of a “House of Commons Scout Club”, made up of former Scouts in the British legislative chamber, to give support to the movement. The initiative was successful and eventually adopted the name “All Party Parliamentary Scout Group”. A similar association was set up in Japan in the 1970s and, in 1981, it managed to persuade the Japanese government to make a donation of half a million dollars to the World Scout Foundation – the organization that channels funding to WOSM. Following their example, the Scout Parliamentary Association was set up in Korea towards the

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<sup>100</sup> Circular 9/98: “Successful” Former Scouts’, World Scout Bureau, March 1998.

<sup>101</sup> *Scouting: The Way to Success*, Scouts Australia, Victoria, 1997.

<sup>102</sup> Circular 9/98: “Successful” Former Scouts’, World Scout Bureau, March 1998.

end of the 1980s to raise funds for the World Jamboree held in the country in 1991<sup>103</sup>. At an informal meeting between the President of Scout members of the Korean parliament and the Secretary General of WOSM a suggestion was made to create

"A world wide network of parliamentarians from all political tendencies, with the common denominator of having been Scouts or of believing in the ideals of Scouting, ready to leave political weapons aside and willing to use their influence, both at home and internationally, to support these Scout values which had contributed to make them who they were"<sup>104</sup>.

So, during the World Jamboree in Korea, in August 1991, the Constitutive Assembly of the World Scout Parliamentary Union was held in Seoul, attended by sixty Scout members of parliament from 22 countries on six continents. The meeting approved the WSPU Constitution, which establishes its nature as an international organization bringing together "National Scout Parliamentary Associations" (NSPAs) – only one per country – the duties of which are:

- To establish liaison and cooperation between NSPAs of all countries
- To encourage the creation of such NSPAs in countries where they do not exist
- To promote friendship amongst individual members of NSPAs throughout the world.
- To work closely with the WOSM in areas of mutual benefit, including WOSM's relationships with governmental organizations.
- To help National Scout Organizations in their action to support the development of Scouting in their own countries<sup>105</sup>.

Korea accepted the proposal of the Chilean senate to host the first General Assembly of WSPU in 1994 in Chile, which was attended by 146 members of parliament from 55 countries. Since then, the Assembly has met every three years on a different continent: the second was held in the Philippines in 1997 and attended by 200 parliamentarians from 41 countries. The third took place in Poland in 2000 and was attended by 170 members of parliament from 47 countries. The fourth Assembly was held in Egypt in 2003, with 130 participants from 44 countries. In all, 92 countries with Scout Parliamentary Associations have attended WSPU assemblies since 1991. Appendix 4 contains a list of the countries that attended each Assembly. The constitution of WSPU establishes a similar structure to that of the world Scout organizations: a General Assembly that meets every three years and at which each country has a maximum of two votes; an executive committee of 5 to 9 individuals (all members of legislative chambers) which acts as the supreme governing body between assemblies, elects the president, decides on the programme and prepares the contents of the next Assembly, and a Permanent Secretariat, which is WSPU's administrative organ.

The existence of WSPU is highly relevant since, by constitutional definition, Scouting is a "non-political" movement, though I have already explained why I consider the real meaning of this term to be "non-partisan". Nonetheless, the creation of WSPU has meant putting the Scout Movement and members of Parliament – who are, by definition, politicians! – into a single arena. In his address

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<sup>103</sup> The lobbying to achieve funding was highly successful: the Korean government donated the equivalent of 22 million dollars to funding the World Jamboree of 1991.

<sup>104</sup> 'WSPU, World Scout Parliamentary Union' (A2).

<sup>105</sup> Article 4, WSPU Constitution. *WSPU. A second decade of action!* (A2): p. 20- 24.

to the plenary session of the first WSPU Assembly, King Carl Gustaf of Sweden, Honorary President of the World Scout Foundation, remarked that

"as WSPU has well understood and prescribed in its Constitution, only a multiparty, non-political Scout parliamentary union can help develop Scouting in each country, regionally and world wide"<sup>106</sup>.

Paradoxically, then, it is considered reasonable to have a "non-political" parliamentary union – an expression that, as I have said, can only be understood to mean "*non-partisan*". The world Scout parliamentary initiative, however, has inevitable political implications. While, for example, Boy Scouts of America (in the United States) has always refused to encourage the participation of congressmen in WSPU because it believes that this would contradict its "apolitical" practice, the Arab world has embraced the idea to the point where it is coordinated internally by the Arab Scout Parliamentary Union<sup>107</sup>.

There has been an interesting evolution in the stances taken by the different WSPU assemblies whereby approaches favouring global governance over national sovereignty have gradually increased – something that Boy Scouts of America had foreseen. At the first Assembly in Chile in 1994, a document entitled 'Commitment of Valparaiso' was approved, by which the members of parliament attending committed themselves to six points to the benefit of young people around the world<sup>108</sup>. Point 3, for example, demands legislation to encourage the participation of young people, a demand signed by delegates of countries such as Turkey. At the second Assembly in the Philippines (1997), the main issue was the project on the Alliance of Youth CEOs' 'The Education of Young People' document mentioned earlier<sup>109</sup>, which promotes the idea that the educational task of non-formal educational organizations should be taken into account by public authorities and society for its impact on young people. Besides agreements made to reinforce this position, the General Assembly adopted an agreement along these same lines that explicitly legitimated international institutions:

"[The WSPU shall] contribute, within the spirit of this Declaration, either directly or through the WOSM, to the work of the 1st International Conference of Youth Ministers which will be organized by the United Nations in Lisbon, in August 1998, at the invitation of the Portuguese Government, as well as to the forthcoming International conference on Education organized by International Bureau of Education (UNESCO) in Geneva in the year 2000".

<sup>106</sup> WSPU: *Final report of the 1<sup>st</sup> General Assembly (A2)*: p.34 (address by King Carl XVI Gustaf).

<sup>107</sup> The Arab Scout Parliamentary Union is very active in WSPU: At the fourth General Assembly of WSPU, for example, its president proposed that "if the Scout Movement is celebrating its Centenary in the year 2007 its better for us to consider this year to our union keeping no single parliament member in WSPU without a new legislation for youth as well as binding national strategy" (*WSPU: Final report of the 4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly (A2)*): p. 21).

<sup>108</sup> These six points were: "1. To make their best effort in order to establish a permanent dialogue with young people and their organizations, listening to what they have to say and introducing them to their parliamentary work. 2. To emphasize legislative issues that affect young people, especially issues related to education, health employment and environmental protection. 3. To legislate for the promotion of an organized participation of young people in community life and provide support to local and national youth organizations. 4. To promote non-formal education and legislate in favour of its development as an integral part of the overall educational process. 5. To make full use of all the available legislative instruments, to ensure that national youth policies become a State priority and receive the necessary long term-resources. 6. To struggle for a more equitable distribution of resources in favour of young people, their most representative organizations and State organizations responsible for applying policies that affect them". *WSPU. A second decade of action! (A2)*: p. 24

<sup>109</sup> Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1997.

WOSM's idea of transforming WSPU into a national and international pressure group came about after the address of then-vice-chairwoman of the World Scout Committee, Jocelyne Gendrin, at the 2nd General Assembly of WSPU. In her speech, she described the responsibilities of Scout parliamentarians in introducing youth policies on an international scale<sup>110</sup>:

- [Youth Policies] should be the product of all elected parliamentarians (not only of the members of government) –Parliamentary commissions discussing youth questions should contribute to the debates which take place in international or regional conferences organized notably by the United Nations.
- The Inter-Parliamentary Union should be requested to play a role in the preparation and implementation of youth policies at world level.
- Parliamentary commissions dealing with questions must accept to be addressed to by international youth organizations<sup>111</sup>.

