



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

Eduard Vallory

October 2007

Thesis submitted in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for
the Doctor of Philosophy degree
in the Doctoral program in Political
and Social Sciences

Supervisor:

Dr. Imma Tubella i Casadevall



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(1 of 4)

To my father, in loving memory

To Marta Mata, with affection and admiration

To Boi Fàbregas and all he symbolizes

To my mother, to whom I owe everything

To Pau, with hope for the future

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Vidrà (Osona), 14th October 2007

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INTRODUCTION

1. OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESIS

- 1.1. Thesis Objectives
- 1.2. Research Questions and Hypothesis
- 1.3. Academic Interest
- 1.4. Personal Motivation

2. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

3. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

1. OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESIS

1.1. Thesis Objectives

This thesis has two main objectives. First of all, it attempts to show, through an analysis of World Scouting, that citizenship education – based on civic and inclusive values – can combine the nurturing of loyalty to one’s national community with the sense of global belonging. The second objective is to bridge the gap in our knowledge of World Scouting, one of the biggest world youth movements in contemporary history (both in numbers and geographical presence) that has influenced the vast majority of societies on the planet, and to explain the relevance of Scouting in social science studies, for topics such as citizenship education, the construction of a values system for living as a community, the promotion of national identity and the concept of global citizenship.

I understand “World Scouting” to be the sum of two organizations: the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM), founded in 1920, and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), set up in 1928. These are the two biggest worldwide non-formal education organizations and are based on the same principles, were founded by the same individual (the Englishman Robert Baden-Powell) with the same aims, and both expanded through national initiatives. Between them, the two organizations have around 30 million child and youth members in 165 countries on five continents (2003) and share the common aim of educating these members to become responsible citizens by combining local-based activity, national identity and the sense of global belonging by living in diversity.

Scouting is a movement with which many people are vaguely familiar with, relating it mainly to recreational activities that have no social impact other than the fact that it keeps the boys and girls busy. I would venture to add that, in many cases over the last ten years, this familiarity has extended to US Scouting and the controversial discrimination of homosexual members by Boy Scouts of America. Research on Scouting has traditionally suffered from what Anthony Smith (1979: 191) has termed ‘methodological nationalism’, i.e. the tendency to assume that the units of analysis of social sciences are the societies that were implicitly compared to nation-states. Many studies have been conducted on the Scout movement in a range of countries and regions such as British Scouting, US Scouting, French Scouting, Indian Scouting, African Scouting, etc. And yet, there have been no

known studies on World Scouting as a whole, as a voluntary movement of global dimensions that has educated millions of individuals around the world to become responsible citizens during the twentieth century. As Nagy explains (1967: 8), "many misunderstandings, as well as many differences of appreciation, arise from the fact that some observers concentrate their whole attention on one kind of Scouting only, the one they see, know, like and practice".

The first challenge of this thesis, therefore, is to prove that World Scouting is potentially very useful for studying the contradictions that have arisen around the world in the contemporary development of the concept of citizenship, from the basis of national loyalty to the complexity of a globalized world and increasingly multi-cultural societies. It is a research subject traditionally underrated by or foreign to the scientific community. For example, few people know that World Scouting is present in 83.3% of the world's independent states (2003), with the main exceptions being countries where it has been banned: the People's Republic of China – though not Taiwan or Hong Kong – North Korea, Cuba, Laos and Myanmar¹. Nor do many people know that World Scouting overall has almost 30 million child and youth members around the world (2003), most of whom are based in Asia, and that it has a strong presence in Arab countries while Europe represents less than 8% of its membership. And not only this – even fewer people know that, when it was formalized in 1920, World Scouting had national associations in over 50% of the world's independent states, a percentage that has not dropped since and has actually increased to a current figure of 83.3%, while the number of independent states increased from 63 in 1922 to 192 in 2004.

Clichés, rather than scientific analysis, have been the main source for opinions on the Scout movement. It is often said that Scouting was founded by a British colonial army officer, but nobody stops to ask why it enjoys such great prestige nowadays in the former colonies in Africa and Asia. Attention is paid to its nationalist content but we ignore the many cases of armed conflict between communities in diverse countries where Scouting has acted as a bridge. It is said that the sense of forming part of a worldwide community, as is the case of Scouting, is not extraordinary because this happens with many religious organizations too. However, we must take into account the potential conflicts that may arise in a movement that deals with citizenship education, national loyalty and world understanding while bringing together individuals representing a very wide spectrum of national identities, religious confessions and cultural traditions. The resilience of World Scouting is such that the late Malek Gabr, former Deputy Secretary General of WOSM, suggested that I begin the thesis by asking the question, "Why has the Scout Movement not yet disappeared?" How is it that a movement run by volunteers from all over the world with the aim of educating citizens by combining the sense of national belonging with that of global belonging and which interacts with religious beliefs, cultural identities and government institutions can continue to recruit millions of people who want to further its aim of educating new generations to become responsible citizens?

¹ WOSM, 2006: 89.

1.2. Research Questions and Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this thesis is that a citizenship education based on civic and inclusive values that promotes national commitment can reinforce rather than debilitate the sense of global belonging. The hypothesis uses World Scouting to show that a non-governmental, worldwide educational movement with a local-based activity and national commitment, has continuously promoted the sense of global belonging among its members ever since its early days using a model of citizenship that combines the republican civic values of liberal-democratic nationalism and the values of cosmopolitanism. The opposite argument to the hypothesis is that opting to educate in national loyalty inextricably leads to values that contradict the idea of global citizenship and that only through national disaffection can we create a sense of global belonging. If the proposed hypothesis is correct, in a context such as that of World Scouting, despite its vast diversity of countries, cultural traditions and religions, the civic principle of loyalty to one's country would not contradict the pre-eminence of the sense of global belonging and universal fraternity during wars and conflict or even support for the development of other countries and the establishment of institutions of world governance. If, on the other hand, the hypothesis were incorrect, we would come across cases in which the Scout Movement had encouraged ethnic nationalism, xenophobia or hatred between communities, or where it had opposed any legitimacy above that of the nation-state.

As I explain in the theoretical framework, the concepts of 'nation' and 'national' are highly controversial because of their possible identification with the concept of 'state' and because of the delimitation of non-state national communities, and World Scouting is not exempt from this controversy². Although I will describe this issue in detail later on, the subject of this thesis is the combination of national identity and global belonging in the framework of citizenship education, and this affects both national communities that are states and national communities without a state. In my earlier, less exhaustive research, I studied the case of national minorities in youth associations, focusing on World Scouting and the youth councils of Europe³. I will not, therefore, discuss this issue again here.

This research on World Scouting attempts to show that its educational action helps to create a model of inclusive citizenship that combines national identity with global belonging through the sum of its principles and purpose, organizational system, dimension, consistency over the years and practices. To do so, the analysis will answer questions formulated on four topics:

- (a) the ideological consistency of World Scouting;
- (b) its consistency over the years;
- (c) the quantification of its world, current and historical dimension; and

² I assume in this thesis the distinction between 'state' and 'nation' used by Guibernau (2001: 243). The mere fact that loyalty to one's own country is one of the underlying principles of the Scout Movement and that, since it was formalized in 1920, the number of independent states around the world has tripled highlight the important contradictions within the movement. In the history of nations, those who are now praised for their participation in the nation-building of new independent states were previously accused of jeopardizing the national unity of the earlier state.

³ VALLORY, 2004.

(d) the coherence of local practices with the values it promotes globally.

a) The *ideological consistency of World Scouting* section must answer the question: Is World Scouting a circumscribable subject with common features throughout the world and a legitimate organization that establishes the latter democratically and with a membership system to guarantee them? If World Scouting were as different a movement in each country as societies are and the only things that these individual movements had in common were the name and some external elements, with no legitimate system to enable changes to reinforce the ideological foundations and without a membership procedure to ensure compliance with common minimums, we could disprove the statement that World Scouting is, ideologically, a consistent subject and legitimate in the decisions it makes on its identity and stances towards its members and society.

b) The *consistency of World Scouting over the years* section must answer the question: Have the principles of the Scout Movement that combine national identity with global belonging been upheld since 1920? Or have the legal texts been amended or the stances of the governing bodies of the two world organizations changed? National identities and religious beliefs, which are reinforced by the Scout Movement, have been the main cause of conflict in world society during the last century. If we find changes to the legal framework text that are sympathetic to stances that contradict harmony between countries and cultures, or circumstantial stances that justify aggression to a community by another, we could disprove the statement that World Scouting has been consistent in this aspect throughout its history.

c) The study of the *quantification of Scouting's world dimension* must answer the question: Has World Scouting upheld at its core a true plurality of countries, cultures, beliefs, geographical origins and political traditions over the years? If it were a world movement made up mainly of Western countries and their colonies, in which its presence declined after decolonization, and where the diversity of beliefs was limited to countries with one or two monotheist majority religions, we could disprove the statement that World Scouting is a common space of world harmony among individuals of different backgrounds, races, cultures, beliefs and political traditions.

d) Lastly, the *coherence of practices* section must answer the question: Is there a correlation between global citizenship education with a commitment to peace as promoted by World Scouting⁴ and its reception by the national programmes and transfer to local level? If we come upon practices that contradict this combination of national identity and global belonging and its commitment to peace, we could disprove the statement that, in this aspect, World Scouting is a movement with a world discourse coherent with its local practices.

If the answer to these four questions is in the affirmative, then we can conclude that World Scouting is a movement that since its beginning has carried out global citizenship education with a commitment to peace locally and with civic loyalty to

⁴ "Loyalty to one's country in harmony with the promotion of local, national and international peace, understanding and cooperation", according to its constitutional definition (WOSM, 1983: 3).

the country involved, and that it has done so through a civic commitment promoted by its network, which is local-based, structured into national associations and forms part of the two legitimate, democratic world organizations that guarantee compliance with the principles of Scouting. This would show that: there is a research subject – World Scouting – with a global dimension backed by figures, based on an ideological model that has been coherent over time; there is a democratic organizational system that legitimates the definition of this subject; there is an accurate and legitimate definition of the ideological and organizational limits of this subject; there is a procedure to guarantee compliance with the conditions of membership of the subject, and that there is a coherence between the values promoted by the subject throughout the world and its local practices.

1.3. Academic Interest

The academic interest of this thesis is based on two considerations: (a) the possible contributions of the study of World Scouting to the theoretical debate on diverse political science issues, and (b) the possible contribution of this research to reducing the distinct lack of studies on World Scouting as a subject of analysis beyond national cases.

(a) The first consideration is that the analysis of World Scouting can provide unpublished data that could add to the theoretical debate on the compatibility between the idea that citizens must identify with their national community, put forward at different levels by liberal nationalism, communitarianism and republicanism, and the idea that citizens must develop a sense of global belonging, put forward by cosmopolitanism and in some way by multiculturalism. As I explain in the theoretical framework, significant changes have taken place over the last twenty years in four main areas of political theory: international relations; national identity; political participation, and citizenship.

In international relations, we have moved from realism, which saw the international arena as a stage on which only states held relevance, to the complexity of globalization, which proposes challenges that states cannot overcome in isolation and where global governance involves other actors in addition to states – individuals, companies, associative networks, mass media, etc. In national identity, since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the processes of decolonization, the model of homogeneous Western states born out of the French revolution has been pushed aside by multi-cultural societies in which managing difference is becoming increasingly important, and by states that cannot erase their internal national plurality, as was traditionally the case, and have thus found ways of adapting to it. Approaches to the third area, political participation, have also changed. Although the liberal-democratic model has continued to gain ground as the standard of political organization, parallel to a gradual decline in authoritarian and theocratic regimes⁵, the institutional and procedural mechanisms of representative democracy have become necessary but not sufficient for the adequate functioning of society, as shown by growing electoral apathy. There is

⁵ In 2000, 121 (68% of the world population) of the 147 countries on which data was available had one or all of the elements of a formal democracy while in 1980, just 54 countries (54% of the world population) met this condition. UNDP, 2002: 14-15.

now a need to encourage civic participation beyond elections, with countries like the United Kingdom recently showing an interest in citizenship education to extend liberal-democratic values.

Issues have also arisen that cannot be solved by states alone (environmental, economic, etc.) and there has been a gradual increase in awareness of cross-border topics – with military intervention in other countries. This has led to what has been termed the “global civil society”, a framework of movements and citizens’ associations that have affected the international political agenda by inaugurating a new form of political intervention. Lastly, changes in the concept of citizenship became particularly important in the 1990s, both from the liberal point of view of individual rights and privileges and from the community point of view of belonging to a certain community and the rights deriving from it, combined with the aforementioned changes in the concept of political community, and the consequences for an idea of ‘citizenship’ that was previously regarded as essentially state-based. Similarly, the gradual progress made in diverse societies through the recognition of equal civil rights has improved the situation of individuals who were traditionally discriminated against on the grounds of race, cultural group, gender, ideology, or sexual orientation. Nonetheless, discrimination against women and the categorical rejection of homosexuality are still the norm in many societies.

World Scouting is an excellent laboratory for researching all these elements – international relations, national identity, political participation, citizenship. In each one of the countries and in the world as a whole, whether in interreligious dialogue or in wars and changes of political regimes, Scouting has not only not avoided being linked to these issues, but, on the contrary, it has fully immersed itself in them. The analysis of its history, ideological consistency and the coherence between its values and practices should show this.

(b) The second consideration providing the interest for this thesis is the lack of studies on the consistency of the Scout Movement over the years, the ideological and organizational stability of World Scouting, the relevance of its numerical dimension over the last 80 years and the coherence between the values of national and global loyalty and its practices. Though back in 1795, at the peak of the Westphalian interstate order, Immanuel Kant put forward the bases for everlasting peace through an understanding between the world’s countries, it was not until after World War I that his ideas formed the basis of the *League of Nations*, the first attempt to set up an institution for world governance. Since 1920, hundreds of millions of boys and girls all over the world, representing the vast majority of countries, cultures and creeds, have been educated as citizens in a movement based on the principles of the founding ideals of the *League of Nations*. This is despite an interval of great and small wars, genocides, dictatorships, changes in political regimes, independence processes, racial discrimination and religious conflict. World Scouting, the educational movement promoting this model of citizenship education among young people, was founded in England in 1907 and took on a global structure from 1920 onwards. It has a strong local emphasis and is organized into national associations that accept the democratic authority of the world organization that they themselves make up.

World Scouting has a governing body with a worldwide scope in which every country has the same vote. It meets every three years and sets down lines and principles and selects a small executive body from the applications submitted. It is a democratic body with national organizations that are structured into local groups where children and youths are educated using the World Scouting's own educational methodology, which is shared by the whole movement. Thus, it is a single organization from global to local scale. The term "World Scouting" refers to this clearly defined subject as opposed to the generic term "Scouting", which is used in many studies but does not distinguish World Scouting as a subject from the many movements that have cropped up over the years calling themselves "Scouts" but which do not share all of the principles or accept the democratic world authority that guarantees inclusion.

World Scouting does not attempt to be a global movement without national identities. On the contrary, it opts to be a global movement in which national identities are the key, not the obstacle, to a cosmopolitan model of citizenship. A scout is always citizen of the world, but it is so belonging to a given country or community. Religious identity has also had a key place in World Scouting ever since it began, albeit on a lower scale: the spiritual dimension of children and youths and their identification with their chosen religion are encouraged, but religion does not separate them. World Scouting's relationship and official cooperation with the main religions of the world very often convert the movement into a platform for interreligious dialogue. Just as in scouting national identity is always conditioned by world fraternity, religious belief is always conditioned by tolerance and acceptance of the other. Numerically speaking, the biggest religion in World Scouting today is Islam.

Despite all these elements, academic studies on World Scouting as a whole are almost non-existent. As with many other phenomena, Scouting has mainly been studied from a national/state point of view, something that is termed *methodological nationalism*⁶. Moreover, recent studies on global civil society fail to take it into account, perhaps because its strong local emphasis can mask the fact that it is a global associative movement. Academic literature on the Scout Movement has been mainly historical, sociological and pedagogical, and has centered on national cases. Historical studies in English have concentrated on the movement's creation in Edwardian England, the determining factors and intentions of its founder and on the birth and development of the movement – mainly in the British Empire and the United States. Similar approaches can be found in the academic literature of many countries with Scouting.

Likewise, sociological and pedagogical research studies have analysed Scouting's educational method, values and relationship with society in specific countries and, in some cases, compared a small series of countries. However, they have never gone far enough to analyse the global dimension of the movement, which has a legitimate worldwide democratic structure that has operated without interruptions for the last eighty years and which is governed by principles that combine national loyalty with global belonging. This research therefore also hopes to bridge these

⁶ SMITH, 1979: 191; BECK, 2000: 64.

gaps in the analysis of the historical and global dimension of the Scout Movement and its coherence with its social practices.

1.4. Personal Motivation

A doctoral thesis must meet two conditions: it must deal with a specific topic that will enable it to make an original contribution to academic knowledge and it must be appealing enough to the doctoral candidate writing it in order to maintain his/her interest. In my case, the two are closely related to my experience as a citizen and I believe that it is not out of place to mention them here.

I joined the Scouts when I was 8 years old, so it is difficult to say how much my ideas were affected by Scouting or to what extent I adapted my ideas to the pattern of Scouting. I started out with a Scout group of the Catalan Catholic association *Minyons Escoltes i Guies Sant Jordi de Catalunya*, in the small town of Calella (Maresme), which had its own premises. Almost all the girls and boys spoke Catalan and the idea that Catalonia was a nation was unquestionable. The presence of Christianity was regarded as normal: a priest would come to camp and say mass for us. Our uniform was a shirt and scarf, and the shirt had the symbols of the association and the country (Catalonia) on it. Some time after joining, at the summer camps, we would make the solemn Scout Promise.

At the age of 14, I changed to a Scout group in the Clot working district of Barcelona, within the same association. It was held on parish premises but these were the only religious element. The national discourse was very different: the Catalan identity was present but to a much lesser extent; we sang lots of songs in Spanish and many members of the group spoke Spanish as their first language. We rarely wore the association's shirt; we basically only wore the scarf. The Scout Promise existed, but it was much less solemn. When I turned 16, the people who ran the group decided to change from the Catholic association to the lay *Escoltes Catalans* to reflect the laicity of the group – which, in actual fact, made no reference to the spiritual dimension⁷.

At the age of 18, now as a leader, I decided to change group, though still within the same lay association. My new group was located in the well-off Sant Gervasi district of Barcelona and was part of the *Gràcia Climbing Club*. As it had only been set up during the previous year, most of the leaders came from outside the district, so there was a mixture and this also extended to the ideological profile: the Catalan identity was seen in different ways and hence transmitted to the girls and boys in different ways. As with much of the association, the only element identifying the

⁷ In Scouting, the term “laïc/laïque” has been used from the beginning of the 20th century in French-speaking countries to designate Scout associations where education in spiritual matters does not include the practice of a religious belief by members, but an active attitude of in-depth study and understanding of beliefs of those members; and the educational attitude of these associations is what the French call “laïcité”. These terms were adapted to the Catalan Scouting as “laic/laica” and “laïcitat”, but in English “secular” and “secularity” were used. These English translations, however, lead to confusion because they strip the words of their intense educational focus on the spiritual dimension. For this reason, the Catalan words “laic/laica” and “laïcitat” have been translated as “lay” and “laicity” respectively, even though this last word is not included in English dictionaries. I hope that this explanation helps to improve comprehension of the concepts, despite the fact that the terms used are not the most correct ones.

group was the scarf. The Scout Promise was called the *commitment* and was subject to the preferences of the different Scoutmasters.

I left the group at the age of 24 and was elected by the General Assembly of Escoltes Catalans as Head of External Relations. Not long after I began this international experience, I realized that my association represented the opposite of much of World Scouting: I was a very young International Commissioner in a context where the majority were over the age of 40 and sometimes even 50. My association was lay while practically all the others had religious references. The only national reference in my association was Catalonia, while the reference for virtually all the rest was their state. My association made *commitment* instead of the constitutional *Scout Promise* and talked about *educational objectives* instead of the Law. The *Scout Salute*, so fundamental in many countries, was token in mine. The only uniform of my association was the scarf, while almost all the rest had a shirt, badges and trousers, and many even had caps and socks, as well as the scarf. Lastly, my association was a member of the two world organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS, while the majority of countries were not.

During the five years that I worked as International Commissioner, I had to continually answer the question asked by my association: If we are so different, why are we part of World Scouting? The conclusion after five years was that our membership was justified at least by the fact that the discourse of global citizenship becomes a farce if an association does not really belong to an organization that reflects the diversity of the world. As International Commissioner of the Catalan Federation of Scouting and Guiding (1996-2000), I also took part in a number of European Scout and Guide conferences (1995, 1998 and 2001) and world Scout conferences (1996, 1999). I also attended the world conferences of WOSM and WAGGGS in 2005 as an observer while carrying out this research. Also as International Commissioner of the Catalan Federation, I participated in negotiations with the World Scout Bureau to enhance the status of international recognition of Catalan Scouting. During this process, I also had to respond to constitutional demands about references to *spirituality* in the principles of my association. In this same post, in 1997, I helped create the association of Scout parliamentarians of Catalonia (ANPEC) and, in 2000 and 2003, I attended the general assemblies of the World Scout Parliamentary Union as an observer⁸.

Throughout my personal career outside of Scouting, I have had a special interest in the theme of national identity. I was born into a Catalan-speaking family and have Catalan roots on both my mother's and father's side. In contrast, I went to a school where many of my friends spoke Spanish and I have found myself in uncomfortable situations on many occasions during my adolescence and in adulthood for using my language in my own city, which is all the more surprising since the language I spoke was, geographically speaking, the language of the city in which I lived. Many citizens of the world have never found themselves in such a situation and this is possibly why many fail to understand that the idea of national identity –which sometimes starts with language – is so important in places like Catalonia.

⁸ As a result, I published a book in 2003 entitled *Educar en la política* [Educating in Politics] (VALLORY, 2003), in which twelve former Scouts from Catalonia's political, associative, educational and professional spheres gave twelve reasons why we should participate in public life.

I also grew up with the feeling that the established order around me was not designed to protect me, but rather to control me. I vividly remember the feast day of Sant Jordi, the patron saint of Catalonia, in 1984, with Spanish police vans driving up and down the Rambla of Barcelona while policemen on foot kicked over Catalan book stalls. I also remember one mid-morning in the autumn of 1996 in my first class of my Journalism degree; I was sitting in front of the headquarters of the Army – at the bottom of the Rambla of Barcelona – conducting an observational exercise when I was detained by military policemen. I was searched against the wall and they took my diary away to make photocopies of it. They kept me until my professor, then the dean, walked past by coincidence and confirmed that I was indeed doing a practical. Up to twenty military policemen had been mobilized in front of me in case I was a terrorist informer. At the time, I had no idea that they could have applied the anti-terrorist law in force in Spain since 1988 and kept me in isolation, interrogating me without any rights.

While I was a university student, I was elected President of the National Youth Council of Catalonia, a platform that acts as an umbrella for the eighty main youth associations in Catalonia – educational, political, trade union, cultural, student, etc. – and which has official talks with the Catalan Government and Parliament. I was President from December 1997 to March 2000 and during this period had to reposition the social presence and institutional recognition of the platform by the Catalan Government and Parliament and by society itself. The main topics were probably the discourse on civil society and the participation and role of young people in the development of youth policies. However, another important theme was maintaining the Council's international presence on the European Youth Forum, which the Council of Youth of Spain had tried to exclude us from.

Over the years, I have developed the feeling that I have become a cultural dissident for some when I question discourses on cultural homogeneity in my country, and that I am a nationalist for others when I refuse to accept that the state criteria establish, for example, which languages come first and second in the European Union, but I am always a cosmopolitan in my awareness that there are no frontiers to the suffering of individuals. Hence, this doctoral thesis cannot escape the interaction between all these elements of my personal experience – or their contradictions.

2. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES AND METHODOLOGY

The methodology used to develop this thesis reflects its double aim: to show how citizenship education based on national belonging can simultaneously strengthen one's sense of global belonging, and to bridge a gap in our knowledge of World Scouting, showing its relevance as a research subject.

To achieve the first, most standard aim, I began by conducting a bibliographical analysis of the main theoretical contributions to the concepts of citizenship, national identity and cosmopolitanism. I formulated a theoretical framework through synthesis and conceptualization on which to base the approach of the thesis, which

I then used to structure the different analyses of World Scouting. In fact, World Scouting is more than just a case study for this thesis. The lack of documentation and studies on this movement have advised focusing more on the first two aims – bridging the gap and demonstrating the relevance – than on the theoretical debate. As I will explain in the following chapter, many questions have already been raised in the theoretical debate on citizenship, national identity and cosmopolitanism. In contrast, because of the particular characteristics of World Scouting (associative, youth, citizenship education, local tradition, national loyalty, global connection and presence), it is hard to find similar empirical analyses that answer the theoretical questions raised and add to the positive development of the academic debate.

Thus, to achieve these two aims, I started by carrying out a bibliographical review and analysis of the main theoretical contributions on Scouting. There was no complete, systematized bibliography on the subject to use at the outset so the bibliographical compilation of academic literature on Scouting was the first task of this thesis. I then analysed documentation on the past and present of World Scouting, which allowed me to familiarize myself with its origins, past development, principles and characteristics and its organizational and decision-making system. This analysis was supported by interviews with key informants, who included the last three secretary generals of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) since 1968 – Laszlo Nagy, Jacques Moreillon and Eduardo Missoni – and the last executive director of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) – Lesley Bulman-Lever – as well as many top figures from the world bureaux of the two organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS.

I also found there to be a lack of quantitative data for formulating solid arguments on the world dimension of World Scouting, both in terms of its evolution over the years and the current situation of the two organizations and in comparison with the world population. As a result, I collated the censuses of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) from 1924 onwards, processed them by computer one by one – at two-year intervals until 1947 and three-year intervals thereafter – and I created a data set which has been analyzed but which is also ready for further researches. This step was repeated for WOSM member countries and for the participation of the latter in world Scout conferences and 'Jamborees' or youth rallies. For the current censuses of the two world organizations, I combined their data and contrasted them with the censuses of the United Nations Population Fund to determine the density of Scouting in each continental region.

As a result, the research techniques used in this thesis combine the finding and collating of historical and current documentation, bibliographical and documentary analysis and qualitative and quantitative techniques: the qualitative techniques are the key-informant interviews while the quantitative techniques are the finding, collating, processing and producing of statistical data on World Scouting figures today and from the past. These methodological practices can be divided as follows:

- a) Bibliographical analysis and establishing of the theoretical framework.
- b) Bibliographical compilation and analysis of academic studies on Scouting.
- c) Selection and analysis of historical and current World Scouting documents.
- d) *Key-informant* interviews.

- e) Research, selection, processing and statistical analysis of the historical data of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM).
- f) Processing and statistical analysis of current WOSM and WAGGGS data, and comparison with the data of the United Nations Population Fund.
- g) Analysis and comparison of projects introduced.

(a) Firstly, the bibliographical analysis of academic literature on citizenship, national identity and global belonging enabled me to establish a theoretical framework on which to base my research. Given the potential scope of studies on Scouting, the hypothesis and theoretical framework have enabled me to focus the analysis on the local-national-global dialectic of citizenship education, though I have been unable to avoid digressing to related issues that also have an impact.

(b) The bibliographical compilation and analysis of academic studies on Scouting, mainly university editorials and journals published in English and French, have enabled the systematization of some unknown academic articles on Scouting. Although the majority focus on national cases (mainly North America), their contributions can also be applied to World Scouting, as is the case of the studies and thoughts of the clinical psychologist Herbert S. Lewin (1946; 1947a; 1947b) in the world post-war period, which illustrate the differences between the indoctrinating model of education of the Hitler Youth and the democratic educational model of Scouting. In all, I have collated 18 academic works entirely or with at least one chapter on Scouting and 40 academic articles on Scouting, mainly in English and French, together with other journalistic or informative works.

(c) There were four stages to the *selection and analysis of historical and current World Scouting documents*, during which I was aided by the WOSM and WAGGGS world bureaus. Firstly, the compilation and study of current documentation involved selecting and analysing more than seventy documents published by the two organizations since the 1980s on issues relating to Scouting's principles, citizenship education, community service, educating in the spiritual dimension, educational impact and image, the organization, strategy, foreign relations, volunteer participation and youths and Scoutmasters. There were also documents dealing with cosmopolitan values: world fraternity, the global village, peace culture, the environment, human rights, cooperation, international institutions, the World Scout Parliamentary Union, etc. All of this documentation was supplied by the documentary services of the two world bureaus and analysed with the research support of Jara Henar. It has been used as the basis for much of the chapter on the coherence between values and practices.

Secondly, the compilation and study of the constitutional documentation involved selecting and analysing the main legal documents from the two organizations since 1920. These documents contained their legal frameworks (constitutions and statutes, and constitutional modifications), the resolutions of world conferences and the minutes from these conferences. The aim of this step was to determine the main decisions taken by the governing bodies of the two world organizations on relevant aspects. Both world bureaus allowed me access to their historical archives in Geneva (WOSM) and London (WAGGGS). Some of the reports were unpublished. Special mention must be made of the amendments to the *Scout Law* text in the

1930s, which I managed to clarify using the archives of Scout Association (UK) in Gilwell Park (England). The third step was to select the relevant old documents on the history of the movement and the positions it took at certain points in history. These include the work of Hilary Saint George Saunders (1948), which analyses the cooperative action of Scouts in various countries during World War II, across which I came in Gilwell Park; Baden-Powell's article 'The Other Fellow's Point Of View' (1912), cited by Mario Sica (1984), which I managed to obtain from the archives of the Scout Association (UK); the newly discovered documents on Scouting from the 1920s in the League of Nations archive, with which the World Scout Bureau supplied me a copy; and lastly and possibly most importantly of all, Laszlo Nagy's 'Report on World Scouting' (1967), which was never published for external use and of which I learnt through the interviews I held with top WOSM figures. Finally, the fourth part of the analysis was the study of the thousands of pages that fill the Monthly Reports that Jacques Moreillon produced every month from 1988 to 2004 as Secretary General of WOSM, for the other World Scout Committee members. These Monthly Reports alone, which he so kindly lent to me and from which he helped me to select the most relevant parts, could have formed the basis of a doctoral thesis.

(d) The personal *key-informant* interviews were not used as a research source but to support the studies being conducted. In some cases, those interviewed preferred not to be named and since some of the topics were controversial, I opted for convenience and allowed the interviews simply to guide the research rather than producing neutral but publishable interviews. Many were made possible thanks to Jacques Moreillon and Lesley Bulman. The interviews were held between 2004 and 2007 and the countries, in numerical order, were: Switzerland, England, Italy, Catalonia, Jordan and Tunisia – the latter two were the venues of the world conferences in 2006. The list of interviewees is attached as Appendix 1.

(e) The methodological practicals, which involved the *selection, processing and statistical analysis of the historical data of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM)*, were made possible through the support of the Deputy Secretary General of the World Scout Bureau, Luc Panissod, and most especially that of the Documentation Service assistant, Jacqueline Paschoud. It was thanks to them that I was able to obtain a copy of all of the WOSM censuses, from the first ever published in 1924 within the report about the 1922 International Scout Conference. Appendix 4 contains a detailed list of the sources of each census, which are essentially the reports on the world conferences, the documents of the censuses up to 1990 not processed in the archives of the World Scout Bureau in Geneva and the electronic files with the censuses from 1990 onwards. Moreover, thanks to the collaboration of the Head of Archives of the British Scout Association, Paul Moynihan, and particularly that of the archiver, Patricia Styles, I was allowed access to British Scouting documents containing data that bridged some of the gaps in the World Scouting censuses that even the archive service itself did not know about, specifically during the 1930s. The result of the collation and computer processing of all this data, which had never been done before and was aided enormously by the research assistant work of Montse Vergara and Jèssica Aracil, and its comparison with the database of independent states of the Correlates of War

Project⁹, was the creation of three databases, which are themselves a contribution to the thesis, and which are included in electronic format in Appendix 5:

- The 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004' (my own work), which contains (1) the number of WOSM member countries, at intervals of two to three years, depending on when the census was published; (2) the comparison with the number of independent states in each case, based on Correlates of War; (3) the Scout census for each country, and (4) the breakdown of countries into continental regions, using the UN Demographic Yearbook¹⁰.
- The 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004' (my own work), which contains (1) the number of WOSM member countries, at intervals of two to three years; (2) the comparison with the number of independent states in each case, based on Correlates of War; (3) the Scout census for each country, split into three approximate age groups: 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, and (4) the breakdown of countries into continental regions, using the UN Demographic Yearbook.
- The 'Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002' (my own work), which contains: (1) the number of world Scout conferences organized since 1924; (2) the number of WOSM member countries in these years, and (3) the number of WOSM member countries in these years that have attended the world Scout conferences.

Although the three databases contain this information for each of the 154 Scout associations of independent WOSM member states, this thesis has limited itself to grouping countries into continental blocks for analysis. Nonetheless, it opens the door to future comparative research on individual countries. This section also used the WOSM database on the evolution of the number of countries taking part in the main world youth rallies of World Scouting, the *world Jamborees*, between 1920 and 2002.

(f) *The processing and statistical analysis of current WOSM and WAGGGS data* also used quantitative techniques, though in this case current data was used – the 2003 censuses of the two world organizations, supplied by the two world bureaus, using only the data on young people – and hence, not on the adults in charge. This data was compared with the United Nations Population Fund data. I also received the support of Montse Vergara and Jèrica Aracil in this research task. The result was a new database, which represents a further contribution to the thesis and which is included in electronic format in Appendix 5:

- The 'World Scouting 2003 Data Set' (my own work), which contains (1) the number of WOSM and WAGGGS member countries in this year; (b) the number of young members of World Scouting in this year, for both WOSM and WAGGGS and overall, split into three age ranges (5-9, 10-14, 15-19)

⁹ Correlates of War Project, 2004: "State System Membership List, version 2004.1". University of Illinois and the Pennsylvania State University. February 2, 2005.

¹⁰ United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical Supplement (1948-1997). This division considers all countries in Central America and the Caribbean to form part of the region of "North America".

and by gender; (c) the population census data of the United Nations for 2000 for the same three age groups, and (d) density (the number of Scouts divided by the population of the same age range, multiplied by 10,000) obtained by comparing *b* to *c*.

As with the historical databases, use of the data set on World Scouting today for this thesis has been limited to continental groups, though data is available – both in the Scouting censuses and the real youth population – for each country and could be used in future research.

(g) The last methodological practice, the *analysis and comparison of implemented projects*, required selecting from the list of projects recorded by the two world organizations those that clearly illustrated the practical application of the values promoted by World Scouting at local level. The values part was compared to the analysis of the documents published by the two world organizations since the 1980s, as explained earlier. However, this part was highly complicated. Scouting does not generally record its activities, and much less so quantify them, so many of the practical cases I came across were ruled out because they did not include enough information. As a result, the final selection of cases came from the summaries of projects carried out in the 1990s, supplied mainly by Nicky Gooderson, Lydia Mutare, Arturo Romboli and Jean-Luc Bertrand, and taken from Jacques Moreillon's Monthly Reports – in the case of Chernobyl – or historical documents – such as those from the archives of the League of Nations.

In short, the methodology used in this thesis was a combination of techniques such as documentary research, bibliographical and documentary analysis, qualitative interviews with key informants, preparation and quantitative analysis of censuses and geographical presence and practical case studies.

3. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organized into six chapters. The first, Theoretical Framework and Earlier Studies, is an attempt to explain the basis of the concept of citizenship in the modern sense and the different understandings of the civic duties that citizens should have in a liberal democracy. It then deals with the civic values needed to establish democratic harmony and goes into more detail about the notion of citizenship education. The chapter shows how the nation-state as a framework for citizenship has undergone significant changes with globalization and deals with the 'demos' to which citizenship refers, from the logic of national identity and the obligations we can derive from it to multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism and the concept of 'global citizenship'. The second part describes the academic bibliography on World Scouting and indicates its limitations – mainly because of methodological nationalism – and looks at the principal research carried out previously.

Chapter 2, Origins and Historical Consistency, analyses the history of World Scouting and deals with its reformulation in 1920, as described earlier, from which point we can consider the subject to exist per se. The first section looks at the period prior to this date, 1907-1920, to explain the movement's origins in England

and subsequent international expansion. The chapter then discusses the formalization of World Scouting in the 1920s, parallel to the League of Nations and emulating the principles and operation of the latter, up until the death of Robert Baden-Powell, World War II and the movement's contemporary period, particularly with its 'globalization', i.e. the transformations it has undergone since the 1970s following decolonization and the Cold War and the progress in communication that has made the world more reachable. The analysis of documents from this period and the resolutions of the world conferences reveal that World Scouting's founding principles and commitment to peace have remained consistent throughout its history. The second section deals with the concept of citizenship on which World Scouting is based and the friction between its role of upholding established values on the one hand and encouraging transforming values on the other.

Chapter 3 deals with ideological consistency. As the biggest chapter, it is divided into three large sections. Nagy (1967) has said that "World Scouting" as a subject perhaps does not exist. This chapter attempts to disprove that statement by demonstrating its existence and possible delimitation. Firstly, it deals with the essential features that are common to all components of World Scouting (and by extension, WOSM and WAGGGS): the definition of the movement, the purpose and respective missions, the principles on which they are based and the method used for its educational action. The next section discusses structure and operation, pointing out first of all that the network operation of World Scouting is above and beyond its formalization into organizations, although the organizations guarantee the coherence of the network. This part also deals with democratic practices and the local, national and global levels. The last section focuses on the recognition policy in order to point out its relevance and to show how Scouting can be distinguished from what is not Scouting. This section discusses the limitations of the recognition policy, the three causes of divisions –religion, culture and vision of association – and the small splits existent, before recommending a review of the recognition typologies.

Chapter 4, The Dimension of World Scouting, indicates the overall results of an extensive quantitative research task and statistical analysis of the censuses and other indicators. The first section looks at World Scouting today and uses data from 2003 to reveal the numerical reality of WOSM and WAGGGS in terms of numbers of countries, individuals, density of youth population, age ranges and gender, both overall and broken down by continent. The second section offers a similar analysis for 1920 to 2004, though only using WOSM censuses. In addition to the evolution of member countries, individuals and age ranges, this analysis also looks at the evolution in the participation of countries in world Scout conferences and attendance of youth rallies or world Jamborees.

Chapter 5 is the last chapter of the thesis before the conclusions and it analyses the coherence of practices. The first of the two sections in this chapter reveals how World Scouting bases its values on three large thematic areas of global citizenship education – peace and human rights, sustainable development and the legitimization of international institutions. Each area is set against an analysis of short case studies for comparison of the values and practices. This part is rounded off with an analysis of the World Scout Parliamentary Union, an organization of Scout

parliamentarians from around the world. The second section looks at incoherent practices brought about by the conflict between prevailing social values and cultural change, ending with a note on the polemical and influential case of USA Scouting (Boy Scouts of America), which is very significant for World Scouting as a whole.

Chapter 6 provides a general summary of the thesis, its conclusions and potential for future research.

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND EARLIER STUDIES

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CITIZENSHIP AND EDUCATION, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND GLOBAL BELONGING

- 1.1. Foundations of the Concept of Citizenship
- 1.2. Civic Values and Citizenship Education
- 1.3. The Nation-State, Globalization and Changes in Sovereignty
- 1.4. Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship

2. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF EARLIER STUDIES

- 2.1. Methodological Nationalism and other Limitations
- 2.2. Redefining the Historical Framework
- 2.3. Controversies over the Start of British Scouting
- 2.4. Scouting as a Subject of Historical, Sociological and Educational Studies
- 2.5. Socio-Educational Studies on World Scouting

INTRODUCTION

Immanuel Kant ([1803] 2003: 12) said that there are two human inventions that can be considered more difficult than any other: the art of governing and the art of educating. His *Perpetual Peace* (1795) and *On Pedagogy* (1803) explain the idea that education must look to the future, not only to the present, if it is to improve the living conditions of all human beings. Hence, he says, the foundations of a child's educational programme, which includes citizenship education, should be "cosmopolitan"¹. He also argues that a third element must be added to the dual state and international dimension of rights (*ius ciuitatis* and *ius gentium*): cosmopolitan rights (*ius cosmopoliticum*), the rights of humanity, which include men and states, in a mutual relationship of outside influence, "as citizens of a universal state of mankind"².

Thus, the art of governing and the art of educating that Kant refers to are the focus of reflection on global citizenship education. The concept of citizenship is not neutral; it can include rights and duties, and condition the way in which society must guarantee these. And if we consider that citizenship requires certain virtues, citizenship education is a vital tool for achieving them. The framework of citizenship is not neutral either: firstly because, although it is identified with the nation-state in modern times, the increasing acceptance of cultural plurality has led to a demand for accommodating national minorities, and secondly, because the transformations that have taken place in world society over the last third of a century have opened the door to the consideration of citizenship frameworks beyond that of the nation-state. These transformations have also brought Kantian principles back to the fore by rethinking the *demos* of citizenship and evidencing the need for governance of globalization, where the idea of global citizenship has an important role to play.

The issue of global citizenship education has three theoretical aspects that need to be clarified: firstly, the notion of citizenship itself and the preferred models of

¹ KANT, [1803] 2003: 14-15, 31.

² KANT, [1795] 1991: 98-99.

society and politics deriving from it; secondly, the role of citizenship education and the creation of individual criteria as a means of achieving the preferred models of society and politics, as opposed to indoctrination, and thirdly, the role of the 'framework' of the citizenship – the national community, on the one hand, and regional and global scopes, on the other. If we assume that the citizen is a constitutive part of the political community, as opposed to a subject (who is passive), this will lead us to analyse the rights and duties deriving from this status, the limits of both of these elements, the civic virtues required and, more importantly, the need for a critical attitude on which his/her autonomy is based. Citizenship education can also become a means by which citizens can learn rights and take on duties, achieve these civic virtues and develop their own criteria based on inclusive values of social harmony. However, it must be clearly distinguishable from the indoctrination so typical of dictatorial, theocratic and totalitarian regimes. Lastly, the national community is a basic framework for identification and solidarity among citizens but it can oppress civil liberties if interpretation of this common identity is not flexible. Moreover, the fact that many issues affecting citizenship are decided in supranational ambits requires us to find ways to ensure that they are resolved through politics. This is the basis of the idea of global citizenship.

In the first part of this theoretical framework, I will develop these three areas. I will deal first of all with the foundations of the concept of citizenship, followed by the role of citizenship education as opposed to indoctrination, and then I will study the changes in the concepts of nation and state in the framework of globalization, changes that will open the door to a new way of combining patriotism and cosmopolitanism in the concept of global citizenship. In the second part, I will analyse the scope and limitations of earlier studies on World Scouting to set down the bases for developing the content of the thesis.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CITIZENSHIP AND EDUCATION, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND GLOBAL BELONGING

1.1. Foundations of the Concept of Citizenship

There are two basic understandings of the concept of 'citizenship'³. The first determines – identifies – who is a member of the political community, while the second defines the relationship between individual members of the political community and its official institutions – government. The latter includes the role of individuals, their rights and duties in the community and the reciprocal responsibilities of the government towards its citizens –including social rights⁴. In the first – passive – view, citizenship is a legal status and one of belonging. It is determined by the legal framework of the political community to which the citizen belongs; in the second – active – view, citizenship is a concept of the constitutive political culture of the form of government in which individuals dictate their own destiny through self-governance. Thus, the concept of citizenship becomes the principle of the political legitimacy of the democracy in that the citizen is a

³ REUBEN, 1997: 406.