The third General Assembly (Poland, 2000) focused on promoting national youth policies, a theme discussed in the previous Assembly and which followed the approach of the second document produced by the Alliance of Youth CEOs 'National Youth Policies: Towards an autonomous, supportive, responsible and committed youth'<sup>112</sup>. The conclusions of this Assembly were much more explicit than previous ones and the international organization explained how the policies introduced in each country ought to be:

1. Education concepts and systems must be renovated and adapted to the need for an adequate training of young people.
2. The three forms of education (formal, informal and non-formal) are complementary to each other.
3. *There is a need for strong advocacy programme*, which should emphasize and recognize that non formal education is a separate but *the most critical system of education*. This should include *mobilisation of financial resources* and *effective lobbying for favourable legislation* that promote volunteer participation and voluntary work as a non-formal education.
4. *Parliamentarians must understand* that voluntary work, especially in non-formal education, *has a cost* and should look at its *integration into the national policies, programmes and budgets*.
5. The Scout Movement is well equipped to create and maintain relations and bridges between the three forms of education, at local, national and international levels. This capacity should be recognized by its partners. At the same time, it implies that Scouting is aware of the necessity to be open to society and well integrated in the community<sup>113</sup>.

The italicized words reveal how WSPU – and hence, parliamentarians – take on the task of the "mobilisation of financial resources" for non-formal education, and that this type of education represented by Scouting must be integrated into national youth policies "and budgets". The same Assembly reached some important conclusions on civil society:

1. Organizations of the civil society should affirm their role of advocacy.
2. Governments, business world and NGOs should establish and develop dialogue and partnership.

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<sup>110</sup> "Questions concerning young people cannot be dealt with only at national level; today we should have a global vision and understand the interdependence between countries, while keeping in mind the necessary attention to specific social and cultural realities of each of them". *WSPU: Final report of the 2<sup>nd</sup> General Assembly (A2)*: p 31-37.

<sup>111</sup> *WSPU: Final report of the 2<sup>nd</sup> General Assembly (A2)*: p 31-37.

<sup>112</sup> Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1999.

<sup>113</sup> *WSPU: 3<sup>rd</sup> General Assembly Report (A2)*: p. 7-11 (the italics are mine).

3. Simultaneously, *independence and autonomy of civil society organizations from politics* or global marketing strategies must be ensured.

4. Parliamentarians, as lawmakers, are in a position to create bridges between the civil society, the governing bodies and the societal powers such as business or media. Their legal, moral and financial support to the Scout Movement is a key contribution to it, for Scouting, as non formal education aiming at preparing active and responsible citizens, is, by essence and in practice, a bridge builder between human communities<sup>114</sup>.

The last General Assembly of WSPU organized before I began this research was the fourth (held in Egypt), the theme of which was intercultural and interreligious dialogue and peace culture. The contents are extremely cautious when it comes to respect for and recognition of cultural diversity, the balance between national interests and global needs and the role Scouting can have in different countries:

"[Sharing cultures] It has two sides, one that has to be dealt with by the **international community** and other by the **national community**: most countries have numerous cultures, religions and ethnic groups represented within their borders. The role of parliamentarians is to create a political framework for multicultural exchange.

"Without hampering Scouting's role as an independent non-governmental organisation, with its own priorities and decision making structures, a coherent framework for peace education is needed for both the formal as well as the non-formal educational institutions of a country.

"Dialogue should foster a global understanding among young people of all religions and faiths in an atmosphere of tolerance, appreciation of others and solidarity"<sup>115</sup>.

WSPU calculates that there are Scout Parliamentary Associations in one hundred countries on six continents, the members of which are also members of state legislative chambers. But besides its joint statements, one of WSPU's major benefits for parliamentarians is the exchange of opinions and ideas. The conclusions of the first Assembly (Chile, 1994) reveal that many countries had introduced new legislation dealing with the needs of minors, with the support of Scout associations, as was the case in the Philippines, Kenya and Tunisia. They also explain that many delegations had suggested an exchange of information on legislation for youth problems; others indicated that they had come across ideas that they would adapt to their own countries. The then-President of WSPU, Kim Chong-Hoh, added that

"the importance of such a gathering lies not only in its debates and conclusions, but also in the multiple and valuable bilateral contacts which can be established on such an occasion. It is a unique opportunity to learn from each other and to establish direct links which can constitute the basis for a long term bilateral relationship"<sup>116</sup>.

The conclusions of the next assembly three years later in the Philippines (1997) indicate that many countries had obtained excellent results by implementing policies on young people in general and on Scouting in particular in their parliaments. One example, it explains, is the legislation introduced to reduce the tax on contributions made to the Scout Movement or to make them tax-free<sup>117</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7-11 (the italics are mine).

<sup>115</sup> WSPU: *Final report of the 4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly (A2)*: p. 2-6.

<sup>116</sup> WSPU: *Final report of the 1<sup>st</sup> General Assembly (A2)*: p. 26.

<sup>117</sup> WSPU: *Final report of the 2<sup>nd</sup> General Assembly (A2)*: p. 49-59



In 2006, the World Scout Bureau organized an international survey on Scouting legislation. Thanks to the collaboration of the Head of External Relations, Arturo Romboli, I was able to include some questions about the involvement of parliamentarians in Scouting. Although the survey was sent to 155 countries, it was only returned by 47. Of these, there were some significant cases that open the door to possible future research on Scout parliamentarians. The survey results were still being processed at the time of this research, but I have reproduced the information showing the most significant countries of those that responded<sup>118</sup>.

These are South Korea, Japan, Australia, Sierra Leone and Egypt. In *Korea*, 40 of a total of 120 parliamentarians belong to the Scout Parliamentary Association, together with four ministers. In *Japan*, the Parliamentary Association has 175 members from among the 480 in the House of Representatives and the 242 of the House of Councillors, and 28 of the 68 members of its Government. In *Australia*, 100 of the 226 parliamentarians in the upper and lower houses are members of the Scout Parliamentary Association. In *Sierra Leone*, 70% of parliamentarians and 60% of ministers are former Scouts. In *Egypt*, the members of the Scout Parliamentary Association include 25 parliamentarians and 2 members of the Government.

Although the WSPU initiative was essentially WOSM-based, in 2006, the latter organization put it to the Executive Committee of WSPU that WAGGGS should have a similar involvement. The proposal was accepted and the agreement is pending approval by the General Assembly of WSPU<sup>119</sup>.

The link between World Scouting and parliament, and almost twenty years of international coordination of Scout parliamentarians can be summed up in the words of Mateo Jover, former director of Prospective Studies of the World Scout Bureau to the second Assembly of WSPU:

"It is impossible to separate the situation and the challenges that young people must face from the national context of each society and from the global world context since they are interdependent"<sup>120</sup>.

## 2. INCOHERENCIES IN PRACTICES

In this research, I have shown the ideological consistency of Scouting as a global educational movement historically committed to the idea of global citizenship, since 1920, with its principles and defining characteristics, and the coherence between its values and practices. I have also demonstrated that its dimension and make-up, both today and in the past, are truly global. Nonetheless, the concept of citizenship, linked by definition to the idea of community and, hence, group identities, is not exempt from controversy and neither is the Scout Movement.

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<sup>118</sup> Report on the survey on National Laws and Regulations related to Scouting and the Involvement of Parliamentarians in Scouting'. Conducted by the World Scout Bureau in August 2006. Geneva, WSB, 2007.

<sup>119</sup> 'Minutes of the meeting of the WAGGGS/WOSM Consultative Committee (held in London, 2 October 2006)'. Circular 1/2007, World Scout Bureau (January 2007).

<sup>120</sup> WSPU: *Final report of the 2<sup>nd</sup> General Assembly* (A2): p 23-31.