⁴ Some authors argue that citizenship as a social practice (and hence, beneficiary of social rights) should be considered a third typology, separate from the other two. See BENHABIB, 2002: 160-161, 162-165.

constitutive part of the sovereignty, as well as being the source of social bonding in pluralist societies, where it is no longer religion or the condition of being the subjects of an authoritarian figure⁵. Although these understandings of citizenship are influenced by classical Greek and Roman interpretations, they are essentially modern, fruit of the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, France and the United States. They have evolved since then as an interaction between the legal and cultural definitions.

The invention of the Greek city or *polis* was also the invention of the notion of *citizenship*. In his *Politics*, Aristotle says that the *polis* is the community of citizens, meaning those who take part in the exercise of power⁶. These citizens share power in democracies in the sense that they are free and equal, and are seen in politics as interchangeable units in a system in which the law represents a balance and equality is the norm. Besides inventing the idea of citizen above and beyond the definition of a specific individual, a member of an abstract political domain, Greek tradition also invented the principle of respect for the law: citizens obey a legal framework that they themselves have developed, rather than obeying a single person. Rome's revision of Greek political tradition introduces the view of citizens as legal subjects. In the Greek *polis*, foreigners, slaves and women were excluded from citizenship. In Rome, on the other hand, citizenship is defined in terms of legal status, which allows for the gradual incorporation of foreigners. This meant that elites from the new provinces could become Roman citizens as the Empire expanded.

Although the Greek and Roman referents of citizenship, often termed "classical republicanism", are the early precedents of its contemporary understanding, modern politics gives citizenship a much more complex meaning. Firstly, England's Glorious Revolution of 1688 on the new king's ascension to the throne imposed the supremacy of Parliament over the monarch's authority, thus ending absolutism and establishing a counter system of powers to safeguard individual rights from the arbitrary nature of power. Secondly, the independence of the United States culminated in its 1786 Constitution, which established the first representative democracy, in the form of a republic, based on the idea of equality among free citizens. And lastly, the French Revolution of 1789 transferred the legitimacy of the sovereign king or queen to the "sovereign nation", with the proclamation of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. Schnapper (2000: 39-50) indicates that there are two main intellectual traditions that form the basis of the modern understanding of citizenship: English liberal pluralism (separation and the balance of powers), and the French national unitary state (the fusion between individual and society through Rousseau's understanding of general will).

In the Anglo-Saxon world, citizenship is based on Locke's liberal reply to Hobbes, stressing the individual rights of every citizen and compensating the power of the state with a balance of powers and system of being accountable to citizens. However, in the francophone world, citizenship is based on Rousseau's theses, as set out in the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, according to which individuals transfer their freedom to the state in exchange for guaranteed

⁵ SCHNAPPER, 2000: 9-11.

⁶ ARISTOTLE (1997): *The Politics and the Constitution of Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

rights. The English tradition of citizenship is therefore based on the idea that power tends to be arbitrary and that to ensure individual freedom, we must establish a balance of powers and respect the diversity of private belongings and ties. Pluralism, then, is seen as the natural expression of public freedoms: a citizen is one who belongs to a private community, and it is the sum of private interests that makes up the general interest. In the French tradition, however, general interest is not the sum of private interests; instead, the interest and will of every citizen are identified with the collective will and interest: "la citoyenneté était, comme la nation, un tout indivisible, elle devait être organisée et garantie par un État centralisé, expression de la volonté générale, producteur de la société"⁷.

The English tradition has a liberal understanding of citizenship that requires the security of individuals, freedom of thought, speech and action, and becomes democratic when these rights are extended to all citizens. The understanding of citizenship in the French tradition stems from absolute monarchism. There is a direct relationship between sovereign and subjects, which is transformed into a filter-free bond between the nation and its components, the citizens: political freedom is the prerequisite for democratic participation in the collective sovereignty.

The modern approach gives citizens civil, legal and political equality and had two main points of friction: the importance of private, historical and religious references, and socio-economic inequalities. It was reproached on the first point of friction by the counter-revolutionaries because it tended towards an abstract society based on the individual and not on the collective, overlooking the importance of historical experience and tradition. The communitarians would take up this criticism again two centuries later. Marxism took it to task on the second point of friction because the material conditions of workers made it impossible for them to obtain the full-fledged tailored citizenship of the bourgeoisie, and compared the 'formal freedoms' proclaimed by modernity to the 'real freedoms' that socialism had to enable. After World War II, the extension of social protection and the redistribution of profits from economic expansion appeared as a way of adjusting the economic inequalities criticised by communism, thus combining economic efficiency with social justice. In his classic *Citizenship and Social Class* of 1949, Marshall states that citizenship should primarily ensure that every individual is treated as a full and equal member of society and that we must give people the greatest possible citizens' rights in order to achieve this⁸.

Marshall also defines three citizenship typologies, which correspond to three phases of the recognition of rights in England: *civil rights*, such as individual freedom and the right to protection from the arbitrary nature of power (eighteenth century); *political rights*, such as participation and suffrage (nineteenth century), and the *social rights* obtained in the twentieth century, including state education, healthcare, unemployment benefit and retirement pension. In the social rights period, he adds, the condition of citizens was extended to women, the working

⁷ ["like the nation, citizenship was an inseparable whole that had to be organized and guaranteed by a centralized state, the expression of general volition, the producer of society"]. SCHNAPPER, 2000: 44.

⁸ KYMLICKA and NORMAN, 1994: 354-359; see Trevor MARSHALL (1992): *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Pluto Press.

class and groups that had been marginalized on the grounds of race or creed. Hence, the full expression of citizenship requires a liberal-democratic welfare state that guarantees civil, political and social rights for everybody without exception. Marshall's view – termed "passive citizenship" – has been heavily criticized, not only because of its emphasis on passive rights with no mention of the need for citizens to participate in public life, but also because it is not clear that his solution encourages and helps the poor to find a way out of their poverty since it creates a culture of dependence⁹.

These *social rights* form the basis of Rawls' theory on justice (RAWLS, 1971) and of the response of communitarians such as Sandel, Taylor and MacIntyre¹⁰. The link between justice and citizenship stems from the fact that the notion of justice is based on each theory's notion of citizenship. Rawls upholds a notion of justice based on the individual who, at certain times, is a citizen; the communitarians, on the other hand, base it directly on the citizen. Rawls (1971: 303) defines justice by saying that people can only be free and equal if they have the same primary social goods – freedom and opportunity, income and wealth – distributed equally, unless an unequal distribution benefits the more underprivileged. According to Mouffe (1999: 90-91), this leads to the liberal view that citizenship is the ability of individuals to form, revise and rationally pursue their definition of the good, while the communitarians emphasize the notion of a public good that pre-dates individual desires and interests and is independent from them.

The debate on whether right should come before social good or social good should come before right ties in neatly with the concepts of individual, citizen and community. Depending on each author's interpretation of individual, he obtains one consequence for justice or another. For the liberals, rights limit the dimension of the state and guarantee the freedom and equality of citizens; hence, they must come before the common good, since each individual rationally chooses his definition of happiness and good and, as a result, he must be able to develop this idea freely. In actual fact, the liberals do not believe that we can talk of a *common* good because they assume pluralism; instead, they defend the idea of a *rational* good. In a pluralist society, the political understanding of justice cannot stem from religious, moral or political ideas of what "good life" is. The communitarians respond that rights cannot come before the common good because it is only through the citizen's participation in a community that the good can be defined and hence take on a sense of right and understanding of justice. Thus, it is the community that gives the citizen common values and it is these values that allow the creation of the right, not the other way around. In MacIntyre, the criticism also

⁹ Norman BARRY (1990): 'Markets, Citizenship and the Welfare State: Some Critical Reflections', in: Raymon Plant and Norman Barry: *Citizenship and Rights in Thatcher's Britain: Two Views*. London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit. Quoted in Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 356. Some supporters of Marshall's view, regardless of whether they accept welfare-state reforms, have responded to this with the argument that opportunities must come before obligations. See Desmond KING (1987): *The New Right: Politics, Markets and Citizenship*. London: Macmillan (quoted in Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 358).

¹⁰ See Charles TAYLOR (1979) *Hegel and Modern Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Michael SANDEL (1982): *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Alasdair MACINTYRE (1981): *After Virtue*. London: Duckworth.

attacks what he calls "rootless cosmopolitanism" because it apparently overlooks the importance of national communities¹¹.

The communitarian criticism of liberal approaches has led liberalism to develop two new arguments. Firstly, the adaptation of liberal-democratic societies to cultural plurality and national minorities. And secondly, it has left behind the merely instrumentalist view of politics based on private interests and stripped of all ethical connotations, in favour of arguments in the line of civic republicanism¹², which maintains that a degree of civic virtues is necessary to balance out rights and responsibilities and enable social cohesion. For Kymlicka (2002: 284), the concept of citizenship has become a key instrument in the 1990s for integrating the liberal ideas of justice and individual rights with the communitarian ideas of belonging to a particular community. Hence, he says, 'citizenship' was the buzzword of the political thinkers in this decade.

1.2. Civic Values and Citizenship Education

In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hanna Arendt ([1951] 2004) describes two basic elements of a totalitarian regime: a unifying ideology within which the individual feels triumphant while outside it there is only terror, and the notion that the individual becomes superfluous – he has no thought or criterion and accepts no other vision than that of the regime; the individual is nothing outside the group and is completely dominated to the point of unconditional loyalty. The purpose of the regime's propaganda and indoctrination is precisely to substitute individual thought and establish a group identity that will be set off against the "other"¹³. Arendt (1972) also notes that the government must not be seen as a group of people ruling over their subjects and introducing laws that the latter must obey; instead, governments must be made up of individuals that the citizens have empowered to legitimately exercise authority in their name. Thus, although the government has the ultimate authority to adopt binding decisions in the community's name, its decisions must represent the public consensus – what Gutmann and Thomson (2000) call "deliberative democracy". The dual meaning of citizenship takes on a special relevance in this context. While the passive side of the legal status identifies the member of the political community and subject of rights, the active side emphasizes the fact that citizens are not only governed by a system of rules and governing practices, but that they also have a fundamental role in the definition and development of the latter. In this view, if the rules to which citizens are subject are imposed by tyranny, a foreign power or illegitimate political institutions, individuals then become passive subjects instead of active citizens. The political capacity of citizens lies in their self-government, their popular sovereignty and their self-determination.

The fragility of democracy as evidenced in Europe in the second third of the twentieth century, with the expansion of fascist and communist regimes and Nazi and Stalinist totalitarianism, is a constant reminder of the crisis of representative

¹¹ Alasdair MACINTYRE (1988): *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press: 388.

¹² SANDEL, 1998.

¹³ ARENDT, [1951] 2004: 427-429, 459, 589, 599.

democracy – electoral cycles and parties – sensed in liberal democracies. The mediatization of politics is a key factor in this decline. Nowadays, political parties and groups must channel their projects and strategies through one route: the mass media, which have generated new rules to the game. Political communication and information have become ensnared in this exclusive new arena. Outside, there is only marginality, as Castells (2004: 371-391) has empirically demonstrated, stating this to be the main factor in the democratic crisis. The mediatization of politics requires simplified messages and the use of permanent, destructive confrontational logics to replace debate. And while the foundations of parties and groups are undermined, personalized leaderships become stronger. In the words of Castells,

"captured in the media arena, reduced to personalized leadership, dependent on technologically sophisticated manipulation, pushed into unlawful financing, driven by and toward scandal politics, the party system has lost its appeal and trustworthiness, and, for all practical purposes, is a bureaucratic remainder deprived of public confidence"¹⁴.

Combined with this mediatization are a number of other elements, such as increased abstention in liberal democracies, the rise in aggressive nationalism and religious fundamentalism in diverse regions and friction in increasingly multi-cultural societies. These elements have led to a decline in the credibility of political institutions and procedures and nurtured a degree of support for extremist and populist parties, from the left and the right. The crisis in representative democracy is leading us towards what Mouffe (1999) has termed a "centre republic", in which the groups that should be political opponents do not have markedly different projects. This generates the risk that the dissatisfaction with politics will lead groups that feel excluded or unrepresented to join fundamentalist movements or be tempted by anti-liberal political forms¹⁵ that put an emphasis on the *enemy* (basing the characteristics of this *enemy* on features other than political ones, such as ethnicity, religion, or race) and which tend to reproduce the patterns mentioned above: reduced significance of individual thought in favour of the doctrine, collective importance over that of the individual, and invention of an external enemy¹⁶. Developments like these have led to the approach that "the health and stability of a modern democracy depends, not only on the justice of its 'basic structure', but also on the qualities and attitudes of its citizens"¹⁷. One consequence of this is to ask how citizens can come to possess these civic qualities and attitudes.

The elements of this political crisis¹⁸ have given even greater importance to republican arguments, a theoretical current that proposes freedom over domination and which argues that citizens must have certain civic virtues in order to obtain this freedom: an organized political community with a virtuous citizenship sets the conditions for a non-arbitrary political authority¹⁹. While many of these civic virtues may be necessary in any political order, there are some that are specific to liberal democracies, such as the ability to evaluate the activity of political leaders and the

¹⁴ CASTELLS, 2004: 403.

¹⁵ MOUFFE, 1999: 18.

¹⁶ Nonetheless, the *Critical Citizens* study shows that the declining confidence in political institutions has not led to a decline in support for democratic values and principles in most countries (NORRIS 1999: 27).

¹⁷ KYMLICKA, 1999: 80. The reference to the 'basic structure' of society is because Rawls considers it to be the main subject of a justice theory.

¹⁸ See PHARR and PUTNAM, 2000.

¹⁹ PETTIT, 1999: 52 onwards.

desire to have a say in the public discourse, sense of justice, civility and tolerance and a shared sense of solidarity²⁰. Nonetheless, a liberal democracy must respect the option of citizens who do not want to participate in public affairs, and this is the critical point when we are talking about civic values that reinforce political participation. Kymlicka (2002: 294-302) explains that, for civic republicanism, a working democracy requires certain civic virtues and shared identities among its citizens – an argument that also ties in with some communitarian theses if the restrictions on freedoms are removed. This approach, which he calls “instrumental”, is entirely compatible with liberalism in his view. There is, however, a second “Aristotelian” approach, whereby the best life is that which places political participation above all other spheres of life and which states that this participation must be guaranteed. Only this second approach, says Kymlicka, is incompatible with the liberal commitment to individual autonomy and state neutrality. If citizens share civic virtues²¹ that reinforce liberal democracy, it will be easier to defend democracy in the face of potential moves towards authoritarian power or restrictions on freedoms.

Amy Gutmann (1999: 15) argues that one distinctive virtue of a democratic society is that it authorizes citizens to influence how society reproduces itself and that this is done through education – which is conscious, as opposed to political socialization, which is unconscious. Although she defends the need for democratic education, Gutmann (1999: 75) warns that schools serving “simply to perpetuate the beliefs held by dominant majorities are agents of political repression”. Thus, while education²² – in and outside school – is the means through which the civic virtues enabling common life in a liberal democracy are transferred, we must clearly establish what these virtues are in order to avoid the imposition of personal visions of common good. As Callan (1997: 221) says, although the pluralism of free societies entails educating citizens who share a cohesive political identity, the strength of pluralism itself makes it difficult to agree on the identity and educational practices to be adopted to these effects. To solve this problem, the British Government set up an Advisory Group on Citizenship under the coordination of Professor Bernard Crick (1998)²³, which established that citizenship education had to allow three general skills:

²⁰ KYMLICKA, 1999: 81.

²¹ The promotion of these civic virtues is not such a high priority in non-democratic societies. In *Critical Citizens*, Pippa Norris (1999) shows that, while being a critical citizen in liberal democracies means requiring democratic governments to account for their activities, in countries in the transition towards democracy, critical citizenship has a more basic component in asserting human rights: “The legitimacy of regime institutions is one contributing factor which helps promote voluntary compliance with the law, and therefore an effective public policy-making process, but strengthening human rights and civil liberties in transitional democracies may be even more important” (NORRIS, 1999: 264). Active and critical citizenship, therefore, has a very different function depending on whether the liberal-democratic system is already established or whether authoritarianism and a lack of guarantees conditions the rules of the political game.

²² Theoretical referents on education can be divided into two broad areas: scientific and ideological. The scientific area explains the characteristics of the processes of learning and acquisition of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes, offering information and criteria for determining how to structure educational action. The ideological area discusses the general conception of what the role of education and, more specifically, school, should be in society. This ideological reference, more philosophical or socio-anthropological, determines the educational aims and hence, the type of citizen we hope to form, a reflection of the model of society we wish to produce. Clearly, the ideological theoretical referents are a cause of controversy because they are subjective. This was particularly the case from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, when state teaching gradually took over the Church’s interpretational monopoly in education.

²³ CRICK, 1998. http://www.qca.org.uk/libraryAssets/media/6123_crick_report_1998.pdf

- Political literacy
- Community involvement
- Social and moral responsibility.

When he comes to detail these values, Crick (1999: 343 onwards) states that "the very project of a free citizenship education, as distinct from a would-be indoctrinating one, whether ideological or simply patriotic, must be based on a limited number of presuppositions", which he calls procedural values: freedom; toleration; fairness; respect for truth; and respect for reasoning²⁴. We cannot talk of citizenship education then without taking into account the tension between education and indoctrination or between the chosen reproduction of the model of society and imposed maintenance of the majority vision, and the conflict with religious or cultural values that are at odds with constitutional values. However, the legitimacy of the values that must foster citizenship education lies in their contribution to living in harmony in a democracy and the development of individual ideas of common good, since they allow for public debate²⁵ and are based on respect for the diversity of those involved in the debate²⁶.

Nonetheless, as Kymlicka (1999: 85-88) explains, diverse points of view have argued that schools should not necessarily be responsible for this education in civic virtues. The family, for example, has traditionally been the transmitter of civic virtues, although mainly within a moral framework established by religion and, in all events, with no guarantee that the transmitted values would be shared. Religion itself transmits civic values, though these conflict with the principles governing common life in pluralist societies, as is the case of the Catholic Church and divorce, abortion or the recognition of homosexuality. In the 1980s, it was argued that market expansion would teach civic virtues such as initiative and self-sufficiency. However, the regulatory mechanisms of the market are not sufficient to ensure that equally negative values do not prevail. Moreover, many thinkers have focused on democratic participation as a tool for transmitting civic virtues that allow for democratic common life, even though the emphasis on participation does not guarantee that citizens will participate responsibly. The view that neither the market nor political participation teaches civic virtues sufficiently is shared by civil-society theorists like Robert Putnam (1993; 2000), who argue that this transmission takes place in voluntary organizations of civil society²⁷ such as parishes, families, trade unions, environmental groups, neighbourhood associations or cooperatives, generators of social capital²⁸. Tingeing Putnam, Theda Skocpol (2003) argues that only organizations aiming to have an impact on the political agenda can encourage participation. The main aim of these associations is not the transmission of civic values, as Kymlicka notes, and hence, the transmission of civic

²⁴ CRICK, 1999: 343.

²⁵ "The essential need is the improvement of the methods and conditions of debate, discussion and persuasion. That is the problem of the public". DEWEY, [1927] 1991: 208.

²⁶ GUTMANN (1999: 287) argues that the virtues of citizenship "can be cultivated by a common education characterized by respect for racial, religious, intellectual and sexual differences among students".

²⁷ WARBURTON and SMITH (2003) make an interesting criticism of the Australian government's introduction of compulsory volunteer schemes, a direct consequence of the argument that a country with more volunteers – even if it is compulsory! – is a country with more democratic values. I have dealt with the issue in detail in VALLORY and PÉREZ, 2001.

²⁸ See BOIX and POSNER, 1998.

values may be implicit but not guaranteed. "Some associations, like the Boy Scouts, are designed to promote citizenship", he adds; "but they are the exception not the rule"²⁹. In a similar vein – though eighty years earlier – the educationalist James Russell (1917) concurred with the analysis of Scouting's potential role, stating that the education given at school has in Scouting an excellent partner for citizenship education in the sense that the Scout programme "is essentially moral training for the sake of efficient democratic citizenship".

Nonetheless, questions about the ability of the market, the family, institutional mechanisms and civil-society associations to teach civic virtues have led to the argument that the school – compulsory education – is the main arena for doing so. Thus, in recent years, a number of Western governments, such as those of the United Kingdom and Spain, have introduced compulsory citizenship education as a subject³⁰. However, given that this thesis does not discuss the role of schools, further discussion on this topic is not necessary.

1.3. The Nation-State, Globalization and Changes in Sovereignty

The nation-state as we now know it was created in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century in a new understanding of international law that has been termed the "Westphalian model" because it was introduced after the Peace of Westphalia of 1648³¹. This type of nation-state is based on the principle that the nation has full sovereignty over any other power. It became universal with colonization and decolonization, and has been considered to be the natural basis for the political organization of the world by Western countries over the last three centuries, replacing and adapting kingdoms, empires, protectorates and colonies³². The modern revolutions considered 'nation' to mean a collective with similar socio-cultural traits while 'state' meant the legal and ethical regime and the governing institutions of this nation. After the civil wars and religious conflicts in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a model was gradually introduced whereby the state was separate from the church, and the political decision-maker and establisher of rules (ruler and ruled) were different units³³.

In the eighteenth century, a theory of state was formulated to encourage peace among the citizens of the latter and to make this harmonious framework a lasting one. The success of the state idea meant that most of the classic modern social theorists, such as Weber, Durkheim and Marx, had the same territorial vision of modern society and equated society with national state. Societies were therefore assumed to be linked to a national state in that they were structured in the "state domain of space" – e.g. social order came after state order – and hence, the concept of 'politics', historically linked to society, came to be linked to the state.

²⁹ KYMLICKA, 1999: 88. Joseph Farrell (2001: 131-132) also argues that democratic citizenship values can be acquired through Scouting.

³⁰ See *Citizenship Education at School in Europe*. Brussels: Eurydice European Unit, 2005.
http://www.eurydice.org/ressources/eurydice/pdf/0_integral/055EN.pdf

³¹ The Westphalia model has two main features: (a) the world consists of and is divided into sovereign territorial states that recognize no greater authority and (b), the processes for the development of law, resolution of conflict and compliance with the law are chiefly in the hands of each of these states. HELD, MCGREW, GOLDBLATT, and PERRATON, 1999: 37.

³² KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 68.

³³ HELD, 1995: 38.

This is what Anthony Smith calls "methodological nationalism": society and state come to be seen, organized and experienced as coextensive³⁴.

Colonialism and decolonization on the one hand and the creation of trading agencies and international legislation organizations on the other gradually universalized this model to the point that, nowadays, there is practically nowhere in the world that is not part of a sovereign state, recognized as such by the rest of the states, which see themselves as the "international community"³⁵, an expression that assumes that the subjects of these relations are the nations. Kant's theorization of the relations that we now call "international" led to a complete turnaround in political thinking. Rejoicing at seeing the French and North-American revolutions and the creation of the corresponding nation-states, Kant argued that, for lasting peace, it was necessary to establish moral and political normative budgets – a minimum system of political representation and guaranteed individual rights – and an organic constitution of the world political system, that is, an organizational structure for the cosmopolitan order.

Kant proposed a new framework of relations between states – made up of democratic governments, a federation of free states and the constitution of a cosmopolitan law – to establish lasting peace. An international organizational structure based on relations between nations, as though they were individuals in their society³⁶. These Kantian ideas have had a very significant impact on political praxis, as shown by the creation of international structures throughout the twentieth century. Indeed, when the League of Nations was set up in 1919 and the United Nations Organization – and all of its system – after that in 1945, the same logic was followed and each state was given one vote, regardless of size. Even on the Security Council, the only body with the right to veto and five of the fifteen permanent members, this logic is upheld: the United States, China and Russia (and the USSR before it) are no more important than the United Kingdom or France.

The generalization of the nation-state system in the West has coincided over the past two centuries with the replacement of different types of un-democratic political regime with systems of liberal democracy, as stated by Kymlicka and Straehle (1999: 68), an extension of the liberal-democratic model that we continue to find all over the world. In 2000, 121 (68% of the world population) of the 147 countries on which data was available had one or all of the elements of a formal democracy, compared to just 54 countries (46% of the world population) in 1980³⁷. The number of democracies continues to grow³⁸ and the liberal-democratic model is seen as the basic standard of political legitimacy. This model is also based implicitly on the idea that nation is defined in the same way as "people" – that is, the group of inhabitants in a specific territory – which become the holders of the sovereignty, the central subjects of loyalty and the basis of collective solidarity³⁹.

³⁴ SMITH, 1979: 191 onwards; BECK, 2000: 23-26, 64.

³⁵ In fact, there is debate about the subject of sovereignty in territories that are not states, such as the Western Sahara or Palestinian territories.

³⁶ "Peoples who have grouped themselves into nation states may be judged in the same way as individual men living in a state of nature, independent of external laws". KANT, [1795] 1991: 102.

³⁷ UNDP, 2002: 14-15.

³⁸ HELD, 1998: 11-12.

³⁹ KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 70-71.

The logic of national sovereignty is thus based on the premise of a territory within a set of borders, a monopoly on violence within the territory and a population within this territory. Its practical subject, the nation-state, is traditionally seen as an institutional web that holds an administrative monopoly within specific territorial limits, in which the government is based on the law and exerts direct control over instruments of internal and external violence⁴⁰. However, the contemporary process of 'globalization'⁴¹ has changed these premises. According to Beck (2000: 11), globalization is "the processes through which sovereign national states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors⁴² with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities and networks". On this new globalized stage, it is increasingly the case that the state cannot determine policies on aspects affecting its citizens. This is caused by dynamics such as global economic networks, supranational environmental catastrophes or by security problems with international terrorism⁴³. As a result, the nation-state is undermined and liberal democracy as a decision-making system on collective affairs is weakened along with it. There was also the Eurocentric fallacy that saw the construction of national political communities in the form of nation-states as complete after the post-war pacts in Western Europe and decolonization, without taking into account the historic error of mechanically passing on certain Western European principles to non-European cultures. This led to the principle of national sovereignty being artificially transferred to societies with very different forms of organization and socialization⁴⁴ while the necessary function of social values for the acceptance and maintenance of political institutions was overlooked⁴⁵.

Thus, national sovereignty, a basic feature of the nation-state, is being undermined by diverse factors, including the difficulty of providing a response to the power of global networks and the challenge of unique identities. The nation-state is losing control over tradition and identity (because they are becoming plural) and the space-time axis (because of the speed of flows). It has less power globally and is not able to restore the democratic legitimacy that is being undermined⁴⁶. We also need to remember that the economy and the market have been globalized while the policies that should regulate them are limited to individual states or, at the very most, weak regional structures like Europe. According to Beck (2000: 64), while modernity saw the nation-state as the centre of political analysis, in the sense that cultural identity was unique and constant over time, the debate on globalization centres on the move to a second modernity, the centre of which is gradually becoming the world as a whole – the human community. Thus, the nation-state is losing its traditional power – though not its influence – and is no longer self-dependent. Now, it is becoming part of a larger network of powers and counter-

⁴⁰ GIDDENS, 1985: 121.

⁴¹ I agree with CASTELLS (2004: 304) and his argument according to which globalization can be considered a new phenomenon, because of information and communication technologies, and substantially different in circumstances and consequences from the globalizing processes of other points of history.

⁴² I refer here to international institutions (from the UN to the European Union or the World Bank), multinational corporations and organizations of civil society in general (BECK, 2000: 35)

⁴³ HELD, 1995: 16-17.

⁴⁴ CASTELLS, 2004: 32-34.

⁴⁵ INGLEHART and WELZEL, 2005.

⁴⁶ See GIDDENS, 1991; CASTELLS, 2004; HELD, 1995; BECK, 2000. Cf. BEITZ, 1999.

powers⁴⁷. The plurality of sources of authority in the new balances of power has created a situation whereby we must now understand what we previously called sovereignty as a power that is split and fragmented into different actors at diverse levels that limit it. "Nation-states have lost their sovereignty because the very concept of sovereignty, since Bodin, implies that it is not possible to lose sovereignty "a little bit""⁴⁸.

Beyond the classic duality of the internal and external dimensions of sovereignty⁴⁹, Krasner (1999) distinguishes between four categories within the concept of state sovereignty: internal sovereignty, based on political authority and the effective control of the interior of the borders; interdependent sovereignty, which allows the authority to regulate all types of flows across its borders; international legal sovereignty, the basis of the idea of 'international community' associated with independent mutual-recognition practices, and Westphalian sovereignty, which believes that outside agents cannot participate in the political mechanisms of a state. Krasner argues that both international legal sovereignty and Westphalian sovereignty have been transgressed in the past in the interests of the time and have become "models of organized hypocrisy" of the states. The remaining two – internal sovereignty and interdependent sovereignty – had been stable until the dual force of identity assertion and the crisis in institutions and global networks weakened them to a point that they had not known before.

This leads Held (2002: 33) to argue that a new understanding of sovereignty has developed, that of *cosmopolitan sovereignty*, which "comprises networked realms of public authority shaped and delimited by cosmopolitan law". The traditional sovereignty of states, he says, no longer exists. According to Held (2002), there are now three models of political power and international legal regulations. One gives the state absolute freedom in establishing economic and political relations; this is the classic understanding of sovereignty, which he labels "the right of states". The second model, a consequence of the development of cross-border structures, is "liberal international sovereignty", which delimits political power by extending liberal interest to the international sphere. This model sits halfway between the other two. The third model, which he terms "cosmopolitan sovereignty", sees international law as a system of public law that is not limited to political power but which extends to all forms of social power. It is the 'law of peoples' because it places the authority of individual human beings as political agents and the accountability of power at the centre⁵⁰. This third model, the ideological basis of the International Criminal Court, is a development of the increasingly widespread idea that democratic sovereignty and respect for Human Rights must be mutually limited and controlled⁵¹.

A new structure like the European Union could act as a bridge to Held's cosmopolitan sovereignty, but Habermas points out that market Europeanists,

⁴⁷ HELD, 1998: 24, 26.

⁴⁸ CASTELLS, 2004: 357.

⁴⁹ Classic sovereignty and international liberal sovereignty, to which HELD (2002: 1) adds "cosmopolitan sovereignty".

⁵⁰ HELD, 2002: 1, using KANT's term "law of peoples" (KANT, [1795] 1991), picked up again by RAWLS (1999).

⁵¹ BENHABIB, 2002: 41.

Eurofederalists and Eurosceptics are still a long way off the cosmopolitan view, which sees a federal European state as the starting point for developing a network of cross-border regimes that, despite the absence of world governance, could end up as something akin to a world domestic policy⁵². Giddens (2007) agrees with the idea that Europe could be the starting point for a better governance of globalization, considering that "multilateralism – governance by consultation and persuasion – is an intrinsic feature of the European Union, and is a principle of wide applicability in an interdependent world"⁵³.

In fact, the creation of cross-border structures leading to liberal international sovereignty was adapted from Kant's idea that states are to the world what individuals are to society. I have already pointed out that international structures such as the plenary of the United Nations uphold this idea; even when states can make an important difference, it is not so much because of their population but because of their international influence, as shown by United Nations Security Council. There is no room then for the democratic logics of "one person, one vote" beyond state borders. Nonetheless, much progress has been made over the last fifty years in reaching an international consensus. Firstly, we saw the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This was followed by the agreements adopted by diverse United Nations conferences (Rio and Johannesburg on development, Kyoto on climate change, Beijing on women, Cairo on population control, etc). We can also cite the establishment of legal frameworks and military imposition with the creation of the International Criminal Court and the multi-lateral peace forces of the UN's blue helmets, who are recruited from state armies. All of this has been accompanied by an increase in associative networks and social movements around the world that have pressurized governments and encouraged society to demand that they carry on in this way⁵⁴.

However, the progressive development of international structures since the creation of the United Nations is in crisis because of the lack of consensus. The international attempts to establish global political systems have constantly come up against the idea that states are not subject to international moral requirements because they represent different political orders and obey no higher authority. The initiatives developed since the United Nations was set up (conferences, summits and intergovernmental agreements; establishment of the various agencies; humanitarian intervention; introduction of the International Criminal Court, etc.) have had to deal with more state-focused positions, the biggest of which in recent years has been the United States. As Keohane (2002) explains, in contrast to the contemporary tendency of European countries to promote cross-border structures and enhance their legitimacy, the United States would rather limit democratic political legitimacy to the decision of the voters of each nation-state. During the Gulf Wars, successive US governments followed a foreign policy that was initially based on leading the consensus but which eventually fragmented it. Nonetheless, the pressure on US governments from their society – together with the difficulty of introducing a common foreign and security policy with the strength of the US policy – have led to a greater focus on international democratic structures.

⁵² HABERMAS, 2001: 88-89; 2002: 230-232.

⁵³ GIDDENS, 2007: 226.

⁵⁴ KALDOR, 2001: 110-112; CASTELLS, 2004: 417.

This situation has generated a marked difference between the position of the European states that – with a greater or lesser degree of scepticism – prefer the development of multi-lateral decision-making processes at cross-border level (beyond the European Union) through the transfer of democratic legitimacy to international institutions and agreements, and the United States, which advocates the right not to be subject to any decision that does not come exclusively from its popular sovereignty. The US government's refusals to abide by cross-border agreements (particularly the authority of the International Criminal Court) are based, as Fukuyama warns in his newspaper article, on its refusal to consider any democratic legitimacy beyond that of the nation-state; in other words, on the refusal to accept that structures of democratic legitimacy can be established that are not subject to a decision by the voters of each state. "The disagreement is not over the principles of liberal democracy, but over where the ultimate source of liberal democratic legitimacy lies"⁵⁵.

1.4. Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship

Today's implicit equivalence between society and national state has come hand in hand with an absence of literature on the role of the nation in political theory. This situation was rectified in the 1980s by contributions from thinkers such as Anthony Smith and Ernest Gellner⁵⁶, which were joined in the 1990s by works on nationalism by theorists such as Yael Tamir and David Miller⁵⁷, along with many others. Some of these theorists, such as Tamir and Miller, are referred to as 'liberal nationalists', arguing that only within the nation-state can liberal-democratic principles be implemented⁵⁸. This view sees the existence of nation-states as something not merely accidental and so, we need to ensure that they are maintained. It is important to note, however, that liberal nationalism is explicitly civic and hence, inclusive, as opposed to ethnic nationalism, which is not liberal. Ethnic nationalism considers only those with the necessary attributable features to belong to the national community while for civic nationalism, membership can be voluntary, through the acceptance of shared civic values⁵⁹. This second, non-essentialist type involves the idea that the political community is also a collective project in itself that is subject to the wishes of its components, picking up on Renan's idea of an "everyday plebiscite"⁶⁰. Liberal nationalism argues that the nation reinforces liberal democracy in that it is only within the nation that three basic principles can be achieved: social justice (since it constitutes a community of solidarity); deliberative democracy (since it establishes bonds of confidence and a

⁵⁵ Francis Fukuyama, "The West may be cracking", *International Herald Tribune*, New York, 9 August 2002.

⁵⁶ See SMITH, 1979, 1986; GELLNER, 1983.

⁵⁷ See TAMIR, 1993; MILLER, 1988, 1995.

⁵⁸ KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 66. For Tamir (1993: 139), this is precisely why most liberals are liberal nationalists, albeit implicitly.

⁵⁹ KEATING, 2001: 3-9; "What distinguishes 'civic' nations from 'ethnic' nations is not the absence of any cultural component to national identity, but rather the fact that anyone can integrate into the common culture, regardless of race or colour" (KYMLICKA, 1999: 24).

⁶⁰ "L'existence d'une nation est (pardonnez-moi cette métaphore) un plébiscite de tous les jours, comme l'existence de l'individu est une affirmation perpétuelle de vie" (RENAN, [1882] 1997: 32).

common language), and individual freedom (since it generates freedom of choice by giving meaning to the possible options)⁶¹.

The fall of the communist regimes in 1989 and the rise of new states in Europe, together with the more or less successful demands of national minorities in various countries around the world, showed that the construction of national communities and the perfection of liberal democracies are endless processes that are constantly active. Along these lines, Guibernau (2001: 256) points out that most nation-states do not consist of a single nation. Be that as it may, most Western nation-states today are created by eliminating the former internal plurality, whether through the right of conquest or in the name of the universal principle of democratic citizenship⁶². An even clearer example is that of Africa, where it is very difficult to argue that nation generally precedes the state since many borders were marked out with string lines.

The arguments of the liberal nationalists, which connect nation and democracy, are also taken up by those who assert the rights of national minorities to form their own nation-state. In this case, a stage is set whereby two nation-building projects are placed in opposition to each other: that of the majority and that of the minority. While the modern state is constructed on the basis of cultural, territorial, linguistic and symbolic unity, maintenance of the national minority is based on preventing the disappearance of the language, symbols and cultural features – which includes preventing folklorization – and maintenance of the territorial unity. Two movements that are, in fact, in opposition. And yet we witness the paradox that, if we accept the arguments of liberal nationalism, they all seem to be applicable to both national minorities and nation-states.

The communitarian Charles Taylor's successful expression "politics of recognition" (1994) refers precisely to these minorities' demand to feel entirely comfortable in their collective action, starting with acceptance of the equal value of different cultures. For Taylor, "the politics of nationalism has been powered for well over a century in part by the sense that people have had of being despised or respected by others around them"⁶³. The debate on the review of liberal democracies, however, has evolved from communitarian criticism of liberalism to arguments of cultural pluralism, which accepts liberal principles but stresses the need to include cultural diversity or "multiculturalism". According to one of its biggest theorists, Will Kymlicka (1995: 11-21), the concept of multiculturalism includes two different typologies that can occur simultaneously: national diversity in "multinational states" (in reference to the national minorities that demand recognition and/or inclusion) and ethnic diversity in "poly-ethnic states" (in reference to the inclusion of cultural differences in immigrant ethnic groups). This means that, on a global scale, they are two opposing dynamics⁶⁴: firstly, global systemic integration, mainly economic and informational; and secondly, a socio-cultural, linguistic and ethnic fragmentation based on communities. This challenges the predicted triple death of nationalism: by economic globalization and the international expansion of political

⁶¹ KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 68-72.

⁶² SCHNAPPER, 2001: 135.

⁶³ TAYLOR, 1994: 64.

⁶⁴ BENHABIB, 2000: 31, 33; THOMPSON, 1998:179.

institutions; by cultural universalism caused by the mass media, and by the decline in the concept of nation as an "imagined community"⁶⁵.

Increased individual mobility has led to mass migrations that have produced societies with gradually broader cultural diversities, together with the increase in national identities and the demands of national minorities for recognition⁶⁶. The challenge of multiculturalism, from the point of view of human rights' protection, is to incorporate these ethnic and national differences in a way that is stable and morally defensible⁶⁷, ensuring that they do not simultaneously curtail the freedom of their members. Amartya Sen warns of the underlying contradiction in categorizing individuals solely on the basis of their identity (culture, religion, ethnic group and class) and hence reducing multiculturalism to a plural monoculturalism of diverse impervious collectives within the same society. True multiculturalism, he maintains, is that which recognises differences but gives its members the freedom to maintain or change elements of their own culture⁶⁸.

Whereas political liberalism focused the question on democracy as a question on the rules of the game and their legitimating bases, the advent of cultural pluralism refocuses the question on requesting solutions for the failure to incorporate minorities. The debate on justice, therefore, becomes a debate on citizenship, under new circumstances where the conditions under which the state had regulated it have changed significantly⁶⁹. Kymlicka's contribution, very relevant to this change in focus, shows how the state adopts elements such as language or internal territorial limits, choosing some and ruling out others⁷⁰; i.e. he considers that the elements adopted by the state do not always match those of the collectives. In some respects, says Kymlicka (1995: 115), the ideal of the state's "benign neglect" when it makes its choice is nothing short of a myth. The decisions taken by governments on language, internal divisions, official feast days and state symbols inevitably recognize, satisfy and sustain the needs and identities of ethnic groups and specific national groups. This argument refutes the alleged liberal neutrality in the theoretical narration of democracies. The case is so strong that democratic liberalism has branched into two ways of understanding it: the first defends an understanding based on universal individual rights with non-discriminatory equality, while the second adds protection and development of certain cultural traits of groups living in the same democracy in the public sphere.

Although globalization increasingly affects our lives, political institutions are still designed for societies that are pigeonholed into much smaller geographical spaces. There is, therefore, a question mark over the future of the political community and

⁶⁵ CASTELLS, 2004: 30.

⁶⁶ CASTELLS, 2004: 54-56.

⁶⁷ KYMLICKA, 1995.

⁶⁸ SEN, 2006: 23-29, 156-160.

⁶⁹ HELD, MCGREW, GOLDBLATT, and PERRATON, 1999: 326; LINKLATER, 1998: 119.

⁷⁰ The state's ability to maintain its chosen options for building national identity is much stronger than what can be done by liberal democracies to alleviate abuse. In fact, without distancing itself from rigorous protection of human rights, a state may demographically alter a minority's territory by encouraging migration – as occurred in Russia and the Baltic Republics in the former USSR – or by changing the territorial limits of minorities to disable them – as France did when it included the French Basque Country and Northern Catalonia into regions that included other departments – or by establishing an official language, making knowledge of it compulsory, promoting it and protecting it (KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 72-76).

hence, a great deal of research has been carried out in this field in recent years⁷¹. Likewise, the changes brought about by globalization do not necessarily lead to the homogenization of the planet or the disappearance of cultures. However, as Roland Robertson argues, globalization cannot be separated from localization – “global” is increasingly taking on the meaning of “translocal”. This is why he suggests the use of the neologisms ‘glocal’ and ‘glocalization’, to complement the use of ‘global’ and ‘globalization’, given that “globalization has involved and increasingly involves the creation and the incorporation of locality, processes which themselves largely shape, in turn, the compression of the world as a whole”⁷².

The figure of citizenship has been the focus of the typical systems of inclusion and exclusion of modern nation-states. Over the last three centuries, important landmarks for the consolidation of citizenship rights have been reached. Thus, in the eighteenth century individual freedom and the right to protection by the public authorities were obtained. In the nineteenth century, the right to political participation, with the extension democratic parliamentarianism – although this came much later for women. The twentieth century has brought the right to security and economic well-being. For Bhikhu Parekh, in our time, globalization has forced us to re-think our citizenship duties, insofar as “our duties now have a political content, and our relations to human beings on other parties of the world are politically mediated. This inescapable politicisation of our universal moral duty is new to our age, and forms the central moral premise of any well-conceived theory of politics and international relations”⁷³.

From this standpoint, Linklater (1998: 114, 124) argues that, just as citizenship has been regarded as central for modern states, today it is essential to question the very assumption that citizenship cannot be conceived outside the sovereign nation-state. This is a result of the contradiction between the principle of democratic sovereignty, according to which any person who is not ‘national’ in a state should be treated differently, and the liberal principle by which all adults must be considered equals. Martha Nussbaum (1996: 7) picks up on the tradition of the Greek Stoics who defined themselves as *kosmou polités* (citizens of the world) to argue the arbitrary nature of national bonds⁷⁴. Hence, she says that a cosmopolitan education would allow recognition of what is non-essential in one’s own practices and what other practices exist, in order to increase the options available in a deliberative democracy⁷⁵. The responses of Walzer and Taylor tone down the euphoria of the cosmopolitan discourse, stressing the need for roots. Walzer (1996: 126) remarks that the greatest crimes of the twentieth century have been committed by “corrupt patriots and corrupt cosmopolitans” – in reference to fascist and communist regimes –, and Taylor (1996: 121) adds that “we have no choice but to be cosmopolitan and patriots, which means to fight for the kind of patriotism that is open to universal solidarities against other, more closed”. The idea of “global

⁷¹ ARCHIBUGI, HELD and KÖHLER, 1998.

⁷² ROBERTSON, 1995: 40. Along the same lines, Beck (2000: 46) gives the example of large multinational corporations that see their production strategies in terms of “global localization”: their executives are convinced that globalization does not mean building factories everywhere, but becoming a living part of each respective culture.

⁷³ PAREKH, 2003: 11; BENHABIB, 2000; 2002; LINKLATER, 1998: 125-126

⁷⁴ “What is it about the national boundary that magically converts people toward whom we are both incurious and indifferent into people to whom we have duties of mutual respect?” (NUSSBAUM, 1996: 14).

⁷⁵ NUSSBAUM, 1996: 11.

citizenship", then, cannot be understood as separate from the need for national citizenships, if we want to face the two biggest challenges of politics today:

"One is to devise political institutions capable of governing the global economy. The other is to cultivate the civic identities necessary to sustain those institutions, to supply them with the moral authority they require"⁷⁶.

Michael Sandel's view (1998: 345) is that governing the global economy requires cross-border institutions, and that, to maintain these, we need a supranational civic identity. But this, he argues, does not involve cosmopolitanism's usual overthrowing of sovereignty and citizenship, but rather the combination of the plurality of communities with a more diffuse understanding of sovereignty⁷⁷.

Although there is much controversy over the meanings of "citizenship" in national societies, the controversy over "global citizenship" or "cosmopolitan citizenship" is even greater. As well as considerations on the more liberal or more republican views of citizenship, there are considerations on the effective possibility that we can talk globally of citizenship per se, as a subject of rights and duties, when there are no institutions to guarantee it and no community of solidarity and shared values⁷⁸, comparable socio-economic conditions or indeed a language to allow deliberation⁷⁹. And even if there were, Kant warned of the major risk of a world tyranny, a potential consequence of a world state. "Global citizen" status certainly does not exist. Nonetheless, since World War II, a certain international legal framework has existed that affects citizens, starting with the War Crimes Tribunal and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, where agreements are made on economic, social and cultural rights, and which promotes the idea of what can be understood by "world citizenship". The International Criminal Court also acts on the basis of the contents, scope and nature of a universal system of human rights.

Even though many of the negative reactions to the arguments of theorists of cosmopolitan democracy are based on the defence that, although moral principles must be universal in scope, democratic citizenship must be national, few authors deny the need to set up legitimate international political institutions beyond linguistic and national limits – not only to ensure improved governance of economic globalization but also on matters such as security, the environment and human rights⁸⁰. Global civil society organizations, on the one hand, act as a political group of citizens that go beyond the nation-state and can influence the international political agenda. For Nigel Dower⁸¹, there is a great deal of confusion over the concept of global citizenship because it has various meanings. One is the idea that global citizenship is an ethical conception as opposed to the idea that it is an

⁷⁶ SANDEL, 1998: 338.

⁷⁷ "Since the days of Aristotle's polis, the republican tradition has viewed self-government as an activity rooted in a particular place, carried out by citizens loyal to that place and the way of life it embodies. Self-government today, however, requires a politics that plays itself out in a multiplicity of settings, from neighborhoods to nations to the world as a whole. Such a politics requires citizens who can think and act as multiply-situated selves. The civic virtue distinctive to our time is the capacity to negotiate our way among the sometimes overlapping, sometimes conflicting obligations that claim us, and to live with the tension to which multiple loyalties give rise" (SANDEL, 1998: 350).

⁷⁸ Chapter 5 deals with the theses of INGLEHART and WELZEL (2005) on cultural change around the world and the changes in social values.

⁷⁹ KYMLICKA, 2001: 323-326.

⁸⁰ See David Held's article and the replies of Will Kymlicka and Alex Wendt in SHAPIRO and HACKER-CORDÓN, 1999: 84-133.

⁸¹ DOWER and WILLIAMS, 2002: 30-40.

understanding of institutional belonging. According to Beitz (1999a: 199), there is a type of cosmopolitanism that essentially invokes the moral basis, without structural implications, on the premise that, in the words of Pogge (1992: 49) "every human being has a global status as the ultimate unit of moral concern". However, Beitz (1999b: 287) defends the idea that "the world's political structure should be reshaped so that states and other political units are brought under the authority of supranational agencies of some kind".

There is also controversy over whether it is rigorous to speak of "citizenship" when there is no global community able to account for its activities. And then there is the debate over whether the idea of global citizenship is linked in some way to the idea of creating a world government. And lastly, the question is constantly raised as to whether promoting global citizenship is a threat to national citizenship. Academic discussion on the moral and institutional consequences of the different views of global citizenship is much wider⁸², but this thesis looks specifically at the combination in World Scouting of the promotion of values of responsible citizenship in the national sphere that are inseparable from the world commitment to peace and what Parekh (2003: 11) calls universal moral duty. So, instead of a more in-depth discussion on the theory of global citizenship, I will now turn to World Scouting's citizenship education.

2. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF EARLIER STUDIES

Numerous academic works have been written on the history of the Scout Movement in many different languages, but there is no systematized database of these works. The offices of the two world organizations – the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) – have catalogued books that they have come upon or which have been sent to them, but there is no comprehensive bibliography. Association 1907⁸³, an association of Scouting scholars, has created a database of works that have been published on Scouting in French but there is no equivalent in English or Spanish, the other two official languages of World Scouting. Although the aspect of Scouting as a social movement has been studied in depth, there is only one academic study on World Scouting, as far as we know, specifically on the World Organization of the Scout Movement. This is Laszlo Nagy's 1967 "Report on World Scouting"⁸⁴, commissioned by the US Ford Foundation when he was Head of Research at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva (Switzerland).

Nagy's study centred on the world organization rather than the individual national Scout associations, but it proved vital for pinpointing problems with the fundamental principles, the unity of Scouting and the world organization itself. In fact, the report had been commissioned precisely because of this need to clarify elements that were causing difficulties among the eighty-six member organizations

⁸² For a thorough theoretical analysis of the concept of global citizenship, see CARTER, 2001 (especially, 147-176).

⁸³ <http://www.histoire-du-scoutisme.com/>

⁸⁴ NAGY, 1967.

of the world organization at that time; these ranged from differing understandings of similar concepts to conflicting traditions concerning how to apply the method.

2.1. Methodological Nationalism and other Limitations

Apart from Nagy's 1967 study and the book he published almost twenty years later: *250 millions de scouts*⁸⁵ (mainly on WOSM), there are no other known academic works on Scouting that cover its world dimension⁸⁶. The decisive influence of the movement's founder Robert Baden-Powell and Scouting's strong national focus have meant that studies analysing its educational methodology and social repercussions generally focus on a single country or, at the very most, compare cases from a handful of countries. A global study would also be very costly, so the possibility has been hampered by funding limitations too. As a result, WOSM's two main academic studies from the last twenty years on the educational implications of Scouting and gender equality are comparisons of three case studies from France, Belgium and Scotland, in the first case⁸⁷, and four case studies from Russia, Slovakia, Portugal and Denmark in the second⁸⁸, with the obvious limitations of this given that European Scouting represents only a small percentage of the world's total.

Likewise, almost all of the historical analysis is based either on the country in which the study was conducted or, in many cases, on the first twenty-five years of Scouting in England and the figure of Robert Baden-Powell. There are, then, many scholarly works on British Scouting, American Scouting, French Scouting, Catalan Scouting, Canadian Scouting, Italian Scouting or Japanese Scouting, sometimes covering regions, but there are no academic studies on World Scouting as a whole. In fact, academic analysis of World Scouting has had at least three methodological limitations, which have produced an incomplete and confused view of the movement and its practices.

The first of these limitations is what Anthony Smith (1979: 191) has termed "methodological nationalism", applied to Scouting. In the words of Ulrich Beck (2002: 51-2),

"Methodological nationalism takes the following ideal premises for granted: it equates societies with nation-state societies, and sees states and their governments as the cornerstones of a social sciences analysis. It assumes that humanity is naturally divided into a limited number of nations, which on the inside, organize themselves as nation-states and, on the outside, set boundaries to distinguish themselves from other nation-states. ... Indeed, the social science stance is rooted in the concept of nation-state. It is a nation-state outlook on society and politics, law, justice and history, which governs the sociological imagination".

The Scout Movement's solid establishment through its adaptation to diverse social contexts, which has been the catalyst for its international expansion, has also led to

⁸⁵ NAGY, Laszlo: *250 millions de Scouts* (Lausanne, Éditions Pierre-Marcel Favre, 1984). English version: NAGY, 1985.

⁸⁶ The series of speeches published by CHOLVY (2003) also analyses the second half of the twentieth century to an extent, though he uses speeches that mainly concern Francophone and Latin countries. BRÉLIVET (2004) only repeats the history published by Nagy (1985).

⁸⁷ TRA BACH, HUBERMAN and SULSER, 1995.

⁸⁸ NIELSEN, 2003.

virtually all scholarly Scouting studies being carried out on a national scale or on specific associations. Studies on Scouting as a global movement are virtually non-existent. Moreover, due to the sheer plurality of World Scouting, any attempt to generalize the conduct or operation of a Scout association, however big, will fail when it is set against other national contexts.

The reason for this limitation is probably due not only to the mistaken idea that conclusions on World Scouting can be drawn from an analysis of Scouting in Britain, North America, France, or Thailand, but also to the sheer financial costs involved in conducting a study on a movement with such a long history, a presence on five continents and almost thirty million child and youth members (with the great linguistic variety that this involves).

The second limitation, a consequence of the first, is that analyses of Scouting have historically overlooked the fact that World Scouting did not exist as a subject until 1920. In fact, many studies on the early years and workings of Scouting are based on the documents and the practices in place when Baden-Powell published his *Scouting for Boys* in 1908 and during its development in England and in other countries, by imitation, over the subsequent ten years. As a result, many academic studies, particularly those on Scouting history and literature, have been geared towards identifying contradictions with the principles that inspired (UK) Scouting prior to 1907, when Baden-Powell published a series of writings on *Scouting* as a form of military exploration, and in the period from 1908 to 1920, which saw the publication of *Scouting for Boys*, the creation of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides associations in Britain and the international expansion of the *Scouting* model, and in the years before, during and after World War I.

This very limited analysis is only justifiable if we are studying British Scouting. However, we can only analyse World Scouting as a movement and organization after 1920, when a world organization is established with the exclusive powers of establishing principles, setting out standards and accepting or rejecting the membership of Scout organizations in different countries. The debate prior to 1920 is relevant as a precedent, but we can only begin to analyse World Scouting when it comes to exist as an identifiable subject.

The third limitation is the absence of established criteria for determining the existence, typology and influence of movements that call themselves "Scout" movements but do not have the recognition of the world organizations, either because Scouting is not legal or because the principles of World Scouting are not upheld. In Catalonia, for example, Scouting expanded and became stronger in the years during the opposition to Franco's regime, illegally and without international recognition, as happened in many parts of Italy under Mussolini's dictatorship. In colonial Africa, non-recognized Scouting adhered to the principles of the world movement and became a tool for opposition to colonial discrimination. And lastly, in the United States, groups of non-recognized Scouts upholding the world movement's principle of non-discrimination oppose Boy Scouts of America's policy of denying membership to homosexuals. Nevertheless, political organizations, countries with totalitarian regimes and churches or religious currents have used the prestige of Scouting to organize groups that use the same aesthetics to promote

values that go against pluralism, diversity of opinion and beliefs, inclusion and even human rights.

These three limitations – the lack of a historical line on the movement beyond that of the figure of its founder, the limited focus of studies to a national scope and the absence of criteria for assessing different non-recognized types of Scouting – justifies this attempt to produce a study that redresses these shortcomings by establishing an appropriate historical line, delimiting World Scouting as a subject and analysing the content of its aims and the coherence between this content and its practices.

2.2. Redefining the Historical Framework

Although this research is not historical, the historical context of World Scouting has to be redefined in order to confirm the hypothesis that it exists as a subject, that it is ideologically consistent over time and that it encourages a sense of global belonging as citizens among its members. To sum up the contents of the chapter on Scouting's origins and historical consistency, Scouting is traditionally thought to have been founded in August 1907, when Robert Baden-Powell organized a camp on the outskirts of London for adolescents from different social backgrounds, using the experience to finish off a book he had been commissioned to write, *Scouting for boys*, which reached the shelves in January 1908. Although the World Organization of the Scout Movement and the Scout Association UK commemorate the centenary of Scouting in 2007, this does not mean to say that World Scouting has existed since 1907. In fact, as I will later explain, the world's first Scout association, the Boy Scout Association (UK), was not founded until 1909. What is more, it was not until 1920 that the Boy Scouts International Bureau was set up as a world organization with a democratic decision-making system based on the League of Nations, becoming the legitimate authority on defining what is and is not Scouting. Until this point, we cannot talk of the existence of World Scouting, but only of "Scouting around the world", which refers to the associations from different countries that intuitively and generically share principles, symbology and a discourse. In Germany, for example, the associations that called themselves "Scouts" did not become World Scouting members until after World War II.

Thus, although this research considers that World Scouting only exists as a subject from 1920 onwards, much of the historical literature on Scouting – particularly in English – discusses the years prior to this date, overlooking the fact that there was no organization to give coherence to the world movement before 1920. In fact, many studies on the principles and workings of Scouting are based on analyses of documents and practices from around the time that Baden-Powell published *Scouting for boys* in 1908 and its development over the subsequent decade. In particular, those on Scouting history and literature have been geared towards identifying contradictions with the principles that inspired Scouting prior to 1907, when Baden-Powell published a series of writings on *Scouting* as a form of military exploration, and in the period from 1908 to 1920, which saw the publication of *Scouting for boys*, the creation of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides associations in Great Britain and the international expansion of the *Scouting* model, and in the years before, during, and after World War I. Moreover, in contrast to the

movement's general history, which has been studied in detail up to 1941 (the year of Robert Baden-Powell's death), there are no general studies on the development of the two organizations of World Scouting over the second half of the twentieth century. The most detailed work is Laszlo Nagy's *250 Million Scouts* (1985) mentioned earlier, which concentrates on WOSM.

The study of British Scouting in the context of the social and political changes affecting England and the British Empire during the first quarter of the twentieth century is more than adequate justification for the intense academic debate surrounding the figure of Robert Baden-Powell and the changes that took place between 1907 and 1918. However, World Scouting as a movement and organization can only be analysed from 1920 onwards, when a world organization was set up with the exclusive powers to establish principles, set out standards, and accept or reject the membership of Scout organizations in different countries. Although the debate prior to 1920 is relevant as a precedent, we can only begin to analyse World Scouting when it comes to exist as an identifiable subject.

This is partly because of what has been called 'methodological nationalism', applied to Scouting. Methodological nationalism is the analysis of a case exclusively on a national scale, where this analysis cannot be applied to the complete subject of the analysis. With Scouting, most historical analyses have been limited to a specific country and have failed to take into account the international legislative role and influence of the two organizations of World Scouting on the movement's evolution. While the Scout Movement's solid establishment through its adaptation to diverse social contexts has been the catalyst for its international expansion, the other side of the coin is that virtually all scholarly Scouting studies have been carried out on a national scale or on specific associations. Studies on Scouting as a global movement are virtually non-existent. Moreover, due to the sheer plurality of World Scouting, any attempt to generalize the conduct or operation of a Scout association, however big, will fail when it is set against other national contexts. The reason for this limitation is probably due not only to the mistaken idea that conclusions on World Scouting can be drawn from an analysis of Scouting in Britain, North America, France, or Thailand, but also to the sheer financial costs involved in conducting a study on a movement with such a long history, a presence on five continents and almost forty million members as of 2006.

If I were to analyse Scouting as an educational practice, there would be no need to mark the point from which we can talk about World Scouting or to distinguish, as I will later, between Scouting and other movements that have appropriated the name but are not the same. However, the aim of this thesis is to demonstrate that one of the characteristics of World Scouting, as an analysable subject with an ideological consistency maintained over time, is the combination of the world, national, and local dimensions of both its practice and the planning of its actions. Thus, the hypothesis can only be confirmed if we set down the boundaries of this subject. In the absence of historical contexts of World Scouting as a subject and given the limitations of earlier analyses, I will develop this thesis in a reworked historical World Scouting context.

2.3. Controversies over the Start of Scouting in the UK

There are numerous comprehensive studies on the origins and history of Scouting, though almost all of them analyse the movement from a national perspective, even those on the figure and circumstances of its founder, the English soldier Robert Baden-Powell, and those on the movement's development in a given country and in the United Kingdom in particular. Many studies have actually tried to explain the history of the movement as a logical continuation among British Scouting and World Scouting, both the male (WADE, 1929; GROOM, 1938; REYNOLDS, 1950; WILSON, 1959; COLLIS, HURLL and HAZLEWOOD, 1961) and female organizations (KERR, 1932), and the history of its founder (REYNOLDS, 1942; HILLCOURT, 1964)⁸⁹. It was after the 1970s and particularly during the 1980s when a heated academic debate was sparked between historians over the origins of British Scouting and specifically the (British) Scout movement "before 1920"⁹⁰. The main figures in the debate over the early character of British Scouting are John Springhall (1971; 1987), Allen Warren (1986a; 1986b; 1987; 1990), Robert MacDonald (1993) and Michael Rosenthal (1980; 1984), particularly with his influential *The Character Factory* (ROSENTHAL, 1986), which was complemented by Tim Jeal's extensive biography on Robert Baden-Powell (JEAL, 1989; 2001). Other studies have concentrated more on the interaction between early British Scouting and the socio-political forces of the time (SUMMERS, 1987; PRIKE, 1998; PROCTOR, 2002; VOELTZ, 1997, 2003; HEATHORN and GREENSPOON, 2006), gender issues (TOSH, 1999; PRIKE, 2001) and the African colonies (WALTON, 1937; and particularly Timothy Parsons' extensive study and subsequent article – PARSONS, 2004, 2005).

The studies combine objective elements of the early British Scouting organization with analysis of Robert Baden-Powell's writings. Paradoxically, in a movement in which intuition is much more important than doctrine, the writings of the founder of Scouting, mainly *Scouting for boys* (BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004) but also speeches, articles and manuals (and their interpretation), soon became the source of *Scouting* orthodoxy⁹¹. As Parsons (2004: 25) very astutely points out, in a way, "Scouting can be compared to a secular religion with Baden-Powell as its prophetlike founder whose writings constituted the core of the Scout canon and whose personal example became the guide for the model behavior". Nagy, however, warns in his report (1967: 16) that,

"the specific and "accidental" aspect of the origin of scouting must not be lost from sight; its founder sought neither to create a school nor to patent a method. Still less did he consider his writing as revealed texts to be pondered over later by leaders who could not fully match Baden-Powell's practical and pragmatic mind, his great tolerance, his liberalism, his good sense and his keen sense of humour".

Precisely because of the unquestionable importance of the figure and writings of Baden-Powell for the ideological foundations of Scouting, many scholars have considered – and still do consider – relevant the debate on the supposed military

⁸⁹ The recent *An Official History of Scouting*, published by the Scout Association UK, has a similar approach (The Scout Association, 2007).

⁹⁰ The title of Springhall's article (SPRINGHALL, 1987) is very clear on the issue: "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?".

⁹¹ A thorough and complete collection of quotations by Robert Baden-Powell was compiled by Mario Sica (1984) and this was recently complemented by a specific work on Baden-Powell's thoughts on peace (SICA, 2006).

intentions behind the movement's creation, on whether he was a racist, and on his alleged homosexuality⁹². However, when it comes to analysing a world organization with full decision-making capacity, these biographical aspects pale in significance.

As I explain in Chapter 2, although it is traditionally maintained that Scouting was born in August 1907, when Baden-Powell organized a pilot camp at Brownsea, or in 1908 (when *Scouting for boys* was published), I demonstrate in this study that, beyond the idea of Scouting as an association proposal or as a British organization, we cannot say that World Scouting exists until 1920; this was the year in which the Boy Scouts International Bureau (the former name of WOSM) was set up, an international organization with constitutional guarantees, democratic decision-making processes and the ability to determine what Scouting is and is not, and to establish the principles and main lines of the movement.

Of all the debates on early British Scouting, the most controversial has been the academic discussion on whether Baden-Powell's real aim with *Scouting for boys* was to prepare future soldiers of the British Empire by training them up (the military intention) or whether it was to educate them as responsible citizens through enjoyable experiences (the civic intention); it is this latter aim that has been taken up by World Scouting as a movement since it was formalized in 1920. Gillis (1973), MacDonald (1993) and, especially, Springhall (1971; 1987) and Rosenthal (1986) uphold the military thesis, while Warren (1986) and Jeal (2001) disagree, indicating that a balance was struck between the two aims: healthier and more responsible young citizens could form a sound basis for a solid army in the event of foreign attack. Reynolds (1942) pointed out that the aim of educating citizens is indicated in the work's subtitle *Scouting for boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, and John Gillis (1973) emphasised the huge gap between the values of youths in England and Germany in the early decades of the twentieth century, using Scouting to do so. In fact, although Mario Sica (2006: 11-12) comes across certain contradictions surrounding this issue during the initiative's early years in England, he suggests that they are possibly caused by the fact that Scouting's non-military nature was more a question of tactics and public opinion than a clear-cut principle. In any case, says Sica, the ideas of peace and international fraternity are absent from the first edition of *Scouting for boys* but become a constant from the start of World War I onwards.

The controversy surrounding these alleged militarist aims does not undermine Jeal's interpretation (2001), as he sees more civic education content than militarizing intentions in Baden-Powell's Scouting idea⁹³. However, my research does not touch

⁹² On the alleged homosexuality of Baden-Powell, cf. JEAL, 2001: 74-79, 82-83, 91-108, and ROSENTHAL, 1986: 48. On imperialist nationalism and racist references in his turn-of-the-century writings, cf. SPRINGHALL, 1971, 1987; ROSENTHAL, 1986, 1990; JEAL, 2001: 543-553; MACDONALD, 1993; BURUMA, 1990a and 1990b; and PARSONS, 2004.

⁹³ At a conference in South-Africa in 1902, Baden-Powell defended his belief that "children should be brought up as cheerfully and as happily as possible" (quoted in JEAL, 2001: 365), and in the first edition of *Scouting for boys*, he distinguishes his project from a military project, claiming that "[b]y 'Scouting' I do not mean the military work as carried on active service ... There is another form, which one might term 'peace Scouts'. ... The whole intention of the Boy Scouts' training is for peaceful citizenship". (BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 300). As well as stressing this idea of Peace Scouts, Baden-Powell continued to openly reject accusations that the movement had military motives (cf. his letter 'Boy Scouts and Militarism' in the *Manchester Guardian*, 24th October 1913; quoted in SPRINGHALL, 1987: 942).

on this debate since, as Michael Rosenthal (1990), defender of the other side of the argument, points out, "to accept – or not to accept – the militarism of Scouting's origins and early ideals is not to undercut the value of Scouting or to suggest that it didn't develop in different ways over the next eight years". The debate on British Scouting prior to 1920 then is only a precedent to keep in mind when studying World Scouting as a movement that was formalized in 1920 and remained consistent from then on.

2.4. Scouting as a Subject of Historical, Sociological and Educational Studies

There is an extensive bibliography on Scouting as a subject of study although virtually none of these works deal with World Scouting as a single entity, preferring instead to deal with it from the perspective of a single country. The few studies that deal with World Scouting from a historical viewpoint do not pay attention to the fine line that separates the formalization of World Scouting from its precedents in 1920. Hence, they fall into the trap of academic controversy over Scouting in England during the first quarter of the century. Here, we can cite Laszlo Nagy's interesting and detailed 1985 work, which I follow throughout Chapter 2, which was preceded by Henri Van Effenterre's classic (1963; 1961 the French original), the minutes of the International Colloquium on Scouting held at the University of Montpellier (CHOLVY, 2003), Mario Sica's recent study on Scouting and peace (SICA, 2006) and some other works of a more informative nature (BRÉLIVET, 2004; SORRENTINO, 1997).

In fact, there is a great deal of literature on Scouting in English and French. To cite but a few examples, Van Effenterre (1961) and the speeches edited by Cholvy (2003), as well as two thorough studies: one on French and Belgian Scouting published by Thierry Scaillet and Françoise Rosart (2004), and another on the historical evolution of Scouting in France published by Arnaud Baubérot and Nathalie Duval (2006). There is also Christian Guérin's study on French Catholic Scouting (GUÉRIN, 1997) and the PhD thesis of the former head of the catholic Scouts de France Philippe Da Costa (2000), and its precedent on the history of lay Scouting in France in the first half of the century (KERGOMARD and FRANÇOIS, 1983). We find similar literature in many other countries. Closer to home, in Catalonia, there is a crucial study by Balcells and Samper (1993), which was recently complemented by one on lay Scouting (ADROHER, JIMÉNEZ and VALLORY, 2005). Other examples include a study on the influence of racial segregation on Scouting in South Africa (PROCTOR, 2000), documentation on the Scouting renaissance in Eastern Europe by Piet Kroonenberg (1998; 2004) and the work of Hilary Saint George Saunders (1948), mentioned earlier, which has a greater geographical scope and includes Scouting activities that took place during World War II.

By sectors, we also find scholarly works on Scouting in areas such as education and sociology. One of the oldest and most relevant in education is the article 'Scouting and Education', written in 1917 by the Dean of the Teachers College of Columbia University (RUSSELL, 1917), which details the educational features of Scouting and the way in which it complements schooling, and states: "I declare the Boy Scout movement to be the most significant educational contribution of our times". There are also educational psychology studies such as David Royse's paper on self-esteem

among adolescents (ROYSE, 1998), Nancy Lesko's article on the evolution of concepts among adolescents (LESKO, 1996) and the analysis of citizenship education comparing school activity with Scouting activity (FARRELL, 1998; 2001). The relationship between civic values, citizenship education and Scouting has been dealt with by Warburton and Smith (2003) and by Frisco, Muller and Dodson (2004), all from the point of view of voluntary and compulsory service to society, and by Pettersson's study (PETTERSSON, 2003), concerning attitudes towards gender, a topic also discussed by Harriet B. Nielsen (2004) in her study on gender in WOSM. Socio-political studies include the thorough *La jeunesse et ses mouvements: Influence sur l'évolution des sociétés aux XIXe et XXe siècles*, edited by Denise Fauvel-Rouif (1992), published by the CNRS and prepared by the Commission Internationale d'Histoire des Mouvements Sociaux et des Structures Sociaux. This is possibly the broadest study in this field. It includes Scouting in its analysis of various countries and also has a chapter exclusively on "Scouting Action in Peace Education" – written by Laszlo Nagy – the only chapter on a specific youth organization as a "movement of interest to every continent" (FAUVEL-ROUIF, 1992: 401-414). The potential diversity of academic approaches is such that Rogoff, Topping, Baker-Sennet and Lacasa (2002) have all made financial analyses of the cookie-sale system of the Girl Scouts of the USA.

There is a long tradition of research on Scouting in the United States, especially in the fields of socio-educational research and American studies, some of which has been carried out by the Boy Scouts of America association (MARTIN, 1925; *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1929; PARTRIDGE, 1936; ABT, MENDENHALL and PARTRIDGE, 1940). We can find articles from the 1940s analysing the effect, potential and limitations of the US Scout Movement, such as those written by Herbert S. Lewin (1946; 1947a; 1947b), or the problems with national identity when Scouting incorporates refugees or immigrants, such as that by Saul Scheidlinger (1948). Although there were a few studies before the 1980s (KUNZ, 1969, on sponsorship; ANDERSON, 1975, on Scouting literature; MECHLING, 1980, on the folklore of Scout campfires), it was David MacLeod's *Building Character in the American Boy* (1983) that sparked the debate on Boy Scouts of America's contribution to US citizens. This line has been followed by a number of authors (including LEARS, 1984; BURUMA, 1990; TEDESCO, 1998; APPLEBOME, 2003) and Jay Mechling's in-depth study *On My Honor: Boy Scouts and the Making of American Youth* (MECHLING, 2001).

Mechling's work analyses a single Scout group over a number of years as a case study and deals with the aspect that has generated the most literature on Scouting by current US academia: the discrimination of homosexuals by Boy Scouts of America (BSA), which I deal with in Chapter 5. The journalist Patrick Boyle (1994) described the series of problems faced by BSA in the mid-1980s when some cases of sexual abuse of minors during the previous two decades reached the courts, ending with million-dollar payouts from BSA. The events were followed by an inflexible stance from the association's leaders, who first vetoed the entry of atheists, as Weinberg (1997) explains, and then of homosexuals. This is still the crux of a huge academic and social debate on the right of associations that receive public protection to exclude citizens, as explained in White (1997), Sunder (2001) and O'Quinn (2000). The debate also questions BSA's approach to sexuality (COLEMAN, EHRENWORTH and LESKO, 2004; YOUNG 2005) and provides evidence to

show that the problem of homosexuality is exclusive to BSA and not witnessed in the female association, Girl Scouts of the USA (MANAHAN, 1997; MECHLING, 2001). Naturally, there are examples staunchly defending the right to exclude, such as young Hans Zeiger's apology (ZEIGER, 2005).

2.5. Socio-Educational Studies on World Scouting

World Scouting has only been dealt with as a subject of academic analysis by one research work, which focused mainly on WOSM: the 1967 "Report on World Scouting" by Laszlo Nagy, Head of Research at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva (Switzerland), which was funded by the Ford Foundation. Besides studying documents and the movement's history, Nagy's research (NAGY, 1967) produced a questionnaire for each national association, which was processed in nine languages – English, German, Arabic, Spanish, Dutch, Italian, Japanese, Persian and Portuguese – and answered by 72 of the 86 member countries of the time. There were also qualitative interviews with thirty-one WOSM figures from the time. This was in addition to quantitative analyses of censuses and densities. The research begins by explaining the paradox Nagy was faced with when commissioned with the work: "the subject of our study, "World Scouting", does not exist as a such", because there are apparently, he says, as many types of Scouting as countries. "However, this is all scouting, practised in the name of the same principles, by means of the same methods and with the same aim: namely, to form the boy's character so that they become better citizens" (NAGY, 1967: 8).

The study discusses three main problematic areas, for which it suggests possible solutions. Firstly, those concerning the basic principles. Secondly, problems with the movement's unity. And thirdly, problems with global organization. Given that the Report on World Scouting is the only precedent to this thesis, I use its arguments for comparative purposes in several chapters, particularly those on origins and historical consistency and on ideological consistency – mainly when dealing with the essential characteristics of World Scouting and its recognition policy. Nevertheless, I will now describe the study in general terms and explain its main arguments and conclusions. The first section, "Problem concerning basic principles", begins by pointing out that Scouting is profoundly British in origin but extraordinarily adaptable to many countries, something which proved crucial for defining the world organization that was formalized in 1920. It also deals with the two main axes that Scouting must live with: religion and politics. On the subject of religion, the report explains the difficulty in determining whether religious confessions adopt Scouting for altruistic reasons or in their own interests. An alliance that has traditionally bolstered Scouting, he says, has also been used to allow confessions to increase their membership. Surprisingly, the results of his questionnaire indicated that the majority of confessional and non-denominational Scout associations would choose a more spiritually open form of Scouting⁹⁴.

According to Nagy (1967: 27), the primary role of spirituality in Scouting is to encourage solidarity on a world scale, so the future of Scouting does not lie in the

⁹⁴ "Next to the officially secular associations, there is a majority of "closed" confessional denominational associations which not only declare themselves for a large opening, but also for the acceptance of a scouting without God" (NAGY, 1967: 23).

debate between lay and religious morals, but in finding the path to encourage "truly universal solidarity and brotherhood". In his analysis of Scouting and politics, he observes that the 'apolitical' aspect – in the sense of maintaining a distance from government decisions – is only possible in countries where Scouting is essentially leisure education, but that it is very difficult in developing countries, where nation-building is everybody's responsibility (NAGY, 1967: 33). This idea is taken up thirty years later by Pippa Norris (1999) in her empirical study on critical citizenship. According to this study, while being a critical citizen in Western countries means insisting on answers from democratic governments, critical citizenship in countries in the transition towards democracy involves asserting oneself to guarantee that human rights are protected⁹⁵.

The second part of the study deals with "Problems concerning the unity of the movement" and looks in detail at Scouting's recognition policy and divisions, together with the characteristics that set it apart from other associative and educational ideas, which I discuss in Chapter 3. Nagy's main conclusion is that Scouting must move towards unity while avoiding uniformity, since part of its potential lies in its diversity and ability to adapt to different realities. In most of the countries where Scouting is present, he says, it no longer holds the monopoly over education in leisure time. Thus, it must be able to carry on adapting to new challenges and new circumstances, and to do so without losing its identity (NAGY, 1967: 59-62). Lastly, the Report on World Scouting analyses the "Problems of organisation at world level". This section deals with its operation (number of professionals, communication, coordination, role of its conference, committee and bureau, role of the director of the bureau and financial management) and brought in organizational and even nominal and constitutional changes at the time, which I deal with when I discuss its past development in Chapter 2. Nagy's research set alarm bells ringing with his observation of a downward trend, since the rate of increases in censuses was much lower than the rate of demographic growth, indicating that density was falling (NAGY, 1967: 10, 173-177). Nonetheless, his conclusion was "Towards a revolution in quality". The basic idea was that only an improvement in organizational quality and the application of the method would increase membership and not simply a recruitment policy, no matter how effective. As I explain later, his ideas were adopted and he became responsible for their implementation. However, there is one last point that is not explicit in the research, but which Nagy (1985: 119) detected and described in his *250 Million Scouts* twenty years later: the European continent's incomprehension of the US way of understanding Scouting and vice versa. This misunderstood tension, which can be summarized by saying that the US approach is more pragmatic and skill-based while European Scouting is more intellectual and puts more emphasis on education than on training, was not picked up on and caused disagreements about the "true" way of understanding Scouting. For Nagy, neither of the extremes is better; instead, a balance should be struck between the two.

⁹⁵ "The legitimacy of regime institutions is one contributing factor which helps promote voluntary compliance with the law, and therefore an effective public policy-making process, but strengthening human rights and civil liberties in transitional democracies may be even more important" (NORRIS, 1999: 264).

In addition to Nagy's Report on World Scouting, there are two other recent research projects by the World Organization of the Scout Movement. Although more specific, they are worth mentioning here. The first was conducted in 1995 and is entitled 'The Educational Impact of Scouting: Three Case Studies on Adolescence'. It is the work of Mai Tra Bach, Laurie Huberman and Françoise Sulser, and was funded by the Johann Jacobs Foundation. The second, from 2003, is entitled 'One of the Boys? Doing Gender in Scouting', and is the product of WOSM's collaboration with the University of Oslo. It was supervised by Professor Harriet Bjerrum Nielsen, researcher at the Centre for Women's Studies and Gender Research of Oslo University and was funded by the Fund for European Scouting.

The research study 'The Educational Impact of Scouting'⁹⁶, was commissioned by the World Scout Bureau and entrusted to three independent researchers and analyses three case studies of adolescent sections (between the ages of 13 and 17 years) of Scout groups in Scotland, France and Belgium. The method used was a series of in-depth interviews held over a year with the Scout groups, their leaders and their parents. The methodological explanation indicates that the research was restricted because of language – only French or English. Moreover, two of the three research groups were French-speaking Catholic associations, which reduced plurality even further, and there were no girls in the section. Nonetheless, it does come to some interesting conclusions, which could be compared to similar data on groups from other countries and cultural backgrounds. Firstly, the adolescents believe that the leader is not a role model but rather a companion in the process of personal development in which personal experience and the difference of opinions is what counts. The fact that the leader is an unpaid companion in their adventures reinforces the idea of camaraderie between the leader and the adolescents, thus generating a strong intergenerational link between them. In terms of the leader's contribution to the construction of a system of values for the adolescent, the study shows that the values are not internalized by inculcation or direct transmission, but by personal experience, and meaning is given to group experiences. It also points out that when the adolescent Scouts become aware of a value that has a personal meaning for them, they try to change certain aspects of their behaviour to match it to their beliefs, although they need the boost of the experience they gain as a group. Moreover, the structural impossibility of direct transmission of values or indoctrination in Scouting can be seen in the way that the adolescent Scouts studied critically extract the coherence of the suggested values with the practices: if the proposed value is internalized, they become critical with incoherent practices, even if they come from the leader. Coming together in a section, which is a more intense experience at camps, becomes the most important educational tool, by which they internalize their opening up, sense of responsibility to others and oneself and confidence in their abilities.

The second research, 'One of the Boys?'⁹⁷, is part of the implementation of WOSM's gender policy adopted by the World Scout Conference in 1999 and is based on the study of co-educational Scout groups from Russia, Slovakia, Portugal and Denmark. While the above work was concerned more with Scouting's citizenship education capabilities, this one focuses on WOSM's ability to switch from a boy-based model

⁹⁶ TRA BACH, HUBERMAN and SULSER, 1995.

⁹⁷ NIELSEN, 2003.

to one in which boys and girls come together, and its arguments have implications for WOSM's co-educational aspirations. The approach is designed to highlight contradictions in assumptions and provide the tools needed to progress towards the co-educational model. As Nielsen points out, girls in Scouting look for the same as boys: "freedom, friends, fun, and adventure". However, Scouting has had a highly masculinized image since its early years, which means that we must balance out the profile of activities and the hierarchy between the interests of girls and boys, and do away with the tendency to underestimate girls' abilities in Scouting activities. The study points out that girls in Scouting should not aspire to become "one of the boys", because girls will never be boys. The conclusion, then, is to redistribute and recognize: redistribution means that all tasks and activities must be experienced generally in the same way by girls and boys, and recognition means that all gender cultures must be able to be experienced within the group so long as they do not limit the rights of others to express themselves, they are not put forward as universal and, as a result, they are not established as the norm.

Hence, World Scouting has not been the subject of previous academic study and, in the separate case of the two world organizations, there is only one precedent, Laszlo Nagy's "Report on World Scouting", which was written up forty years ago and was only accessible through WOSM structures, never being published beyond a small number of cyclostyled copies.

CHAPTER 2. ORIGINS AND HISTORICAL CONSISTENCY

1. THE PRECEDENTS OF WORLD SCOUTING (1907-1920)

- 1.1. An Idea, a Book, and their Background
- 1.2. The Formalization of a Movement for the British Empire
- 1.3. British Consolidation and Spontaneous International Expansion
- 1.4. Peace and the Ideal of the League of Nations

2. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WORLD SCOUTING

- 2.1. The Period under the Leadership of Robert Baden-Powell
- 2.2. The Globalization of World Scouting

3. GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN WORLD SCOUTING

- 3.1. The Assumptions of 'Citizenship' in Scouting
- 3.2. Values to Perpetuate Society vs. Values to Transform Society
- 3.3. Global Citizenship

INTRODUCTION

As explained in the introduction, we cannot discuss 'World Scouting' as a subject prior to 1920, even though British Scouting did exist, founded and led by Robert Baden-Powell, who was also the founder of male and female World Scouting. For instance, the Catalan word *escoltisme*¹ is a 1927 adaptation of the original English 'Scouting' which has since taken on a wider meaning than its early definition: 'to explore'. Nowadays, Scouting is first and foremost the name given to an educational movement for young people that started out in England in 1908 and became an international organization in 1920. Its purpose was to educate young people to help them unlock their maximum potential as individuals, responsible citizens, and members of their local, national, and international communities. World Scouting is divided into two world organizations – the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS). Between them, these two organizations have almost 30 million youth and child members and are present in over one hundred and sixty countries. World Scouting is the biggest youth education movement in the world.

In this chapter, I will first analyse how the early idea of Scouting emerged after 1907, and I will look at the context and major transformations it underwent in under fifteen years, which are crucial to any understanding of the foundations of World Scouting. In the second section, I will describe the formalization and development of World Scouting under the leadership of its founder, Robert Baden-Powell. I will also analyse the contemporary period, which has seen World Scouting take on a much more global logic as an organization, the result of which is its current situation. I will then end the chapter with an analysis of the foundations and historical development of the concept of citizenship in World Scouting.

¹ The author of the Catalan adaptation of Scouting was the ethnologist and activist Josep M. Batista i Roca who founded the Catalan youth Movement Minyons de Muntanya in 1927 which, in its early days, tried to emulate Scouting though it did not actually form part of the movement. Cf. CASTELLS, 1993; BALCELLS and SAMPER, 1993.

1. THE PRECEDENTS OF WORLD SCOUTING

To simplify matters, I will divide the period before the formalization of World Scouting (1920) into four phases. The first covers the sequence of events and ideas that led Robert Baden-Powell to publish his *Scouting for Boys* in 1908. The second, shorter phase, starts with the publication of the book and ends with the creation of the two British associations: the Boy Scouts Association (1909) and the Girl Guides Association (1910). The third phase is longer and covers the sporadic international expansion process (under the moral authority of Baden-Powell), which begins at the same time as the British organizations are founded, and the structuring of the ideological discourse of Scouting and its relationship with educational renewal movements. Finally, the fourth phase stretches from World War I to the creation of the Boy Scouts' International Bureau in 1920.

1.1. An Idea, a Book, and their Background

It is unanimously agreed that the catalyst for the birth of Scouting was *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, a book written by Robert Baden-Powell, a British soldier who gained popularity in Great Britain after he commanded the defence of the South-African border town of Mafeking² and made a name for himself among the general public. The work was published in six fortnightly instalments from January 1908 and as a book the following May³. Devised as a commercial product by the editor C. Arthur Pearson, magnate of the *Daily Express* newspaper, *Scouting for Boys* became an instant best-seller: of the four editions printed in the first year, there are no surviving details. However, we know that 60,000 new copies were published in the second year⁴.

Baden-Powell wrote the book after being asked to do so by William Smith, founder and leader of the Boy's Brigade, a British youth movement with military and Christian overtones. Smith was familiar with Baden-Powell's *Aids to Scouting for NCOs and Men*,⁵ which was very popular among young men although it had been designed as a military thesis⁶, and asked its author to adapt the work for adolescents. The publisher, however, intervened to give *Scouting for Boys* a much more commercial edge, to the point that the book actually advertised that "Scout's Badges, Medals, Patrol Flags, and Crests, Tracking Irons, and such articles of Scouts' equipment, can be obtained at low rates on application here"⁷.

² In 1899, the town of Mafeking was besieged by the Boers during The Boer War in what is now South Africa. The siege lasted 217 days (from October 1899 to May 1900) and, though of little military importance, it was strongly echoed by the British press at a time when Great Britain was seriously lacking in national victories. When the conflict ended in a British win, Robert Baden-Powell, who commanded the defence of Mafeking, became a national hero. SPRINGHALL, 1987: 934-942.

³ The serial version was published by Horace Cox, the printer of the *Daily Express*, and the book version was by C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. Both companies were owned by Arthur Pearson.

⁴ JEAL, 2001: 390-397; BOEHMER, 2004: xi, xii.

⁵ *Aids to Scouting for NCOs and Men* was published in 1899 by Gale & Polden, and was not Baden-Powell's first work on Scouting: he had previously published *Reconnaissance and Scouting* (1884, William Clowes).

⁶ PARSONS, 2004: 52.

⁷ BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 5-6.

There was, therefore, no great strategy for creating an organization behind *Scouting for Boys*; quite the contrary. In fact, the first edition was "in every part a fragmentary, porous, non-cohesive mishmash of other texts"⁸, many of which were his, others of which were not – such as the notes on the North-American Indians, which were taken from Ernest Seton⁹. Filled with exotic tales, games, theatrical works, secret signs and symbols, and written in a style to stimulate adolescent minds, the book combines entertainment with moralizing, as though it were a game. A game that was, in actual fact, a training scheme for adolescents in their leisure time, ready to be adopted by existing British youth organizations like The Boys' Brigade or YMCA¹⁰, or directly by civic groups¹¹.

The ideological background to Baden-Powell's idea revolved around the social and political tensions of the Edwardian era¹², which included the belief that industrialization was undermining the traditional notions of good conduct and leading to the moral and physical degeneration of the lower classes in the British Empire and the possible decline of the Empire¹³. Given the underlying threat of German invasion and his conviction that British youths were not prepared to defend the nation, Baden-Powell believed that he could propose a model to complement the education received by adolescents at school from an overtly patriotic point of view; a model that would shape their character and teach them initiative and useful skills by means of open-air activities, games, and observation, in a popular, motivating format¹⁴.