I have discussed how Scouting in England in 1907 did not have a very clear ideological basis in its origins. I have also indicated that I will not discuss the period from 1907 to 1920, since the contradictions disappear after 1920. We can therefore say that World Scouting, formalized in 1920, never distances itself from its principles of commitment beyond national borders for an inclusive world society with peace among countries.

Nonetheless, the idea of inclusion, which is expressed in the constitution of both world organizations as "open to everybody regardless of origin, nationality, race, or creed"<sup>121</sup>, has come into conflict over the last eighty years in the diverse societies where the Scout Movement has taken root with changing mainstream social opinions on issues such as gender equality, racial discrimination, religious authority or sexual orientation. The institutional characteristics of Scouting have also been caught up in controversy. Firstly, because the movement's independence is undermined when a government or private institution sponsors the movement and tries to impose its own principles on Scouting. Secondly, its non-partisan nature clearly fits the context of democratic societies, which have regulated competition between parties at elections, but the area is much hazier in non-democratic societies and countries with theocratic regimes or dictatorships. The reason for this conflict of values is that Scouting's model of citizenship education establishes values that are potentially contradictory, notably loyalty to one's own community and institutions and own beliefs, which can be incompatible with the sense of international fraternity or the principle of non-discrimination.

In this final section, I will discuss these contradictions and the potential incoherencies between the principles of World Scouting and its local practices. First of all, I will analyse the opposition between prevailing social values and the desire for social transformation, particularly when the values are excluding, and the role of individual criteria and the tendency for cultural change. And, secondly I will look at the special case of US Scouting, which, due to its dimension and communicative repercussions, has an influence that extends far beyond its territorial scope.

### 2.1. Social Values, Inclusion, Cultural Change and Personal Criteria

I have explained how the study of the historian Timothy Parsons (2004) on Scouting in British colonial Africa demonstrates the contradiction between two sections of the *Scout Law*: point 2, which talks of loyalty to one's country and its institutions, and point 4, which says that a Scout is a friend to all and a brother to other Scouts. While, says Parsons (2004: 5-7), the colonial officials introduced Scouting to the colonies in the belief that point 2 would help them to bring up loyal young people, in practice, point 4 became a catalyst for change for the Africans, who rose up against the discrimination that oppressed them and against colonialism itself. Nagy (1967: 29-30) also notes that many African countries, such as Senegal, Guinea and Algeria, Scouts became "the first leaders in the national independence movement, even though their activity – according to prevailing laws, was considered by the colonising power as colonising and subversive".

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<sup>121</sup> WOSM, 1983: Article 1.1.; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1: Criteria of Membership.

The controversial duty to one's country and its institutions also covers religion in the Scout Promise ("On my honour I promise that I will do my best / To do my duty to God and my Country ..."<sup>122</sup>). Hence, the two major elements of shared identity – nation and religion – are a constitutive part of the Scouting model of citizenship, albeit delimited, as I have said, by international fraternity and non-discrimination on grounds of origin, race or creed. In fact, one of the most problematic aspects of Scouting's citizenship education model is knowing precisely how far it should foster submission to the authority of political structures and institutions; to put it another way, when we should start to question this authority.

Parsons (2004: 7) says that the successful spread of Scouting around the world was due to its values preserving socio-political stability, which were flexible enough to uphold the established political order in each country through alliances with the legitimate institutions of authority, in which social values and norms prevailed without overstepping the limits. Nonetheless, we cannot ignore that fact that Scouting's original demands for loyalty to institutions and religion came from Britain, a country with public institutions that used a system of *checks and balances* and with a church that was unable to intervene in political life.

In all events, in the eighty years of World Scouting there have been many cases of incoherencies in practices, though I believe that the majority of cases can be shown not to be connected to the potential contradiction between loyalty to one's country and religion and the principle of fraternity and non-discrimination. This contradiction has been continually monitored by the world organizations, which have paid close attention to the interpretations made by national associations and have even withdrawn memberships when the balance could no longer be guaranteed.

There is only one reason, which is difficult to resolve and clearly contradictory: the position taken by Scouting when the legitimate authorities of a country are overthrown. If England had been invaded by Germany in World War I, Baden-Powell would have probably called for it to become a resistance movement. However, with world organizations, black and white become shades of grey and, as I explained in the section on recognition (Chapter 3), the established policy is not to enter into the internal conflicts of a country. However, I maintain that incoherencies in Scouting practices have arisen mainly because of the weight of social values and norms in issues such as the role of women, racial separation, religious authority or the rejection of homosexuality.

In *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy*, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) used data from the World Values Survey conducted over four periods from 1981 to 2001 to show that, while much of the world is undergoing a cultural change, some social values remain deeply ingrained. They argue that the socio-economic

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<sup>122</sup> WOSM, 1983: Article II.2: "Adherence to a Promise and Law"; WAGGGS, 1999: Article II. Nonetheless, this coverage is different in the constitutions of WOSM and WAGGGS. While WOSM specifies that "Duty to God" is "Adherence to spiritual principles, loyalty to the religion that expresses them and acceptance of the duties resulting therefrom" (WOSM, 1983: Article II.1: "Principles"), in WAGGGS "The essence of Duty to God is the acknowledgment of the necessity for a search for a faith in God, in a Supreme Being, and the acknowledgment of a Force higher than man, of the highest Spiritual Principles" (WAGGGS, 1997: 19-20).

development of most countries has gradually reduced – to differing degrees – the restrictions on human autonomy and freedom of choice, and has generated a two-dimensional cultural change: the secularization of authority, stemming from the industrial era, and the emancipation of authority, stemming from the post-industrial era (INGLEHART and WELZEL, 2005: 24-25). The results of this are a change both in social values (*ibid.*: 48-76) and intergenerational values (*ibid.*: 94-114) in approximately eighty countries – which make up 85% of the world’s population – in aspects such as the acceptance of women’s equal role in society, relativizing of the sense of national pride, substitution of obedience to religious or civil authorities for increased personal criteria and a growing acceptance of homosexuality (*ibid.*: 115-134).

As indicated by the United Nations Development Report, women around the world work significantly longer hours than men, including many hours spent on non-remunerated activities. Even in the developed world, working women generally earn less than their male counterparts and spend more time on unpaid work. On aggregate, poverty is the cause and effect of much of the inequality affecting women, who account for 70% of poor people on the planet and possess just 10% of the wealth. Women are visibly under-represented in governments around the world, holding just six percent of ministerial positions<sup>123</sup>.

As I explained in Chapter 2, although originally one, Scouting was structured in two organizations – *Scouting* and *Guiding* – first in England and then around the world, though many Scout and Guide associations have merged over the last thirty years and WOSM has opened its doors to girls. However, the two world organizations are still divided on their views as to the best way of working towards a society in which the role of women is not subordinate to that of men. Moreover, cultural, and sometimes legal, elements encourage the continued existence of national associations with gender segregation. Based on the findings of the World Values Survey, Inglehard and Norris (2003) show how opinions on gender equality and sexual freedom represent the biggest gap between Western and Muslim countries, with the added point of contention that, while new generations are becoming more equal in the Western world, this evolution is not even observed among women themselves in the Muslim world.

Racial discrimination, now thankfully deleted from the laws of all of the world’s countries, was an important issue in the last century. South Africa and the United States have the dubious honour of being the last countries with legislation establishing racial segregation and the consequences of this segregation are evident even today. I have already said that Scouting in both countries held on to the idea of being open to everybody, so the associations were multiracial; however, this does not imply harmony between the different races, since the legal framework imposed segregation even within the association. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that, in 1977, the South-African Scout association unanimously decided to dissolve the four racial branches of the association and make it multiracial and open

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<sup>123</sup> UNDP, 1995.

to all, thirteen years before the end of apartheid brought in by President De Klerk<sup>124</sup>.