Baden-Powell had tested his system six months earlier, in August 1907, when he took a group of twenty adolescents from different social classes to the small English island of Brownsea. There, they camped together in tents, cooking their own food, playing games, learning skills and listening to the exotic tales that he told them. This date is traditionally seen as the start of Scouting¹⁵. In January 1908, *Scouting for Boys* was published, followed by the boys' magazine *The Scout* in April of the same year, of which an astonishing 110,000 copies a week were published in its first year¹⁶.

⁸ ROSENTHAL, 1980: 613; SPRINGHALL, 1971: 131-132.

⁹ BOEHMER, 2004: xiii, xlv.

¹⁰ The Boy's Brigade is a paramilitary Christian youth organization (WARREN, 1986: 381-382) founded in Glasgow in 1833 with the purpose of "the advancement of Christ's kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness" (BIRCH, 1965: 101-103; <http://www.boys-brigade.org.uk/international/worldwide.htm>). The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) is an ecumenical Christian organization founded in London in 1844. It is now present in 117 countries and provides programmes based on Christian values for young men. It is a very decentralised organization whereby each local group controls its own operations and financing (GUSTAV-WRATHALL, 1998; <http://www.ymca.net/international/>).

¹¹ The book begins with a note to the adult "instructors" explaining that "the [scout] system is applicable to existing organisations such as schools, boy's brigades, cadet corps, etc., or can supply a simple organisation of its own where these do not exist". BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 5.

¹² The Edwardian period covers the reign of the British King Edward VII, who succeeded Queen Victoria, from 1901 to 1910, although its influence probably extended up to World War I.

¹³ WARREN, 1986: 385-387.

¹⁴ PARSONS, 2004: 49; ROSENTHAL, 1986; SPRINGHALL, 1971, 1986; WARREN, 1986.

¹⁵ JEAL, 2001: 383-386; NAGY, 1985: 54-55.

¹⁶ WARREN, 1986: 387; SPRINGHALL, 1971: 133.

From the first edition of *Scouting for Boys*, we can see that the book is a collage of previous works and diverse materials¹⁷, with no clear doctrinal strategy. According to Warren, "Baden-Powell, no systematic thinker or critic, picked up and dropped social and political concerns as he went along"¹⁸. Indeed, the emphasis is on the development of the individual's character and the moral influence of the small group—quite the opposite of doctrinal and impersonal training. However, there are constant contradictions: it seeks the complicity of parents, the school, and the church, but criticizes parental laziness, the inconsistency of schools, and the biblical teachings of the Church¹⁹. Furthermore, the model reveals the desire to shape autonomous individuals yet indicates the importance of obedience and self-discipline²⁰.

1.2. The Formalization of a Movement for the British Empire

Although Robert Baden-Powell had not intended to create a movement, the book was so well received that the idea became a success, surprising even its author. Groups of youths calling themselves Scouts began to crop up around Great Britain. But what exactly was "being a Scout" about? It was basically an imaginary element of self-identification: the feeling that they were taking part in a big game. So just like a game, in the form of a fictional tale, *Scouting for Boys* explained who the Scouts were – the explorers, rather than the members of an educational movement – and described how they dressed and behaved. In one of the various stories or 'campfire yarns' of the book, it says in a light tone that,

"Scouts, all the world over, have unwritten laws which bind them just as much as if they had been printed in black and white. They come down to us from old times. ... The following are the rules which apply to Boy Scouts, and which you swear to obey when you take your oath as a scout, so it is as well that you should know all about them".

The story goes on to explain that these behavioural guidelines were collected and written down in the 'Scout Law', which, it explains, the Scout accepted when he took the 'Scout Oath':

"Before he becomes a scout a boy must take the scout's oath, thus: 'On my honour I promise that: 1. I will do my duty to God and the King. 2. I will do my best to help others, whatever it costs me. 3. I know the scout law, and will obey it'"²¹.

The text of the Law is given a few pages down as the following nine statements, written in a positive tone and explained in full later on:

"1. A Scout's honour is to be trusted. 2. A Scout is loyal to the King, and to his officers, and to his country, and to his employers. 3. A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others. 4. A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what social class the other belongs. 5. A Scout is courteous. 6. A Scout is a friend to animals. 7. A Scout obeys orders of his patrol leader or scout master

¹⁷ BOEHMER, 2004: xi.

¹⁸ WARREN, 1986: 387.

¹⁹ NAGY, 1985: 61-62.

²⁰ MACDONALD, 1993: 150; JEAL, 2001: 413.

²¹ BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 36.

without question. 8. A Scout smiles and sings under all circumstances. 9. A Scout is thrifty"²².

In the original edition of the book, however, there is nothing to give the Scout's Oath a solemn tone differentiating it from the other elements used to identify Scouts. In fact, after it has explained the Oath, the story continues in an epic and fantastical tone to describe the Scout's Salute and the secret signs that Scouts use²³. His description of the Scout's Law ("Scouts, all the world over, have unwritten laws...") is clearly only part of the story, since he is not referring to the Boy Scouts (which did not yet exist); instead, he blends fiction and intention with an 'unwritten law' accepted by Scouts all over the world (referring to the explorers, the characters in the story).

The references to "God" and the "King" in the text of the Promise and the Law need to be read in the context of Britain at that time: a religious society with no dominant church that, at the end of the 18th century, had established the independence of its parliament from the monarchy – thus creating a democratic structure: "If the service which was required of the boys was for God, it was for the God of a multi-confessional and tolerant society; if loyalty to the King was asked for, it was faithfulness to a monarch who reigned rather than governed"²⁴.

In September 1909, twenty-one months after the book was published, Pearson (the book's publisher) sponsored a rally at London's Crystal Palace after spotting a burgeoning business opportunity in the initiative. To the surprise of its organizers, led by Baden-Powell, 11,000 boys who considered themselves Scouts turned up at the rally²⁵. Baden-Powell described this spontaneous growth in an interview in 1937:

"Boys were writing to me telling me how they had started Patrols and Troops and had got men to come and act as their Scoutmasters. So we had to start a Headquarters office in a tiny room to deal with correspondence and supply equipment. ... In that year, 1909, I arranged to have a meeting of the would-be Scouts at the Crystal Palace on a certain day. And when I got there, my wig, there were a lot of them. Rain was threatening, so we mustered them inside the Palace and arranged a March Past and counted them as they entered at one door and went out at the other. There were 11,000 of them – 11,000, who had taken it up of their own accord! That is why I say that one didn't see the start: Scouting started itself"²⁶.

Of course, this description does not mention the original link between the structure of Scouting and the militarist Boy's Brigade, with which Baden-Powell later severed ties having previously accepted the vice-presidency of the organization²⁷. So, the

²² BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 44-46.

²³ "[The scout's salute and secret sign consists in] the three fingers held up (like the three points of the scout's badge) remind him of his three promises in the scout's oath". The Scout's Badge is mentioned two pages earlier: "The scout's badge is the arrow head, which shows the north on a map or on the compass. It is the badge of the scout in the Army, because he shows the way: so, too, a peace scout shows the way in doing his duty and helping others" (BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 37, 34). The Salute and Badge are still part of Scout symbology around the world today.

²⁴ NAGY, 1967: 17.

²⁵ NAGY, 1985: 63-64; REYNOLDS, 1942: 150.

²⁶ BADEN-POWELL, 1937.

²⁷ ROSENTHAL, 1980.

London rally in 1909 marked the start of a process to set up a Scouting organization, with the territorial help of the ecumenical Christian organization, the YMCA²⁸ (which hoped that the Scouts would become members of their organization once they reached adulthood) and with the continued financial support of the book's publisher²⁹.

There are three probable reasons for the success of Scouting. Firstly, its historical opportunity. The idea came about when the concepts of 'youth' and 'leisure time' emerged in the West and when the countryside and living with nature were favoured over life in industrial cities³⁰. Secondly, the project had the thorough complicity of institutions with social and political authority in Great Britain, i.e. the monarchy, the army, school, and the church – a complicity that would be replicated in many other countries. And lastly, the civic proposal of *Scouting for Boys*, the work of reference in the early days of Scouting and throughout its history, was heterogeneous and relatively ambiguous; this heterogeneity not only encouraged a wider acceptance, but also paved the way for the later international expansion of the idea.

The above ambiguity explains the wide social support for Scouting and is the reason why, as Nagy indicates, we should not be surprised that the movement has been accused of being militaristic by some and pacifistic by others; that many have regarded Scouting as overly-religious, but churches have criticized its lack of religious content (only two of the 300 pages of *Scouting for Boys* discuss religion), or that the Labour party accused it of promoting values that that helped to keep the Conservatives in power, while the Tories attacked it for its socialist overtones³¹.

1.3. British Consolidation and Spontaneous International Expansion

Just three months after the Crystal Palace rally in December 1909, the Boy Scouts Association was set up with an astonishing 108,000 members and Baden-Powell himself as president. A year later, in 1910, the Girl Guides Association UK was created with 6,000 members and Baden-Powell's sister Agnes as president³². In 1909, Baden-Powell was knighted by King Edward VII and, spurred on by the latter, retired from the army the following year with the rank of general so that he could dedicate his time exclusively to Scouting.³³ When Scouting was formalized as an organization, the Scout Promise and Law formed an inseparable tandem that became the focal point of Scouting ideology, despite their relative relevance in *Scouting for Boys*³⁴. The methodological system of Scouting, designed for adolescents, had a 'Law' in the form of a shared code of values and a 'Promise' in the form of an act of voluntary adherence to these principles³⁵, an element of self-

²⁸ WARREN, 1986: 388-389.

²⁹ ROSENTHAL, 1986: 52; WARREN, 1987: 388; JEAL, 2001: 400.

³⁰ COLTON, 1992: 4.

³¹ NAGY, 1985: 68. JEAL (2001: 413) adds that its adaptation to the Edwardian idea of working towards 'national efficiency' was ambiguous enough to be well received by both the conservative Tories and the social democrat Fabians.

³² NAGY, 1985, 64; JEAL, 2001: 471.

³³ JEAL, 2001: 422; NAGY, 1985: 47.

³⁴ JEAL, 2001: 393-394

³⁵ NAGY, 1985: 183-184.

education through which the youth directly and voluntarily became a member of the movement.

The code of conduct set down in the Scout Law is a social code that benefits others rather than the person who adopts it. It is a set of rules designed to produce better citizens and, hence, better neighbours³⁶, with a series of principles that would later become essential for maintaining the ideological unity of the movement. Precisely because of the growing importance of these principles after the movement's formalization, Baden-Powell and the British association made a series of gradual changes to the Scout Law text. Firstly, in 1911, they added a tenth point with moralizing overtones: "10. A Scout is pure in thought, in word and in deed". In 1912, they added a reference to parents in points 2 and 7, exceeding the limited confidence in their example at the time in England; in 1917, they added a reference to individuals "under" Scouts, in response to criticisms from socialist circles; and in 1938, they changed "Officials" for "Scouters" in point 2 and rearranged the text. So points 2 and 7 ended up as: "2. A Scout is loyal to the King, his country, his Scouters, his parents, his employers and to those under him. 7. A Scout obeys orders of his parents and his patrol leader or scout master without question". Finally, in 1934, as I have already mentioned, 'country' and 'creed' were added to point 4 (which came into effect in 1938), a change that would prove particularly significant later on: "4. A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other scout no matter what country, class or creed, the other may belong"³⁷.

The educational ideology of Scouting, therefore, came about after its emergence, during a militarizing period and in opposition to this trend, independently of its origins³⁸. Hence, in parallel to the development of active learning, Scouting takes the form of a type of training for citizens that is mainly educational, though it does not rule out elements of patriotism and religious commitment³⁹. The educational role of Scouting was stressed by its founders in the years prior to 1914, when the accusations of militarism multiplied. In fact, the development of its own educational method based on individuals that encouraged them to reach their full potential distanced it from military mass discipline. Moreover, it was around this time, between 1911 and 1914, that England received the influence of the modern ideas of the Italian feminist and educator Maria Montessori and her "learning by doing" philosophy, very similar to the method that Scouting was intuitively developing. The ideological link between Scouting and the innovative liberal currents of educational renewal was quickly pointed out⁴⁰. Back in 1914, Baden-Powell

³⁶ REYNOLDS, 1942.

³⁷ *Policy, Organisation and Rules* document. The Boy Scouts Association, London, 1938 ("Effective from 1st October"). The 18th edition of *Scouting for Boys* (C. Arthur Pearson: London) still contained the old text, but in the next edition (1940), which came after the document mentioned with the new legal framework of British Scouting, the text of the Scout Law had incorporated "country" and "creed" into point 4.

³⁸ Although he concurs with the theory that Baden-Powell's original aim with Scouting was to prepare a new generation of soldiers to defend the British Empire, John Springhall points out that, "Baden-Powell and his Boy Scouts have also to be seen within the context of Edwardian politics and society", since "this was a period during which the children in Europe were being trained for a war which was regarded as natural and inevitable". SPRINGHALL, 1971: 150-151.

³⁹ WARREN, 1986: 392-393.

⁴⁰ WARREN, 1986: 392-393; and JEAL, 2001: 413-414, who also cites various documents from 1911 to 1914 in which Baden-Powell and Scouting were linked to the ideas of Montessori.

remarked in a text that "Montessori has proved that by encouraging a child in its natural desires, instead of instructing it in what you think it ought to do, you can educate it on a far more solid and far-reaching base"⁴¹.

In 1916, a few years after its introduction, the method was extended to the pre-adolescent age range ('Wolf Cubs' or 'Cub Scouts', and a mood was set around Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*⁴²; for girls, the term 'Brownies' was used⁴³). In 1922, it was extended upwards to the post-adolescent age range ('Senior Scouts' or 'Rovers'⁴⁴), while 'Scouts' remained the term used for those aged 12 to 15. Although they initially had a certain degree of autonomy, these ranges eventually became sections⁴⁵ or age groups within the same movement.

Many believe that Robert Baden-Powell decided to create a parallel organization for girls when, at the Crystal Palace rally in 1909, he saw that some girls had come who considered themselves Scouts⁴⁶. Nonetheless, earlier documents of Baden-Powell explicitly indicate that girls could be Scouts. In his 'Boy Scouts Scheme' of 1907, the first document outlining the Scouting project, he wrote that it was the basis "for an attractive organization and valuable training for girls"; and in an article in 1908 he said: "I think girls can get just as much healthy fun out of Scouting as boys can ... and prove themselves good Scouts in a very short time"⁴⁷.

Jeal argues that the idea of a separate organization came later, due to pressures from the social establishment that thought it inappropriate for girls to carry out such masculine activities. By the end of August 1909, Baden-Powell had decided not only to adapt Scouting for girls, but also to create a separate organization. That same year, his book *Yarns for Boy Scouts* suggested that girls and society in general could benefit from following the principles of Scouting, albeit with a "slightly modified" system of training, and added: "I am forced to this suggestion by the fact that already some thousands of girls have registered themselves as 'Boy Scouts'!"⁴⁸.

'Girl Scouts' were in fact provisionally registered in the Boy Scouts' census until 1910, when the female association was established. In November 1909, Baden-Powell published *The Scheme for Girl Guides*⁴⁹, which finally adapted Scouting for

⁴¹ Original text from the archives of the Scout Association UK, quoted in JEAL, 2001: 413.

⁴² BADEN-POWELL, Robert (1916): *The Wolf Cub's Handbook*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd.

⁴³ BADEN-POWELL, Robert (1920): *The Handbook for Brownies or Bluebirds*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd.

⁴⁴ BADEN-POWELL, Robert (1922): *Rovering to Success*. London: Herbert Jenkins.

⁴⁵ JEAL, 2001: 31, 500-501, 516.

⁴⁶ KERR, 1932: 11-13, 14, 29; also NAGY, 1985: 63. In the 1937 interview couated earlier, Baden Powell provides evidence for this view in saying that, at the Crystal Palace rally in 1909, "among the boys as they marched past, we found some groups of girls in Scout hats with staves and lanyards and haversacks, like the boys. "Who are you?" we said. "Oh, we are the Girl Scouts". "The devil you are!" "No - Girl Scouts". So I had eventually to write a book for them giving them the name of Guides to distinguish them from Scouts. And that is how the Girl Guides started - on their own - and they have gone on growing ever since". BADEN-POWELL, 1937.

⁴⁷ 'Boy Scouts Scheme', a pamphlet published in 1907 by the Boy Scouts Association UK, and the 'Can Girls Be Scouts?' article in *The Scout* magazine, May 1908. Both quoted in JEAL, 2001: 469.

⁴⁸ BADEN-POWELL, Robert (1909): *Yarns for Boy Scouts*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd.

⁴⁹ It was published in the *Boy Scout Headquarters' Gazette* in November 1909.

girls, and adopted the term 'Guiding'⁵⁰ for the female version of the movement. He put his 52-year-old sister Agnes in charge of Guiding and, in 1912, the two published *How Girls can Help to Build Up the Empire*⁵¹, a supposed feminized version of *Scouting for Boys* that never really took off, much like the chemistry between the ideas of Agnes – who believed that girls should aspire to be 'ladies' – and her brother⁵². The separation of boys and girls into different organizations created a tendency to avoid working with the opposite sex. A few years later, Rose Kerr made the criticism that some guide leaders appeared "to have been preternaturally sensitive on the subject of boy scouts and girl guides breathing the same air"⁵³.

In 1912, Robert Baden-Powell married Olave Saint Claire Soames, who was 23 years old at the time⁵⁴. Two years later, in January 1914, the first edition of the *Girl Guides Gazette*, the official girl-guiding magazine, appeared⁵⁵. Olave quickly replaced Baden-Powell's sister Agnes at the head of the girl guides, since she was much younger, more active and sporty, and her ideas were closer to those of her husband. She wrote at the time that: "Girls must be partners and comrades rather than dolls"⁵⁶. In 1915, Robert Baden-Powell became President of the Girl Guides Association and in 1918, Olave became the new Chief Guide. Later on, she would become the absolute world leader⁵⁷. Also in 1918, Robert Baden-Powell published *Girl Guiding. The Official Handbook*⁵⁸, to replace the book published with his sister in 1912.

To reiterate what we said earlier, Baden-Powell had not intended to create an organization – either in Britain or on an international scale – when he published *Scouting for Boys*. However, just as it had spread across England, Scouting and, to a lesser degree, Guiding, began to expand quickly and immediately to the rest of the British Empire and the entire world. In fact, the heterogeneity of the original idea and the various ways in which it can be interpreted also help to explain how a product designed to revitalize the British Empire could have such a successful immediate reception in societies as diverse as Chile, France, Malaysia, and Japan. Nonetheless, both in Britain and abroad, its propagation was accelerated by the implication of government institutions acting on their commitment to the service of citizens, given that these values of order were held in high regard by society⁵⁹. Not only did Scouting spread to the British Empire (Ireland, Canada, Australia, New

⁵⁰ Baden-Powell chose the name 'Guides' after the well-known Corps of Guides in India; however, the term was unacceptable in the United States because it had the connotation of 'Indian hunter'. As a result, when the North-American association was created in 1912, it adopted the name 'Girl Scouts', which is now a synonym of 'Girl Guides' – as shown by the name of the world association: World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS, 1997: 12-13).

⁵¹ BADEN-POWELL, Agnes and Robert BADEN-POWELL (1912) *How Girls can Help to Build Up the Empire: The Handbook for Girl Guides*. London: Thomas Nelson.

⁵² JEAL, 2001: 471-487.

⁵³ KERR, 1932: 90-93.

⁵⁴ JEAL, 2001: 428-442.

⁵⁵ KERR, 1932: 99.

⁵⁶ Letter to the *Morning Post*, 9th August 1913; quoted in JEAL, 1989: 470.

⁵⁷ JEAL, 2001: 473, 476 (469-487).

⁵⁸ BADEN-POWELL, Robert (1918): *Girl Guiding. The Official Handbook*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd.

⁵⁹ PARSONS, 2004: 5-7.

Zealand, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and India, between 1908 and 1909)⁶⁰, but also to Chile, Denmark, the United States, and Russia (1909), Brazil, France, Finland, Germany⁶¹, Greece, and Holland, (1910), Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Sweden, Malaysia, and Singapore (1911), etc.⁶² An untrammelled growth both in extension and name that went hand-in-hand with the spread of *Scouting for Boys*: by the end of the 1920s, two decades after it was first published in London, it had already been published in twenty-six countries – not including editions printed in the British Empire⁶³.

This inadvertent international expansion was given a cautious welcome in London. According to Laszlo Nagy, Baden-Powell suggested that applications for membership from areas not under British jurisdiction were rejected. However, in the October 1911 edition of the *Scout Headquarters Gazette*, he suggested the idea of setting up a foreign affairs department to maintain contact with Scouts throughout the world. It marked the dawn of a movement, but not of an international organization⁶⁴.

As Sica explains, Baden-Powell did not regard the international proliferation of Scouting as a 'strange coincidence', as though it were a mere generalization of an institution with a social purpose. In fact, he refused to patent the term for the exclusive use of British Scouting and gradually abandoned the idea of producing citizens of the Empire in favour of a more internationalist discourse. It also evolved in this direction because Baden-Powell had travelled to many countries – and continued to do so – with a Liberal vision that represented a stark contrast to the expansionist nationalism of continental Europe, preoccupied with its frontiers⁶⁵.

In the summer of 1913, the first 'international' Scout camp was organized near Birmingham, with an attendance of 30,000, most of whom came from British territories, though some also hailed from European countries and the United States⁶⁶. Moreover, each and every one of the first ten editions of *Scouting for Boys*, up until 1922, was edited to expand and globalize the social and cultural references of the text in order to make Great Britain less obviously the centre of the Scout world⁶⁷. However, the world was on the brink of a great war and tension was in the air. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa, compulsory military training was introduced in schools, generally in the form of cadet corps, and it seemed only a matter of time before Britain did the same⁶⁸. We know that Baden-Powell, in an early attempt to prevent the absorption of the movement, tried

⁶⁰ The historian Timothy H. Parsons (2004: 61-71) has shown how, in the British Empire, it was the colonizers who were responsible for the expansion of Scouting, seeing it as a way of controlling the colonized peoples, though events took an unexpected turn, as I will explain.

⁶¹ As I will show later, the German organizations calling themselves 'Scouts' were not given international recognition before World War II.

⁶² WOSM, 1990.

⁶³ JEAL, 2001: 396.

⁶⁴ In 1913, Baden-Powell published his *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas* (London: C Arthur Pearson Ltd.), a book describing his trips to visit Scouts in the United States, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and the colonies in India, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, which shows that he maintained close contact with the international extension of the movement.

⁶⁵ SICA, 2006: 16-17.

⁶⁶ NAGY, 1985: 65, 76.

⁶⁷ BOEHMER, 2004: xliv.

⁶⁸ WARREN, 1986: 380; JEAL, 2001: 448.

to convince the authorities that Scouting could be a good form of indirect preparation for this type of training⁶⁹. His case was backed up by the fact that many of those in charge of the British organizations and its Scoutmasters and leaders were also soldiers. This is a key issue in the historiographic debate to which I referred earlier regarding the military origins of the British Scout Movement.

When war broke out, the process to define Scouting was in full swing and the movement was still learning how to run itself. Its structural and ideological basis was too weak for the size to which it had grown. With origins that lay in romantic tales of frontier explorers, World War I was a reality check for the Scout Movement that rocked its foundations⁷⁰.

1.4. Peace and the Ideal of the League of Nations

As Nagy explains, in the summer of 1914, millions of young men from all sides went to war believing that they were fighting for a noble cause and a better world. Amidst the patriotic and nationalist fervour, there was no room for nuances⁷¹. In Great Britain, around 150,000 of the young men mobilized for the war were or had been Scouts, and 10,000 of these died⁷². Many were Scoutmasters (leaders). Many other Scouts – boys and girls – carried out auxiliary tasks and services. But this was not the only setback for the new movement. For example in 1911, in Germany, later the enemy of the British, 80,000 Germans considered themselves Scouts. By the time war broke out, *Scouting for Boys* had already been translated into German and close contact had been established between the British organization and the Germans⁷³.

After such a bloody conflict between countries, it was highly likely that the international aspirations of Scouting would be reduced to ashes. And yet, once the war was over, the movement did not wane; on the contrary, its numbers increased – Great Britain had almost 200,000 Boy Scouts and, just a few years later, almost half a million Girl Guides⁷⁴– and it had a presence in thirty or so countries. Boys in British Scouting were mainly from the middle to lower-middle classes, rather than the lower class⁷⁵.

Sica believes that World War I and the international expansion of Scouting and its possibilities were the main reasons why Baden Powell changed the register from citizens of the empire to the ideal of citizens of the world⁷⁶. The war showed him the first-hand effects of a full-scale conflict on young people. The vision of a soldier trying to maintain the stability of the Empire was transformed into that of a civil activist committed to avoiding another armed conflict by firmly distancing Scouting

⁶⁹ SPRINGHALL, 1987.

⁷⁰ JEAL, 2001: 448-456.

⁷¹ NAGY, 1985: 79.

⁷² SICA, 2006: 17.

⁷³ JEAL, 2001: 449, 453.

⁷⁴ JEAL, 2001: 485.

⁷⁵ SPRINGHALL, 1971: 138-141.

⁷⁶ SICA, 2006: 16-18.

from nationalist tendencies with expansionist ambitions⁷⁷. In a text on "Scouting as a peace agent" from 1917, he wrote:

"Nations disillusioned by war are seeking something better than pieces of paper produced by unscrupulous statesmen. They are proposing war reparations and indemnities but beyond these material obligations it is surely possible *to encourage the feelings and emotions of peoples as the best hope of permanent peace*. The Scout Movement on its relatively small scale has taken root among the youth of all civilized countries and is still growing. It is not too much to hope that in the years to come, with increasing numbers joining this fraternity in the coming generations, they will unite in personal friendship and mutual understanding such as never before and thus find a solution to these horrendous international conflicts"⁷⁸.

The ideas of international expansion and peace as a contribution to one's country also crop up in Baden-Powell's first book, written specifically for Scoutmasters: *Aids to Scoutmastership*⁷⁹, published in 1919. In this work, he told Scoutmasters that "our aim in making boys into good citizens is partly for the benefit of the country, that it may have a virile trusty race of citizens whose amity and sense of "playing the game" will keep it united internally and at peace with its neighbours abroad"⁸⁰.

Baden-Powell had planned to organize an international meeting in 1918, the tenth anniversary of the movement, with a series of clear aims that he explained in 1916: "to make our ideals and methods more widely known abroad; to promote the spirit of brotherhood among the rising generation throughout the world, thereby giving the spirit that is necessary to make the League of Nations a living force"⁸¹. The League of Nations was an idea put forward by the British Government that the US President, the Democrat Woodrow Wilson, adopted in 1918, including it as the final point of the "14 points" for world peace in the post-war period: "A General Association of Nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike"⁸².

This was the first time that the idea of an international organization of countries had been put forward to replace war as a way of resolving conflicts. The League of Nations was eventually established at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, under the Treaty of Versailles "to develop cooperation among nations and to guarantee them peace and security". Despite an unfortunate sequence of events starting with the veto of the US isolationists to stop the United States ratifying its creation, followed by its inability to put a stop to the expansion of Japan, Italy, and Germany, the League of Nations was an important precedent for the idea of peace as a political objective and laid the ideological foundations of what in 1945 would become the United Nations Organization⁸³.

⁷⁷ PARSONS, 2004: 54; NAGY, 1985: 82.

⁷⁸ Quoted in REYNOLDS, 1942: 190-191 (the italics are mine).

⁷⁹ BADEN-POWELL, Robert (1919): *Aids to Scoutmastership*. London: Herbert Jenkins.

⁸⁰ BADEN-POWELL, [1919] 1949: 21.

⁸¹ COLLIS, HURLL and HAZLEWOOD, 1961: 97. Quoted in JEAL, 2001: 511 (the italics are mine).

⁸² DiNUNZIO, 2006: 406.

⁸³ United Nations Library, 1983.

The League of Nations Union was a civic organization that was set up in support of the ideal. In this context, various texts and speeches by Baden-Powell from the time when people began to discuss 'the League' reveal his awareness that the Scout Movement could help to create a state of mind that would encourage the existence of a supranational organization with peace – and governance – as its basic political aim. In 1919, Baden-Powell wrote a letter to the mayor of London, one of the men behind the Union idea, in which he said:

"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*.

"We have now over a million young members in the different civilised countries, all working under the same Scout Law and ideals, looking on each other as brother and sister members, and in a great number of cases interchanging letters and visits.

"Next year will see a great International Conference of these boys and girls in London.

"So I hope that our aims and doings will commend themselves as all in the direction in which your society is moving"⁸⁴.

This was, therefore, the ideal behind the project of the international Scout meeting, the "great International Conference" he writes of in the letter, which had to be postponed originally because of the war.

2. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WORLD SCOUTING

2.1. The Period under the Leadership of Robert Baden-Powell

The definitive move to organize Scouting as an international movement came in the summer of 1920. It should be noted at this point that the aims and ideology of Baden-Powell had changed radically since 1908. Firstly, there was the link to the active learning discourse, particularly in relation to the teaching methods of Maria Montessori and the rejection of militarism. Secondly, more emphasis was placed on the need to develop one's own criteria while the notion of obedience was relativized⁸⁵. Thirdly, it had a patent international vocation, related to the ideal of the League of Nations, which was one of the consequences of the international Scout network that was being spontaneously created. Lastly, and closely related to the previous point, was the permanent commitment to peace, also a consequence of the profound impact of World War I. Although these elements, which I will discuss in subsequent chapters, were the foundations for the formalization of World Scouting, we should remember that many countries set up associations based on the early British model. This meant that there was an ambiguous tension in many

⁸⁴ 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 (the italics are mine).

⁸⁵ "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". BADEN-POWELL, 1912.

countries between the early British model of 1909 – supportive of the military sector and based more on discipline with various levels of nationalism – and the model that Baden-Powell promoted in 1920 – civic, socially committed, with an emphasis on the education of the individual, clearly internationalist, and focused on working towards peace. The paradox: both visions were based on texts by Baden-Powell.

The meeting originally planned for 1918 was finally held in London in August 1920, with 8,000 Scouts from 21 independent countries and 12 British dependencies⁸⁶. It was the first International Jamboree⁸⁷, which has since been held regularly and become the icon of the movement. It was at this rally that Robert Baden-Powell was appointed Chief Scout of the World by acclamation, an honorific title that only he has held since then. Although the Jamboree was essentially an adolescent gathering, the first International Scout Conference was held there in the presence of thirty-three Scout organizations from diverse countries and it was agreed to create an international organization, the 'Boy Scouts International Bureau' (BSIB)⁸⁸. That same year, the permanent secretariat was set up and, two years later, the organization was formally constituted in Paris⁸⁹. Scouting now had a million members worldwide.

For the new international Scout organization, a permanent secretariat was established (the Bureau)⁹⁰, along with a International Conference (a governing body formed by the national associations, which had six votes each) and an International Committee (an executive body, formed by individuals elected by the Conference). A year earlier, in 1919, the Treaty of Versailles had established that the League of Nations would have a secretariat, an Assembly (a governing body composed of all member countries with one vote per country) and a Board (an

⁸⁶ In the 1920s, the British Empire had a population of five hundred million people – almost a quarter of the world's population – and covered 37 million km², a quarter of the earth's surface.

⁸⁷ Scout jamborees began as a version of the Olympic games (reinstated in London in 1908), with technical and sports competitions. However, it soon became apparent that these competitions encouraged national rivalries instead of universal fraternity, so they were replaced by activities of artistic expression such as singing and acting – Baden-Powell loved to act – and technical activities based on cooperation. VAN EFFENTERRE, 1963, 86-87; JEAL, 2001; WOSM, 1985: 5 (Resolution 11/26 on Jamboree competitions).

⁸⁸ NAGY, 1985: 90-91; JEAL, 2001: 511-512. There are no documents listing all of the founding associations of World Scouting either in the archives of the Scout Association UK or the World Scout Bureau (WOSM). Figures vary depending on the source, perhaps because it is not certain that all of the countries that attended the Jamboree in 1920 were in the new Boy Scouts International Bureau. Nagy (1985: 90) says that "8000 scouts from 21 independent countries and 12 British dependences" attended the Jamboree (making a total of 33). However, he also lists the "Founder countries of the World Scout Movement" (NAGY, 1985: 212) in an appendix without references. He cites 30: "Argentina; Austria; Belgium; Brazil; Chile; Czechoslovakia; Denmark; Ecuador; Estonia; Finland; France; Great Britain; Greece; Hungary; Italy; Japan; Latvia; Liberia; Luxembourg; Netherlands; Norway; Peru; Poland; Portugal; Rumania; Sweden; Switzerland; Thailand; United States of America". He does not include the British dominions where Scouting was present, such as Canada, India, South Africa, Australia or New Zealand.

⁸⁹ Until it was amended in 1977, the preamble of the WOSM Constitution read as follows: "Accredited representatives of National Scout Associations which had adopted and practised the Scout method prior to 1922, assembled in Paris, France, in July 1922 and established the International Scout Conference for the coordination of the Scout Movement throughout the world, together with an Executive Committee and a Secretariat". WOSM, 1973: 3.

⁹⁰ There was a confusion with terms because the new world organization took the name of the "International Bureau", which was also the name adopted by the permanent secretariat of the organization.

executive body formed by four countries which would be permanent members and four which would be non-permanent members).

However, from the outset, the sense of 'movement' stressed by Scouting's founder was to be maintained, which meant that more importance was placed on the principles and method than on the organization. And even more so internationally, since a set of standard principles was being established beyond which Scout recognition would not be given and a great deal of care was taken to end the centralizing and controlling tendency of the world organization. As its director pointed out, "[the BSIB] possesses no executive authority whatever and in no way controls the different Scout Organizations which constitute its members"⁹¹.

Guiding or female Scouting went a similar route to Scouting. In 1919, an International Council for Guiding was set up on the initiative of Olave Baden-Powell, Chief Guide of British Guiding since 1918 and wife of its founder. Though the Council lacked a legal structure, it called the first World Conference in 1920 in England. At the Fourth International Conference in 1926, steps were taken to formalize the organization, and, in 1927, the World Bureau (the permanent secretariat) was set up.

The World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS)⁹² was finally established on the suggestion of Robert Baden-Powell at the Fifth International Conference of Girl Guides (Hungary, 1928). Delegates from 26 countries were present at the conference and the association was given a similar organizational structure to that of the world Scout organization: a permanent secretariat (the Bureau), an elected International Committee with nine members (the executive body) and a plenary International Conference of national associations (the governing body). Robert and Olave Baden-Powell were registered as non-voting members of the International Committee. In 1930, Olave Baden-Powell was elected World Chief Guide, the equivalent to her husband's title in male Scouting. By 1931, Guiding had a million members around the world⁹³, though mainly in English-speaking countries⁹⁴.

The ideals of peace and international fraternity – traditionally called "world brotherhood" in Scouting – have been a constant in World Scouting ever since it was founded. An official document from 1922 explains that the world organization was affiliated to the International Peace Bureau, the oldest peace organization in

⁹¹ "Report on the Activities of the International Bureau 1920-1922", typed document presented to the International Committee in 1922, Pg. 1. World Scout Bureau Archives (Geneva).

⁹² Unlike in male Scouting, there was no confusion between the name of the international organization and the permanent secretariat in Guiding. As I will explain later, male Scouting solved this problem in the 1960s, when it changed its name from the Boy Scouts International Bureau to the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM).

⁹³ WAGGGS, 1997. 15.

⁹⁴ In the words of Robert Baden-Powell in 1928, "Of the forty countries possessing Girl Guides or Girl Scouts only ten have over five thousand members, and six of these ten are British. ... Outside the British Empire and the United States of America, the Movement is still in an embryo state as regards strength". "Memorandum by the Founder on the Report of the World Conference", p. 2. Appendix to the "Historical Report of the Conference which took place in Hungary, May 1928". World Bureau Archives, WAGGGS.

the world⁹⁵. Baden-Powell's enthusiastic commitment to the League of Nations as a way of securing world peace is also evidenced by various statements. Just after the 1920 Jamboree, where it was agreed to set up the International Organization, Baden-Powell published an article in *The Scout* explaining the structure and aims of the League of Nations. In it, he lamented the absence of the United States but expressed his conviction that they would end up becoming members. He also openly encouraged Scout groups to work together to promote the League of Nations Union: "probably a local branch exists in your town; if so, you should ask the secretary if you can help him in any way, such as distributing handbills for meetings"⁹⁶.

According to Sica⁹⁷, during the first few years of World Scouting, Baden-Powell attempted to make the organization into a sort of League of Nations youth movement but came up against the staunch opposition of the Committee of the Council, the executive body of the Boy Scouts Association UK, which considered the British League of Nations Union to be a "political organization". In fact, some of the latter had even opposed the organization of the International Jamboree in 1920. The tensions between the ideals of the movement and the interests of its 'stakeholders' has also been a constant throughout Scouting history.

The creation of the world organizations led to the establishment of an official international approvals system for Scouting, which became all the more necessary when, in 1923, for example, the League of Nations assembly encouraged governments to facilitate the mobility of "recognized associations" of Scouts and Guides: the Austrian government said that it did not know what "recognized association" meant in the context of the resolution⁹⁸. After the formalization of the movement, it would be a democratically operated international organization (the Boy Scouts International Bureau or the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts) that would officially approve the membership of Scout or Guide associations. Scouting had grown too big to allow imitations to use its 'brand' for other purposes. In 1924, for example, the Boy Scouts International Bureau rejected German Scouting's request for international recognition on the grounds of associative atomization and unclear drafting of the Law, Promise and Constitution⁹⁹. According to Jeal, the refusal was also due – at least in part – to the fact that "the German [scout] movement was too militaristic, too nationalistic and overly expansionist in the wrong directions since it was attempting to absorb Austrian

⁹⁵ "Report on the Activities of the International Bureau 1920-1922", typed document submitted to the World Committee in 1922, World Scout Bureau Archives (Geneva): p. 3. The International Peace Bureau, which still exists today, was founded in 1892 and awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1910. In 1924, it moved its headquarters from Bern to Geneva to be closer to the League of Nations and its institutions, which it supported. [<http://www.ipb.org/>].

⁹⁶ *The Scout*, 14th August 1920. Quoted in SICA, 2006: 24.

⁹⁷ SICA, 2006: 21-28.

⁹⁸ Report to the Secretary General: Report of the League Representatives to the Third International Scout Conference, Copenhagen, August 1924, p. 10. Document No. 38.191, League of Nations archive, Geneva.

⁹⁹ *Jamboree: The World-wide Scout Journal*, n. 24, October 1926, p. 650: "Mr. Humbert Martin, Director of the International [Boy Scouts] Bureau, presented his report [to the 1926 Conference] as follows".

Scouting"¹⁰⁰. And neither German nor illegalized Italian Scouting obtained international recognition until the end of World War II¹⁰¹.

With the new world organizations, although the 'word' of Baden-Powell still held authority, it was gradually being replaced by democratic agreements reached in the world conferences. Nonetheless, Baden-Powell held on to his moral authority, and his writings and speeches, and the modifications made to subsequent editions of *Scouting for Boys* also reflect the evolution of his thought, particularly after World War I. While in 1908 he had said: "You belong to the Great British Empire, one of the greatest empires that has ever existed in the world"¹⁰², by 1921 he was warning of the perils of excessive national pride, pointing out that "[t]he world-wide crash of war has roughly shaken us all and made us awake to the newer order of things. No longer is one nation better than another"¹⁰³.

The world conference agreements can be discerned from the "resolutions", which were the official stances approved by the majority. For example, Resolution 1/22 of the First World International Conference (Paris, 1922) established that "each nation should have six votes", in reference to member organizations. If we analyse other resolutions passed at the Paris Conference, we can see the first steps towards establishing a series of common standards. Under the title "Membership, Voluntary", Resolution 11/22 notes that Scouting membership must be voluntary: "it is undesirable that Scouting should be made compulsory". Resolution 12/22 deals with the need to guarantee the unity of the movement and avoid the fragmenting of associations within single countries¹⁰⁴. From very early on, then, the world organization tried to ensure that each country had only one association, based on the British model, instead of generating federations of associations, which was the French model later copied by many Latin countries¹⁰⁵. In 1919, the Boy Scouts Association (UK) set up a training school for Scoutmasters at Gilwell Park, near London. In 1922, with the launch of the Boy Scouts International Bureau, this training school became the world reference for approved training of Scoutmasters and trainers of Scoutmasters around the world¹⁰⁶.

In the tense calm of the Interwar period, the dual condition of national/international was regarded as undeniable. At its second meeting, held in Denmark in 1924, the World Scout Conference passed the 'Principles of Scouting' resolution, which

¹⁰⁰ NAGY, 1985: 102.

¹⁰¹ Vegi's JEAL, 2001: 543-553, on relations between Baden-Powell and the Boy Scouts International Bureau and the fascist and Nazi regimes in Italy and Germany, respectively.

¹⁰² BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 26.

¹⁰³ "It is glorious to feel that my country is the greatest on earth; that our soldiers were in war the bravest and ever victorious against all odds; that our women are the most beautiful in the world; as also it is with our country and its scenery and climate; that in art and science, in manufacture and invention, it is the men of our nation who have led the way. And when one looks at the people of other countries, how strange and eccentric they are'. That is the kind of talk that most of us have heard; but to which nationality did the speaker belong? Was he Briton or Italian, German or American, Chinese or Swede ? In truth he may have been any one of them, since people of all countries have been apt to give expression in that way to their patriotic pride. [...] The worldwide crash of war has roughly shaken us all and made us awake to the newer order of things. No longer is one nation better than another". Published in *Jamboree*, January 1921; quoted in SICA, 1984: 156; and SICA, 2006: 19-20.

¹⁰⁴ WOSM, 1985: 1.

¹⁰⁵ See the section on national federations in Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁶ NAGY, 1985: 83-85; PARSONS, 2004: 55-56.

established the national, international, and universal character of the Scout Movement. At the same time, in order to silence criticisms that it was lacking in religious content, at the request of Catholic representatives¹⁰⁷, it expressed its non-confessional ecumenical commitment¹⁰⁸. This resolution contains the two identifying elements that Scouting has tried to emphasize throughout its history, and their counterweights: national identity balanced out by international expansion, and faith balanced out by ecumenism. Scouting, therefore, did not wish to become a lay movement¹⁰⁹ without national identities; it was a movement committed to the spiritual dimension of the individual and the role of religion¹¹⁰ where dialogue between religions was possible and where national identities were the way forward – as opposed to the impediment – to building what we now know as a 'model of global or cosmopolitan citizenship'.

So, in just over ten years, Scouting had changed from a training idea to a British youth movement, and from this to an international organization of national Scout associations determined to stamp out excluding nationalist tendencies from among its members. In 1924, the International Conference refused to recognize German Scouting, pointing out that, although it wished to increase the number of members of the world organization, "to ensure that the World Movement shall have as its unalterable foundation the recognition of Scout brotherhood, regardless of race, creed or class" it established "[t]hat there should be no discrimination as to admission to membership of fellow subjects or citizens for any reason of race, creed or politics" as a condition for recognition¹¹¹. This condition was established with the full knowledge that public institutions in many countries with Scouting discriminated on grounds of race, creed, or ideology.

In fact, the structural foundations of World Scouting as an international organization were set down in the late 1920s and 1930s. In the analysis of the balance between national identity and global belonging in the Scout Movement and its tendency not to rebel against the established order, it is interesting that, for example, many delegates came to the 1926 Conference with messages of support and encouragement from their respective governments, signed by the relevant minister or secretary of state. They included Denmark, Finland, France, the United

¹⁰⁷ Report to the [League of Nations] Secretary General: Report of the League representatives to the Third International Scout Conference, Copenhagen, August 1924, p. 11. Document núm. 38.191, League of Nations archive, Geneva.