In the section on recognition policy in Chapter 3, I have discussed the complex relationship between Scouting and religious confessions, particularly where Scout associations have an exclusive connection with a religious confession, which also implies a certain degree of dependence. The interaction between the central values of Scouting and the moral premises defended by a religious confession can lead to conflicting situations, particularly in multiconfessional contexts. One example is the recent Roverway international youth camp held near Florence in August 2006. It was an official activity of the European Scout and Guide region hosted by the Italian federation and was attended by 5,000 young Scouts. The Catholic association AGESCI, one of the two associations of the federation, vetoed the participation of a lesbian association in an open discussion activity, even though its participation had originally been confirmed<sup>125</sup>. Despite the approval of a resolution by the European Scouting and Guiding Conference in 2001 asking Scout associations not to consider homosexuality a reason for any form of discrimination<sup>126</sup>, the link with the Catholic church weighed far more heavily in the decision.

I have already mentioned that most Scout associations do not depend on a religious confession and that this situation arises mainly in Catholic countries, former colonies of the latter and in Scandinavian and Muslim countries. Nonetheless, these cases, which have strengthened the social roots of Scouting throughout the twentieth century, could become a source of conflict if the evolution of social values contradicts the values defended in religious institutions on issues such as the role of women, the use of contraception to protect against AIDS or the discrimination of homosexuals.

According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005: 31), the expansion of the knowledge society has led to a gradual reduction in the authority of religious institutions in post-industrial societies over the last twenty years, though this has not meant the

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<sup>124</sup> WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, March 1992.

<sup>125</sup> "L'affrontare il tema dell'omosessualità come uno dei possibili comportamenti sessuali non è accettabile nell'ottica di una proposta educativa che ha una precisa visione dell'uomo e della donna. Quindi pur concordando sulla necessità di evitare qualsiasi tipo di emarginazione verso le persone, non si può accettare il relativismo etico (si deve essere esigenti sui principi e tolleranti solo sulla loro applicazione): la ragione per non emarginare sta nella dignità delle persone, non nella accettabilità dei comportamenti". [To deal with the topic of homosexuality as one among several possible sexual behaviours is unacceptable from the point of view of an educational proposal with a specific view of men and women. Thus, while recognizing the need to avoid the marginalisation of persons, we must not incur in moral relativism (there can be no compromising strict adherence to principles – tolerance may arise only in their application): the reason for guarding against marginalisation lies in the dignity of persons, not in the acceptability of their behaviour]. Letter requesting the removal of a workshop on homosexuality at Roverway 2006, signed by the presidents of the National AGESCI Committee, 15th June 2006.

"Cari Scouts, se vi scriviamo una lettera è perchè a Roverway non ci saremo. L'organizzazione del campo, ed in particolare l'associazione degli scout cattolici AGESCI, ha deciso che è meglio che la nostra bottega (titolo) da tempo programata, non abbia luogo. Se non vi scrivessimo, probabilmente non sareste neppure informati di questa incomprensibile censura". [Dear Scouts, we are writing to you because we will not be at the Roverway. The camp organizers, specifically the Catholic Scout association AGESCI, has decided that it would be better if our workshop (title), which has been scheduled for some time, was not carried out. If we did not write to you, they would probably not even inform you of this incomprehensible censorship.]. Extract of an e-mail from Katia Aguafredda (5th August 2006), organizer of the talk, written for young Roverway participants.

<sup>126</sup> Resolution 5/2001, European Scout Conference; Resolution G11, Europe Regional Conference, WAGGGS.

disappearance of spirituality, quite the contrary: "there is a shift from institutionally fixed forms of dogmatic religion to individually flexible forms of spiritual religion". Thus, in parallel with socio-economic development, the role of religion is changing from institutionalized forms of dogmatic religiousness to an individual search for spirituality. The authors make the point that the stability of democratic institutions does not depend on the society's degree of religiousness provided that the religious authorities do not try to control the political system<sup>127</sup>, something that could also be applied to Scout institutions.

This move towards an institutional secularization that does not neglect spirituality coincides with WOSM's efforts in recent years to return to the original model of a single open association per country, advocating that the Catholic and open associations in countries like Ireland, Uruguay and Argentina merge into one. WOSM is also making progress in a well-reasoned change of direction, as explained in the *World Scouting Report 2006*,

"for many years, the Scout Movement used to delegate responsibility for spiritual education to the religious denominations it was associated with. The ministers of these associated denominations were responsible for educating the Scouts, each according to his or her own religion. The religious part of the programme was provided as an addition to Scout activities. With the new Programme approach, the Scout Movement wishes to return to its original role, which consists of showing how recreational and educational activities can, in themselves, guide young people in their spiritual development"<sup>128</sup>.

The issue of homosexuality is perhaps the most conflictive of all in the disparity of values among different world societies. Of the seventy-seven countries on which data is available, only in ten does less than 49% of the population disapprove of homosexuality<sup>129</sup>. In most countries, the vast majority of the population – 75% to 99% – disapproves of homosexuality. Nonetheless, the socio-economic evolution is also leading to a change in perception. While, in 2000, just 22% of the Netherlands' population disapproved of homosexuality, in 1981, 40% had disapproved. The move towards greater tolerance can be observed to varying degrees in all of the world's societies and the increase is parallel to the increase in socio-economic level. Thus, we see a decline in rejection from 50% to 26% in the more developed countries between 1981 and 2001 (INGLEHART and WELZEL, 2005: 127-128).

The issues between Scouting and homosexuality are due mainly to the controversial decision of the Boy Scouts of America association in 2000 not to accept homosexuals as members, which I will discuss in the next section. The decision of the American WOSM association and its social and media repercussions, due to the importance of Scouting in the United States and the echo of US media around the world, has had an unprecedented negative response from European Scouting, which adopted the following resolution at its 2001 conference:

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<sup>127</sup> INGLEHART and WELZEL 2005: 134.

<sup>128</sup> WOSM, 2006: 78-79.

<sup>129</sup> They are the Netherlands (22%), Sweden (26%), Iceland (32%), Denmark (41%), Switzerland (43%), Germany (45%), Spain (47%), Canada (49%) and Luxembourg (49%). Homosexual marriage is only legal in four of these: Holland, in 2000, Germany, in 2002, Canada in 2003 and Spain in 2004. The United States is an interesting case because, though it is tolerant with other issues, 60% of its population rejects homosexuality. INGLEHART and WELZEL, 2005: 40-41.

"The Conference

- considering that society is evolving;
- recognising that Scouting has always followed the evolution of society in so far as it remains compatible with its fundamental principles;
- noting that homosexuality is generally recognised and admitted in European society;

recommends that National Scout Organizations not consider homosexuality a reason for any kind of discrimination within or outside Scouting/Guiding"<sup>130</sup>.

Outside Western society, however, homosexuality is not even an issue. I was told once by the former Secretary General of WOSM that when the World Scout Committee was debating whether the decision of Boy Scouts of America to discriminate against homosexuals went against the principles, members of the committee from non-Western countries simply refused to debate the issue because homosexuality was taboo in their societies. Inglehart and Welzel (2005: 128) also explain that they do not have data on attitudes towards homosexuality in Islamic countries "because our Islamic colleagues were extremely reluctant to even ask about this topic".

If the values of Scouting cannot escape the predominant social values, regardless of the trend towards change, how can it guarantee its role of responsible, inclusive citizenship education that combines loyalty to the community with global commitment? The answer lies in an extensive sociological study, *The Educational Impact of Scouting*<sup>131</sup>, which carefully analyses three different cases of how Scouting affects youths aged 14 to 18 years – Scotland, France and Belgium. Although the study has the obvious limitation of dealing only with European associations, there is no other study with the same characteristics, academic rigour and analytical depth on the educational implications of the Scout Movement, so its results are very important. One of the points highlighted in the research is the extraordinary importance of Scouting's educational impact in helping young people to integrate into the group of peers in their unit and establish social relations.