¹⁰⁸ "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". WOSM, 1985: 3 (Resolution 14/24, "Principles of Scouting").

¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, as I will explain later, France has had a lay Scout association since 1911; it was recognised when the Boy Scouts International Bureau was constituted and still retains this recognition, along with other associations, of a lay Scout association.

¹¹⁰ As the historian Albert Balcells argues, although Baden-Powell's Scouting had a religious, even Christian, background, he thought that Scouting should be independent from Churches as well as from political parties. Albert BALCELLS: 'Trajectòria històrica de l'escolisme'. *Revista de Catalunya*, n. 33 (Sept. 1989): 56.

¹¹¹ WOSM, 1985: 5 (Resolution 17/24, "Policy, International Recognition").

Kingdom, Hungary, Iraq, Japan, Poland, Romania, Siam, Spain and Yugoslavia¹¹². We should remember that these were the years of the Great Depression, which began in 1929 and mainly affected the United States, Europe, and the British Empire; it was also the period in which nationalism took root in Germany, Italy and Japan, and marked the decline of European colonialism in general and the fragmentation of the British Empire in particular¹¹³. Against this backdrop, World Scouting tried to set down a series of rules on its operation that would stabilize the new international organization. It therefore dealt gradually with the tasks of defining a 'national' organization, the limits of patriotism, the regional scope of associations or the role of national minorities, and, later on, displaced groups.

However, the rise of fascism and its aggressive nationalism was also a threat to the ideological stability of the Scout Movement. The regenerationist discourses of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, who were admired somewhat in many Western countries during the 1920s¹¹⁴, overlapped with part of the discourse of Scouting: Edwardian values such as duty, discipline, and self-sacrifice, suspicion of industrialization, rejection of Soviet communism, love for one's country and culture, the importance of physical exercise, the romantic invocation of explorers...¹¹⁵ We need to remember that World Scouting was only just starting to develop its structure at this time and that many countries had 'unrecognized' Scout associations that interpreted Scouting as they saw fit¹¹⁶. As a result, it was established that the international organization would have to approve the text of the 'Promise' and the 'Law' of each country, as a means of ideological approval and a way of making the acceptance of shared values more explicit, with the additional obligation of notifying any changes. Associations were also encouraged to legally protect uniforms and identifying signs against fraudulent use¹¹⁷.

In countries with totalitarian regimes, though, the situation was more complicated than the straightforward fraudulent copying of the Scout appearance. In 1917, when the Soviet Union was established, there were 50,000 Scouts in Russia. In 1922, the Scout Movement was banned and replaced by the Young Pioneer movement, which was controlled by the Communist Party and the members of which included former Scouts with Bolshevik sympathies¹¹⁸. However, many others went into exile and set up a Russian Scout association there, internationally recognized by WOSM from 1928 to 1945¹¹⁹. In Italy, Mussolini decided to absorb Scouting into the fascist youth organization *Balilla* in 1927. The non-denominational Italian Scouting association, set up in 1912, founded the international organization

¹¹² Jamboree: *The World-wide Scout Journal*, No. 24, October 1926, p. 650:

¹¹³ In December 1931, following the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930, the British parliament passed the Statute of Westminster, thereby establishing equal status between the United Kingdom and the self-governing British dominions of the Irish Free State, the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland (later part of Canada), the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. Once the dominions had ratified the Statute, they were given their independence.

¹¹⁴ Tim Jeal notes that Mussolini had been praised by Churchill, Gandhi, and Edison (JEAL, 2001: 543).

¹¹⁵ JEAL, 2001: 549-550.

¹¹⁶ In 1933, for example, when the Nazi regime outlawed Scouting, there were 40 associations calling themselves 'Scout' in Germany, though none were actually members of the international organization (KROONENBERG, 1998: 16).

¹¹⁷ WOSM, 1985: 3 (Res. 12/24 "Protection of Uniform, etc."), 9 (Res. 12/31 "Protection of Uniform" and Res. 12/33 "Promise and Law, Changes").

¹¹⁸ CHARQUES, 1932: 506.

¹¹⁹ NAGY, 1985: 94.

in 1920, but was put under the high patronage of the Head of State after 1915¹²⁰. In the early 1930s, the Nazis also outlawed Scouting associations, none of which were internationally recognized, and gradually incorporated their members into the *Hitler-Jugend* (Hitler Youth)¹²¹. To summarize, in the Axis countries, the regime banned Scouting (Italy after 1922, Germany after 1933, and Japan after 1941, together with fascist Spain after 1939) and replaced it with indoctrinating official youth movements controlled by the regime, but which imitated the Scout appearance. The same occurred in the Soviet Union after 1922 and in the occupied Baltic states and Soviet republics as they were formed, with the single exception of Poland¹²².

The Scout appearance and activities were copied in the fascist and communist regimes at a time when the Scouting 'brand' was still being 'registered' in many countries, and this led to a confusion that still exists today regarding the Scout Movement's alleged proto-fascist past¹²³. According to Kroonenberg, the Nazis even copied the uniforms and neckerchiefs of Scouting and made arrangements for the *Hitler-Jugend* to be internationally recognized as *the* German Scout Movement¹²⁴. Beyond the apparent similarities of the time, particularly in their appearance, all the evidence indicates the opposite. The regimes of all these countries had outlawed Scouting, not only in their own country but also in those occupied by their forces during the war, though we do know of cases of organized resistance by local Scouting in many¹²⁵.

The comparison between World Scouting and youth movements that pushed the discourse of national loyalty and acceptance of the status quo to their very limits forced Baden-Powell to further clarify the ambiguities that had come about around the time of establishment of the international organization. Nagy explains that, in

¹²⁰ NAGY, 1985: 102; CNGEI website: <http://www.cngei.it/ita/open1.htm>

¹²¹ In 1936, it became compulsory to join the *Hitler-Jugend*. In his novelized memoirs of life as a young German Scout at the time, Hans E. Ihle describes the situation in which he found himself that year: "The moment will come when you'll have to decide whether or not you want to join one of the branches of the Hitler-Youth organization. But that's not the worst point, as we said before. The worst moment comes when you don't even have that choice anymore; you can't borrow time by pretending to become a Nazi, similar to our German-Jewish citizens. You can't join the Hitler-Youth movement; you became unacceptable to them. Your Scout activities might have forced you to run out of choices. Then all that's left is the concentration camp". Ihle, 1993: 32.

¹²² JEAL, 2001: 543-553; NAGY, 1985: 101-103. On the differences between the British and German youth movements in the first quarter of the century, see GILLIS, 1973; for a comparison of the aims of US Scouting and the Hitler Youth in the 1940s, see LEWIN, 1946 and 1947a; for opinions on youth movements in the 1920s in the Soviet Union, see CHARQUES, 1932.

¹²³ See the debate between ROSENTHAL, 1986, and JEAL, 2001, on Robert Baden-Powell's interaction with the *Balilla* and *Hitler-Jugend*. For Rosenthal, Baden-Powell's relationship with these movements indicates that he had a positive attitude towards some fascist and Nazi ideals. Jeal, however, argues that, Baden-Powell, like many of his contemporaries, was sympathetic towards some of the ideas of Hitler and Mussolini before they began to use violence, particularly in reaction to the communists, who had dissolved Scouting in Russia. He also maintains that Baden-Powell kept in contact with the German and Italian youth organizations so that they were not isolated and that a recognised form of Scouting could be set up there in the future. In all events, this contact was abruptly terminated following the Night of Broken Glass in October 1938 in Germany (JEAL, 2001: 544-547).

¹²⁴ KROONENBERG, 1998: 17-18; also NAGY, 1967: 30.

¹²⁵ Hilary ST GEORGE SAUNDERS (1948) found various examples of Scout resistance in occupied countries such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Luxemburg, Holland, Belgium, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Philippines and Burma. He also demonstrates Scouting's contribution to resistance in captivity in China, Formosa, and Thailand, and to resistance in Germany, Italy, and Japan (see also Jeal, 2001: 573-574). CRUZ OROZCO (2003) reveals how, in Spain, Spanish Scouting accepted the suspension of activities under Franco while Catalan Scouting rebelled against its illegalization and secretly continued its activities (see also BALCELLS and SAMPER, 1993).

his meeting with Mussolini in 1933, Baden-Powell rejected the idea that the Balilla was a better version of Scouting, arguing that "the Balilla was an official instead of a voluntary organization; that it aimed at partisan nationalism instead of wider international good feeling; that it was purely physical, without any spiritual balance; and that it developed mass discipline instead of individual character"¹²⁶.

Along these lines, the 1937 International Scout Conference in Hague (Holland) officially modified one of the points of the Scout Law, adding the references to brotherhood between countries: "A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what *country*, class, or creed the other may belong"¹²⁷. It also approved a very explicit resolution on "Patriotism", declaring 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. Thus, any steps to the militarization of Scouting or the introduction of political aims, which might cause misunderstanding and thus handicap our work for peace and goodwill among nations and individuals should be entirely avoided in our programs"¹²⁸.

In that same year, 28,000 Scouts had congregated for the 5th International Jamboree, which took place in Holland. It was preceded by Hungary in 1933, with 25,000 participants; England in 1929, with 50,000 participants; and Denmark, with 4,500 participants. Only seventeen years had passed since the first Jamboree, when the Boy Scouts' International Bureau was set up. To all intents and purposes, the International Jamboree had become the practical representation of the international nature of the movement: adolescents from all over the world coming together under the principles of Scouting. In July 1939, the 10th International Scout Conference was held in Edinburgh. Shortly afterwards, war broke out and international activity was paralysed. In most of the countries that took part in World War II, whether actively or passively, Scouting played a role in the organized resistance to state oppression, both in the countries that were occupied and in those of the attackers¹²⁹. Neutrality took on a new dimension – and not only in Scouting: there were limits that could never again be accepted.

Robert Baden-Powell retired from Scouting in 1937 and died in 1941. In the six years of international conflict, while Scouting was being persecuted in the occupied countries, the Boy Scouts International Bureau was paralysed and there was no external coordination for associations. The death of the founder, promoter, and inspirer of the Scout Movement occurred at the height of the war, in the midst of a social crisis, mass population movements, and the imposed paralysis of the international Scout structure. Everything suggested that Scouting had been caught in a downward spiral, especially since it remained prohibited for many of its adult members, or, at the very least, that it had been severely weakened¹³⁰. But this was

¹²⁶ NAGY, 1985: 102.

¹²⁷ The word in Italics, *country*, was added to the existing *class* and *creed*. NAGY, 1985: 106.

¹²⁸ WOSM, 1985: 15 (Resolution 15/37, "Patriotism").

¹²⁹ See ST GEORGE SAUNDERS, 1948.

¹³⁰ NAGY, 1985: 111.

not the case. The International Committee met in London in November 1945¹³¹, where two important agreements were reached. Firstly, the date and venue of the International Jamboree and Conference, that were supposed to be held in 1941, were arranged: they would take place in 1947 in France. And secondly, the decision was made to separate the Boy Scouts International Bureau from the headquarters of the Boy Scouts Association UK and was carried out that same month¹³².

Only three of the seventeen European countries with recognized Scouting had remained neutral. Yet, as work began on the reconstruction of the international movement, it was clear that it had gained newfound strength: at the start of the war, Scouting had just over 3.3 million members while the 1947 census revealed that it had 4.4 million members in 43 countries, despite the demise of eleven associations. If we compare the censuses of 1939 and 1947 (in thousands), we see that Scouting doubled in Argentina (from 5 to 10), Denmark (18 to 36), France (94 to 211) and Sweden (23 to 51), and tripled in Belgium (17 to 53), Greece (12 to 41), Holland (36 to 116), and Czechoslovakia (20 to 67). In India, membership increased from 285 to 414 thousand, in China, from 315 to 570 thousand (in 1941)¹³³ and Britain's figure of 600 thousand was maintained. However, almost half of the total 4.4 million members were from the US Scouting organization, which had grown from one million two-hundred thousand members in 1939 to two million in 1947¹³⁴.

The reasons for Scouting's success in the United States could include the fact that the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) had adapted the British model to produce a successful, typical American product¹³⁵. Tying in with the original idea that Baden-Powell had before the Boy Scouts Association UK was established, the United States association does not carry out activities directly; instead, sponsoring institutions with an interest in children's welfare, such as churches, schools, trade unions, parents' associations, Rotary Clubs, voluntary firemen, etc. who carry out the activities and the Boy Scouts of America provide them with everything they need. US Scouting was also responsible for professionalizing Scouting management and using academic research as a mechanism for updating the association¹³⁶. The practical approach of the US Scout model, designed to encourage skills acquisition, contrasted with the more intellectual European model, which put education before entertainment. The balance between these two approaches – one pragmatic, based

¹³¹ Three of its voted members could not be contacted (NAGY, 1985: 115).

¹³² NAGY, 1985: 116-117.

¹³³ The data on China for 1941 are for the Boy Scouts of China. Chinese Scouting obtained world recognition in 1937 but it was interrupted in 1949 when the communist People's Republic of China was established and Scouting was outlawed. It moved to Taiwan, where the 'provisional capital' of the Republic of China had been set up, which rejected communism, and it was re-established in 1950 as the 'Boy Scouts of China'. It is still a member today and is an exceptional case of the World Scout Organization.

¹³⁴ ST GEORGE SAUNDERS, 1949: 246-7.

¹³⁵ "The paragon of the successful, self-reliant, courageous, and self-made man is a traditional American ideal. It is quite certainly the educational ideal of the Boy Scouts of America". LEWIN, 1947b: 169.

¹³⁶ NAGY, 1985: 117, 119, 142-143. In research, for example, as early as December 1936, E.D. Partridge, the National Director of Research of BSA, described diverse research projects in the *Journal of Educational* on the adolescents, adolescent leaders, juvenile delinquency, and the interests of the boys involved in BSA (PARTRIDGE, 1936; see also ABT *et al.*, 1940).

on the acquisition of skills; the other, more educational, based on social conscience – is maintained even today in World Scouting.

The international stage following World War II was in stark contrast to the one that had followed the 1914-1918 war. A world organization, the United Nations, was set up with similar political principles to the League of Nations¹³⁷, but with a stronger moral message following the defeat of fascism. Both the United States and the Soviet Union signed the UN Charter together with a further 49 countries. The United Nations is structured around a General Assembly (its governing body) in which all member countries have the right to vote, a permanent secretariat, and a Security Council (its executive body), which has five permanent members (the countries that won the war: United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China) with the right to veto and a further ten members elected by the General Assembly for a two-year mandate. An important conceptual change was introduced with the structure of the United Nations: not all countries were equal. To accept the legitimacy of the United Nations was to accept the power of the countries with greater military power, albeit within a framework of common principles that were reinforced three years later when the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction"¹³⁸.

This new framework also conditioned what was came to be known as the 'Cold War', based on the tension between the capitalist countries that reconstructed Western Europe, led by the United States, and the communist countries, led by the

¹³⁷ See GOODRICH, Leland M. (1947): "From League of Nations to United Nations". International Organization, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Feb., 1947): 3-21. The Preamble to the United Nations Charter, signed on 26th June 1945 in San Francisco (United States), asserts:

"We the Peoples of the United Nations determined

- to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

- to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

- to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

- to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends,

- to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

- to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

- to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

- to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations". *Charter of the United Nations and its Preamble*, Department of Public Information, United Nations: <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>

¹³⁸ Preamble, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: United Nations General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948 (<http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>).

Soviet Union. At the 1945 Yalta Conference, the Allies agreed to respect the status quo of the countries that had ended up under some influence or other. The division in Central Europe was clearest, including in Germany.

In this context, Scouting was outlawed in the countries annexed to the Soviet Union, together with others in the socialist sphere of influence: Poland, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria, and later on, North Korea, Czechoslovakia, China, and Cuba¹³⁹. But the International Scout Movement continued to grow with new recognized associations, not only Federal Germany (accepted in 1950), but with many countries outside Europe, largely because of decolonization. While in 1922, just 9 of the 31 Scout associations were non-European, by 1955 only 18 of the 56 recognized associations were from Europe¹⁴⁰.

2.2. The Globalization of World Scouting

The renewed strength of World Scouting after World War II coincided with the adoption of two great initiatives for international expansion in line with the stance that the Scout Movement had adopted since it was set up in 1920: the founding of the United Nations Organization and the proclamation of Human Rights, which ushered in a new era. The principle of equality between countries and their right to freedom as a prerequisite for peace, so important in the founding of World Scouting, had now reached new heights and paved the way for decolonization. In 1949, the International Scout Conference passed a Resolution affirming:

"We rededicate ourselves to the principles of liberty and the freedom of peoples and nations. We believe that the cause of peace and understanding can effectively be served by encouraging the spirit of world brotherhood amongst the youth of the world through Scouting"¹⁴¹

This founding conception of World Scouting as a tool for constructing peace comes to the fore once again alongside the new world institutions, as indicated in another resolution of 1955:

"The Conference as the central world body of our Movement expresses the conviction that World Scouting in the existing general international atmosphere can play a most important part by preparing good citizens for tomorrow with all the right ideas of a constructive mutual understanding among all nations and towards lasting peace"¹⁴²

It was during the 1950s that the World Conferences were held outside Europe for the first time (in Scouting: Canada, 1955; India, 1959; Mexico, 1967; and in Guiding: Brazil, 1957; Japan, 1966), together with the Jamborees of Canada, in 1955, and the Philippines, in 1959. The headquarters of the Boy Scouts International Bureau was also moved from London to Ottawa (Canada, 1958) and then finally to Geneva (Switzerland, 1968)¹⁴³. Also around this time, different 'regions' and regional bureaux were set up, with no set systematic procedure. These were: the Arabic, European, African, Inter-American, and the Asian-Pacific

¹³⁹ NAGY, 1985: 123; *cf.* KROONENBERG, 1998.

¹⁴⁰ NAGY, 1985: 129; *cf.* BOY SCOUTS INTERNATIONAL BUREAU, 1954

¹⁴¹ WOSM, 1985: 25 (Res. 27/49); the French version says: "Nous nous mettons de nouveau au service des principes de la liberté et de l'indépendance des peuples et des nations ..." (p. 26).

¹⁴² WOSM, 1985: 39 (Res. 18/55)

¹⁴³ WOSM, 1985: 57 (Res. 12/67).

regions. The International Bureau and Committee also became increasingly multicultural and multiracial during this period: the first Asian member of the International Scout Committee was elected in 1931, followed by the first Arabic member in 1951 and the first African in 1961¹⁴⁴.

Scouting also played a vital role in the processes of decolonizing and nation building. The in-depth study of Timothy H. Parsons (2004) on the role of the Scout Movement in British colonial Africa reveals the two faces of the movement outside Europe: its early days as a means of social control of the colony, introduced and managed by the colonial authorities, and its subsequent use by the colonized societies, first as a way to achieve greater equality¹⁴⁵ and form troops, then as a form of social protest, and finally, as an instrument for national construction during decolonization¹⁴⁶. At the 1959 International Scout Conference in New Delhi, Pandit Nehru, then leader of the non-aligned countries, recognized the importance of Scouting and its excellent possibilities for third-world countries in his welcome address¹⁴⁷.

Although the Scout Movement spread across the world very early on, its operation and planning capacity were far from those of a world organization. True globalization required a solid strategic base, so the United States Ford Foundation decided to fund a study to help the movement with this challenge. In 1965, the Ford Foundation directly commissioned the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva with a study on the situation of World Scouting. The head of research at the Institute, a Hungarian exiled in Switzerland, was chosen to prepare the report, which was published two years as the "Report on World Scouting", presented in 1967¹⁴⁸. One of its conclusions was the suggestion that the 'director' figure of the World Bureau be changed for a 'secretary general' with more executive powers, and it was this position that the Boy Scouts International Bureau offered to the study researcher, Laszlo Nagy, appointed secretary general in 1968. He started out in a very different situation to the current state of affairs:

"When Laszlo Nagy wrote his famous report on the state of World Scouting, in 1967, the Movement had eight million Scouts - mostly male - in 86 countries; there was no worldwide regional system, two or three executives in Ottawa, no co-ordinated adult training system or common youth programme, a faltering fee system, no contact with the non-Scout world, and no community development projects"¹⁴⁹.

So, a plan for the future was devised between 1969 and 1971 that professionalized the permanent structure, legalized the international Scout organization in the eyes of the Swiss authorities, created the Bureau divisions of foreign relations,

¹⁴⁴ NAGY, 1985: 139-140. Even so, the African member was not black.

¹⁴⁵ Parsons' thesis is that the colonial officials thought that point 2 of the Scout Law: *A Scout is loyal to the King...* could be used to educate the young Africans. In practice, however, for the Africans, point 4: *A Scout is ... a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what country, class or creed the other may belong*, became the key to their resistance against social discrimination (PARSONS, 2004: 5-7); this last point is what Baden-Powell alluded to his 1936 article in the *Journal of the Royal African Society*, quoted earlier (BADEN-POWELL, 1936). See also WALTON, 1937.

¹⁴⁶ PARSONS, 2004: especially 4-29, 61-71; also NAGY, 1967: 29-30.

¹⁴⁷ NAGY, 1985: 139.

¹⁴⁸ This report is quoted throughout this project as NAGY, 1967.

¹⁴⁹ "Address of Dr. Jacques Moreillon, former Secretary General of WOSM, to Dr. Eduardo Missoni, WOSM Secretary General". Circular 4/2004, World Scout Bureau: 31st March 2004.

communication, and research, and set up a committee of operations for quality and growth headed by the former president and executive manager of IBM. The International Conference held in Japan in 1971 approved the incorporation of community development into the Scout programme: in 1972, the first world seminar was held on this issue in Cotonou (now Benin) and 1973 saw the first world seminar on the environment, held in Sweden. Around this time, new forms of Scouting were also being explored so that they could be adapted to contexts such as that of rural Africa. It was also agreed to replace the term 'international' with 'world': at the World Scout Conference of 1973 (Kenya), in the framework of wider constitutional reforms, the name 'Boy Scouts International Bureau' was changed to the 'World Organization of the Scout Movement' (WOSM)¹⁵⁰. At the 1977 conference, the fundamental principles of the constitutional text were reworked¹⁵¹. This was also the year of the death of Olave Baden-Powell.

Notable changes to the WOSM Constitution in 1977 included a new definition that did away with the words 'boy' and 'adolescent' and kept only 'young people', on the pretext that the latter term included the other two, though it was a move that clearly opened the door to the progressive entry of girls in many countries¹⁵². In diverse countries, WOSM and WAGGGS member associations were gradually merged or joined to create new associations with dual membership. WOSM and WAGGGS have called these 'Scout and Guide National Organizations' (SAGNOs) since the mid-1990s¹⁵³.

Despite the vitality of the movement, membership in industrialized countries began to slump. According to Nagy, Secretary General of WOSM at the time, the reasons for this drop included "inadequate leadership, failure to adapt programmes to modern requirements, a sombre economic climate, a drop in the birth rate, dissident factions". However, the decline in membership in Europe and the United States was offset by a spectacular increase in membership in developing countries. In 1968, industrialized countries accounted for three quarters of the world census, and over half of all members hailed from English-speaking countries. But by the mid-1970s, industrialized countries had become the minority and Asia alone accounted for half of the world Scout population. This naturally had repercussions on the content of educational programmes¹⁵⁴.

It was in this context of a steady growth in international prestige that UNESCO awarded WOSM the first Prize for Peace Education in 1981. The 1980s also saw the entry of mini-states as members, which sparked an interesting debate on states as subjects of the world organization. The debate ended with the agreement that, like

¹⁵⁰ The conference, committee and bureau were all changed to 'world' instead of 'international'.

¹⁵¹ WOSM, 1985: 73 (Res. 1/73), 93 (Res. 20/77). NAGY, 1985: 150, 153, 158, 162.

¹⁵² As stated in the document detailing the changes made, "Further development, both as regards the specification of the age and the sex of the young people, was a matter which should be left to each National Scout Association". "Document 2: 'The Purpose, Principles and Method of the Scout Movement'. Proposed revision of present Chapter II of the World Constitution. 26th World Scout Conference" (Montreal, Canada, 1977: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1977: pp. 12-13.

¹⁵³ "Document 10: 'Policy Concerning Scout and Guide National Organizations (SAGNOs)' 35th World Scout Conference" (Durban, South Africa, 1999: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1999.

¹⁵⁴ NAGY, 1985: 163.

the United Nations, rights would not depend on size, though voting rights would be restricted in some cases¹⁵⁵.

The founding process of the United Nations in 1945 incorporated one important aspect: the participation of non-governmental organizations in the deliberation process prior to its establishment. This method ended up as a permanent feature of the United Nations Charter, which establishes that "[t]he Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence"¹⁵⁶. World Scouting has been active in this since the UN was established, and both WOSM and WAGGGS have been members of the United Nations Economic and Social Council since it was created in 1947. The growing influence of these non-governmental organizations in issues on the international agenda such as civil rights, the environment, and peace and development cooperation, also afforded them greater political involvement in supra-state decisions on matters that nonetheless affected state policies. This meant that individuals who did not represent state governments could take part in international debates. In 1972, the *New York Times* reported that during the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, the representative of the Boy Scouts International Bureau, on behalf of the latter, WAGGGS and nine other organizations, made an appeal to end "the deliberate destruction of the environment by warfare", and added that "the United States Government disgraceful war of ecocide in Indochina and similar wars in other parts of the world should have been dealt with by this conference"¹⁵⁷.

In 1982, Scouting celebrated the 75th anniversary of its founding, which promoted its strategy of social presence and numerical growth, and in 1988, WOSM appointed Jacques Moreillon, former Director General of the International Committee of the Red Cross, as Secretary General. That same year, the World Scout Conference approved the *Towards a Strategy for Scouting* project, a strategic plan covering the following ten years that would bring the movement up to date and develop it both worldwide and in individual countries. But the international stage was about to undergo a very important transformation. In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Four years later, the Berlin wall fell and the Soviet Union and the communist regimes of its countries of influence quickly began to fall apart. The division of the world into two sides had suddenly disappeared.

Scouting had been seen by communist countries as a capitalist tool "for deceiving, oppressing and exploiting young people", and had been outlawed and persecuted as

¹⁵⁵ Nagy makes an interesting point about the process: "If the Movement had committed the same error as the international organizations by giving an unrestricted vote to the "mini-states", a situation could have arisen in the future when a majority of two-thirds of the member states could have voted any kind of modification to the Scout Constitution, thus changing its objectives, spirit and nature, while still only representing less than 5% of registered and paid-up members. Theoretically, it would also be possible for the Conference to elect – as always by secret vote as required by the Constitution – a World Committee of 12 members originating from member Associations whose numbers represent no more than 0.1% of the total Scout population. It was therefore decided to grant all the privileges to these small states, which sometimes only had one Troop, but not to give them voting rights" (NAGY, 1985: 172).

¹⁵⁶ United Nations Charter, Chapter X, Article 71. <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>

¹⁵⁷ *The New York Times*, 13th June 1972; quoted in BjÖRK, 1996: 17.

a result¹⁵⁸. The new situation in these countries after the prohibition was lifted led to an astonishing resurgence of Scouting, especially considering that it had been banned for forty years; Scout associations were quickly set up in Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia (and the countries it was later divided into), the Ukraine, Armenia¹⁵⁹, Albania, Estonia, and Lithuania, all of which were swiftly given international recognition¹⁶⁰. The resurgence of Scouting in Eastern Europe came as a surprise and was the first time since WOSM had extended membership to girls that new possibilities for rapid territorial growth had been discovered. In just a few years, twenty-three new countries¹⁶¹ joined World Scouting: either WOSM, WAGGGS, or both at the same time. This led to competition between the two world organizations for recognition of the new associations, to the point that WOSM opened a delegation in Crimea in 1993 to deal with the membership of new associations, and created the "Eurasian" region in 1997 to cover the countries of the former Soviet Union, which were incorporated into the European region for WAGGGS.

The 1990s were in fact marked by the strategic updating of the two world organizations and the attempt to merge them by many European associations, mainly members of both organizations¹⁶², and the corresponding counter-reaction. As part of this process, a joint Scout and Guide region was set up in Europe in 1995, with just one committee and one bureau, though it broke down three years later due to the fragility of the basis of its attempt at unification. The other part of the process was the World Scout Committee's decision in 1997 not to recognize any new SAGNOs (associations where girls paid their fees to WAGGGS and boys to WOSM), followed by the agreement of the World Board, WAGGGS in 1998 not to recognize any new associations with boys as members. The idea was to mark out a clear profile for the two organizations and avoid competition. These strategic stances were rounded off by a suggestion from the World Board, WAGGGS in 1999 to merge with WOSM, which its own World Conference rejected in 2002, thus reinforcing its separate identity as an essentially female organization. Nonetheless, the WAGGGS/WOSM Consultative Committee was set up in 2001 to liaise between the two world committees of the organizations for the study of possible areas of collaboration.

In 1997, the cautious international public stance of the two world organizations gave way to a new formula more akin to advocacy: the Alliance of the CEOs of four large youth organizations (WOSM, WAGGGS, YMCA, and the YWCA¹⁶³), of the Red

¹⁵⁸ KROONENBERG, 1998: 65, 99-100.

¹⁵⁹ The International Scout Conference of 1929 made two exceptions to accepting new members: the Scout associations of Russia and Armenia, both formed by exiles living in France (NAGY, 1985: 94). Although the Russian association disbanded a few years later, the Armenian association in exile was recognized until the World Conference recognized Armenia as a member country with full voting rights in the 1990s.

¹⁶⁰ The two detailed studies by the Dutch writer Piet Kroonenberg include countless details about the processes in all of these countries: See KROONENBERG, 1998: 72, 101, 161-162, 236-238, 306-307, 354-358, 385-387, 389-414; KROONENBERG, 2004: 25-28; 46-50; 72-77;

¹⁶¹ They were Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldavia, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, Republic of Tajikistan, the Czech Republic, and the Ukraine,

¹⁶² The Scout and Guide National Organizations (SAGNOs) mentioned earlier.

¹⁶³ YMCA: World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations; YWCA: World Young Women's Christian Association.

Cross¹⁶⁴ as a major humanitarian movement that focused on young people, and the International Award Association, a worldwide youth programme, which were joined in the year 2000 by the CEO of the International Youth Foundation, the largest international foundation aimed at young people. World Scouting used this alliance as a platform for indicating its stance on long-term policies affecting the world in general, though as a 'declaration' by its technical managers, not through the agreement of the world conference or committee. The first declaration made by this Alliance (1997) was to raise awareness of non-formal education, a concept that had already been defined by UNESCO, and to ask 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 for a society with equal opportunities; the fourth (2003), to promote an initiative for the whole of Africa to unite against HIV/AIDS, which has since been put into practice, and the fifth (2005), was on the participation of young people in decision-making processes¹⁶⁵. These documents indicate a much more committed approach to taking a public stance on topics affecting government policies, with World Scouting adopting the role of an advocacy group.

Although women still have a meagre presence in WOSM¹⁶⁶, the firm policy to achieve equality between genders led to the decision in 2002 to choose a female chair of the World Scout Committee for the first time, who also happened to be the first black chair: the Senegalese Marie-Louise Correa. In Asian countries, Scouting is increasingly linked to schools through voluntary but recognized extracurricular activities, which has led to spectacular growth. Indonesia is an extraordinary example of this: by linking Scouting and state schooling, it has reached 8.9 million members (2003), almost 30% of the world WOSM total.

3. GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN WORLD SCOUTING

In the previous chapter, I developed the foundations of the concept of citizenship (which includes active citizenship), the reasons why individuals must possess certain civic values and, hence, be educated for citizenship, and the national-global dialogue tied in with the idea of citizenship, which has paved the way for the concept of global citizenship. In this section, I would like to raise a series of points about citizenship education in World Scouting, and on two issues in particular: firstly, the assumptions of the concept of 'citizenship' in Scouting, both when it was founded in England in 1907 and when it was formalized internationally in 1920, and secondly, the tensions between values that perpetuate the social reality and values for transformation and social change in Scouting's model of citizenship.

¹⁶⁴ The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

¹⁶⁵ Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005.

¹⁶⁶ A comparative study from 1998 shows that girls represented 4.1% of WOSM, though it has been open to both sexes since the 1970s, while the "exceptional" presence of male members of WAGGGS was 0.16% of the total. "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. 11.

3.1. The Assumptions of 'Citizenship' in Scouting

Scouting is an educational movement, the aim of which is to form children and youths as responsible individuals and citizens in their local, national and world communities. This is carried out voluntarily by leaders and those in charge of local Scout groups, which are organized into national associations. Citizenship education has been an aim of World Scouting ever since its formalization in 1920 and it has been affected by all the controversies over the Western concepts of 'education' and 'citizenship' and the local-national-global nexus in the modern era. The foundational work of Scouting as a movement, *Scouting for Boys*, already contained the concept of citizenship education in its subtitle: *A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*. As I said earlier, many academic works have focused on the first ten years of British Scouting, particularly on the figure and intentions of its founder, Robert Baden-Powell. But aside from the hermeneutics of the man himself, we need to determine the starting point of that concept of citizenship in the context of England in the early twentieth century.

Scouting emerged at a time when nationalism was flourishing. As MacKenzie (1986: 3) explains, at the end of the nineteenth century, "in the emergence of the new nationalisms, 'state, nation, and society' converged, and the elite which promoted this convergence created new rituals, a whole range of invented traditions and cults through which it could be communicated to the public"¹⁶⁷. British Scouting – and also that of most of the countries that introduced it in the first quarter of the twentieth century – is clearly an instrument of this "convergence". There are another three sociological factors that fostered the birth of Scouting: the emergence of 'youth' as a separate stage; the extension of the concept of leisure or free time, and greater appreciation of nature and the countryside as opposed to life in the industrial city. This is in addition to three assumptions of Victorian society by which it was conditioned: the theory on the progress of civilizations, secularized religious moralism and democratic tradition. In turn-of-the-century England, there was widespread acceptance of the theory of progress¹⁶⁸, according to which some communities are more advanced than others, both in different countries and civilizations and within single countries – in reference to social class. This theory was the ideological basis of British imperialism, the mission of helping to civilize the world, and it can be seen in early writings on Scouting in England. Secondly, there was strong religious moralism even though, unlike in Catholic countries, it was not dictated by any religious power – like the Vatican – since the monarch is the head of the Anglican church in England. And thirdly, there was a long tradition of British democratic parliamentarianism whereby the monarch's legitimacy derived from loyalty to the institutions and good governance, where democratic practice

¹⁶⁷ And he adds that, in Britain, "the nationalist convergence took a distinctively imperial form in defence of real and imagined colonial interests" (MACKENZIE, 1986: 3).

¹⁶⁸ There are five premises underpinning the theory of progress: 1. Belief in the value of the past; 2. The conviction that Western civilization is noble and thus superior to others; 3. Acceptance of the worth of economic and technological growth; 4. Faith in reason and the scientific and scholarly knowledge obtained through it, and 5. Belief in the intrinsic importance and the ineffable worth of life on earth. NISBET, Robert A. (1998): *History of the idea of progress*. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 317.

precedes the party system and where the government is required to account for its actions to the citizens.

All these elements can be found in the basis of Baden-Powell's methodological proposal in *Scouting for Boys* in 1908 and his idea of "good citizenship", and more specifically in the Scout 'Law' and 'Promise' tandem¹⁶⁹ which, as I will explain further in Chapter 3, became the point of reference for the principles of the Scout movement that had to be voluntarily accepted in order to become a member, in the form of a shared and voluntarily accepted code of values. As Nagy argues (1967), the British context is essential for understanding the references to loyalty, the King and God, as this was a society that, despite the moralizing influence of the Edwardian era – and the Victorian period before it – had strong liberal foundations¹⁷⁰. Thus, the creation of the British Boy Scouts Association in 1909 became a point of reference for the immediate imitation of the model in many countries around the world: an association under the protection of the king as patron, and which had the cooperation of the Church and public institutions, including schools and the army.

Robert Baden-Powell, Scouting's founder, was no theorist: his early writings contain many clichés contradicting the line he took up just a few years later. In fact, Baden-Powell's ideology and aims evolved substantially between 1908, when he wrote *Scouting for Boys*, and 1920, when the Boy Scouts International Bureau was founded. This evolution wholly conditioned the idea of citizenship in World Scouting, giving it a civic republican slant with a strong liberal component, and combining a patriotism based on cosmopolitan convictions with a commitment to world peace. We can divide this ideological evolution into four stages:

- a) the link to the discourse on active education
- b) the emphasis on openness and individual criteria
- c) the international vocation
- d) the commitment to peace

(a) As regards the link to active education experiences, cross references between Baden-Powell and Maria Montessori show how Baden-Powell tied in the practice of Scouting to Montessori's idea of active learning and how Montessori recognized the important educational role of Scouting's methodology¹⁷¹. Beyond the view of Scouting as a method of instruction, the similarities (WONESCH, 1999) between Baden-Powell's Scouting method and aims and Maria Montessori's active

¹⁶⁹ The 1908 text of the "Scout oath" says: "Before he becomes a scout a boy must take the scout's oath, thus: 'On my honour I promise that: 1. I will do my duty to God and the King. 2. I will do my best to help others, whatever it costs me. 3. I know the scout law, and will obey it'". (BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 36). The "Scout Law" text is: "1. A Scout's honour is to be trusted. 2. A Scout is loyal to the King, and to his officers, and to his country, and to his employers. 3. A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others. 4. A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what social class the other belongs. 5. A Scout is courteous. 6. A Scout is a friend to animals. 7. A Scout obeys orders of his patrol leader or scout master without question. 8. A Scout smiles and sings under all circumstances. 9. A Scout is thrifty". (BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 44-46). These two texts were amended several times in subsequent editions up until the end of the 1930s and excessively nationalist references were deleted (SICA, 2006: 16). See Section 1 of this chapter.

¹⁷⁰ "If the service which was required of the boys was for God, it was for the God of a multi-confessional and tolerant society; if loyalty to the King was asked for, it was faithfulness to a monarch who reigned rather than governed". NAGY, 1967: 17.

¹⁷¹ JEAL, 2001: 413-414; WONESCH, 1999.

learning are considerable: the importance of the role of the leader, the formation of the individual's character through self-education, the child's taking on of responsibilities as an educational tool, respect for nature linked to the idea of transcendental creation, social involvement, tolerance, understanding and willingness to help, whether individually or as part of a global movement.

(b) Secondly, and closely related to the grafting of active learning currents, we find that Baden-Powell places an increasing emphasis on the need for adolescents to develop their own personal criteria, in contrast to blind obedience. World Scouting explicitly stressed that its role was not to instruct the masses, like the army did, but to form the individual's character¹⁷², a topic that I will discuss in Chapter 5. Thus, the apolitical nature of Scouting's proposal meant independence from – rather than absence of – criteria on public life.

(c) Thirdly, Scouting's international vocation emerges in parallel to its geographical expansion across the British Empire. While Parsons (2004) has already shown how the creation of Scout delegations in British dominions was initially designed to maintain loyalty to the Empire, this same expansion took place in many other countries where, even before 1912, associations imitating the early British Scouting model were set up, from Chile to Denmark, the United States, Russia, Brazil, France, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Malaysia and Singapore¹⁷³. According to Sica (2006: 17), the international expansion of the Scouting project and the impact of World War I are what trigger Baden-Powell's "internationalist conversion". The result of this conversion was the disappearance of the idea of cultural or national superiority and the appearance of the explicit statement that loyalty to one's own country was inseparable from brotherhood between countries and that, as a result, there could be no discrimination on grounds of class (as established in 1908), race or origin.

(d) The fourth and last stage in the transformation of the ideology and aims of Scouting in its early years was its commitment to peace. Not a single document on or reference to World Scouting since its formalization in 1920 casts the slightest shadow of a doubt over the notion that peace is the chief aim of the movement

¹⁷² "The aim of Scouting training is to improve the standard of our future citizenhood, especially in Character and Health; to replace Self with Service, to make the lads individually efficient, morally and physically, with the object of using that efficiency for service for their fellow-men" (BADEN-POWELL, [1919] 1949: 33-34). One of Baden-Powell's biggest critics, Michael Rosenthal (1984), concludes from the analysis of the Scout Law and Promise of the first edition (1908) of *Scouting for Boys* that the aim was not to develop the individual, "except as that development is seen as a product of absolute submission to all officially endorsed forms of authority". In contrast, we only need to read Baden-Powell's 1912 article in the *Headquarters Gazette* of the Boy Scouts Association UK, 'The Other Fellow's Point of View', to see that he regarded the need for personal criteria as far more important than simply accepting the official political or religious discourse: "[...] 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". BADEN-POWELL, 1912: 162.

¹⁷³ WOSM, 1990.

through the communal education of diverse countries: the idea of universal Scouting brotherhood. The impact of World War I proved decisive for the adoption of this stance, but so did the informal international dimension that Scouting had taken on before 1920. Thus, the explicit, militant commitment of Baden-Powell to the internationalist project of the League of Nations, with the opposition of the conservative figures on the Committee of the Council of the Boy Scouts Association UK¹⁷⁴ is possibly the first important precedent for the friction between two often conflicting interests in Scouting: the interests of patriotism – which did not always fit in with the early British liberal-democratic idea in other countries – and the interests of cosmopolitanism – on which the 1920 World Scouting proposal was based. In fact, the cultural nationalism that characterized British Scouting¹⁷⁵ could already be seen in the Scouting idea in the respective countries even before World Scouting was organized. The fact that Scout associations were set up in many countries on the basis of the early British model long before 1920 created the paradox that both visions are based on texts written over the years by Baden-Powell. As a result, throughout this thesis, I stress the importance of keeping in mind the positions and practices of the world organizations after their creation in 1920, since these do not contain the contradictions we come across in some cases.

3.2. Values to Perpetuate Society vs. Values to Transform Society

The British Scouting formalized in 1909 with the Boy Scouts Association adopted the values from *Scouting for Boys* that were aimed at “good citizenship”, which essentially meant active and socially acceptable behaviour, based on “good turns” – a Scout is active in doing good, not passive in being good¹⁷⁶. If we look, for example, at the book’s reference that there be no millionaires or people living in poverty, an example of socialist thinking, we see that this is offset against the liberal fear that socialism could make life a form of slavery for everybody¹⁷⁷. Thus, his conclusion reveals a certain caution that was appreciated by those who defended the established order: “It is easy to pull down; the difficulty is to do so without damage to the country. We ought to begin by building up on a sounder foundation before destroying the old”¹⁷⁸. The four big changes described above in Baden-Powell’s pre-1920 thinking – active education, individual criteria, international expansion and peace – generated a series of referents in practice for

¹⁷⁴ “In the 1920’s the Committee included such members as the Earl of Meath, head of the Duty and Discipline movement and founder of the Empire Day; the Earl was determined to oppose any internationalist leanings within the Movement that went beyond some harmless phraseology. In the beginning this conservative faction even criticised the idea of a world Jamboree. ... In particular, they opposed ties with the British League of Nations Union, on the grounds that it was a ‘political organisation’”. SICA, 2006: 24-25.

¹⁷⁵ “Scouting emphasized physical fitness and practical skills with a sense of national history, tradition, and British identity, aiming to aid British imperial goals by strengthening the ideological commitment of its young people”. HEATHORN and GREENSPOON, 2006: 92; see also PRYKE, 1998.

¹⁷⁶ In his influential *Aids to Scoutmastership*, for Scoutmasters, Baden-Powell ([1919] 1949: 88) explains it thus: “A Scout is active in doing good, not passive in being good”. The reference to citizenship is also made explicit: “Citizenship has been defined briefly as ‘active loyalty to the community’. In a free country it is easy, and not unusual, to consider oneself a good citizen by being a law-abiding man, doing your work and expressing your choice in politics, sports, or activities, ‘leaving it to George’ to worry about the nation’s welfare. This is passive citizenship. But passive citizenship is not enough to uphold in the world the virtues of freedom, justice and honour. Only active citizenship will do”. (BADEN-POWELL, [1919] 1949: 34)

¹⁷⁷ JEAL, 2001: 413.