According to the study, the role of the Scout leader is not to pass on values, but to accompany the adolescent in his/her learning process, in which personal experience and difference of opinions are more important<sup>132</sup>. The values are not therefore internalized by inculcation or direct transmission:

*"The most powerful element in the construction of the young people's values appears to be personal experience, and the meaning that he or she makes of the experiences, much of which takes place within the peer group itself. The climate of mutual respect and trust promoted by the leaders facilitates dialogue and the young people's attitude to express their views"*<sup>133</sup>.

To go back to the example of colonial Africa, the planned model of linear transmission of values fails because young people learn to extract the coherence of the values both through the example of the leader and through their official

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<sup>130</sup> Resolution 05/2001, European Scout Conference; Resolution G11 (sexual discrimination), Europe Regional Conference, WAGGGS.

<sup>131</sup> TRA BACH, HUBERMAN and SULSER, 1995.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

formulation by the association. This is seen more clearly in the example given in the study on religious values. It says that, although most of the young people in the study "attach importance to seeking spiritual values, many of them strongly criticize formal religious practice as they experience it. In their view, *what they actually experience often seems incoherent with, or contradictory to, the values that they are expected to seek*"<sup>134</sup>.

These results thus support the argument that what Parsons (2004) saw as a rejection of official Scouting values in the anti-colonial African reaction was actually part of Scouting's own potential: the pre-eminence of inclusive values over particularist values, which occurs at association level and does not take into account the stance of the leaders of the national organization. Parsons actually reaches the same conclusion by comparing his knowledge of Scouting in British colonial Africa to the fact that his Scout group, member of Boy Scouts of America, had features that were far removed from the dominant view of the organization: "As social historian, I now recognize that my old troop demonstrates that official Scouting as defined by national Scout associations is rarely representative of how Scouting is practiced at the local level"<sup>135</sup>.

According to the analysis by the educationalist James Russell (1917), there are two continually opposing processes in the development of character: one tends to restrict the subject's initiative while the other reinforces his/her personal will. The first consists of accepting guidance; the second, in guiding oneself. "One force makes for identity of kind, conservatism and efficiency; the other, for individuality, initiative and progress". However, for Russell, these forces are two sides of the same coin that oppose each other but are in essence, one. And he points out that this is found in Scouting, which combines the learning of habits and assumption of responsibilities through an educational programme that "works adroitly, by a thousand specific habits, to anchor a boy to be modes of right living as securely as if held by chains of steel; but best of all, it exhibits positive genius in desiring situations that test a boy's self-reliance and give full scope to his talent for originality and leadership"<sup>136</sup>.

On this ability to reinforce personal autonomy, it is interesting to refer to the arguments of Inglehart and Welzel (2005: 145), who consider that, in the evolution towards societies where personal choice is increasingly central, the "rising emphasis on autonomous human choice is inherently conducive to antidiscriminatory conceptions of human well-being", in seeing the other as an equal. This view concurs with that revealed in the article by Robert Baden-Powell referred to earlier, "The Other Fellow's Point of View", published in 1912, four years after he wrote that Scouts should "obey" in *Scouting for Boys*. The article begins by explaining an incident in Portland (Oregon), when a small socialist group tried to sabotage an act in which he was to explain what Scouting was. The episode surprised him very much because the socialists purported to defend freedom of expression but did not respect the principle when it came to others. And he adds:

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<sup>134</sup> TRA BACH, HUBERMAN and SULSER, 1995: 213-214.

<sup>135</sup> PARSONS, 2004: xiv, xii.

<sup>136</sup> RUSSELL, 1917.



"[. . .] Justice and fair play do not always form part of our school curriculum. If our lads were trained as a regular habit to see the other fellow's point of view before passing their own judgement on a dispute, what a difference it would at once make in their manliness of character!

"Such lads would not be carried away, as is at present too commonly the case, by the first orator who catches their ear on any subject, but they would also go and hear what the other side has to say about it, and would then think out the question and make up their own minds as men for themselves.

"And so it is in almost every problem of life; *individual power of judgement is essential, whether in choice of politics, religion, profession, or sport*, and half our failures and three-quarters of our only partial successes among our sons is due to the want of it. *We want our men to be men, not sheep*"<sup>137</sup>.

The way that Baden-Powell places capacity for individual judgement (i.e., personal criteria) above that established in politics and religion is particularly interesting if we bear in mind that the struggle for national and religious identities is, in many cases, a struggle for the hegemony of those who interpret it. If we compare Baden-Powell's point of view with the results, eighty years on, of the study on the educational impact of Scouting, we see that the education of character, the primary objective of the Scout Movement, is far more important than the aseptic transmission of values. The study points out that,

"Many of the older adolescents' comments indicate that it is especially the values and attitudes to life (including openness to others, a sense of responsibility towards others developed through group life, etc) and a feeling of confidence in their resourcefulness that they have had the opportunity to develop that will remain as major acquisitions in preparing for adult life"<sup>138</sup>.

In a comparative post-World War II study on the educational action of American Scouting and the Hitler Youth, Herbert Lewin reached the same conclusion: in contrast to the indoctrination of the Hitler Youth, "[t]he Boy Scout context emphasized strongly the importance of an end for the sake of the individual's perfection and satisfaction. In the analyzed literature least stress is placed on ends which imply an obligation of the member to his national community". And he also added that,

"for the Boy Scout "happiness" is an end which stems from, and is to be experienced in, his face-to-face group; for the Hitler Youth "happiness" originates for a satisfactory status of his nation and is a feeling to be shared by *all* folk comrades, i.e. it should be experienced on the national community level"<sup>139</sup>.

Although I believe that I have demonstrated the coherence between the inclusive and universalist values of Scouting and its practices in the previous section, we cannot deny the fact that social values will influence the view that any Scout has of the world in his/her own individual circumstance. This is despite the fact that the values of societies evolve all the time and that the educational model of Scouting has a greater impact on the generation of personal criteria than on the transmission of predominant social values.

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<sup>137</sup> BADEN-POWELL, 1912, 162 (the italics are mine).

<sup>138</sup> TRA BACH, HUBERMAN and SULSER, 1995, 215.

<sup>139</sup> LEWIN, 1947a: 226-227.

Inglehart and Welzel (2005: 43) say that there is a “slow but steady intergenerational value change” towards a more inclusive society. Just as Baden-Powell explained in 1912, Scouting had to use its *individual power of judgement* and decide whether or not to contribute to this change. In my view, the Scout Movement has two tools that it can use to avoid becoming an institution limited to perpetuating predominant social values with a tendency to exclude instead of shifting them towards a more inclusive vision.

The first, which I have already mentioned, is its education to promote the capacity for autonomous choice, the generation of *personal criteria*, which is essential for educating responsible citizens. Citizenship, which has been the purpose of the movement since it was founded, requires individuals with criteria who can make a positive and conscious contribution to society and have a critical view of trends that jeopardize free and peaceful civil life.

The second tool is doing away with the view that identity is given and accepting that cultures and ways of thinking evolve, sometimes for the better. This is what Madhavi Sunder (2001) has termed *cultural dissent*, in opposition to the idea of “cultural survival”. Recognizing plurality within a culture encourages a normative view of identity in which individuals can choose from the diverse ways of living in a culture, that is, it gives individuals more freedom to construct the world<sup>140</sup>.

The legal blockade to acceptance of cultural dissent in Boy Scouts of America, particularly in its policy of discrimination against homosexuality, is possibly the most controversial issue of Scouting in Western public opinion in the last quarter of a century. I will therefore deal with the issue in detail.

## 2.2. The Influence of the USA Case

In the conflict between the values and practices of World Scouting, to analyse US Scouting is important for four reasons. Firstly, because of the influence of the two American associations in WOSM and WAGGGS. Secondly – and as a consequence of the first reason – because of the influence it has on the international Scout debate on the role of women and the potentially united future of WOSM and WAGGGS. Thirdly, for the implications of its explicitly discriminatory policy on grounds of sexual preference and religious belief. And finally, for the influence of its image, through the American *mass media*, on the image of Scouting worldwide.

I have explained in Chapter 2 that the network operation of World Scouting is difficult to grasp when it is analysed as an organization. The same occurs on a world scale: all too often the dynamics of national Scout organizations are confused with the practices carried out by their Scout groups. The historian Ben Jordan (2005), for example, has shown how the tendency of Boy Scouts of America to educate children separately on the basis of age, genre, race or social class during its first twenty years (1910-1930) – despite claiming to be “open to all boys” – was redirected to more inclusive policies after pressure from Scout groups. This section, therefore, does not cover the broad-ranging reality of individuals and groups in US

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<sup>140</sup> SEN, 2006.

Scouting, but rather the official policy of its two national organizations: Boy Scouts of America and Girl Scouts of the USA.

The United States has the third highest population in the world, though it is still a long way behind the two leaders: China and India. Nonetheless, US associations exert a considerable influence on the two organizations of World Scouting, both in censuses and fees – which are weighted according to GDP – and for their impact on ideology and world strategy. Boy Scouts of America (BSA) has 6.2 million members, representing 22% of the world census of WOSM, and its fees make up 39% of WOSM's total income from this budget heading worldwide. Additionally, a large proportion of the funds of the World Scout Foundation comes from donors linked to the Boy Scouts of America. Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA) contributes 3.8 million members to the WAGGGS census, representing 44% of the total, and this figure increases when it comes to finance: 50% of WAGGGS' world income from fees comes from this association. WAGGGS has also set a maximum limit so that the financial contribution from any one association does not make up more than 50% of all fees<sup>141</sup>. The weight of US associations in the budgets of WOSM and WAGGGS gives them an important influence on the respective world organizations, similar to that of the United States government in the United Nations, where its financial contribution accounts for 22% of the total budget<sup>142</sup>.

Boy Scouts of America (BSA), the American WOSM association, is the only Scouting model in which the association does not carry out activities directly; instead, this is done by *sponsoring institutions*, which have an interest in the education of the children: they can include schools, parishes, Rotary clubs, voluntary firemen, trade unions, parents' associations, etc., which are given everything they need to complete their task by Boy Scouts of America. This model is set down in its purpose:

"The purpose of this corporation shall be to promote, through organization and cooperation with other agencies, the ability of boys to do things for themselves and others, to train them in Scoutcraft, and to teach them patriotism, courage, self-reliance, and kindred virtues, using the methods which are now in common use by Boy Scouts"<sup>143</sup>.

So, male Scouting in the United States has always been an integral part of the institution that sponsors it in each case<sup>144</sup>. It is the sponsor, rather than BSA, that manages the activities of the different units. The association provides the general programme, support and information, trains leaders and teaches the volunteers in charge – which are, however, selected by the sponsoring institution. As Nagy (1985: 117-118) explains, this situation means that the sponsor is responsible for the effective implementation of the programmes, although the terms of reference,

<sup>141</sup> 'Fact-finding Study (WOSM/WAGGGS)', document submitted by John Beresford, Chair of the Constitutions Committee of WOSM, to the World Scout Committee, 7th October 2000, p. 21.

<sup>142</sup> In the UN it is followed by Japan (19.4%) and Germany (8.6%). "All about the United Nations Budget: June 2006". United Nations Association of the United States of America.

[<http://www.unausa.org/site/pp.asp?c=fvKRI8MPJpF&b=1813833>, consulted on 18th August 2007].

<sup>143</sup> Section 3, Federal Charter, Boy Scouts of America. June 15, 1916, by the United States Congress.

<sup>144</sup> The term "sponsor" is used in the sense of "support" and does not necessarily have financial connotations. According to Kunz (1969: 666), "Sponsorship as it is understood here includes two defining elements: (1) the beneficiary organization retains its distinct boundaries from the sponsoring organization, and (2) the beneficiary organization legitimately makes use of the sponsoring organization's facilities".

quality control and monitoring of adherence to standards are carried out by BSA. This gives rise to perhaps the most obvious cause of a conflict of interest between the primacy of Scouting principles over those of the sponsoring institution, and vice versa.

An important point here is that the Mormon church or *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* has had its own youth organization in Boy Scouts of America since 1913<sup>145</sup> – in other words, the church's youth activities are carried out through BSA groups sponsored by the church. This has generated a situation whereby a church representing less than 2% of America's total population – and which has practiced racial discrimination and rejects homosexuality as immoral – now makes up more than 13% of BSA's membership. In 1974, for example, the discriminatory doctrine of the Mormon church against Afro-Americans led to a dispute between Boy Scouts of America and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) because, although the Scout association did not discriminate on racial grounds, the groups sponsored by the Mormon church did<sup>146</sup>. The Mormon church has a very instrumental view of Scouting:

"Scouting is about learning and living the gospel. Scouting prepares boys to become righteous men who hold and honor the priesthood of God. Scout leaders have the responsibility to help each boy connect what he is learning in Scouting to his priesthood preparation and his future as a covenant keeping missionary, husband, and father".<sup>147</sup>

The Mormon church also sees Scouting as a way of educating future priests:

"Scouting is part of the Aaronic Priesthood activity program. The Duty to God Award is a priesthood award, having requirements that will help young men develop spiritually and fulfil their priesthood duties"<sup>148</sup>.

As Kunz (1969: 674-675) has shown, the sponsors of BSA from 1915 to 1965 were mainly confessional institutions and, although he considers it an efficient model – "large-scale organizations could avoid many organizational costs by using the device of sponsorship" – he also warns that a weakness of the *sponsorship* model "seems to be its inability to accommodate a beneficiary organization to a very pluralistic society".

Nowadays, despite a long history of close contact with American society and the citizenship education of countless generations, Boy Scouts of America is known more for the controversy over its discriminatory policy against homosexuals, atheists and girls – to quote Mechling (2001: 35), the "triple G" of the problem: "God, gays and girls" – a policy both supported and influenced by the Mormon and Catholic churches, which represent one fifth of all BSA members<sup>149</sup>. BSA's

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<sup>145</sup> MECHLING, 2001: 36.

<sup>146</sup> *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 3, 1974; quoted in: <http://www.bsa-discrimination.org/html/lds-top.html>.

<sup>147</sup> "Scouting for the 11-Year-Old", The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints website [<http://lds.org/pa/display/0,17884,4834-1,00.html>], consulted on 1st July 2006].

<sup>148</sup> "Guidebook for Parents and Leaders of Youth". Intellectual Reserve, Inc., 2001. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints website [<http://www.lds.org/youthresources/pdf/GuideParLead36415.pdf>], consulted on 1st July 2006].

<sup>149</sup> MECHLING, 2001: 219. In a document from 2000 defending BSA's anti-homosexual stance, the Mormon church claimed to represent 400,000 Scout members while the Catholic church had 355,000. 'Brief of Amicus Curiae, National Catholic Committee On Scouting, General Commission on United

relationship with Christian religious institutions is both one of dependence and a strategic bid, since it sees in these institutions the biggest "market" for its growth<sup>150</sup>. One of the first cases of the expulsion of children who confessed to be non-believers took place in Virginia, when in April 1985, the National Council of BSA decided to exclude Paul Trout, aged 15 years, for saying that he did not believe in God. The case was followed by others in Chicago and California in 1991, with the expulsion of children aged 8 and 9 years for the same reason<sup>151</sup>. In Chapter 3, I described the attempted expulsion by the International Scout Conference in 1949 of "open" Scout associations, that is, associations whose promise does not mention God, allegedly promoted by the BSA.