¹⁷⁸ BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 298.

the improvement of society that went far beyond merely doing good turns. The idea that no country, race, culture or religion is superior to another¹⁷⁹ and observance of the ideals of the League of Nations left no room for neutrality on expansionist nationalism, racial discrimination or religious fanaticism. The role of the two world organizations was crucial here in preventing these tendencies, present in many countries at diverse points in their contemporary history, from being incorporated into the corresponding Scout or Guide association.

Many of the thirty or so countries that met in London in 1920 to agree on the creation of the Boy Scouts International Bureau had, emulating the British association, been given the explicit support of their supreme state institutions, thus combining apoliticism with institutional loyalty. Just as King Edward VII was patron of the Boy Scouts Association of the UK, in many countries, this position was held by the head of state: the monarchy in Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and Spain; the president of the Republic in Italy and the United States, and the governors of the Empire in the British colonies. This is still the model in place today, as explained in WOSM's document on Governance: "notwithstanding the independence of the National Scout Organisations, in many cases national authorities play a relevant role in Scouting, and the Head of State is often recognized as the Patron of local Scouting in a country"¹⁸⁰. Even in modern South Africa, where Scouting was introduced as a colonial instrument and was internationally conflictive during apartheid, President Nelson Mandela agreed to be the patron in 1994¹⁸¹. Nonetheless, the protection of state institutions did not change Baden-Powell's idea of an independent, self-regulated and voluntary Scouting, whether as regards the public schooling system or the massive resources invested by Fascist countries around Europe (Germany, Italy and Spain) in indoctrinating youth movements, having suppressed the existing ones – including Scouting¹⁸². The official protection that Scout associations had and continue to have in many countries adds an interesting aspect to their goal of global citizenship. Like the League of Nations, World Scouting was consolidated by a permanent combination of national loyalty and a clear sense of global belonging.

For Parsons (2004: 7), Scouting became a global institution because its values of upholding socio-political stability were flexible enough to maintain the established political order in each country through alliances with the legitimate institutions of authority, allowing social values and norms to prevail without overstepping the limits. This goal of stability is explicit in the resolution of the International Scout Conference on the Scout Promise, approved in 1931, in which "[t]he Conference desires to make it clear that in the Scout's Promise, the promise of duty "to my country" means duty to the constituted authority of the country concerned"¹⁸³. One of the most problematic aspects of citizenship education is knowing precisely how far we should encourage submission to the authority of political structures and institutions or, to put it another way, knowing when we should start to question this

¹⁷⁹ BADEN-POWELL, 2006: 59-61.

¹⁸⁰ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 13.

¹⁸¹ PARSONS, 2004: 256.

¹⁸² JEAL, 2001: 545.

¹⁸³ WOSM, 1985: 9 (Resolution 9/31).

authority. In turn-of-the-century England, the system of checks and balances that characterized its political structure took it for granted that democracy did not mean giving a *carte blanche* to the government to do as it pleased, that it had to account for its actions. The idea behind the first edition of *Scouting for Boys*, with its Scout "Law and Promise" explicitly requiring loyalty to the king, would appear to defend the established order and status quo.

The Scout Law also explains that a Scout is a "brother to every other Scout, no matter to what country, class or creed the other may belong". Parsons (2004: 5-7) points out that the colonial officials introduced Scouting to the colonies in the belief that point 2 of the Scout Law ("A Scout is loyal to the King...") would encourage the loyalty of African youths. In practice, however, point 4 ("A Scout is a brother to every other Scout...") became the key to African resistance to social discrimination. However, Parsons mistakenly considers point 2 of the Scout Law to be more important than point 4 in the early Scout proposal, and this was certainly the case for the colonial officials and the men who supported Scouting in England and many other countries. But can it not be said that, to some extent, those who saw Scouting as a movement of order underestimated the consequences of the deeply egalitarian content of its message?

The liberal-democratic background to the concept of citizenship in Scouting actually ended up sparking contradictions in discrimination and authoritarianism, both in the British colonies and in other countries. In a 1936 article on Scouting in South Africa, for example, Baden-Powell explains that, in a society totally segregated into black, Indian and white races¹⁸⁴, "our policy of Scouting being open to all "regardless of class, creed, or colour" was found to be impossible in practice", but the attempt of one sector to make Scouting for whites only was impeded and a federation was set up with three branches, one for each ethnic group, with a view to abolishing segregation in the future¹⁸⁵. The values of Scouting have thus become values of social transformation in that they have been adapted to societies other than the British context and adopted by sectors of resistance to the established order, whether on issues such as national identity or anti-colonialism, opposition to dictatorships, assertion of the civil rights of ethnic groups, assertion of gender equality or opposition to the discrimination of homosexuals in the United States¹⁸⁶.

Modern and contemporary history has shown that values and the acquisition of social rights once seen as revolutionary have come to be seen as normal now:

¹⁸⁴ "You who know South Africa can realise – in a way impossible for anyone who has not lived there – the intense feeling which prevails on the colour question. For various reasons it has been far more acute here than in other countries. ... So altogether "colour" of one shade or another has been an ever-increasingly important element for the future of South Africa". Baden-Powell, 1936: 370).

¹⁸⁵ The article concludes that "one cannot help looking forward and hoping that this comradeship of the Scout and Guide movement will contribute to an improved mutual relationship between the different elements in the population and so tend to bring about the unity necessary for making an united South African people in the future" (BADEN-POWELL, 1936: 368, 370, 371). See also WALTON, 1937: 479.

¹⁸⁶ See PARSONS, 2004, on anti-colonialism and civil rights; IHLE, 1993, on German Scouting's struggle against the Nazi dictatorship; BALCELLS and SAMPER, 1993, on the opposition of Catalan Scouting to Franco's regime in Spain; KROONENBERG, 1998, on resistance to the prohibition of Scouting in Soviet regimes; VERGA and CAGNONI, 2002, on Italian Scouting's resistance in Lombardy prior to 1945; APPLEBOME, 2003: 234-252, and ZEIGER, 2005: 23-25, on the nonconformism of members of Boy Scouts of America to the organization's homosexual discrimination policy.

firstly, we have the moral phase of the utopian socialists and initiatives of Victorian charity; secondly, social mobilizations led by workers' movements, not exempt from important social conflicts, and lastly, the phase of political reforms, in which the modern parties institutionalized social rights and, particularly in Europe, created the welfare state. Scouting emerged during the phase of social mobilizations and perhaps this is why it was very cautious with anything that could generate conflict: a Scout had to be above class divisions and, in consequence, above the class struggle. This does not contradict the fact that, as I explained earlier, Baden-Powell was sympathetic to socialist ideals. However, when the USSR decided to outlaw Scouting shortly after the Russian Revolution of 1917 and replace it with the Pioneers – with the same aesthetic and methodological elements¹⁸⁷ – Baden-Powell turned against communism¹⁸⁸. The USSR's decision to ban Scouting, which was followed by all communist regimes during the twentieth century, meant that Scout associations after World War II were clearly on the opposite side to communism, underlining the concept of freedom. A document published jointly by the Scout and Guide associations of the United Kingdom in 1951, "A Challenge to Scouting: The Menace of Communism", advised their members to fend off the attack of communism on religious faith and the established order. Nonetheless, the conclusions also left room for philosophical and socialist thinking, like that of early Scouting documents:

"We must also be passionately concerned with the well-being of the people of our country. Whether we belong to a political party or whether we do not, we must fight against all injustice, cruelty and selfish indifference to the needs of others. Not only is this God's will for His people, but if we do not do so, we shall help the seeds of Communism to grow, for their propaganda has more opportunity where there is injustice and oppression"¹⁸⁹.

In addition to its rejection of totalitarianism in communist regimes, World Scouting's idea of citizenship was influenced by two major issues after World War II. Firstly, after the creation of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted¹⁹⁰ in 1948. And secondly, there was a concern that the argument of neutrality had allowed the rise of totalitarian movements like Nazism, as occurred in the 1930s. The latter is perhaps the main criticism of the Scout movement made by Herbert Lewin (1947b), the New-York psychologist who studied the indoctrination of the Hitler Youth and compared it to the citizenship education model of US Scouting:

"The advocacy of "neutrality" and "non-partisanship" deprives the Scout movement of its full effectiveness as an educational force not only in the national but in the international sphere as well. Scouting advocates the brotherhood of man and good will among all people of the earth. ... Yet, in the field of international understanding too, Scouting relies on individual virtues, on moral sentiments rather than on the proposal of social change"¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁷ CHARQUES, 1932: 506.

¹⁸⁸ JEAL, 2001: 544-547.

¹⁸⁹ The Boy Scouts Association, 1951: 9.

¹⁹⁰ *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: United Nations General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948 (<http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>).

¹⁹¹ LEWIN, 1947b: 172. As I will explain later, Lewin (1947a) makes it clear that there is a big difference between Scouting, which educates in freedom, and the Hitler Youth, which indoctrinated through obedience. Professor Farrell (1998, 2001) concurs with him and states that, based on his knowledge of

Hence, there were many interpretations of the concept of “active citizenship”, particularly in non-democratic societies, and even the potential for manipulation. What was the role of Scouting in Austria when it was annexed to Nazi Germany, or in the Fascist regimes of Mussolini in Italy or Franco in Spain? What were the Catalan Scouts, outlawed by Franco’s regime, to do when the Catalan institutions of self-government were abolished and their language banned? What was the role of Scouts in countries where racial discrimination was legally established? What happened when Scout leaders led the independence processes during decolonization? What were the options for an “active citizen” in Colombia: to side with the guerrillas and fight injustice or to side with the army and defend the established regime? What were the Argentinean Scouts to do when active citizens disappeared during dictatorial repression?

The answers to these questions are as diverse as the situations they are asked about. The position of the world organizations, after the exceptions of recognizing Russia and Armenia in exile, was not to recognize Scout associations as members in countries where it was not allowed, though contact was maintained if they existed illegally. Individually, each Scout acted on the basis of his/her own understanding of “active citizenship”. Associations did not have a consistent role either. In the Fascist Spain of the 1940s, for example, while Spanish Scouting sought to connive with the regime, the illegalized Catalan Scouting organized itself to resist it¹⁹², as was also the case in Italy¹⁹³. On a similar note, the Consejo Directivo de Scouts de Argentina recently made a statement harshly condemning the dictatorship of the 1970s and inviting its members to organize activities to recover the collective historical memory and celebrate the democratic system¹⁹⁴. In decolonization, on the other hand, as Parsons (2004) has shown with Africa and Nagy (1967, 1985) has explained, Scouting played a key role as an instrument of social construction: infrastructures, collective identity, nation-building, national elites, etc.

The constitutional amendment approved by WOSM in 1977¹⁹⁵ added the concept of “responsible citizen” to the purpose of the Scout Movement, a step beyond that of “active” citizen in assuming that responsible citizens have the ability to analyse, apply their own criteria and distinguish what is positive from what is negative. It also explicitly stated that the reference communities of this responsible citizenship

Canadian Scouting, the educational action of Scouting is essential for generating civic values in children and young people, complementing that which takes place at school.

¹⁹² BALCELLS and SAMPER, 1993: 137-138.

¹⁹³ VERGA and CAGNONI, 2002.

¹⁹⁴ “Los Scouts de Argentina (...) adherimos a la conmemoración del trigésimo aniversario del último golpe de estado, que quebrantó las instituciones de la República e instaló en nuestro país la dictadura más sangrienta de la historia nacional, mediante la aplicación sistemática del terror estatal y de brutales métodos de exterminio y proscripción, que necesitan un claro pronunciamiento de la Justicia para terminar con la impunidad de los victimarios. Dictadura que implementó, además, un proyecto económico, político y social atentatorio contra la democracia y contra los intereses fundamentales de la Nación y del pueblo argentinos. Proyecto cuyas gravísimas consecuencias aún hoy seguimos padeciendo, con altísimos niveles de desocupación, con más de la mitad de la población bajo la línea de la pobreza, con generaciones de argentinos con deficiencias de desarrollo intelectual y físico por la pobreza estructural (...)”. ‘A 30 años del último golpe de Estado’, statement by the Consejo Directivo de Scouts de Argentina, 24th March 2006.

¹⁹⁵ “Document 2: ‘The Purpose, Principles and Method of the Scout Movement’. Proposed revision of present Chapter II of the World Constitution. 26th World Scout Conference” (Montreal, Canada, 1977: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1977.

were local, national and international. These two concepts are now set down in the constitutional purpose of World Scouting, for both WOSM and WAGGGS¹⁹⁶.

3.3. Global Citizenship

The cooperation to development was introduced as part of the strategic action of World Scouting in the 1970s, in the light of the new world stage resulting from decolonization (with many new World Scouting member countries) and the progressive 'globalization' of Scouting, i.e. an increased understanding of it as a movement of global action through local action. The introduction of development cooperation closed the conceptual local-global circle of social involvement that began with the "good turn" in 1908. Hence, the concept of social involvement in World Scouting came to consist of four progressive lines that mark out a logic of service to the community with actions from local to global level:

- Community service
- Community development
- Development education
- Cooperation for development¹⁹⁷.

However, Scouting is essentially an educational movement, so cooperation and other actions organized by groups locally and associations nationally must be seen as educational tools. Nevertheless, World Scouting is not exempt from the increased involvement of international NGOs and associations in the global agenda. During the 1990s, many international NGOs that had traditionally adopted a cautious stance of apoliticism began to play a more active public role, particularly because of the impetus of diverse United Nations summits held in this decade, including those on the environment (Rio, 1992), human rights (Vienna, 1993), population (Cairo, 1994), social development (Copenhagen, 1995), women (Beijing, 1995), and the respective 'parallel summits' organized by international movements of civil society¹⁹⁸. The organization of the World Social Forum by diverse international NGOs, held for the first time in Porto Alegre (Brazil) in 2001 as a response to the World Economic Forum in Davos, is an example of this.

The positions of WAGGGS and WOSM on the issue have changed substantially over the last ten years. In the mid-1990s, there were initiatives by Jacques Moreillon and Lesley Bulman, then the top executives of WOSM and WAGGGS¹⁹⁹, to create an alliance with other top executives to adopt a public stance in favour of non-formal education. The result was the document 'The Education of Young People: A

¹⁹⁶ "The purpose of the Scout Movement is to contribute to the development of young people in achieving their full physical, intellectual, social and spiritual potentials as individuals, as responsible citizens and as members of their local, national and international communities" (WOSM, 1983: Article 1.2.); "the aim of the Girl Guide/Girl Scout Movement ... is to provide girls and young women with opportunities for self- training in the development of character, responsible citizenship and service in their own and world communities". (WAGGGS, 1999: Article 3: Object [of the World Association], b)).

¹⁹⁷ "It is our challenge to take up the task and prepare our young people to be involved citizens, whether in their local, national or international communities. This requires a vision which is deeply rooted in their immediate environment but which goes far beyond". 'Community Involvement Resource Pack', The Europe Office, WAGGGS and the European Region of the World Scout Bureau, 1989: 2-3.

¹⁹⁸ ANHEIER, GLASIUS and KALDOR, 2001: 171-174.

¹⁹⁹ Jacques Moreillon, Secretary General of WOSM from 1988 to 2004; Lesley Bulman, Executive Director of WAGGGS from 1997 to 2006.

Statement at the Dawn of the 21st Century²⁰⁰, which was followed by documents on national youth policies (1999), girls and young females (2001), the situation in Africa (2003) and the participation of young people (2005)²⁰¹. Technically speaking, these documents were not signed by the organizations; they were statements made by their CEOs. Moreover, the model of an alliance with diverse organizations not only reinforced the public image, it also reduced possible apprehension at a statement coming exclusively from World Scouting. Nevertheless, the changes did not end here. There was a feeling that, in the words of Lesley Bulman in 2006,

"although we have done a lot for girls and young women over the years, we have concentrated very much on the project element – in some safeish areas. We have not really been an advocate in the full sense of the term for girls and young women. And we certainly haven't spoken out publicly on their behalf. In fact, nine years ago I was told very clearly by the Chairman [of the World Board] that we were not an advocacy²⁰² organisation"²⁰³.

What has changed in such a short time? For Bulman, the main change has been that the member organizations want the world organization to do more in situations of injustice around the world.

"In the past, even recent past, WAGGGS was a much more conservative – even fearful – organisation. We did not want to 'rock the boat' – we were afraid of being seen as 'political' – we did not want to upset cultures and traditions – even if they were being actively harmful to girls and young women. This is what has changed"²⁰⁴.

WAGGGS' stance has been boosted by a thus far unheard-of initiative: a direct survey to over 6,000 girls and young female WAGGGS members in one hundred different countries, the results of which led to the 2005 world campaign "Girls Worldwide Say", an overt advocacy campaign²⁰⁵.

WAGGGS defines advocacy as "taking a stand and putting pressure on those who can bring about change and help built a better world", and illustrates how Guiding and female Scouting carries out advocacy in three ways:

"–Speaking up on issues that affect girls and young women and influencing opinion-formers;

²⁰⁰ Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1997.

²⁰¹ Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005.

²⁰² The term 'advocacy' in citizens' organizations refers to the pressure that these organizations bring to bear on institutions, governments and corporations to change their behaviour, based on the public interest and not on the private interests of the members of the organization. SKOCPOL, 2003: 142-144.

²⁰³ 'Why advocacy?' Lesley Bulman's speech to the WAGGGS advocacy working group in London, May 2006. Archive of the Chief Executive of WAGGGS.

²⁰⁴ "Many member organisations that in the past have been quite nervous about speaking out on controversial issues are now asking WAGGGS to be more vocal on many issues. They are confronting HIV and AIDS – this involves many member organisations tackling sex and related subjects that in the past would have been taboo – or certainly would have made them very nervous. Even such sensitive subjects as FGM [female genital mutilation] are being tackled by some member organisations. I felt really proud at the last World Board meeting when the statement on HIV and AIDS which states quite clearly that we believe that girls need access to all the information available on HIV-AIDS prevention – condoms, the lot, – was passed unanimously". *Ibid*.

²⁰⁵ The responses to this huge survey discussed mainly health issues, of which seven were chosen: "fight AIDS"; "make healthy food choices"; "prevent adolescent pregnancy"; "it is important to talk about sex"; "let's talk about the danger of drugs"; "ban smoking in public places"; and "discover your potential". An example of how this advocacy campaign was organized is WAGGGS' public stance of supporting agreements made by diverse governments to ban smoking in public places, indicating that 83% of the 6,000 girls surveyed agreed with the initiative and asked for compliance with the World Health Organization Framework Convention on Tobacco Control.

"-Doing projects that address root causes of issues affecting girls and young women;
"-Educating girls, young women and society at large in areas such as leadership, nutrition, peace and world citizenship"²⁰⁶.

WOSM's attitude towards advocacy is also changing, though not as overtly as WAGGGS. In 2004, the worldwide *Scouts of the World* project was launched²⁰⁷ to encourage young people all over the world to get involved in achieving the Millennium Goals of the United Nations in 2000. In early 2005, strict criteria were established for working with corporate partners and WOSM explained that it would not allow partnerships with organizations whose actions conflicted with the principles of WOSM²⁰⁸. Moreover, a recent press document issued by the World Scout Bureau explains how the social impact of Scouting is two-fold, with "global advocacy" and "local action", and mentions the possibility of launching some form of advocacy initiative in the future:

"The World Scout Bureau has never launched a worldwide campaign that is automatically taken up at local level. Similarly, no local initiative involves major campaigns at world level. And yet, without wishing to change WOSM's nature, one could imagine that, just as the NGO community takes action to support the recognition of a global cause, e.g. women's rights on Women's Day, the entire Scout Movement could take action on a specific day for a specific cause"²⁰⁹.

It is still too early to gauge the effects of this change in the public stance of WOSM and WAGGGS as world organizations, but they continue to stress the idea that Scouting's concept of citizenship education includes duties extending beyond national ties and obligations, and affect the entire human community: that is a global citizenship education.

²⁰⁶ *Advocacy Guidelines* document, WAGGGS, 2007.

²⁰⁷ Circular 33/2004, World Scout Bureau, November 2004.

²⁰⁸ Circular 4/2005, World Scout Bureau, January 2005.

²⁰⁹ 'Scouting's Social Impact: 28 million young people are changing the world'. Presspack, Doc No. 3, Version 31.05.2006. WOSM press document: World Scout Bureau.

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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CHAPTER 3. IDEOLOGICAL CONSISTENCY

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INTRODUCTION

The ideological consistency of World Scouting, both now and since its creation in 1920, is afforded by three main factors. The first one is the accurate definition of the elements that make up the principles and organizational characteristics of the Scout Movement. We must not forget that this movement covers an extremely diverse range of cultures, so we cannot overlook the problems caused by linguistic plurality, which still exists today, with the resulting difficulties in translating concepts and differences in cultural understandings of ideas and ways of operating. The second factor is its organizational and decision-making system – essentially democratic across the world and with a network format that only allows major joint initiatives to be developed through participation and not through hierarchical transfer. And the third factor is the recognition policy, i.e. the system established to determine who forms part of the world Scouting network and who does not, based on both its principles and its organizational characteristics. This gives Scouting a certain ideological consistency – though not uniformity – in its diversity.

These three factors are going to be analysed in this chapter. In Section 1, I will analyse the basic features of Scouting, which are a combination of its principles (values and methodology) and its definition of association. My analysis looks at both World Scouting organizations (WAGGGS and WOSM) and shows that their basic features are the same in practice. Section 2 describes the structure and operation of World Scouting, from local to global level, and highlights the difference between the apparent organization of the structure and the networked dynamics of its actual operation. Finally, Section 3 will analyse the policy of recognizing World

Scouting and how membership is decided. In particular, the analysis will pinpoint loopholes in the recognition policy and explain the three main factors in splits and some well-known cases of these. Lastly, it will propose a new typological categorization for associations that call themselves Scouts but that do not form part of World Scouting, towards their potential recognition.

1. ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The basic elements on which the unity of World Scouting is founded are, on the one hand, its purpose, principles, and method (together termed the '*Fundamentals*') and on the other, its definition. Since the formalization of World Scouting in 1920, both the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) have established that the fundamental principles are those expressed in the text of the '*Scout Law*' and the '*Scout Promise*'. In 1977, however, the World Scout Conference modified the WOSM Constitution by incorporating a clear definition of the purpose, principles, and method¹ as a modern formulation of the '*fundamentals*'. The establishing of these three elements is based on the example of the United Nations Charter, Chapter 1 of which explains its '*Purposes and Principles*'. To be more specific, the three elements of World Scouting's *fundamentals* cover 1) why it exists (purpose); 2) what the ethical rules that govern its existence are (principles), and 3) how it will achieve its objective (method). In 1992, WOSM expanded on this part of the constitutional text in a document called '*Fundamental Principles*'².

While the *fundamentals* cover the ideological elements of the organization, the definition covers its characteristics: independence, non-partisanship, voluntary nature, and non-discrimination. It has often been said that the principles or, more generally, the *fundamentals*, are what separate Scouting from what it is not. Nonetheless, this approach fails to take into account the elements of the definition, which are as or more important than the *fundamentals* in this respect: government control or a lack of independence, partisanship, compulsion, or discrimination³ have been reason enough to suspend the recognition of a Scout association by the world organization. As part of the process to define its mission, in 1998, WOSM drafted a document to help with the formulation of the mission statement, entitled *The Essential Characteristics of Scouting*⁴ which was based on its Constitution and offered "for the first time, a compact but comprehensive overview of the key elements which characterize our Movement"⁵. To all effects, this document is the combination of WOSM's definition and *fundamentals* – purpose, principles, and method. Therefore, on the basis of this document and the WAGGGS Constitution, I call the combination of all of these elements, in both WOSM and WAGGGS, the essential characteristics of World Scouting.

¹ "Document 2: 'The Purpose, Principles and Method of the Scout Movement'. Proposed revision of present Chapter II of the World Constitution. 26th World Scout Conference" (Montreal, Canada, 1977: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1977.

² WOSM, 1992.

³ I will describe some cases of discrimination later, in the "Incoherent practices" section of Chapter 5.

⁴ WOSM, 1998: 1.

⁵ "Document 5: 'Developing a Mission Statement for Scouting'. 35th World Scout Conference" (Durban, South Africa, 1999: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1999.

World Scouting takes on a number of forms because it adapts to the social context of each country and culture. These essential characteristics therefore represent the common denominator that allows us to talk of the world movement as a single subject, since all member organizations must comply with these characteristics.

1.1. Definition

World Scouting is an educational movement for young people that is non-partisan, voluntary, and open to everybody regardless of origin, nationality, race, or creed. Its aim is to educate individuals as citizens on the basis of shared principles and its own method. The movement is formalized into two international organizations: the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS). This definition is based on a combination of those given by the two organizations. According to WOSM's definition in its Constitution, adopted in 1977 by the World Scout Conference⁶,

"The Scout Movement is a voluntary non-political educational movement for young people open to all without distinction of origin, race or creed, in accordance with the purpose, principles and method conceived by the Founder and stated below"⁷.

WAGGGS contemplates similar elements in its Constitution, when it discusses the membership criteria for member associations:

"A Member of the World Association shall be a National Organization which: (...) (c) Has a membership which is: *i.* voluntary; *ii.* open to all girls and young women without distinction of creed, race, nationality, or any other circumstance; (d) is self-governing, with freedom to formulate its policy and put it into practice; (e) is independent of any political organization and any political party"⁸.

The two definitions combined have eight elements – movement, independent/self-regulated, institutionally organized, educational, for young people, non-partisan, voluntary, open to everybody; taken together⁹ these describe World Scouting in all its complexity and set it apart from other civil society organizations in individual countries or on a global scale.

First of all, however, I should briefly explain why I start from the premise that this is one movement with two organizations. In the twelve years prior to 1920, during which Scouting grew from being a simple methodological idea to becoming an institutionalized and international movement, it was formalized in Great Britain through two organizations: the *Boy Scouts Association* and the *Girl Guides Association*, both founded and chaired by Robert Baden-Powell. This model was replicated in the 1920s when the two world organizations were established. In the preface to his *Aids to Scoutmastership* (1919), however, Baden-Powell explained that the two organizations were based on the same principles:

"The term "Scouting" has come to mean a system of training in citizenship, through games, for boys and girls". (...) "The training is needed for both sexes, and is

⁶ "Document 2: 'The Purpose, Principles and Method of the Scout Movement'. Proposed revision of present Chapter II of the World Constitution. 26th World Scout Conference" (Montreal, Canada, 1977: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1977.

⁷ WOSM, 1983: Article 1.1. I will describe the principles and method referred to in the text later on.

⁸ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1: Criteria of Membership.

⁹ "It should be noted at the outset that it is not possible to express all aspects of the Scout Movement in one independent statement". WOSM, 1992.

imparted through the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Movements. The principles are the same for both. It is only in the details that they vary"¹⁰.

Because of the confusion between the terms 'movement' and 'organization', which I will deal with later in this section, Scouting and Guiding have often been referred to as two separate movements. The specific aim of Guiding to promote the role of women – a more contemporary aim – has also reinforced the idea that it is a different movement. However, it is often seen by society as one movement with two organizations¹¹ and a single term has been used in many countries to cover both: 'Scout' in English (also adopted by many other languages), *escolta* in Catalan, *éclaireur* in French, and *pfadfinder* in German. WOSM now has 155 national associations and WAGGGS has 144 and, of these, 34 are members of both organizations. Moreover, WAGGGS member associations in many countries use the word 'Scout' in their name, including Girl Scouts of the USA, which makes up 44% of the WAGGGS census. This vision of a single movement with two organizations is coherent with WOSM's definition of "movement":

"(...) a movement such as Scouting refers to a group of people who share a number of ideals and the desire to achieve actively a common purpose which unites them and to which they are all committed; usually this is accomplished through some type of organization and structure"¹².

I consider WOSM and WAGGGS together to be a single movement, World Scouting, because both organizations were founded by the same person based on the same principles, the purpose of both is to educate youths to become responsible citizens through non-partisanship, they combine national membership with the consciousness of global citizenship, and they are structured as independent, self-governing, democratic organizations with voluntary membership.

a) Movement

World Scouting is first and foremost a movement. Robert Baden-Powell's early writings indicate a certain reluctance to formalize it into an organization¹³: This reluctance never really disappeared, even after the creation of the British association (1909-10) and world organizations (1922-28), and is the reason why the concept of Scouting as a 'movement' has greater force today than the concept of Scouting as an 'association'. According to Nagy, although Baden-Powell's hatred of bureaucracy held him back in the creation of a world organization, he realized that coordination was the key to ensuring that the Scout "name" was not used for corrupt or, worse still, damaging programmes¹⁴.

The concept of 'Scout Movement' – and its synonym 'Scouting' – is therefore used to define what is involved in the 'activity' carried out by millions of boys and girls

¹⁰ BADEN-POWELL, [1919] 1949: 7.

¹¹ "For the general public, there [1970s] was only one form of Scouting – B.P.'s. They are fairly indifferent to the fact that boys and girls are affiliated in separate movements each having their own independent organization" (Nagy, 1985: 159).

¹² WOSM, 1998:19.

¹³ An unreferenced quotation from Baden-Powell backs up this point: "First I had an idea. Then I saw an ideal. Now we have a Movement, and if some of you don't watch out we shall end up just an organization". Quoted in WOSM, 1998: 20.

¹⁴ NAGY, 1985: 82.

around the world with a set of shared values, and not to define the organizational and legal corpus that supports this movement:

"The word *Movement* means a series of organized activities working towards an objective. A movement thus implies both an objective to be achieved and some type of organization to ensure this"¹⁵.

This distinction between '*movement*' and '*organization*' is very significant because it suggests that Scouting could ideally exist without the need for an organization, as was the case in many countries, particularly before the world organization was created. The distinction is also made in order to underline the fact that the organization is subject to the movement, not the other way around.

In fact, the name of the *Boy-Scouts International Bureau*, which was established in 1922, was not changed to 'World Organization of the Scout Movement' until 1973. The name used up to that point suggests that the organization had a low profile because the real subject was the '*movement*' – made up of those who participated in it – regardless of whether there was a world office or *bureau* that acted as its permanent secretariat¹⁶. Nonetheless, the combination of '*movement*' and '*organization*' adds to its intensity because it gives Scouting the flexibility of movements while affording it the security of organizations. In its movement sense, Scouting has a very significant margin when it comes to implementing the lines of the world and national organizations at local level. Similarly, as a 'Scout organization', it maintains its principles and method over time, with occasional adaptations, which affords it stability.

b) Educational

The *Fundamental Principles* document stresses that for Scouting, education is "undoubtedly its essential characteristic"¹⁷, and adopts UNESCO's definition of education – "the process aiming at the total development of a person's capacities"¹⁸. The recreational activities carried out in Scouting are a means to an educational end, not an end in themselves. This means that Scouting is not a recreational movement.

In the early 1970s, UNESCO's International Commission on the Development of Education indicated that educational structures were becoming less formal, dismissing the general view that education takes place in a formal education system with the school as the central focus¹⁹. This is where the term "non-formal education" comes from, as distinguished from the other two types: formal and informal education. Through the first document of the Alliance of Youth CEOs, World Scouting adopted UNESCO's final development of these three types:

"*Formal education* is the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded, educational system running from primary through to tertiary institutions. *Informal education* is the process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience, such as from family, friends, peer groups, the media and other influences and factors in the person's environment. *Non-formal education* is

¹⁵ WOSM, 1992: 2.

¹⁶ NAGY, 1985: 158.

¹⁷ WOSM, 1992: 2

¹⁸ Quoted in WOSM, 1992: 2.

¹⁹ FAURE, 1972: 186-190. (Report of the UNESCO International Commission on the Development of Education).

organized educational activity outside the established formal system that is intended to serve an identifiable learning clientele with identifiable learning objectives"²⁰.

World Scouting falls into the category of non-formal education because the Scout Movement "is an organized institution having an educational aim and addressed at a predetermined public"²¹. Although World Scouting has in the past sometimes internally debated whether education should attempt to construct moral subjects or whether it should limit itself to the straightforward transfer of knowledge²², more recent statements by the two world organizations concur with the Delors report, which concludes that education is more than the process of acquiring knowledge and skills²³, a statement that I also agree with.

c) Independent and self-regulated

Precisely because it is a movement and because of its resulting flexibility and ability to adapt, Scouting needs to guarantee its independence from other organizations or agents to make sure that its unique identity and project are not weakened:

"Scouting, at all levels – local, national and international – has a *specific identity* based on its purpose, principles and method: it is a movement that exists to provide a *specific educational contribution to young people*; based on Scouting's *fundamentals*; which have been *internationally defined*; and which constitute the *unity* of the Movement. Scouting can succeed in fully achieving its educational purpose only if its specific identity is safeguarded. Any loss or diminution of this identity – through, for example, being too closely linked to or influenced by another organization or authority – will inevitably have a negative impact on the Movement. The Movement must, therefore, remain independent, with its own *sovereign decision-making authority* at all levels"²⁴.

The definition of independence is important given that Scouting grew up with the support of existing institutions such as schools, the YMCA, churches, or excursion centres. Thus, independence means that the principles of Scouting must always prevail over the principles of the supporting or host organization in order to prevent the cooperation from ending with the institution conditioning the operation or priorities of Scout activity. This is one of the main problems with the sponsor-organizations model of Boy Scouts of America, as I will explain in Chapter 5. Independence means not only not depending on private institutions, but also not depending on public institutions. Hence the emphasis on Scouting's self-governance, with "its own *sovereign decision-making authority* at all levels"²⁵. Just as member associations have to be independent both legally and in practice, the world organizations are the first to apply this requirement with an institutionalized democratic decision-making system.

d) Institutionally organized

As I said earlier, there is a crucial difference between the concept of the Scout Movement and the two world organizations into which it is structured. The movement consists of the millions of young people around the world who carry out

²⁰ Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1997: 6.

²¹ WOSM, 1992: 3.

²² NAGY, 1985: 142.

²³ DELORS, 1996.

²⁴ WOSM, 1998: 30.

²⁵ WOSM, 1998: 30.

educational activities with a shared purpose and method, while the organizations into which it is structured are the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), which serve to guarantee the unity of the movement.

An educational movement of this size, with its substantial flexibility and ability to adapt and a presence in such diverse and distant social and cultural contexts, needs to have a point of reference to establish the minimum requirements for forming part of it. This is one of the main functions of the movement's democratic institutional organization:

"What protects the Movement when it is threatened by outside forces is the fact that its nature and specific identity are internationally defined and agreed upon by all Scout associations. For example, challenges to the Movement's fundamental principles in any particular country can be defended on the basis of conditions of membership of the World Movement"²⁶.

This specific, internationally defined identity is protected by a strict member admissions system with a double filter: first of all, the World Bureau checks that candidates meet the criteria, and secondly, member organizations are approved at the respective world conferences²⁷. I have already mentioned a number of controversial cases in the Historical section where this authority was exercised.

e) For young people

The terms 'child' and 'youth' are unclear and sometimes interchangeable. In the definition of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 'child' means any person under the age of 18²⁸, but the United Nations definition of 'youth' leads us to a different conclusion (persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years)²⁹. Nonetheless, despite these definitions and the fact that both WOSM and WAGGGS leave the age range limits up to each national association, there can be no doubt that World Scouting has been since its beginning a movement designed essentially for adolescents (12-14 years).

The Scout Movement is also defined as a movement '*for young people*' to avoid the tendency of focusing on smaller children rather than older youths; this is a growing trend, particularly since the 1980s, when a number of associations introduced an educational stage below the '*Cub Scouts*' called '*Beavers*' (6-8 years). The reason for this prudence can be found in *The Essential Characteristics of Scouting*:

"The Scout Method is *not at all suited for children who are too young for it to work effectively*: too young, for example, to understand the concept of making a personal

²⁶ WOSM, 1998: 31.

²⁷ WOSM, 1983: Articles V, VI and VII; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V.

²⁸ "Definition of a child: Every person under 18, unless national law grants majority at an earlier age". Article 1, Declaration of the Rights of the Child, United Nations, 1989.

²⁹ "The United Nations General Assembly defined 'youth', as those persons falling between the ages of 15 and 24 years inclusive. This definition was made for International Youth Year, held around the world in 1985. By that definition, therefore, children are those persons under the age of 14. It is, however, worth noting that Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child defines 'children' as persons up to the age of 18. This was intentional, as it was hoped that the Convention would provide protection and rights to as large an age-group as possible and because there was no similar United Nations Convention on the Rights of Youth" (Youth at the United Nations, www.un.org/youth).

commitment to a code of conduct through a promise and law, or to exercise a leadership role within a small group"³⁰.

However, just because it is a movement *for* young people, it does not automatically follow that it is a movement *of* young people. Baden-Powell once said that Scouting was a youth movement in which adults served only as support, i.e. they were the educators and – even then – they were adults who could empathize strongly with adolescents. The biographer Tim Jeal notes that the best *Scoutmasters* for Baden-Powell were 'boy men', men with the minds of boys who, like the fictional *Peter Pan*, "never grew up", which means they had not lost their sense of imagination, adventure, and the typical enthusiasm of children. Hence, he used to say that *Scoutmasters* could connect with the imagination of the boys and develop a close involvement in their interests³¹.

In all events, the progressive institutionalization of the movement since its early days meant that it was run by adults. Even today, the board teams of national Scout and Guide associations in many countries are over the age of thirty³² and there are very few under this age; the same can be said of the regional and world committees of both WOSM and WAGGGS. In the light of this, the two organizations have launched initiatives to change the situation³³ and make the decision-making systems more democratic, with the commitment to make Scouting not only a movement *for* young people, but also *of* young people:

"Scouting is not just a movement for young people managed by adults only; it is also a movement of young people, supported by adults. Thus, the Scout Movement offers the potential for a learning community of young people and adults, working together in a partnership of enthusiasm and experience"³⁴.

f) Non-partisan

The political implications of World Scouting are one of the central points of this research. As Nagy pointed out, in Scouting, "[t]he avoidance of political involv[e]ment is still one of its fundamental principles. But it has proved to be more of a wish, or an idea than a reality"³⁵. The term used in the WOSM Constitution is "*non-political*"³⁶, amended, as I mentioned earlier, in 1973. For WOSM, "[a]s an educational movement, Scouting is non-political in the sense that it is not involved in the struggle for power which is the subject-matter of politics and which is usually reflected in the system of political parties"³⁷. The idea of the object of politics is therefore very restrictive: "the struggle for power".

³⁰ WOSM, 1998: 21.

³¹ In the words of JEAL (2001: 87), "very often the best scoutmasters, the 'boy-men' as he [BP] called them, feared growing up too and never entirely succeeded. Consequently they were capable of deep insights into the minds of their boys and of showing an intense sympathy with their interests".

³² In documents to encourage young people to take part in decision-making processes, both WOSM and WAGGGS have defined young people as "those under 30 years of age" (29th WAGGGS World Conference, Canada, 1996).

³³ "Policy on Involvement of Young Members in Decision-Making", WOSM, adopted by the 33rd World Scout Conference, 1993. *Young Women in Decision-Making*, policy adopted by the 90th Meeting of the WAGGGS World Board, January 1997.

³⁴ WOSM, 1998:22-23.

³⁵ NAGY, 1967: 15.

³⁶ WOSM, 1983: Article 1.1.

³⁷ WOSM, 1992: 2.

The indirect definition in the WAGGGS Constitution is much closer to the idea of 'non-partisan', in saying that "[a] Member of the World Association shall be a National Organization which: ... e) is independent of any political organization and any political party"³⁸. Recently, WOSM has started to use the term 'non-partisan'. A recent WOSM promotional leaflet stated that "[t]he World Organization of the Scout Movement is an independent, non-profit organization, serving its members. Scouting is a non-partisan Movement of volunteers operating through a worldwide network of local groups belonging to national scout organizations"³⁹.

The non-partisan connotations of the term '*non-political*' can be seen more clearly if we analyse – as I will later – the fundamental principles of the movement and look at Scouting's descriptions of the term. An example can be found in the *The Essential Characteristics of Scouting* document:

"The Scout Movement itself is a social reality and its aim is to help young people to develop as responsible individuals and as members of society. This civic education cannot take place in a vacuum, and the Movement must be able to defend the values it stands for and to create the best possible conditions for the type of education it advocates. Consequently, nothing prevents the Scout Movement from taking a stance on a certain number of issues such as, for example, the rights of children, provided that this is clearly related to its educational mission, is based upon its own Constitution and principles and is presented as such and not as part of the power struggle or partisan politics which the Scout Movement must transcend"⁴⁰.

Therefore, non-partisanship is more than just an element of its independence. It means that Scouting's education for citizenship cannot be used to help a political party in its struggle for power. We can understand this definition if we distinguish between party and national interests in England during the first quarter of the century. However, it is not so clear-cut in non-democratic countries, including those that have never had democracy and those where democracy was quashed by an offensive that brought in authoritarian rule. These cases, in which there is no competition between political parties, highlight the contradictions in the model, which implicitly presupposes a multi-party system.

g) Voluntary membership

One important characteristic of Scouting is its voluntary nature, by which its "members, in accepting the educational proposal made to them by their national association, adhere to the Movement of their own *free will*. There is no compulsion to join the Scout Movement or to remain a member"⁴¹. The importance of this voluntariness lies in the fact that it distinguishes Scouting from the formal educational system and from official movements with compulsory membership: with Scouting, both Scouts and Scoutmasters decide when they want to join and when they want to leave. In associations, the term 'voluntary' refers to more than open membership; it also has the meaning of being the opposite of 'paid work': unpaid. One definition of the term 'voluntary' can be found in the documents of the United Nations on volunteering:

³⁸ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1.

³⁹ "28 million young people are changing the world" leaflet, WOSM, 2005.

⁴⁰ WOSM, 1998: 28-29.

⁴¹ WOSM, 1998: 24.

"In these recommendations, the terms volunteering, volunteerism and voluntary activities refer to a wide range of activities, including traditional forms of mutual aid and self-help, formal service delivery and other forms of civic participation, undertaken of free will, for the general public good and where monetary reward is not the principal motivating factor"⁴².

The United Nations Volunteers offer a more accurate definition:

"For the purposes of this paper, volunteering is defined as an action that meets all three of the following criteria: (a) it is undertaken freely and without coercion; (b) it is undertaken for reasons other than financial gain; and (c) it is undertaken to benefit the community as well as the volunteer"⁴³.

The differentiation between volunteers who are not coerced and volunteers who are not paid is important in a context like Scouting, which can be understood as providing an "educational service". So Scouting also includes non-payment in its definition of "voluntary", saying that, "arising from the voluntary nature of the Scout Movement is that adults serving the Movement in a leadership capacity do so of their own accord, freely and willingly, *without being paid* for their services or time"⁴⁴. This concept also includes the possibility of democratic participation in decision-making bodies at the various levels of the organization, from local to global.

h) Open to everybody without distinction

World Scouting defines itself as a movement open to everybody, "regardless of origin, race, or creed"⁴⁵, and this emphasis has been maintained ever since it was founded⁴⁶ in Great Britain with the express desire of not discriminating on grounds of socio-economic status, culture, religion, or race. However, this is actually the most controversial area of the public perception of the movement in many countries, since some have glossed over this "openness", particularly in reference to Scoutmasters. Openness is conditioned by two elements: the legal framework of each country and the moral and cultural considerations of those who run the respective associations.

In many cases, the legal framework has made non-discrimination for race⁴⁷ or gender difficult. Today, however, there are no countries with Scouting where racial segregation is legal. Leaving aside the issue of WAGGGS' positive discrimination in

⁴² *A Turning Point for Volunteers. The UN General Assembly Debate on Government and United Nations System Support for Volunteering*. New York, UNO, December 2001, p. 33 (Annex).