The anti-homosexual policy has generated a number of cases since 1980, but the biggest one was the expulsion of a young New Jersey Scout leader, James Dale, from BSA in 1993 for openly displaying his homosexuality at a university event. Dale, an active Scout, appealed against the decision to expel him and won the case at the Supreme Court of New Jersey. But BSA appealed again in 2000 to the Supreme Court of the United States and won by a very narrow 5 votes to 4 in the famous *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* case<sup>152</sup>. While the Mormon and Catholic churches supported the discriminatory stance of BSA, other sponsors such as the Methodist or Unitarian Universalist churches came out in defence of the anti-discrimination law<sup>153</sup>.

In 2000, the executives of BSA from nine big administrative areas (New York, Los Angeles, West Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Boston and Orange County) wrote to BSA asking it to change its member-admission policy to allow homosexuals to join. In the summer of 2001, they met to coordinate actions to obtain their objective. By 2002, twenty-five BSA councils were asking BSA to allow *local chapters* to formulate their own policies on homosexual membership<sup>154</sup>.

Despite the social pressure<sup>155</sup>, in a resolution of February 2002, BSA reiterated its defence of its current policy of excluding homosexuals and atheists using the argument that "duty to God is not a mere ideal for those choosing to associate with

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Methodist Men of the United Methodist Church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and the National Council of Young Israel, *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale*, 530 US 640, 657 (2000) [February 28, 2000].

[[http://supreme.lp.findlaw.com/supreme\\_court/briefs/99-699/99-699fo8/brief/brief01.html](http://supreme.lp.findlaw.com/supreme_court/briefs/99-699/99-699fo8/brief/brief01.html)], consulted on 1st July 2006].

<sup>150</sup> APPLEBONE, 2003: 310-311.

<sup>151</sup> MECHLING, 2001: 35-36.

<sup>152</sup> *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* (99-699) 530 U.S. 640, 665 (2000).

[<http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/99-699.ZS.html>], consulted on 1st July 2006].

<sup>153</sup> 'Brief of Amicus Curiae, The General Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church, the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, The Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, The Diocesan Council of the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, and the Unitarian Association'. *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale*, 530 US 640, 657 (2000) [March 29, 2000]; MECHLING, 2001: 225.

[[http://supreme.lp.findlaw.com/supreme\\_court/briefs/99-699/99-699fo31/brief/brief01.html](http://supreme.lp.findlaw.com/supreme_court/briefs/99-699/99-699fo31/brief/brief01.html)], consulted on 1st July 2006].

<sup>154</sup> Much of this data is taken from the young conservative Hans Zeiger's *Get Off My Honor*, in which he defends the BSA's exclusion policy (ZEIGER, 2005: 23).

<sup>155</sup> "It is common knowledge that the BSA prohibits homosexuals, atheists and females. Around the country, the Boy Scouts are under increasing pressure to become politically correct, watered-down, feminized, and secularized. Inevitably, these changes would come at the expense of such virtues as duty to God, moral cleanliness, bravery, and reverence". ZEIGER, 2005: 13.

the Boy Scouts of America; it is an obligation" and that "homosexual conduct is inconsistent with the traditional values espoused in the Scout Oath and Law and that an avowed homosexual cannot serve as a role model for the values of the Oath and Law"<sup>156</sup>.

The international echo of this policy led the European Scout and Guide associations at the 10th European Scout and Guide Conference in July 2001 to approve the resolution mentioned earlier explicitly requesting that homosexuality not be a discriminatory factor in or outside the Scout Movement. Beyond any moral considerations, the whole controversy over the discrimination of homosexuals probably has more than a little to do with the fact that public opinion often relates homosexuality to the abuse of minors. Although one of the most thorough studies on abuse committed within BSA, work of the journalist Patrick Boyle (1994), makes it clear that there is no connection between the two – in fact, the study suggests that abusers were often abused themselves as children – the vast sums of money paid out by BSA during the 1980s to avoid abuse scandals could have influenced BSA's decision: according to Mechling (2001: 223), by barring entry to homosexuals, BSA wrongly thought that it was excluding the majority of paedophiles from among its leaders.

BSA came out a winner in 1999 when it barred access to girls, gays and atheists, but the controversy sparked by the Dale affair in 2000 transcended the limits and radicalized the public stance of BSA in defending its right to discriminate. The result has been that many public and private institutions have withdrawn funding and attempts have been made to strip BSA of its public protection<sup>157</sup>. Until the 1990s, the story of Boy Scouts of America was a story of success. It was founded in 1910 by a multimillionaire publisher and philanthropist, and run by a leader of the Christian association YMCA<sup>158</sup>, from an office that became its first national headquarters. In 1910, the YMCA organized 400 summer camps, which were attended by 15,000 boys. In 1911, one year after its creation, Boy Scouts of America had printed 300,000 copies of its *Handbook for Boys*. The following year, it was present in every state of America<sup>159</sup>. It always had the aim of serving society and a typically American patriotism, with the president of the United States as the Association's president of honour.

In June 1916, the US Congress approved a Federal Charter for BSA, establishing  
"[t]hat the purpose of this corporation shall be to promote, through organization and cooperation with other agencies, the ability of boys to do things for themselves and others, to train them in Scoutcraft, and to teach them patriotism, courage, self-reliance, and kindred virtues, using the methods which are now in common use by Boy Scouts"<sup>160</sup>.

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<sup>156</sup> 'BSA Resolution'. [<http://www.scouting.org/media/press/2002/020206/resolution.html>, consulted on 1st July 2006].

<sup>157</sup> MECHLING, 2001: 213, 215-216.

<sup>158</sup> The Young Men's Christian Association came into being in the United States in 1851, seven years after it was founded in England.

<sup>159</sup> MACLEOD, 1983.

<sup>160</sup> *United States Code. Title 36: Patriotic and national Observances, Ceremonies and organizations. Subtitle II: Patriotic and National Organizations. Part B: Organizations. 309: Boy Scouts of America.* [<http://uscode.house.gov/download/download.shtml>, consulted on 1st July 2006].

The girls' association, Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA), was founded in 1912 by a wealthy American lady who had met Baden-Powell and was open to the idea of Scouting for girls. The development model for girls was not based solely on the traditional role of the housewife, but more or less subtly encouraged roles such as that of future professionals or active citizenship outside the home. As with BSA, the Congress approved a Federal Charter for the Girl Scouts, albeit thirty-four years later, in 1950<sup>161</sup>.

Both associations succeeded in making American Scouting a popular and typically American product with social support. The tradition of male and female Scouting in the United States has made this movement an all-American product that society considers to be home-grown. As a result, the two associations have received much private funding. An example of this is the fifty-fifty transfer of rights to BSA and GSUSA of "God Bless America", a peace song by the exiled American Jew Irving Berlin popularized in 1938 during Hitler's rise to power in Europe.

Yet, while both associations are regarded as "all-American", their practices over the last thirty years have placed them at opposite social poles. Traditionally, GSUSA has been much more sensitive about avoiding any form of discrimination, whether due to disabilities or on racial grounds – it elected its first black president in 1975. From the 1970s onwards, when women's emancipation was starting to take off, the association began to adopt approaches favouring this movement, including the incorporation of the intellectual and feminist leader Betty Friedan on to its National Board. And when GSUSA was reported in 1992 because the duty to serve God in the Promise breached the freedoms established in the American Constitution, it reacted by setting in motion a process of change that was completed a year later and subsequently allowed girls to change the term "God" for another that fit in better with their individual beliefs, a formula adopted by other countries<sup>162</sup>. Also, unlike BSA, GSUSA upholds the view that sexuality issues are a matter for girls and their parents. They therefore adopt no official stance on homosexuality, although

<sup>161</sup> *United States Code. Title 36: Patriotic and national Observances, Ceremonies and organizations. Subtitle II: Patriotic and National Organizations. Part B: Organizations. 803: Girl Scouts of the United States of America.* [<http://uscode.house.gov/download/download.shtml>, consulted on 1st July 2006].

<sup>162</sup> MECHLING, 2001: 37. Nonetheless, the comparison made by Beresford in the report quoted earlier is very clear: "2.3 In theory and subject to historical exceptions, neither World Organization supports 'alternative Promises' and both insist on an acceptable spiritual element in new Promises submitted or changes to existing Promises. However, see next item.

"2.4 The Promise of Girls Scouts USA has been queried by some. Their Promise reads: "On my honour I will try.....to serve God and my country...etc'. However, GSUSA states that it 'makes no attempt to define or interpret the word "God" in the Girl Scout Promise. It looks to individuals to establish for themselves the nature of their spiritual beliefs. When making the Girl Scout Promise, individuals may substitute wording appropriate to their own spiritual beliefs for the word "God".' Such a situation would be unacceptable to WOSM, which is prepared to accept some variation in the actual formulation of the spiritual requirements (if requested by an Association for use by all its members) provided that any such variation is considered and approved by the World Scout Committee as fulfilling these requirements. It does not accept that each individual member would establish for him/herself purely subjective formulations of that requirement in accordance with his/her belief. The WAGGGS World Board, which approves (on the recommendation of the Constitutions Committee) all Promises for each age range, accepted the explanation of the GSUSA, which assured the Board that the fundamental principles were being upheld in the application of the Promise in each individual case.

"2.5 Any difference in the interpretation and application of a spiritual element in the Promise and Law would be a very relevant issue if a long-term vision of one new world organisation were to be considered; this is particularly true in view of the difference in approach on that subject between the Boy Scouts of America and Girl Scouts USA". 'Fact-finding Study (WOSM/WAGGGS)', document submitted by John Beresford, Chair of the Constitutions Committee of WOSM, to the World Scout Committee, 7th October 2000, p. 3.



they do not accept the discrimination of individuals for sexual orientation – in fact, GSUSA is considered a *gay-friendly* association<sup>163</sup>.

According to Mechling, BSA's inability to react to social changes in the same way as GSUSA is due to the historical connection between Christianity and an aggressive view of masculinity, reinforced by BSA's ties with the strong religious culture that gripped the United States in the 1950s:

"The Boy Scouts [of America] was "nondenominational", to be sure, and there were religious badges representing each major religious group. But "nondenominational" could not include agnosticism or atheism in 1950s America, for "nondenominational" meant only that no one religious denomination could impose its theology and practices upon the organization. Boys from all faiths were free to join the organization, but "faith" was the key. A boy had to have a faith, for atheism—and probably agnosticism—was the characteristic of Communists, our sworn enemies"<sup>164</sup>.

Mechling believes that BSA clearly took sides in the "culture war", which was a battle over moral authority and values. Citing James Davidson Hunter, he explains how we are seeing polarizing forces coming from two sides. On the one hand, the "Orthodox" Americans – conservatives and moral traditionalists – maintain that moral authority lies in an "external, definable, and transcendent authority". While on the other, the American "Progressives" – liberals and cultural progressives – believe that moral authority is not set in stone and that this area tends "to resymbolize historic faiths according to the prevailing assumptions of contemporary life". For Hunter and other culture-war theorists, these categories, which extend beyond religious traditions, deal with a new element of identity on which personal political positions are based, one that does not end with gender, race, social class or religious tradition.

Hence, Mechling (2001: 47) maintains that BSA cannot exercise the inclusive options of GSUSA:

"The religious conservatives who control the national office of the Boy Scouts see themselves as important troops in the culture wars. If religion, masculinity, and citizenship are as tangled as the rhetoric of the Boy Scouts and others seems to make them and if, as so many historians and social critics have suggested, there is evidence everywhere of a "crisis in white masculinity", a status revolution in which white males feel like the beleaguered class, then it makes sense that the men running the Boy Scouts see the atheists and their ACLU lawyers as agents of an assault upon masculinity and whiteness (symbolized by certain European religions and the very American religion of Mormonism). The link between white masculinity and religion at century's end explained why the Boy Scouts would not make this compromise, while the Girl Scouts would; the Girl Scouts, quite simply, have no stake in the masculinity part of the tangle".

Supporting the idea of a "culture war", though glossing over the considerations, Madhavi Sunder (2001) provides an in-depth critical approach to the whole BSA v.

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<sup>163</sup> MANAHAN, 1997.

<sup>164</sup> MECHLING 2001: 44. This argument is developed further in a subsequent article (MECHLING, 2002).



Dale affair in her extensive article *Cultural Dissent*, in which she makes two important points. Firstly, that the view of culture as static, imposed, homogeneous and unitary is anthropologically incorrect. She supports this by showing how the battle over the interpretation of the texts that took place during the trial was between those trying to prove that BSA was conceptually against homosexuality and those who attempted to show that it did not have a clear stance on the issue.

Sunder believes that both stances overlook the fact that what matters is not what historical documents indicate, but rather what the present-day members of BSA – and not merely its executives – decide<sup>165</sup>. Society and the members of the association have changed, and so must the association's stance. This backs up her second criticism: the legal imposition of a cultural view over an association. When, in the context of a debate over cultural views in an association, the Supreme Court, rather than the association's members, decides which view must prevail, the law is effectively acting as a defender of cultural groups against the dynamics of modernization and change. Thus, she states, "legally enforced cultural boundaries could, conceivably, accord powerful members of cultural groups the ability to suppress *any rumblings* for change in a culture, particularly by censoring or excluding those members who challenge power relationships within a culture and threaten the status quo"<sup>166</sup>.

The discriminatory stance of Boy Scouts of America, however, does not necessarily mean that US Scouting is in essence a discriminatory movement. As Professor Mechling explains, BSA Scouting, understood to mean "the legal corporation and the bureaucrats working in the office buildings of the national office and the council offices", is not the "real" Scouting of Scout groups. Along the same line as the study *The Educational Impact of Scouting* mentioned earlier or the observations of the historian Timothy Parsons (2004), Mechling points out that many groups "define themselves proudly as different from (and superior to) the national or council office, especially when they think the national office has strayed from the basic message of the Boy Scouts" and use their own criteria<sup>167</sup>.

The main network for the abolition of discrimination in Boy Scouts of America, *Scouting for All*, was launched by members of BSA itself. The network encourages resistance with a badge that Scouts can sew on to their uniform to show their rejection of the official discriminatory policy. After spending time on camps with his son's group, the *New York Times* journalist Peter Applebome (2003: 316-318) applauded the positive impact of Scouting's educational task but made it clear that BSA has to change if it does not want to find itself caught up in a downward spiral. He suggests seven measures: stop discrimination, find dynamic leaders, get rid of the traditional uniforms, embrace diversity, be more committed to community services, focus on maintaining and reinforcing the young age range and promote itself.

In 1994, the then-Secretary General of WOSM, Jacques Moreillon, explained that 75% of the 80,000 Scouts in Los Angeles were from minority groups, mainly Afro-

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<sup>165</sup> SUNDER, 2001: 529-531.

<sup>166</sup> SUNDER, 2001: 500-502.

<sup>167</sup> MECHLING, 2001: 214.

American, Latino and Asian communities, and 92% of these came from single-parent families<sup>168</sup>. The foundations for a Scout organization equipped to face the challenges of today's American society do, therefore, exist. However, there remains the question of whether it will be possible given the bureaucratic structure of Boy Scouts of America, reinforced on the one hand by the powerful influence of two churches that control many BSA members, and on the other, by the legal blockade produced by the inflexible position of the Supreme Court, which has tied the hands of BSA members who legitimately oppose the position adopted by the national executives.

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<sup>168</sup> Background notes for the presentation of Dr. Jacques Moreillon, World Scout Bureau, Geneva: 1994.