⁴³ *Volunteering and the United Nations System. Working for a Better World*. New York, United Nations Volunteers, 2001: 6.

⁴⁴ WOSM, 1998: 25.

⁴⁵ "The Scout Movement is a voluntary non-political educational movement for young people open to all without distinction of origin, race or creed (...)". WOSM, 1983: Article 1.1 (the emphasis is mine). "A Member of the World Association shall be a National Organization which: (...) c) Has a membership which is: i. voluntary; ii. open to all girls and young women without distinction of creed, race, nationality, or any other circumstance". WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1: Criteria of Membership.

⁴⁶ In Scouting for Boys (BADEN-POWELL, 2004 [1908]:45), the point including non-discrimination is found in the text of the Scout Law. This point was officially amended in 1938, when the reference to fraternity among countries was added: "A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other scout, no matter to what *country*, class, or creed the other may belong" (NAGY, 1985: 106; (the italics are mine).

⁴⁷ In South Africa, for example, until the end of apartheid, Scouting was not allowed multiracial units, although it managed to ensure that the single-race units formed part of a single association right from the start (NAGY, 1985: 104). Again, in the United States, until racial segregation was abolished in education in 1954, the Boy Scouts of America was a racially segregated organization.

favour of women and the policy of many of its member associations to be formed solely of girls, there are many countries whose legal system discriminates on gender grounds. This means that in those cases the separation between *Scouting* for boys only and *Guiding* for girls only is not an option, it is a legal requirement. The World Scout Conference's most recent stance on this issue is very explicit:

"When a National Scout Association operates in a society where separate gender relationships are the norm and where coeducation is therefore excluded, the association may continue to address the male gender only or may opt for providing Scouting to both genders in single-sex settings"⁴⁸.

We also cannot fail to note that religious beliefs and sexual orientation in many countries have legal limits that can sometimes include the death penalty. As a result, openness to atheists or homosexuals, which is without exception in European Scout organizations, for example, is legally impossible in countries with authoritarian or theocratic regimes. Moreover, some democratic countries have used moral and cultural considerations to justify their refusal to accept homosexuals or atheists. The main and most controversial example of this is the Boy Scouts of America, which has a policy of openly refusing membership to homosexuals and atheists. The WAGGGS Constitution is much more explicit than WOSM in this respect, specifying that organizations must be open to all girls "without distinction of creed, race, nationality, *or any other circumstance*"⁴⁹ (my italics), a policy fully embraced by the Girl Scouts of the USA.

1.2. Purpose and Missions

The '*purpose*' of World Scouting is its *raison d'être*. The two organizations have formulated the purpose of the movement in similar statements. While WOSM establishes in its Constitution that "[t]he purpose of the Scout Movement is to contribute to the development of young people in achieving their full physical, intellectual, social and spiritual potentials as individuals, as responsible citizens and as members of their local, national and international communities"⁵⁰, for WAGGGS "the aim of the Girl Guide/Girl Scout Movement ... is to provide girls and young women with opportunities for self- training in the development of character, responsible citizenship and service in their own and world communities"⁵¹.

The definitions coincide in identifying the purpose as being the education of individuals, rather than social transformation, though the reference to "responsible citizens" reveals the indirect aim of improving society (social purpose) by improving individuals (educational purpose). It is when we try to define "improving", so as to adapt the principles to different social contexts, that controversies arise, and I will deal with these in the second part of Chapter 5. However, when it comes to defining their purpose, there is an important difference between WOSM and WAGGGS, and this is why there are two separate organizations. While WOSM says that the purpose of the movement is to "contribute to the development of young

⁴⁸ "Document 9: 'Policy on Girls and Boys, Women and Men Within the Scout Movement'. 35th World Scout Conference" (Durban, South Africa, 1999: approved document), WOSM, Geneva, 1999: 4.

⁴⁹ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1.

⁵⁰ WOSM, 1983: Article 1.2.

⁵¹ WAGGGS, 1999: Article 3: Object [of the World Association], b).

people", WAGGGS says that it is "to provide girls and young women with opportunities" for personal development.

This difference is more obvious in the *mission* statement, a simplification of the purpose that the two organizations formulated between 1996 and 1999. WAGGGS says that "The Mission of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts is to enable girls and young women to develop their fullest potential as responsible citizens of the world"⁵², while for WOSM, "The mission of Scouting is to contribute to the education of young people, through a value system based on the Scout Promise and Law, to help build a better world where people are self-fulfilled as individuals and play a constructive role in society"⁵³.

The two organizations used different processes to formulate and adopt their mission statements: while WAGGGS adopted its mission as a *recommendation* at its World Conference, WOSM adopted its mission as a document that was voted on at the World Scout Conference, following a long and drawn-out debate during the Conference. This explains the contrast between the clarity and decision of the first and the complexity and combinatorial efforts of the second. Interestingly, like its purpose, the WAGGGS mission refers clearly to enabling⁵⁴ *girls* and *young women* to reach their full potential, while the WOSM mission talks of contributing to the education of "*young people*", without making gender distinctions⁵⁵.

But this difference complements rather than cancelling out the common main purpose, which is to contribute to the development of young people as responsible citizens. A number of associations belong to both WOSM and WAGGGS⁵⁶ (a practice begun in the 1960s), which has reinforced the idea that the two approaches are compatible, with one aimed at young people in general though with a chiefly male *membership* in practice (WOSM), and the other aimed specifically at girls because of their obvious lack of equality of opportunities when compared to boys, at various degrees, around the world. In fact, a document comparing the respective missions by two members of the WAGGGS/WOSM Consultative Committee⁵⁷ says that "[w]e do not see a clash in the stated missions of the two world organizations – they are about the realisation of the potential in everyone – male or female – within their influence", and adds that

⁵² The WAGGGS mission was approved as a resolution of its World Conference in 1996.

⁵³ 'A Strategy for Scouting: Understanding the Mission Statement'. WOSM, Geneva: 2000. The WOSM mission was approved by the World Scout Conference in 1999 (Resolution 3/1999), and the full text adds that "This [mission] is achieved by: involving them throughout their formative years in a non-formal educational process; using a specific method that makes each individual the principal agent of his or her development as a self-reliant, supportive, responsible and committed person; assisting them to establish a value system based upon spiritual, social and personal principles as expressed in the Promise and Law".

⁵⁴ WAGGGS has three official languages. The English version of the mission is "to enable girls and young woman to develop...", while the French version says "de permettre aux filles et aux jeunes femmes de développer...", and the Spanish "ayudar a las niñas y a las jóvenes a desarrollar...". Since there is no Catalan translation, we use the term *possibilitar*, with the meaning of "helping to make possible", because it is closer to the English "enable" and the latter is the reference language for WAGGGS constitutional texts.

⁵⁵ The term 'young people' has been used by WOSM since the amendment of its Constitution in 1977, quoted earlier.

⁵⁶ These are known by the acronym SAGNO: Scout and Guide National Organization.

⁵⁷ The WAGGGS/WOSM Consultative Committee is a joint working subgroup of members of the governing bodies of WAGGGS (World Board) and WOSM (World Scout Committee), created to allow the two organizations to work together on common issues and explore a possible shared vision for the future. It began operation in January 2001.

"The determination to express in words the need for a focus on the needs of girls and young women is a perfectly understandable recognition of a reality in the world in which we live – generations of hard experience demonstrate that, without that focus, the needs of women are subordinated to those of men"⁵⁸.

The relevance of World Scouting for this research is the combination of its purpose of educating young people to become responsible citizens and its unquestionable international dimension – and this combination is revealed equally in the purposes of both WAGGGS and WOSM.

Lastly, the purpose of World Scouting, i.e. the Scout *Movement*, is not the same as the purposes of the two respective *organizations* (WAGGGS and WOSM) - purposes that are far more instrumental. For WAGGGS, the purpose of the organization is defined thus:

"The Object of the World Association is: (a) to promote, throughout the world, unity of purpose and common understanding based on the Fundamental Principles; (b) to further the aim of the Girl Guide/Girl Scout Movement which is to provide girls and young women with opportunities for self-training in the development of character, responsible citizenship and service in their own and world communities; (c) to encourage friendship among girls and young women of all nations within countries and worldwide"⁵⁹.

For WOSM, its purpose as an organization is defined saying that:

"The purpose of the World Organization is to foster the Scout Movement throughout the world by: (a) promoting unity and understanding of its purpose and principles, (b) facilitating its expansion and development, (c) maintaining its specific character"⁶⁰.

The purpose of the world organizations is thus to help implement the purpose of the movement. Nonetheless, in the WOSM and WAGGGS mission statements, this difference is unclear. While the WOSM mission talks of "The mission of Scouting", WAGGGS talks of "The Mission of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts". If we compare the WAGGGS mission statement to its Constitution, it should really say the "Mission of the Girl Guide/Girl Scout Movement". Consequently, the current statement, formulated in a proposal put forward by a national organization to the World Conference, is inconsistent with the constitutional text, though the relevance of this inconsistency is rather relative.

1.3. Principles

As I said earlier, in *Scouting for Boys*⁶¹, Baden-Powell created a methodological element that would eventually prove essential for maintaining the ideological unity of the movement: the combination of the 'Scout Law' and 'Scout Promise'⁶². Nagy argues that, on an educational level, "the taking of the Promise and regular practice

⁵⁸ "WAGGGS/WOSM Relationships. Missions of the World Organizations". Document signed by Garth Morrisson and Heather Brandon, members of the WAGGGS/WOSM Consultative Committee, 2nd April 2001, p. B-2.

⁵⁹ WAGGGS, 1999: Article 3: "Object [of the World Association]".

⁶⁰ WOSM, 1983: Article IV.2: "Purpose of World Organization".

⁶¹ BADEN-POWELL, 2004 [1908].

⁶² JEAL, 2001: 392-394.

of the Law represent a means of education in commitment, voluntary adhesion to a code or rules and respect for the given word"⁶³. Scouting, as an educational movement, is based on a system of values that is expressed methodologically by young people through the 'Scout Law' (a social code of shared values) and the voluntary 'Promise' of using it as a guideline for conduct, and established in the fundamental principles.

*"For young people, Scouting's values are expressed in the promise and law which are, as mentioned above, a fundamental component of the Scout Method. For the Movement as a whole, the values are expressed in the principles of the Movement; the principles are the fundamental laws and beliefs which represent an ideal, a vision of society and a code of conduct for all its members. The principles are not abstract concepts; they permeate all aspects of Scouting and guide the life-style of its members"*⁶⁴.

The fundamental principles of the WOSM Constitution were only established relatively recently (1977). Up until then, the ideological foundations of Scouting were essentially those of the *Promise* and the *Law*, the element that fosters the self-education of young people in its method by encouraging them to make a group commitment to the shared values.

This element was constitutionalized when the British associations were created and again on a global scale when the two world organizations were set up. In fact, because one of the functions of the world organizations was to ensure that the member associations adopted the principles of the movement, the text of the *Promise* and the *Law* in each country became the means of checking compliance with the principles. In 1924, the International Scout Conference approved the 'Principles of Scouting' resolution, the contents of which complemented the *Promise* and the *Law*:

"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"⁶⁵.

Besides mentioning the education of young people, this text also included two elements that have been the focal points of World Scouting identity since it was founded: the plurality of national identities in a context of universal fraternity

⁶³ NAGY, 1985: 184.

⁶⁴ WOSM, 1998: 16-17.

⁶⁵ WOSM, 1985: 3 (Resolution 14/24).

“without national barriers”, and the plurality of religious identities⁶⁶ in a context of non-discrimination that “forbids any kind of sectarian propaganda” – i.e. that were excluding. Despite the title of this resolution, World Scouting jurisprudence has established that the principles of the movement are set down in the *Promise* and the *Law*, constitutionally established when the movement was internationally formalized.

The original text of the Promise and the Law had been written for the British context, so the various associations set up afterwards adapted it to their respective social contexts. In 1933, a resolution by the International Scout Conference established that member organizations were obliged to report any change in the text of the Promise and the Law, “or in any other regulation embodying the essential principles of Scouting”⁶⁷. By analysing these two components – an unquestionable part of the Scout method – at an earlier date, the world organization could determine, as I explained earlier, that associations like the one in Germany before World War II could not form part of the movement because its principles contravened those of World Scouting. As a result, the constitutional obligation that the adaptation of the Promise and the Law to each national context be ratified by the corresponding world organization has become the basis of the system used by both organizations to maintain the ideological unity of the movement⁶⁸.

Article II.2 of the WOSM Constitution points out the obligation of “members of the movement” to adhere to a Promise and Law adapted to each social context, and incorporate the original text:

“All members of the Scout Movement are required to adhere to a Scout Promise and Law reflecting, in language appropriate to the culture and civilization of each National Scout Organization and approved by the World Organization, the principles of Duty to God, Duty to others and Duty to self, and inspired by the Promise and Law conceived by the Founder of the Scout Movement in the following terms:

The Scout Promise

On my honour I promise that I will do my best —
To do my duty to God and the King (or to God and my Country);
To help other people at all times;
To obey the Scout Law.

The Scout Law

1. A Scout’s honour is to be trusted.
2. A Scout is loyal.
3. A Scout’s duty is to be useful and to help others.
4. A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout.
5. A Scout is courteous.
6. A Scout is a friend to animals.
7. A Scout obeys orders of his parents, Patrol Leader or Scoutmaster without question.

⁶⁶ As I said earlier, however, the last paragraph on religion was added for the delegations representing Roman Catholic associations and countries, as explained by the delegate of the League of Nations in his report. Report to the [League of Nations] Secretary General: Report of the League Representatives to the Third International Scout Conference, Copenhagen, August 1924, p. 11. Document No. 38.191, League of Nations archive, Geneva.

⁶⁷ WOSM, 1985: 9 (Resolution 12/33).

⁶⁸ WOSM, 1983: Article V.3, b) and g); WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1 a).

8. A Scout smiles and whistles under all difficulties.
9. A Scout is thrifty.
10. A Scout is clean in thought, word and deed"⁶⁹.

Article II of the WAGGGS Constitution, however, states that the principles of the world organization are those indicated in the Promise and the Law:

"The Fundamental Principles of the World Association are those of the Girl Guide/Girl Scout Movement as expressed in the Original Promise and Law laid down by the Founder.

Original Promise

On my honour, I promise that I will do my best:

1. To do my duty to God and the King;

or

God and my country;

2. To help other people at all times;
3. To obey the Guide Law.

Original Law

1. A Guide's honour is to be trusted.
2. A Guide is loyal.
3. A Guide's duty is to be useful and to help others
4. A Guide is a friend to all and a sister to every other Guide.
5. A Guide is courteous.
6. A Guide is a friend to animals.
7. A Guide obeys orders.
8. A Guide smiles and sings under all difficulties.
9. A Guide is thrifty.
10. A Guide is pure in thought, in word and in deed"⁷⁰.

Although the constitutional texts of the *Promise* and the *Law* quote Baden-Powell's text, which can be adapted to different countries, both world organizations clarified the ideological framework in the 1970s by legally defining their "principles"⁷¹. The World Conference, WAGGGS of 1972 approved the definition of the fundamental principles as follows:

"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". "The essence of Duty to Country is the acceptance of the concept of responsibility to the communities in which we live". "The essence of Service is the acceptance of the practices of helpfulness to others". "The essence of the Law is: Duty to others and to the Brotherhood of Man; Self-discipline; Respect for all living things"⁷².

WOSM established its "principles" within a more organized structure, as part of an important constitutional reform, which it completed in 1977. The principles were

⁶⁹ WOSM, 1983: Article II.2: "Adherence to a Promise and Law".

⁷⁰ WAGGGS, 1999: Article II.

⁷¹ The original edition of *Scouting for Boys* (BADEN-POWELL, 1908 [2004]: 37) discusses these three points in relation to the Scout Salute: "The three fingers held up (like the three points of the scout's badge) remind him of his three promises in the scout's oath: 1. Honour God and the King; 2. Help others; 3. Obey the Scout Law".

⁷² WAGGGS, 1997: 19-20.

reduced to three: "*Duty to God*", "*Duty to others*", and "*Duty to self*"⁷³, which come before the *Promise* and the *Law* in the constitutional text (Article II.1):

"The Scout Movement is based on the following principles:

- *Duty to God*

Adherence to spiritual principles, loyalty to the religion that expresses them and acceptance of the duties resulting therefrom.

- *Duty to others*

- Loyalty to one's country in harmony with the promotion of local, national and international peace, understanding and cooperation.

- Participation in the development of society with recognition and respect for the dignity of one's fellow-man and for the integrity of the natural world.

- *Duty to self*

Responsibility for the development of oneself"⁷⁴.

A comparative document from the WAGGGS/WOSM Consultative Committee also contains a definition of the essential elements of the *Promise* and the *Law* of any WAGGGS member, which are very similar to the constitutional text of WOSM:

*"Duty To God ~ Acknowledgement and search for spirituality. Duty to Country ~ Acceptance of the concept of responsibility to the community in which we live. To help others at all times ~ Acceptance of the practice of helpfulness to others. Obey the Guide Law ~ Responsibility for self-action"*⁷⁵.

These three *principles* are therefore considered to be "the fundamental laws and beliefs which must be observed when achieving the purpose", and "[they] represent a code of conduct which characterizes all members of the Movement"⁷⁶. Going back to the WOSM text, there is a difference between the statement and the explanation, in that the latter is much more open than the statement. This is no accident: when it came to reworking this point in the WOSM Constitution, a compromise was needed to satisfy both those who advocated absolute loyalty to the original elements and those who wanted to adapt them with the times⁷⁷.

a) The first principle, "*Duty to God*" ("*Duty to God*: Adherence to spiritual principles, loyalty to the religion that expresses them and acceptance of the duties resulting therefrom"), refers to the individual's relationship with the spiritual values of life. Unlike the statement of the principle, the explanation does not refer to '*God*', which leaves the interpretation open to non-monotheist or non-deist religions, like Buddhism. To date, this reference has been taken to mean that all members must have a creed and religion, though the explanation in official documents allows for wider interpretations. The *Fundamental Principles* document, for example, says that "[t]he whole educational approach of the Movement consists in helping young

⁷³ "The proposed revision identifies and defines the principles instead of merely pointing out to their existence within the spirit of another text, i.e. the *Promise* and *Law* laid down by the Founder".

"Document 2: 'The Purpose, Principles and Method of the Scout Movement'. Proposed revision of present Chapter II of the World Constitution. 26th World Scout Conference" (Montreal, Canada, 1977: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1977: 17.

⁷⁴ WOSM, 1983: Article II.1: "Principles".

⁷⁵ "WAGGGS/WOSM Relationships. Report on the Discussion on the Fundamental Principles of WAGGGS and WOSM". Document signed by Heather Brandon and Garth Morrisson, members of the WAGGGS/WOSM Consultative Committee, summarizing the meeting held on 14th January 2001 (document not dated): 3.

⁷⁶ WOSM, 1992: 5.

⁷⁷ See "Document 2: 'The Purpose, Principles and Method of the Scout Movement'. Proposed revision of present Chapter II of the World Constitution. 26th World Scout Conference" (Montreal, Canada, 1977: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1977.

people to transcend the material world and go in search of the spiritual values of life"⁷⁸, as I will analyse in the section on religious identity. Nagy's comprehensive 1967 study also reminds us that,

"Even secular morals are not free from any spirituality. In fact, such morals rest on a very wide and non-codified moral conception, that of "honest people" and, in as far as it is not tied up with atheist militantism, it in no way threatens the spirituality of associations which consciously purvey the ideology of a revealed religion"⁷⁹.

The role of religion in World Scouting has simultaneously been one of its great potentials and one of its great limitations. On the one hand, besides the fact that it was founded in a country where the head of the Church is also the head of State, the support of various churches was crucial for the movement's international expansion, particularly to countries with a Christian or Muslim tradition, but also to Hindu and Buddhist countries. On the other hand, churches have not always remained in the background, as the movement would ideally prefer, since Scouting's independent nature dictates that no external authority – even a church – can condition its operation. The few associations that are exempt from this are mainly French-speaking, like the *Éclaireuses et Éclaireurs de France*, which declared itself a lay association before 1924 and was followed by African associations in former French colonies. At the International Scout Conference of 1922, all attending associations were recognized without limitations, as promised at the London *Jamboree* two years earlier. This meant that they were accepted as founding lay associations whose Promise made no mention of God⁸⁰, an open policy that the world organization later changed, though it accepted the status quo.

b) The second principle, "*Duty to others*", covers two issues that together form the basis of World Scouting's entire dimension of educating young people as citizens: from the original idea of Scouting as serving the community to its political implications on a global scale.

The first issue is loyalty to one's country together with international understanding, cooperation, and peace ("Loyalty to one's country in harmony with the promotion of local, national and international peace, understanding and cooperation"). In the text, these two elements are combined in a single sentence to show that the idea of loyalty to one's country must be on a par with the promotion of peace, understanding, and cooperation at any level (local, national, or international)⁸¹.

The second issue is participation in the development of society, recognizing both the dignity of others and the integrity of the environment ("Participation in the development of society with recognition and respect for the dignity of one's fellow-man and for the integrity of the natural world"). The text points out that the purpose of serving others is to contribute to the development of society (a concept that is not 'change' or 'transform', though it is open to interpretation). It also suggests that there are limits to this development, which must respect human dignity and the integrity of nature⁸².

⁷⁸ WOSM, 1992: 5.

⁷⁹ NAGY, 1967: 39.

⁸⁰ NAGY, 1985: 93-94.

⁸¹ WOSM, 1992: 5.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

The notion of loyalty to one's country has been a contentious issue since the early days. How do we define 'country'? Scout jurisprudence has maintained the identification of 'country' with 'independent internationally recognized state', though there have been numerous exceptions over the years. The complexity is twofold in the case of decolonized territories, since WOSM has recognized and still recognizes "*National* Scout Organizations belonging to "territories" that are not recognized as politically sovereign, as it is the case for the Scout Association of Hong Kong"⁸³. The practice of loyalty to one's country in situations of conflict of authority (coups, invasions, etc.) is also debatable. In 1931, for example, the International Scout Conference met in Austria (two years before Hitler came to power by democratic means in Germany) and pointed out that "the promise of "duty to my country" means duty to the constituted authority of the country concerned"⁸⁴. Although the official stance has always been to defend the *status quo*, this principle has generated opposing interpretations that I will deal with later on.

c) The third principle is "Duty to self" ("*Duty to self*: Responsibility for the development of oneself "). This is perhaps the least controversial principle of the three and emphasizes the importance of the individual in Scouting. It stresses the idea that the individual must take on responsibility for the development of his/her own skills, which is what the Scout method achieves first of all by the direct acceptance and assumption of the shared code of values of the Promise and the Scout Law.

1.4. Method

The '*Scout method*' is a system of progressive self-education, an interdependent group of educational elements that form an integrated, unified whole. Each of the elements has an educational function that complements the effect of the others. Thus, for the method to work as a system, all elements must be present at the same time⁸⁵. Scouting is based on the concept of '*self-education*', by which each member of the movement is seen as a unique individual who has, right from the start, a potential to develop and the ability to take responsibility for his/her own development. Scouting's self-education principle linked in with that of the educator Maria Montessori, whose model opted for educating the individual from within, as opposed to instructing, which is imposed from the outside. With self-education, the youth is the focus of the educational process, and is encouraged and assisted by the educator and the method. Scouting's self-education is also progressive, which means that it tries to help every young person to develop his/her own skills and interests through life experiences in the educational process. Scouting thus aims to stimulate youths to find constructive ways to meet their needs and open doors to future options⁸⁶.

References to progressive self-education can be found in documents on British Scouting prior to the formalization of World Scouting, shortly before the outbreak of

⁸³ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005; adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 8.

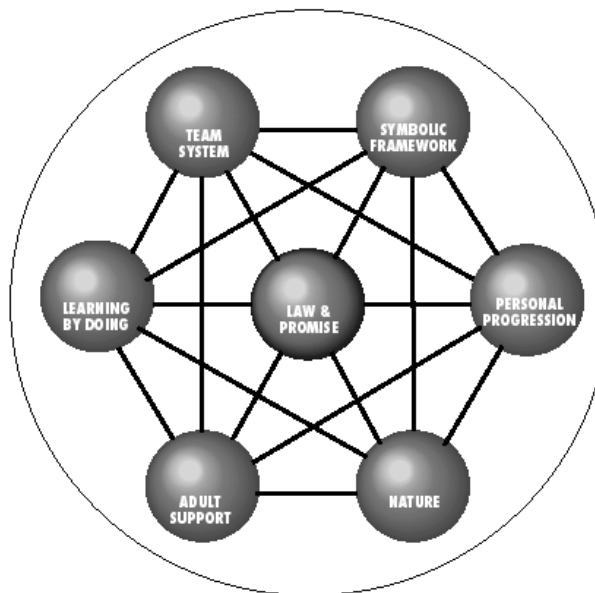
⁸⁴ WOSM, 1985: 9 (Resolution 9/31, "Scout Promise").

⁸⁵ WOSM, 1998: 8.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

World War I, when British Scouting came into contact with Maria Montessori. In fact, Baden-Powell often mentions the importance of educating individuals rather than masses, and of developing the character of every individual. He also openly opposes instruction, contrasting it with the educational method of Scouting⁸⁷. However, applications of the concept of '*discipline*' (more akin to instruction than self-education) and certain combinations of uniforms and formations carried out previously – and today in some parts – in diverse countries, have meant that Scouting's focus on self-education has sometimes been lost on the public. This is not surprising because the combination of elements that make Scouting such a unique educational movement is so complex that any head of a Scout group would have trouble explaining it. They would probably be accurate with the three fundamental principles, but it is unlikely that they would get the detailed explanation of the constitutional documents right. The same occurs with the components of the Scout method. In 1999, I attended the World Scout Conference, held a year after the publication of *The Essential Characteristics of Scouting*. One of the plenary sessions of this Conference was devoted exclusively to a performance organized for the thousand participants by the World Bureau on the elements of the Scout method. These elements were broken down into the following diagram (Figure 1)⁸⁸:

Figure 1: Elements of the Scout method



Source: The Essential Characteristics of Scouting. WOSM, 1998.

The most interesting thing about the performance was to make explicit that two elements were *left out* of the method: *discipline* and *uniform*. The aim was to send out a clear message that neither the uniform nor discipline are decisive in defining

⁸⁷ In his *Aids to Scoutmastership*, for Scoutmasters, Baden-Powell ([1919] 1949) insists on this aspect from the outset: "The Scoutmaster has to be neither schoolmaster nor commanding officer, nor pastor, nor instructor". "The business of the Scoutmaster is to draw out each boy and find out what is in him, and then to catch hold of the good and develop it to the exclusion of the bad. ... *This is education instead of instruction* of the young mind" (BADEN-POWELL, [1919] 1949: 19-20; the emphasis is mine).

⁸⁸ WOSM, 1998: 8.

what Scouting is and what it is not, a hot issue that has led to divisions in some countries. Although the constitutions of the two world organizations list the elements of the method differently – there are four in the WOSM Constitution⁸⁹ and eight in the WAGGGS Constitution⁹⁰ – they coincide⁹¹ in establishing a single method that distinguishes World Scouting from other educational movements and which contains these seven elements: a) learning by doing; b) active cooperation between young people and adults; c) working in small groups; d) outdoor activities; e) symbolic framework; f) progressive self-development; and g) shared principles and commitment to oneself⁹².

a) *Learning by doing* is a concept where learning is based not on the transfer of theoretical knowledge, but on practice, mainly through games – for younger children – and enterprise – for older people – and, in both cases, experience.

b) *Active cooperation between young people and adults* stresses the need for close relationships between children and young people and the educators responsible for them, who do not necessarily need to be of a similar age, but must share the sensitivity of the youths.

c) Working in small groups ("*a patrol or team system*") creates an atmosphere that generates a basic sphere of democracy, in which responsibilities are distributed among and taken on by members.

d) *Outdoor activities* are the ideal backdrop for educational action, since it is an area where one must take responsibility for oneself with minimal comforts, and where forming part of a group can become a more intense experience; this is besides Scouting's aim of protecting nature.

e) The *symbolic framework* is a set of shared symbols that creates group cohesion and reinforces solidarity, as well as developing the imagination, adventure, and creativity. The use of these symbols varies across different Scout traditions: while the uniform and salute play an important role in some, the scarf and colours are enough in others.

f) *Progressive self-development* means that there is no single programme that has to be followed by all members of the group. Instead, each individual

⁸⁹ "The Scout Method is a system of progressive self-education through: • A promise and law. • Learning by doing. • Membership of small groups (for example the patrol), involving, under adult guidance, progressive discovery and acceptance of responsibility and training towards self-government directed towards the development of character, and the acquisition of competence, self-reliance, dependability and capacities both to cooperate and to lead. • Progressive and stimulating programmes of varied activities based on the interests of the participants, including games, useful skills, and services to the community, taking place largely in an outdoor setting in contact with nature". WOSM, 1983: Article III (Method).

⁹⁰ "i. Commitment through the Promise and Law. ii. Progressive Self-Development. iii. Learning by doing. iv. Teamwork through the Patrol System and training for responsible leadership. v. Active co-operation between young people and adults. vi. Service in the Community. vii. Outdoor activities. viii. Symbolism". WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1 (Criteria of Membership), b).

⁹¹ The only differences are that the WOSM Constitution divides the elements into more general groups and that WAGGGS includes "service to the community" in its method, while WOSM includes it in its principles. All of the elements are therefore present in the two organizations.

⁹² I have also used the *The Essential Characteristics of Scouting* document, which lists them as: "A promise and law". "Learning by doing". "A patrol (or team) system". "Symbolic framework". "Personal progression". "Nature". "Adult support". WOSM, 1998:9-13.

undergoes a different educational progression that coincides in direction with that of the other youths, but which is also unique. Each individual is ultimately responsible for his/her own development.

g) Lastly, the shared principles and commitment to them ("*commitment through the Promise and Law*") are the main tool for self-development: this is the role of the *Promise* and the *Law* as methodological elements of Scouting. They are a guide for good conduct, accepted by the group, and the explicit, individual commitment of each member to the shared code of values. The establishment of these shared principles or educational objectives in the diverse national associations must be approved by the corresponding world organization. This system allows World Scouting to guarantee the common values within the diversity of the movement.

These seven elements must, however, be adapted to the maturity of the group members. This is an issue that arose in the early days of the movement in England, as I explained earlier. Although the educational idea was clearly aimed at adolescents aged 11 to 15 (*Scouts*), in the face of pressure to adapt it to a lower age range, Baden-Powell adapted the original idea to suit children aged 8 to 11 in 1916. He used a focus of interest inspired by Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*, in which Scoutmasters played the role of some of the animals in the book (Akela, Bagheera, and Baloo) and the children were the *Wolf Cubs*, Mowgli's brothers – they were renamed the *Cub Scouts* some years later – with an adapted methodology and, more importantly, adapted Promise and Law. When it was adapted for the upper age range in 1922, with the *Senior Scouts* or *Rovers*, the imaginative part was removed and responsibilities were increased.

The debate was revived in the 1980s when a number of associations gradually introduced an age range below the *Cub Scouts* for children aged 6 to 8, called the *Beaver Scouts*, which many countries did not incorporate. The extension of the programme to this lower age range coincided with a progressive move to focus the movement more on children, with more members of the *Cubs* and *Beavers*⁹³. The position of the world organizations on the methodological limits is clear:

"If any of the [Scout Method] elements cannot function because of an insufficient level of maturity, or because the individuals have "outgrown" the need for any one of the elements, then Scouting is not suitable for them. This can happen when trying to apply the Scout Method to very young children or to adults beyond their early twenties"⁹⁴.

Diverse elements of the Scout method have been adopted by many educational movements, as has part of the Scouting symbolism. But it is the combination of its purpose, principles, and method as a complete system that differentiates World Scouting as an educational movement from other movements.

⁹³ "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. 11.

⁹⁴ WOSM, 1998: 8-9.

2. OPERATION AND STRUCTURE

World Scouting is an educational movement that operates as a network. The movement operates democratically around the world through WOSM and WAGGGS, carrying out direct actions at local level with the assistance of its national associations. The network is based on the voluntary commitment of individuals who share the principles and purpose of the Scout Movement, though there is no direct channel for the immediate local application of national or international guidelines. It has a global structure in the sense that the decision-making bodies that set out its principles, ideology, and strategic lines are international; it is democratic in that its decision-making processes are based on democratic procedures and include debate and equal votes; the movement acts through its national associations, which are also subject to the regulations of the world organization, and it operates mainly at local level because it carries out its educational work in the Scout group – the local group. This local action to achieve global aims that also have direct repercussions at local level, has always been an essential identifying feature of World Scouting. As the 'Governance of WOSM' document states, "the education to a "global citizenship" starts from the promotion of full social, economic and political participation at the local community level"⁹⁵.

There are three main organizational levels in World Scouting. in order of size, from smallest to biggest, we have the Scout group (local level), the *national* Scout organization (country level) and the World Organization (global level). Depending on the country, there can be intermediate levels of territorial decentralization between local and state level. However, with the exception of federal Scout organizations, which I will discuss later, these intermediate levels have no effect on the governance⁹⁶ of the movement. Between country and global level are the "regions", which are continental, decentralized units of the World Organization.

2.1. Network Operation

Before moving on to discuss the organizational structure of World Scouting, I will explain why I say it is a movement that operates in a network where, using Castells' definition, the components are both autonomous and dependent on the Scout network and often share membership and goals with other networks⁹⁷.

As I explained in Chapter 2, the movement emerged in England in 1908 as the sum of a series of initiatives by individuals who were committed to Baden-Powell's idea – which was published to give it a wider audience; These individuals followed the

⁹⁵ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005: p. 4.

⁹⁶ 'Governance' is understood to mean "The system and processes concerned with ensuring [its] overall direction, effectiveness, supervision and accountability". *The Governance of Voluntary Organizations*, Comforth 2003. Quoted in: Home Office, *ChangeUp: Capacity Building and Infrastructure Framework for the Voluntary and Community Sector*, 2004.

⁹⁷ "The components of the network are both autonomous and dependent vis-à-vis the network, and may be a part of other networks, and therefore of other systems of means aimed at other goals. The performance of a given network will then depend on two fundamental attributes of the network: its connectedness, that is its structural ability to facilitate noise-free communication between its components; its consistency, that is the extent to which there is sharing of interests between the network's goals and the goals of its components". CASTELLS, 2000a: 171.

general principles and methodological indications of the idea and began to “carry out” Scouting before any manner of organization was set up to support it. Of the two characteristics of the network described by Castells, connectedness and consistency⁹⁸, the former has played a rather limited role in World Scouting until recently: the development of information and communication technologies has allowed the masses to instantly contact an unlimited number of people all over the world. Nonetheless, the effects of limited connectedness have been assuaged by the international meetings of young people in the form of Jamborees, Moots, and international exchanges, conferences and seminars for those in charge, magazines and newsletters, *pen-pal* correspondence between Scouts in different countries, or *Jamborees on The Air* (virtual international meetings of radio buffs). The second characteristic, the extent to which the goals of the individuals and Scouting coincide, has been essential for strengthening the voluntary personal commitment of many generations of citizens around the world.

In fact, the voluntary participation of Scoutmasters and those in charge is essential to any understanding of how the World Scout movement operates as a network. A non-compulsory educational movement in which Scoutmasters are not paid for their efforts must generate a consistent framework in which the ideals of the individuals and the ideal of the movement are closely connected, to ensure that there will still be people in the future who are willing to take responsibility for the education of the youngsters. And this framework matches the definition of network I have quoted. Moreover, the strength afforded to the movement by its ideological consistency contrasts with its incapacity to structure a system that would allow guidelines to be implemented hierarchically; this means that any attempt to use the Scout Movement for ideological indoctrination would be doomed to failure. In the past, for example, when countries with authoritarian regimes banned Scouting and replaced it with government-controlled organizations⁹⁹, voluntary membership was replaced with compulsory membership, the people in charge were hired (rather than being unpaid volunteers), and individuals were indoctrinated with enforced principles as a group, instead of calling attention to the education of the individual.

The organizational structure of Scouting, which I will discuss in this chapter, would appear to be the opposite of the network idea: world organization and defined decision-making processes, national organizations, people in charge at different points, right up to local level. But the existence of an organizational structure does not mean that what is planned on a worldwide scale is automatically applied locally or nationally. The role of the organization is to give historical continuity and coherence to the movement, which operates as a network. In the words of the former Chairman of the WOSM Constitutions Committee, John Beresford,

"the World Scout Conference, the [World] Committee and the [World] Bureau are in fact living within this network, facilitating the quality of communications within the network, sharing knowledge throughout the network, but not controlling with hierarchical powers"¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ There are many well-known cases of this: Communist Russia, fascist Italy, fascist Spain, Nazi Germany, the communist countries of Eastern Europe, and the People's Republic of China.

¹⁰⁰ 'Actions that speak louder...', issue of "The Bottom Line": a series of documents on the World Scout Foundation, June 2002. http://www.scout.org/wsf/docs/20bl_wosmstrat_e [Consulted in: July 2006].

The document in which Beresford writes this statement includes two organization charts (Figure 2 and Figure 3):

Figure 2



Figure 3



Source: World Scout Foundation, 2002

The first illustration (Figure 2) shows what World Scouting appears to be because of its structure: an international organization, below which there are national associations, below which are local Scout groups. And though this seems to describe the actual organizational structure, the real structure is in fact closer to the second illustration (Figure 3), in which the diverse actors interact without any kind of control and in ways that cannot be controlled. For instance, many changes made to the methodology or operation of national associations have been the result of contact with other associations, which have given them ideas that they have then implemented themselves. The same has happened at group level and this has allowed lay groups to form part of religious associations or very informal groups to form part of very formal associations, etc.

This central characteristic of the operation of World Scouting puts it in a very good position vis-à-vis the everchanging network society¹⁰¹. The development of the Internet, e-mail, websites, and other means of communication is also having a major impact on the organizational system of Scouting, by reinforcing and encouraging network relationships between members at all levels of the movement with no filters other than language limitations and access to tools.

The tension mentioned earlier relating to the '*movement*' aspect of World Scouting and its '*organization*' dictates the need to strike a balance in which neither is more important than the other. Moreillon argues that,

"[i]t is true that when we become too much of an organization we run the risk of killing the *spirit* of Scouting. But if we are too much of a Movement, we go in all directions and *lose the coherence* and unity of purpose and principles that allow us to call ourselves Scouts. For this is the primary objective of "organising" World Scouting: to give worldwide *coherence* to our Movement, to ensure that all those who are officially recognized as "Scouts" have the same *purpose*, base themselves on the same fundamental *principles* and use the same Scout *method*"¹⁰².

¹⁰¹ TUBELLA, 2003: 12; CASTELLS, 2000a; CASTELLS, 2004.

¹⁰² "Meaning and Relevance of the World Organization of the Scout Movement. Address by Dr. Jacques Moreillon, Secretary General of WOSM, to the Summit Meeting of the 20th Inter-American Scout Conference". Guadalajara, Mexico, 21 March 1998.

But beyond its shared purpose, principles, and method, the fact that Scouting is a '*movement*' avoids the use of a model that would encourage ideological control. A world organization of the size and presence of Scouting, the purpose of which is to educate citizens, could raise a similar interest to that mentioned earlier – the many cases where authoritarian and colonial regimes have tried to use Scouting as a tool for the ideological control of entire countries. According to Malek Gabr, former Assistant Secretary General of WOSM, the structure of World Scouting makes this impossible:

"There are those who once thought that it was possible to control the Scout Movement from one central point, to create a bureaucratic '*organisation*' – but our founder, Baden-Powell, quickly stopped that thinking – we are a movement, *not an organisation!*"¹⁰³.

The adoption of joint strategies and lines of work, therefore, take the movement as a whole in the same general direction, not through coercion, but through shared projects. In this sense, the world democratic decision-making system is essential for giving legal validity to the decisions made.

2.2. Democracy

World Scouting is a democratic movement, which means that its decision-making processes are based on debate and equal votes. We need to distinguish here between the democratic practice of the individuals who run the national and world organizations, and the democratic practice of boys and girls, which is part of the educational process. While democracy lies with the organizational system in the first case, it is part of the educational methodology in the second. So the people in charge of the national and world organizations can, with the required votes, change the operation and even the principles of the organization; however, the democracy in the educational practice of the boys and girls can affect the activities and programmes they carry out, but it cannot change the principles on which they are based.

The constitutions of the two world organizations, WAGGGS and WOSM, establish that decisions are made democratically, though they do not mention the word '*democracy*'. The Conference is the plenary body of the organization, and consists of all of the national member organizations, which all have the same vote. Only the Conference can accept new organizations or expel members, in accordance with the regulated procedures approved by the Conference. The Conference also selects a committee made up of elected members with a limited mandate. This committee makes the decisions when the Conference is not assembled.

The establishment of this system is not as obvious as it seems. When it was created, the main founding countries – Great Britain, United States, France... – could have been given a dominant role, as they have on the United Nations Security Council. Or the founder, Robert Baden-Powell, or the British association, as "proprietor of the idea", could have been given the right to veto the decisions of the

¹⁰³ '*Actions that speak louder...*', issue of "The Bottom Line": a series of documents on the World Scout Foundation, June 2002. http://www.scout.org/wsf/docs/20bl_wosmstrat_e [Consulted in: July 2006].

committee or Conference. But this was not the case. It was established right from the start that member organizations would have equal votes. And, although fees are paid based on the census (and the payment of fees is a constitutional obligation), each national member organization has the same vote, regardless of its census.

The constitutions do not mention the word "democracy" and nor do they specify that national Scout organizations have to operate democratically. Organizations are asked to be independent¹⁰⁴, voluntary¹⁰⁵, to operate with a truly representative central body¹⁰⁶ (WAGGGS), be a legal entity (WOSM)¹⁰⁷ and be self-governing, with the freedom to formulate and implement their own programme¹⁰⁸ (WAGGGS). Does this mean that the world organizations accept non-democratic organizations as members? What could legally be said against an oligocratic organization in the form of a foundation that is independent, voluntary, confident that its governing body is representative of its base, a legal entity, and free to formulate its own decisions, and that wants to become a World Scouting member? In many societies with organizations that are World Scouting members, democratic practices are not accepted, and even less so when it comes to women. Even in many Western countries, women were the only decision-makers in female Scouting or Guiding, much time before their society gave them the right to vote.

However, the constitutional ambiguity is now being removed, and WOSM and WAGGGS are increasingly adopting the view that national Scout organizations must have a democratic decision-making process, as occurs in the world at large: not only independently of any external institution, but also governed by its own members. Although the constitutions of WAGGGS and WOSM only require their member associations to be self-regulated, independent and capable of formulating and implementing their own lines of action, the legal application has been to require national Scout associations to also be democratic. Hence, in 1998, the World Board, WAGGGS, approved a document¹⁰⁹ that explicitly required the structure of associations to be democratic. Similarly, the recent *Governance of WOSM* document approved by the World Scout Conference in 2005 outlines the framework for a major reform of this organization's system of governance. On democracy within the associations, the document points out that,

"[u]nfortunately, we cannot avoid noting that in several cases, the development of Scouting is hampered by lack of democracy" (...) "Democracy is a condition for the development and the unity of the Scout Movement, because if active adult leaders are not involved in decision-making, they will not have the feeling to share a common purpose and they will be tempted to quit the Movement or to create dissident organizations. Thus it should be necessary to add formally to the conditions for NSOs [National Scout Organizations] to be recognized and to maintain their

¹⁰⁴ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1e). WOSM, 1983: Article V.3 d).

¹⁰⁵ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V Section 1 c) i. WOSM, 1983: Article V.3 d).

¹⁰⁶ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 3 e) i.

¹⁰⁷ WOSM, 1983: Article V.3 a).

¹⁰⁸ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1 d).

¹⁰⁹ "WAGGGS' Policy on Structure and Management of Associations". Adopted by the World Board, WAGGGS in October 1998. London: World Bureau, WAGGGS.

membership, the establishment and development of democratic structures and democratic decision-making processes"¹¹⁰.

The basis for this liberal democrat approach lies in the origins of World Scouting, when it was founded in Great Britain by Baden-Powell. The Scout method encourages boys and girls to take responsibility in decision-making processes, as opposed to authoritarian imposition. Interestingly, the original '*Scout Law*' makes a direct reference to obedience¹¹¹, though this has always been read as simply obeying one's own conscience, in line with Baden-Powell's writings on the subject, where he states that "individual power of judgement is essential; we want our men to be men, not sheep"¹¹². Along the same lines, he also argued, "a Scout thinks a thing out for himself, sees both sides, and has the pluck to stick up for what he knows to be the right"¹¹³, adding that "the menace of a democracy is the man who will not think for himself"¹¹⁴.

Until now, the two world organizations have kept the original text of the Scout Law in their constitutions, despite the uneasiness brought about by some of its expressions in this modern era. In 1977, the document amending the WOSM Constitution explained that a debate was held on whether this text should be included as an annex and that, although it was eventually kept in the articles, "the text of the original Promise and Law is quoted as a *historical document intended to serve as a source of inspiration*"¹¹⁵.

The self-education aspect of the Scout method is based on democratic principles, in that individuals exercise their responsibility by determining the programmes they carry out, a view that extends to the movement as a whole. Moreover, this democratic logic has been particularly reinforced in recent years by the world bodies. In the early 1990s, WOSM launched the World Youth Forums to encourage young people to participate in decision-making processes on a world scale, given that practically nobody under the age of 30 attended the world conferences. And in fact, the recent common stance taken by WOSM and WAGGGS and the Alliance of Youth CEOs in the document "Children and Young People: Participating in Decision-Making", is a manifesto of World Scouting's commitment to democracy:

"A child, whose active engagement with the world has been encouraged from the outset, will be an adolescent with the confidence and capacity to contribute to democratic dialogue and practices at all levels, whether at a local or an international level"¹¹⁶.

It is this commitment to democracy and the rights of children and young people to participate in decision-making processes on matters affecting them, that has led the world organizations to start dealing with the alleged undemocratic practices

¹¹⁰ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 6.

¹¹¹ "A Scout obeys orders of his parents, Patrol Leader or Scoutmaster without question". WOSM, 1983: Article II.2: "Adherence to a Promise and Law". "A Guide obeys orders". WAGGGS, 1999: Article II.

¹¹² Robert Baden-Powell: 'The Other Fellow's Point of View', *Headquarters Gazette*, June 1912.

¹¹³ Robert Baden-Powell: "What Scouts Can Do", 1921: 15; quoted in SICA, 1984: 61-62.

¹¹⁴ Robert Baden-Powell: *Rovering to Success*, 1922: 149; quoted in SICA, 1984: 63.

¹¹⁵ "Document 2: 'The Purpose, Principles and Method of the Scout Movement'. Proposed revision of present Chapter II of the World Constitution. 26th World Scout Conference" (Montreal, Canada, 1977: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1977: p. 22.

¹¹⁶ Alliance of Youth CEOs, 2005: 4.

carried out by certain national organizations. Thus, the WOSM document on *Governance* stresses that,

"Democracy at all levels of the Movement is nothing else but the continuity and the consequent application of the Scout Method by appropriately trained unit leaders. Associations led in an autocratic way are unable to apply any educational method but authoritarian and cannot involve young people in decision-making; they do not train young people for citizenship and do not produce adults able to fully participate in democratic settings"¹¹⁷.

This democratic ideal then does not stem from an abstract reflection on possible organizational systems; it is a consequence of the importance of the individual in World Scouting: the boys and girls are the centre of the educational activities and the *raison d'être* of World Scouting.

2.3. Local Level: Scout Group

The *Scout group* is the basic unit in the structure of the Scout Movement and the only level where we can see the general Scout educational programme being implemented directly¹¹⁸. Scouting was initially devised as an idea for educating adolescents from a single age range that was methodologically divided into small groups called 'troops'. After it was formalized as an educational organization, the age range was extended to include older and younger boys and girls in the form of *sections*. Therefore, the Scout group is where the entire education process for children, adolescents, and young adults takes place, through its different sections and methodological subgroups.

The people who run the Scout groups – Scoutmasters – carry out their Scouting work voluntarily, without payment and in their free time. However, in some countries, professionals may be paid to provide support to the volunteers. Nevertheless, these individuals do not carry out the basic Scouting task, which is educational activities with children and young people; they carry out administrative work, planning, and management, usually at the level above the Scout group.

The debate on the impact of paid professionals on Scouting has been around since the start, but the World Scouting organizations did not start dealing systematically with the issue until the end of the 1960s, when they insisted that professional support could never replace the voluntary task of the Scoutmasters¹¹⁹. Nonetheless, from the outset, Scouting in the United States decided to develop a model in which professionals would play a very important role, and it would become a point of reference for the future professionalization of Scout associations worldwide. However, recent studies have analysed the negative consequences of this model on North-American civil society organizations¹²⁰, showing how the decline in member-based associations and the increase in those based on a small group of professionals is diminishing the democratic foundations of its society.

¹¹⁷ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005: p. 5.

¹¹⁸ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005: p. 4.

¹¹⁹ See "The Professional Scout Service. World Scouting reference paper". WOSM: Geneva, 1971.

¹²⁰ SKOCPOL, 2003.

As I mentioned in the section on history, Scout groups in most countries are host, set up, and maintained through '*local sponsors*' such as civic associations, parents' associations, schools, youth clubs, churches, etc., that promote Scouting because of its benefits for the community, though they also respect the autonomy of the Scout group. This interaction between Scouting and the local area's social network is its greatest asset: its establishment in local communities. "Scouting is growing from the local reality, self-sustained and supported by a variety of compatible local organizations that provide moral and financial support, meeting places, equipment, access to volunteers, etc. (...) When this local support weakens, Scouting loses members and declines"¹²¹.

Nevertheless, we also need to mention the conflict of interest that can arise when these local sponsors, instead of supporting Scouting and accepting its principles, give their support so that Scouting will promote the values of the sponsor. I will discuss this situation – which occurs mainly with churches and religious organizations that use Scouting as an instrument – in the sections on recognition and incoherencies in practices. Although the statement that the local level is the basis of World Scouting is true of all countries where it has a presence, without exception, local participation in making decisions that affect the movement is still subject to the criteria of individual national organizations.

2.4. National Organization

The national Scout organizations are still the central governing unit of the Scout Movement because they have the right to vote at world conferences. However, the idea of a local/global network is increasingly preferred to the traditional idea of a 'league of nations'¹²². Only one organization is recognized per 'country' and, in exceptional cases where a country has more than one Scout association – because of religious plurality or, less often, cultural plurality – a federation must be set up to represent that country's Scouting in World Scouting. The term 'national organization' therefore covers two possibilities: one national association or a national federation of associations. The framework of the Scout organization of each country – which must be "independent, non-political, voluntary"¹²³ – guarantees the World Scouting standards of principles and methodology, and establishes the decision-making processes of the subjects that make up the World Conference: the Scout organizations of each country.

World Scouting has constitutionally used the term '*national Scout organization*' to refer to Scout organizations "in a politically independent country"¹²⁴, and has also established that only one member organization can be recognized in each¹²⁵.

¹²¹ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005: p. 4.

¹²² "The WOSM is a worldwide ... organization ... operating through a network of local groups supported by national scout organizations". 'World Scouting today: A worldwide social force'. Presspack, doc. 1, version 25.09.2006, p. 1. WOSM press document.

¹²³ WOSM, 1983: Article VI, 3 d).

¹²⁴ "Appendix", WOSM Constitution.

¹²⁵ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

Although Scouting initially spread at local level¹²⁶, with 'troops' or small groups that would later be named the Scout groups, the national element was fundamental in the formation of the movement. *Scouting for Boys* was a tool for British patriotism; patriotism in the civic sense of the word, i.e. the attitude of public service and loyalty to one's community that is expected of responsible citizens. So, this patriotism could be easily adapted to any other country. This national element, in a Westphalian international context with the nation-state as the unit that guaranteed rights, democracy, and common life, led Baden-Powell to formalize the creation of an association¹²⁷, taking Great Britain and the British Empire as his scope, for the Boy Scouts Association (1909) and for the Girl Guides Association (1910). As I said in the section on History, beyond the fact that each domain or 'country' of the Empire created 'branches' of the British association, all Scout associations created before and after 1920 were within the scope of a nation-state. The formalization of representatives for contact between national organizations took place early on, in a resolution of 1922 on the unity of the movement:

"The Conference decided that wherever possible, in the best interests of the boys of all nations, every reasonable effort be made for an amalgamation of the various associations in any one country and if this be impracticable, the various associations concerned arrange amongst themselves for the selection of one International Commissioner to do business with the International Bureau"¹²⁸.

The *International Commissioners* gradually became responsible for 'diplomatic' relations between Scouts in different countries, not just for national federations, and were put in charge of contact with other member associations and with the world organization itself. Thirty-five years later, Resolution 7/57 considered it "essential that member countries should at all times have an international commissioner ... concerned with relations between his association and those of other countries and with permanent liaison with the International Committee and Bureau"¹²⁹. It also suggested that each association in a federation should have one, and recommended that this person should also be a member of the corresponding national council or board.

Although this is still the case today, the emergence of information and communication technologies has had a major impact on these practices. Many local Scout groups can contact groups in other countries via their websites, which, until ten years ago, was only possible by letter correspondence and with the mediation of the international commissioners, due to the exclusive nature of the information. The '*Governance of WOSM*' document points out that the development of the Internet means that the role of these international commissioners will have to change "toward one of guiding and supporting local groups that are directly in

¹²⁶ In the words of Baden-Powell, after publishing *Scouting for Boys* "[a]ll the following year [1909] boys were writing to me telling me how they had started Patrols and Troops and had got men to come and act as their Scoutmasters". "Be Prepared", *The Listener*, British Broadcasting Corporation, January 1937.

¹²⁷ Nagy explains that it was following the success of the Crystal Palace rally in 1909 that Baden-Powell decided to "to create a movement completely detached from any other youth organization. Bureaucracy was anathema to his nature, but he knew he had no choice. So the first Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts Association [UK] was formed on December 10, 1909". NAGY, 1985: 64.

¹²⁸ WOSM, 1985: 1 (Res. 12/22, "Unity of the Movement").

¹²⁹ WOSM, 1985: 41 (Res. 7/57, "International Commissioners").

contact through the Internet in the wider framework of relationships among National Scout Organizations"¹³⁰.

As I pointed out earlier, in the 1960s, WOSM and WAGGGS member associations from various countries, mainly in Europe, began to merge to form co-educational associations in which boys and girls formed part of a single educational project. In some countries, this happened either by opening up the association to the opposite sex – WOSM openly accepted female members from the 1980s – or by merging the two associations. Some merged associations maintained the policy whereby girls paid their fees to WAGGGS and boys paid their fees to WOSM; these have been known as "Scout and Guide National Organizations" (SAGNO) since the mid-1990s¹³¹. In 2005, 34 of the 155 WOSM member organizations were SAGNOs – i.e. they were also members of WAGGGS – compared to the 121 that were only members of WOSM.

2.5. The National Federations case

The WAGGGS and WOSM constitutions establish that only one member 'association' may be recognized per independent country¹³² and that only 'religious' or 'cultural' factors can be accepted as justification for a state having more than one association and that, as a result, the recognized 'national organization' will be a federation¹³³: "Federations are presently only allowed on the basis of cultural and religious considerations sufficiently important to fully justify the existence of separate associations within a National Organization"¹³⁴. The term '*national organization*' therefore covers both associations and federations. Of the hundred and seventy plus state organizations that are members of WOSM and/or WAGGGS, only twenty-one have a federative structure due to religious or cultural factors, or both.

This situation is changing mainly due to WOSM's policy to promote the model of a single association in each state, particularly since its extension to Eastern Europe in the mid-1990s¹³⁵ after the fall of the communist regimes. Practically none of the newly recognized countries have a federation, with the exception of Bosnia Herzegovina, which also is a federated country. The possibility of creating new Catholic associations has also been rejected – as in Guinea and Benin¹³⁶. Moreover, some countries have been encouraged to merge their open and Catholic Scout associations into one, as in Argentina¹³⁷ (1996) and Ireland (2004).

I will now describe the cases of state organizations with federal structures, which I have summarized in the table below (Table 1):

¹³⁰ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005: 5.

¹³¹ "Document 10: 'Policy Concerning Scout and Guide National Organizations (SAGNOs)' 35th World Scout Conference" (Durban, South Africa, 1999: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1999.

¹³² WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

¹³³ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 d).

¹³⁴ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM', *op. cit.*: 7.

¹³⁵ See WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, September 1995, on the refusal to create a federation in Poland.

¹³⁶ WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, March 1995, August/September 1996, March 1998, November 1998.

¹³⁷ WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, December 1995, November 1996.

In *Gabon* (WOSM), there are three associations: one lay, one Catholic, and one Unionist.

In *Ireland* (WAGGGS), there are two associations: one non-denominational and one Catholic (the two WOSM associations merged in 2004).

In *Italy* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are two associations, both of which are SAGNOs: one non-denominational and one Catholic.

In the *Lebanon* (WOSM), there are more than fifteen associations in a single federation, but I have not found any public documents in a language other than Arabic detailing what these are.

In *Luxemburg* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are three associations: one non-denominational member of WOSM, one Catholic SAGNO, and one non-denominational member of WAGGGS.

In *Madagascar* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are four associations: one Catholic member of WOSM, one multiconfessional SAGNO, one Unionist SAGNO, and one non-denominational member of WAGGGS.

In *Norway* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are two associations, both of which are SAGNOs: one multiconfessional and one linked to the Christian YMCA and YWCA organizations.

In *Portugal* (WOSM), there are two associations: one non-denominational and one Catholic.

In *Senegal* (WOSM), there are two associations: one lay and one Catholic, the latter a confederate of the WAGGGS association¹⁴¹.

In *Sweden* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are five associations, all of which are SAGNOs: one non-denominational, one linked to the Mission Covenant Youth religious association, one linked to the Christian YMCA and YWCA organizations, one linked to the Salvation Army, and one linked to the Temperance movement (against the consumption of alcohol).

b) Countries with federations on cultural or on religious and cultural grounds

Nowadays, only six recognized state organizations have different Scout associations based on 'cultural' grounds: Belgium, Bosnia Herzegovina, Canada, Denmark, Spain, and Israel. Five of these also have associations linked to some form of religious confession and three also have the ambiguous status of 'associate' of WOSM: the French-speaking Canadian association, the Faeroe Islands association, and the Catalan Federation. *Associate* status, only awarded by WOSM, is defined in each case by an agreement of association between the autonomous organization and the member organization, though in the three existing cases, the purpose is to give a certain recognition and operating autonomy without allowing full recognition.

The Scout federation of *Bosnia Herzegovina* is the only member organization (WOSM) that is a federation solely for cultural/territorial reasons. It was recognized in 1999 and has two associations, one for each of the two republics of the State of Bosnia Herzegovina.

¹⁴⁰ The Catholic "Scouts et Guides de France" association, the largest in France, was created following the merger of the two Catholic WOSM and WAGGGS associations in 2004. In this case, because of the world policy not to accept any new SAGNOs, the new association pays boys' and girls' fees to WOSM and girls' fees to WAGGGS.

¹⁴¹ In the case of Senegal, which I am familiar with through personal experience, the secular association actually has a majority of Muslims who do not identify with the Catholic faith; this can thus generate a paradox whereby, in African countries with a Muslim majority, the exportation of the French "secular/Catholic" model is very different to how it is in the old mother country

In *Belgium* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there is a federation of five associations with a combination of cultural and religious elements: one French-speaking Catholic WOSM member, one French-speaking Catholic WAGGGS member, one French-speaking pluralist SAGNO, one Catholic Flemish SAGNO and one non-denominational Flemish SAGNO¹⁴².

In *Canada* (WOSM), the Catholic French-speaking Scouts du Canada has an agreement of association with the English-speaking organization that has the WOSM title of Scouts of Canada.

Denmark (WOSM and WAGGGS) has a federation of five associations: a pluralist SAGNO, a Baptist SAGNO, one association linked to the Christian YMCA organization and a WOSM member, one for girls only and a WAGGGS member, and one specifically for Greenland, which is a SAGNO; there is also a Scout organization of the Faeroe Islands, which has the status of associate of the Danish federation.

Spain (WOSM and WAGGGS) has a WOSM federation that includes a multiconfessional and a Catholic association; there is also a Catalan organization, which has the status of associate to the Spanish federation, and that is a SAGNO federation of three associations: one lay, one Catholic (linked to the Spanish Catholic association), and one multiconfessional (linked to the Spanish multiconfessional association). Related to WAGGGS, the Catalan SAGNO federation forms a federative 'liaison committee' with the Spanish WAGGGS organization, which is multiconfessional.

Lastly, the Scout Federation of *Israel* consists of five religious and two religious/cultural associations¹⁴³: Hebrew Scouts, *Druze* Scouts, Catholic Scouts, Orthodox Scouts, Arab Scouts – linked to the Muslim faith – and Scouts linked to Arab schools.

2.6. World Organizations and Global Belonging

World Scouting is structured into two international organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS, which have 155 and 144 national associations, respectively, of which 34 belong to both organizations¹⁴⁴: these are called Scout and Guide National Organizations (SAGNOs). Both world organizations are organized around three similar bodies: the Conference, Committee, and Bureau. They are also organized geographically into *regions*, emulating the structure of the world. As I have explained, only women can vote and be elected at the WAGGGS Conference and on its world and regional Committees¹⁴⁵, due to its policy of absolute priority to women. English and French are the two official working languages of both world organizations, but WAGGGS also has Spanish. Since 1990, the world WOSM conferences also use Spanish and Arabic as working languages with a translation system, and Russian was added to this list later on¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴² As I write this, in July 2006, the confessional Flemish Scouting associations are merging with the non-denominational Scout organizations.

¹⁴³ Hebrew Boy and Girl Scout Association; Arab School Boy and Girl Scouts; Israel Druze Boy and Girl Scout Association; Israel Arab Boy and Girl Scouts; Israel Catholic Boy and Girl Scouts; Israel Greek Orthodox Boy and Girl Scouts.

¹⁴⁴ WOSM Website: 'National Scout Organisations'. [Consulted on: 16th June 2007]
http://www.scout.org/es/around_the_world/countries/national_scout_organisations.

¹⁴⁵ "WAGGGS Statement", World Board, WAGGGS, January 1998, where it states that although WAGGGS has male members, only women "would be able to hold WAGGGS offices".

¹⁴⁶ Resolution 21/90 requested that the introduction of Spanish and Arabic as working languages in the world conference be maintained (Resolutions, 33rd World Scout Conference); twelve years later, in his report on the 2002 World Scout Conference, the Secretary General of WOSM, Jacques Moreillon, pointed

The *World Conference* is the governing body of the organization. All national member organizations are represented on it and each has the same number of votes¹⁴⁷. It meets every three years, and its tasks include determining the policy and standards of the world organization and its rules of operation, choosing the elected positions of the World Committee, and approving the entry or expulsion of national member organizations. The venue of the World Conference is chosen by the conference itself from the applications submitted.

The *World Committee*¹⁴⁸ is the executive body of the organization and acts on behalf of the World Conference when it is not held. It is composed of twelve people elected by the World Conference, the Secretary General (WOSM) or Chief Executive (WAGGGS), treasurer, and chairs of the Regional Committees. In WOSM, only the twelve elected members and the Secretary General may vote, while in WAGGGS, only the twelve elected members and the regional chairs may vote. Besides implementing the policies approved by the World Conference, it can recommend or suspend the recognition of a national association and approve the constitutions of associations and their amendments. A Constitutions Committee appointed by the World Committee assists with Scout legal issues.

One chairman and two vice-chairmen of the Committee are chosen from among those elected; these individuals must have originally belonged to a national member organization, which must have put them forward. Constitutionally, once they have been elected, these individuals cease to represent whoever put them forward and represent only the world organization from thereon. There is no quota of any kind: either territorial or, in the case of WOSM, for gender. However, the presence of WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) on the highest executive body is traditionally much higher than the percentage they represent at the World Conference that elects them¹⁴⁹.

The *World Bureau* is the Permanent Secretariat of the organization, headed by the Secretary General (WOSM) or Chief Executive (WAGGGS), who report from their respective bureaux to the Committees and are appointed by the committees themselves. The professional structure of the two world organizations has evolved over the years from a rather *amateur* model – until 1946, the position of director of the World Scout Bureau was unpaid¹⁵⁰ – to a model comparable to that of an international corporation¹⁵¹. In fact, WAGGGS' annual budget for 2006 totalled 5 million pounds sterling, 33% of which came from member fees and 23% from the

out the need for funding to ensure that Spanish, Arabic, and Russian could *also* be official languages of the world organization (Secretary General Report, 36th World Scout Conference, 2002).

¹⁴⁷ At the World Scout Conference (WOSM), each national member organization has six votes (Article 10, WOSM Constitution), and at the World Conference, WAGGGS, each national member organization has one vote (Article 6, Section 3, WAGGGS Constitution).

¹⁴⁸ It is called the World Scout Committee by WOSM and the World Board by WAGGGS.

¹⁴⁹ NAGY, 1985: 139.

¹⁵⁰ NAGY, 1985: 113.

¹⁵¹ "World Scout Committee Triennial Report, 2002-2005", World Scout Bureau, 2005. "Report & Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 2006", World Board, WAGGGS, 2007. The Beresford study revealed that the approximate budgets in pounds sterling for 1998/99 amounted to almost £2 million for WAGGGS and close to £3 million for WOSM, of which the income from member fees totalled £1.3 million (65%) for WAGGGS and £2 million (66%) for WOSM. "Fact-finding Study (WOSM/WAGGGS)", document submitted by John Beresford, Chair of the Constitutions Committee of the WOSM, to the World Scout Committee, 7th October 2000, pp. 20-22).

services of world centres. In 2004, WOSM's budget was 11.5 million Swiss francs (approximately 4.8 million pounds sterling), 50% of which came from member fees. The remaining income of the two organizations comes from donations and financial aid (27% and 21%, respectively) and aid from their respective external financial support structures: the World Scout Foundation (15%) in WOSM's case and the Olave Baden-Powell Society (5%) for WAGGGS.

WOSM introduced the Secretary General position in 1968, which had more political content – right to vote on the World Committee – than the old position of Bureau director. WAGGGS changed the name of the *Bureau Director* to *Chief Executive* in 2005, to give the latter more say in strategic management while denying it any formal powers in World Committee decision-making processes – where, unlike the WOSM Secretary General, the WAGGGS Chief Executive does not have voting rights.

The world organization is decentralized into continental *regions*¹⁵² that depend on the structure of the world, rather than being autonomous and constitutive bodies¹⁵³. So although the regions adapt the world structure to a smaller scale – with a conference, elected committee¹⁵⁴ and bureau – their legislative capacity is constitutionally subject to world regulations and agreements¹⁵⁵, and their bureau is a decentralized part of the World Bureau¹⁵⁶. The WOSM World Bureau has its headquarters in Geneva and regional offices in each region. However, due to financial constraints, WAGGGS regional executives work at the World Bureau headquarters in London, with the exception of the European region, which has had its headquarters in Brussels since the failed attempt to create a joint WAGGGS and WOSM region in the mid-1990s.

The regions issue brings us to the greatest concern of the world organization: the fear of shattering the unity of the movement. In reality, a world organization with such internal diversity will always have a tendency to fragment, particularly because of the two factors that justify the existence of Scout federations in a single country: culture and religion. If the world organization gave greater powers to the regions, this would give more legitimacy to the imposition of their own cultural vision of what Scouting should be and how it should be organized, which could create a situation whereby the geographically decentralized world movement becomes a federation of regional movements that zealously protect their own identity and put their own unique features above those of a common world membership.

¹⁵² These are the Inter-American/West Hemisphere region (1946), the Asia-Pacific region (1956), the Arab region (1956), the European region (1961), the African region (1967) and, since 1996, for WOSM only, there is also the Eurasian region (former USSR). The date in brackets is the date the regions were founded in the WOSM.

¹⁵³ For WOSM, membership of a national Scout organization to its corresponding region is voluntary (WOSM, 1983: Article XIX.1).

¹⁵⁴ The Chairs of the regional WAGGGS committees are members with voting rights on the World Committee; Chairs of the regional WOSM committees attend the meetings of the World Scout Committee in an advisory capacity (and hence, without voting rights).

¹⁵⁵ Both the WOSM Constitution (Article XXI) and the WAGGGS Constitution (Article IX, Section 4), establish that the regulations (Constitution and Statutes) of the regions must be approved by the World Committee and that, in the event of conflict between regional and world regulations, the world regulations will prevail.

¹⁵⁶ The regional directors are employed by the World Bureau, the body that appoints them after consulting with their respective regional committees (WOSM, 1983: Article XIX.2 c)).

Besides its world structure, one distinguishing feature of World Scouting is that its national associations and the individuals forming part of the latter are members of it, i.e. there is a dual membership: individual and institutional. The national organizations are members in that they are legal subjects accepted by the world conference, responsible for compliance with the movement's principles; and the individuals who form part of the national organizations are members of World Scouting in that they have made a personal commitment to the movement's principles. In the words of Jacques Moreillon,

"Individual membership is based on *personal* adherence to the Scout promise, Scout law and Scout principles. Of course, that individual membership has to go through the membership of that person ... of a *recognised* National Scout Organization, which is the only legal entity which can have *institutional* membership to WOSM"¹⁵⁷.

In Scout jurisprudence, there is a legal difference on this matter between the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS). In the year 2000, the Chair of the WOSM Constitutions Committee pointed out that WOSM members are both members of the national Scout organizations and the individuals who belong to these organizations¹⁵⁸, while WAGGGS has specifically stated that "it is the Member Organisation who is the member of WAGGGS, not the individual boy or girl"¹⁵⁹. However, the "*Membership*" references¹⁶⁰ in the Constitutions of the two organizations denote membership of the national organizations. Although the WOSM Constitution says that "[a]ll the members of the Scout Movement are required to adhere to a Scout Promise and Law (...)"¹⁶¹, it is referring to members of the *Scout Movement*, not to *members of the world organization*. The WAGGGS Constitution also discusses adopting the method that includes "Commitment through the Promise and Law"¹⁶², "in wording approved by the World Board"¹⁶³ as being a condition for membership of a national organization.

Despite the apparent confusion between *movement* and *organization*, therefore, constitutional membership of the *world organization* is, in both cases, held by the *national organizations*¹⁶⁴, although individuals become members of the *movement* – a subject that cannot be determined as an organization – precisely through their personal commitment to the system of values (the *Promise* and the *Law*), an essential element of the method shared by WOSM and WAGGGS. This personal commitment can only be made within a national organization, which has the power

¹⁵⁷ "Meaning and Relevance of the World Organization of the Scout Movement. Address by Dr. Jacques Moreillon, Secretary General of WOSM, to the Summit Meeting of the 20th Inter-American Scout Conference". Guadalajara, Mexico, 21 March 1998.

¹⁵⁸ "Membership of WOSM is both individual (in that each individual is required, inter alia, to make the personal commitment of the Promise in order to become a member of WOSM) and also corporate (in that WOSM recognises the National Scout Organisation as a whole, and through it its individual members)". "Fact-finding Study (WOSM/WAGGGS)", document submitted by John Beresford, Chair of the Constitutions Committee of the WOSM, to the World Scout Committee, 7th October 2000, pp. 9.

¹⁵⁹ WAGGGS World Circular 3003 (on the presence of boys in WAGGGS associations), April 1998.

¹⁶⁰ Article V (Membership), WOSM Constitution; Article V (Membership), WAGGGS Constitution.

¹⁶¹ Article II.2 (Adherence to a Promise and Law), WOSM Constitution.

¹⁶² Article V.1 (Criteria of Membership) *b) i*, WAGGGS Constitution.

¹⁶³ Article V.1 (Criteria of Membership) *a*, WAGGGS Constitution.

¹⁶⁴ Beresford's statement in his report clearly equates 'organization' with 'movement' and is backed up by a statement made by WAGGGS at a time when the admission policy regarding boys was requested to be left up to the associations; in 2002, however, the WAGGGS World Conference decided to end the admission of boys in associations that did not have any boy members at the time.

to formulate the text of the Promise and the Law with the approval of the world organization. Hence, the idea of *dual membership*: legally, the national organizations are the legal subjects, but the conscious membership of *individuals* of World Scouting as a movement has also been one of its differentiating features since the early days.

3. RECOGNITION AND BELONGING

World Scouting is a global movement that, besides principles and aims, has a series of self-established regulations and decision-making systems. Nonetheless, with its international scope and great cultural diversity, it is difficult to separate World Scouting from the many attempts to imitate it, ever since it was established, which have adopted its appearance or some of its practices in order to take advantage of its public image. Beyond merely profiting from the prestige of Scouting, these attempts at imitation can also have a destructive effect on it when they are of dubious quality or when their ideological profile is discriminatory or goes against the principles of the movement. By marking out who does and does not belong to World Scouting, we can consider it as a defined subject. In both World Scouting organizations, this practice is what is known as the 'recognition policy'.

3.1. Relevance of the Recognition Policy

In 1923, the League of Nations unanimously passed a resolution put forward by the Chilean delegate urging governments to set up special mechanisms for when recognized Scout associations visited the countries of other associations. When the Austrian Scout association asked its government, "the Austrian Government had replied that they did not know what constituted a "recognised Association" within the meaning of the resolution"¹⁶⁵. It was then suggested that the governments of the *League* be sent a list of Scout associations recognized by the Boy Scouts International Bureau.

On 22nd July 1998, four adolescents and a boatman died in an accident on what was, as far as French public opinion was concerned, a Scout activity: four scouts had died in a Scout activity led by a "reactionary priest", and the cause of the accident was "undue care and deliberate failure to meet the safety obligations"¹⁶⁶. However, the group consisted of members of the "non-recognized" Association Française des Scouts et Guides Catholiques, a member association of the also non-recognized Ordre Scout federation, made up of thirteen reactionary Catholic groups that had broken ties with Rome¹⁶⁷, and not members of either WOSM or WAGGGS. In October of the same year, a member of the non-recognized association Guides et Scouts d'Europe living in the French town of Fréjus was sent a mail-order catalogue by a company with connections to the far-right-wing Front National that sold books and CDs with Nazi SS songs and the thoughts of the excommunicated right-wing

¹⁶⁵ Report to the Secretary General: Report of the League Representatives to the Third International Scout Conference, Copenhagen, August 1924, pp. 5 and 10. Document No. 38.191, League of Nations archive, Geneva.

¹⁶⁶ "Justice: Les trous de mémoire de l'abbé Cottard au procès de la noyade des scouts". Article published in *Le Monde* on 20th October 1999.

¹⁶⁷ "Une association proche de l'extrême droite". Article published in *Le Monde* on 25th of July 1998.

Archbishop Lefebvre and Jean-Marie Le Pen. When the boy's father demanded explanations from the "Scout" association after noticing that the layout of the details on the label was identical, they told him by telephone that a member of the association had processed the details in error¹⁶⁸. The Guides et Scouts d'Europe association is not a member of WOSM or WAGGGS either. At the time of the accident in Brittany, the Catholic French WOSM association, Scouts de France, made the following statement:

"L'Association Française des Scouts et Guides Catholiques n'est pas reconnue par les instances nationales et mondiales du scoutisme et n'est pas agréée par le Ministère de la jeunesse et des sports. Cette association, comme une trentaine d'autres dans notre pays, use et abuse du terme "scout", non déposable en l'état, et en dévoie les valeurs fondamentales"¹⁶⁹.

The five associations that make up the Scoutisme Français federation, which is a member of WOSM and WAGGGS, subsequently drew up a "Charte de Qualité du Scoutisme" to assure the general public that "recognized" scouts had no problems with safety or extremist ideology. But more crucial than their fight for quality was the battle for the "label", which they eventually lost: after ten years of legal trials for misappropriation of the term "Scout" and for "pratiques éducatives dangereuses pour les jeunes", the far-right association won the court case and called itself the "Association Française des Scouts et Guides Catholiques"¹⁷⁰. These examples illustrate the importance of World Scouting's "recognition policy".

It is traditionally held that Scouting was born in 1907¹⁷¹, when Robert Baden-Powell organized a pilot camp on the island of Brownsea to put into practice his idea of adapting the exploration practices – "*Scouting*" – of soldiers in the British dominions to adolescents for educational purposes. Although this view is consistent with the application of what would later become the Scout method – put into practice for the first time in August 1907 – it is inaccurate if it refers to Scouting as a world educational movement. The confusion in academic discussions has probably come about because two major turning points in the history of what was a simple methodological idea have not been paid enough attention: 1909 and 1920.

The first is the year of the founding of the Boy Scouts Association UK in 1909. Since the publication of *Scouting for Boys* in 1908, the idea of *Scouting* as formulated by Baden-Powell was open in nature, as revealed in the text itself, which meant that anybody who wished to could take it up¹⁷². However, with the creation in the UK of the Boy Scouts Association in 1909 – and the Girl Guides in 1910 – Scouting became an organized idea with a legitimate institution, headed by Baden-Powell, that recognized the King as '*Patron*', and with a procedure to establish the elements defining what is and is not *Scouting*. The idea was no longer a methodological

¹⁶⁸ "Les fichiers baladeurs des Guides et Scouts d'Europe. Le mouvement scout tente de remettre de l'ordre dans ses rangs". Article published in *Le Monde* on 25th April 1999.

¹⁶⁹ [The Association Française des Scouts et Guides Catholiques is not recognized either by the national or World Scouting authorities and has not been approved by the Ministry of Youth and Sport. This association, along with another thirty or so in our country, uses and abuses the term "Scout" (a term that cannot be registered in our State) and distorts its fundamental values]. "Le mouvement scout tente de préserver son image". Article published in *Le Monde* on 20th October 1999.

¹⁷⁰ "Une association proche de l'extrême droite". Article published in *Le Monde* on 25th of July 1998.

¹⁷¹ '100/2007: A Centenary of Scouting'. 2007 World Scout Task Force for the 100th Anniversary of Scouting. World Scout Bureau. WOSM: 2004.

¹⁷² BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 5.

suggestion to be freely adapted; it was now a product that its inventor – and the association he was creating – had the exclusive on across the British Empire. However, nobody had anticipated the possibility of the rapid spread of associations that saw themselves as Scouts in many countries outside British influence, because the view was that the Scout associations were independent subjects in each country.

The visits made by Baden-Powell at the request of diverse countries to talk about *Scouting* were not geared towards setting up a supranational organization. Nonetheless, the traumatic experience of World War I, the ideal of the League of Nations, and the ideological commitment that Baden-Powell undertook with the idea of promoting peace led to the second turning point: the establishment of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in 1920, followed by the Constituting Conference of 1922. Until then, *Scouting* had legally been a British organization, the practices, image, and name of which had been adopted in diverse countries from different standpoints. After 1920 though, under the enthusiastic leadership of Baden-Powell followed by British Scouting, an organization was set up as the single world authority on the bases of Scouting, which were no longer a matter for the opinion or interpretation of the different countries.

From this point on, all associations founded by the world organization agreed to submit to a single authority on Scouting, i.e. international laws that they themselves legislated. Through collective debate and a guarantee system, the new world organization could, for instance, establish that Scouting was not militarist, agree that each Scout association could place national loyalty before international fraternity, or impose ideological and organizational limits that could not be overstepped either by new candidate associations or existing members. It could also “recognize” as new associations any that met the established common conditions, which would then become members, and it could withdraw recognition from associations that breached these conditions. Since 1920, then, Scouting has become an integral world movement, which means that local groups, national associations, and the world organization at global level form a whole.

The equivalence between “membership” of the world organization and “recognition” as a Scout organization is not so much a “label” issue as an essential element to guarantee the coherence of the educational and associational project of any organization that wishes to join “Scouting”. Even in the early days of British Scouting, attempts to prevent imitations focused on British society and were not designed to ensure an exclusive international public presence. There is documentary evidence to show that Baden-Powell encouraged the creation of *Scouting* associations outside the British Empire with his visits and conferences, both before and after 1920¹⁷³. The concern was – and still is – mainly to ensure that the term “Scouting” was not used to refer to practices that went against the principles of Scouting: excluding nationalism as opposed to national commitment with a cosmopolitan vision, paramilitarism as opposed to educating the character of the individual, partisanship as opposed to freedom of opinion, discrimination as

¹⁷³ BADEN-POWELL, 1913: *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd.

opposed to openness, instrumentation as opposed to independence, compulsory as opposed to voluntary. Jacques Moreillon summarized it thus:

"Confronted at national level with many individuals and groups that spontaneously call themselves Scouts, there would be no way of telling who is really a Scout and who is not if there was not a World "Organization" with the legal and moral authority to deliver (or not deliver) the Scout "label". But this coherence, this unity of purpose, principles and method, is not only a defensive, limiting factor: it is also a decisive factor of *synergy* and *dynamism*, a constructive force that strengthens the existing National Scout Organizations and permits the birth of new ones"¹⁷⁴.

In fact, many youth movements took advantage of Scouting's popularity in the first quarter of the century by adopting some of its aesthetic elements, even in fascist or communist regimes like the German *Hitler Jugend*, fascist Italian *Balillas*, or Soviet Pioneers, where Scouting had previously been banned.¹⁷⁵ Besides the aesthetic issue, there was also a language problem. Although many languages adopted the original English term 'Scout', other languages developed terms or adapted synonyms that were more deeply rooted in their own tradition, such as *escolta* in Catalan, *éclaireur* in French, *pfadfinder* in German, *escoteiro* in Portuguese, and *spejder* in Danish and Norwegian. So, in order to organize a worldwide movement with the same principles but with an image and terminology that varied from country to country, and prevent its image from being used for ends other than its own, a recognition system had to be set up through membership of a world organization.

The inseparable dual national and global dimension of World Scouting, which respects the diversity of national frameworks while maintaining a set of common minimums established democratically for everybody, is one of the least studied and yet most relevant issues of the Scout Movement. Its relevance stems from the fact that Scouting bases its model of a movement for educating citizens on the combination of the classic republican idea of loyalty to one's country and the cosmopolitan idea of the sense of belonging and commitment to the community formed by all human beings. This combination is not only a constitutional condition that World Scouting has established for all its members: the international nature of its vast network is also part of the educational action carried out by Scout associations in order to achieve it. I will now therefore analyse international recognition from a different point of view. If Scouting's education of citizens combines national loyalty with the sense of global membership, through the establishment of a legitimate world organization and the experiences created by the organization itself, then "recognition" of an association involves much more than the straightforward authorization to use the name. For an association that considers itself a Scout association, being "recognized" involves being subject to the world organization rights and duties, accepting shared authority, being subject to the established rules of the game and participating in their renewal, and taking part in the international experiences that stimulate the sense of global belonging, instead of limiting itself to formulating these as an abstract idea.

¹⁷⁴ "Meaning and Relevance of the World Organization of the Scout Movement. Address by Dr. Jacques Moreillon, Secretary General of WOSM, to the Summit Meeting of the 20th Inter-American Scout Conference". Guadalajara, Mexico, 21 March 1998.

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 2. Scouting was banned in fascist European regimes and all communist regimes.

3.2. Differentiating between what is and is not Scouting

World Scouting is an institutionalized movement with self-established principles and regulations, but the popularity of the name and method has led many movements to adopt the name 'Scouting' without being a member of it. This is traditionally known as 'non-recognized Scouting'. However, as I will explain later, I believe this expression to be incorrect because it implies that there are two types of Scouting: 'recognized' and 'non-recognized' Scouting, something I consider to be wrong. Briefly, I propose that we only use the term 'Scouting' to refer to practices that meet the essential characteristics of World Scouting and are carried out by members of the WOSM and WAGGGS organizations, since I have indicated that World Scouting is an institutionalized movement that has established its own principles and rules of operation.

Membership and international recognition are intrinsic to the Scout identity. Scouting is more than the straightforward conformity with its principles and following of its method; precisely because of its combination of educating citizens, loyalty to one's country, and global commitment, Scouts must form part of the world organization that gives meaning to the movement's triple axis of local, national, and global action. Without becoming a member of the world organization, the ability to think, prepare, and have an impact from supranational to local level, is merely discursive, and thus cannot adequately contribute to the purpose of World Scouting as a movement. World Scouting is not simply a federation of national associations that have come together to share experiences; it is a structured movement that clearly sets out the ideological and organizational limits of those who form a part of it. In a statement by Robert Baden-Powell at the WAGGGS International Conference of 1928, he stresses the importance of the world organization's integral nature as opposed to a federal approach, thus illustrating this point particularly well:

"We must from the outset avoid making our International Conference a "Parliament" – that is, a meeting of *representatives* of different countries. If we allow the spirit of national interests to come in to conflict with our one interest "the girl" we are going to miss the essential spirit that should inspire us. The work of delegates [at the International Conference] is to bring their experiences from all parts of the world to bear upon and help the better training of *the girl*. It is not to watch the interests of their particular country as against those of other countries. Unless and until we are not assured of the right spirit it would be better that we should not attempt to start an International organization"¹⁷⁶.

The historical context of different countries has created confusion between Scouting and movements that call themselves this without actually being Scouts. When a country talks about the "start of Scouting", it does not differentiate between the time the association was created and the time it was recognized. This confusion is logical because, in many cases, the world organizations were set up after the national associations, which actually founded their organizations. As a result, World

¹⁷⁶ "Memorandum: By the Founder on the Report of the World Conference", dated 19th July 1928, page 4. Annex to the "Historical Report of the Conference which took place in Hungary, May 1928", signed by Katharine Furse, Secretary of the Conference, on 22nd July 1928. World Bureau Archive, WAGGGS.

Scouting organizations tend to indicate the year in which they were founded, along with the year that Scouting was recognized in the country, which suggests that a Scout association existed before it was recognized, thus giving rise to confusion.

Germany is an example of this: before 1945, we know that there were a number of movements in Germany that called themselves "Scouts"; these were outlawed by the Nazi regime in 1933¹⁷⁷ with the requirement that they joined the *Hitler Jugend*. However, the Boy Scouts International Bureau did not recognize any of these organizations until after World War II because of their fragmentation and excluding nationalism. The case of Germany illustrates the confusion that often arises when discussing the ideological profile of Scouting. Firstly, if we do not know that World Scouting has had the exclusive authority to determine which associations meet the common requirements allowing them to be called Scouts since 1920, we cannot differentiate between recognized Scout associations – those that constitutionally form part of World Scouting – and associations that adopt the name of '*Scouting*' without being part of it. Secondly, if we fail to make this differentiation, we could fall into the trap of evaluating Scouting on the basis of associations that are not part of World Scouting, even though they call themselves Scouts. To continue with our example of Germany, if somebody were to analyse Scouting in Germany and say that before 1945 Scouting had an excluding nationalist discourse, we would have to answer that there was no association before 1945 that could be considered a "Scout" association based on world criteria.

As I have said, one of the problems with academic analyses of Scouting is precisely methodological nationalism, i.e. the tendency to study national cases without taking into account the existence of a world organization that sets the standard. These studies barely ever distinguish recognized Scouting from similar movements that adopt the name, nor do they dwell on the constitutional difference introduced by international recognition. The threat of imitation has been a constant in the history of Scouting ever since it was founded in England. In the British Empire, the monarchy's rapid institutional recognition dispelled any doubts about the exclusivity of the representativeness of *Scouting*. However, the international spread of associations calling themselves 'Scout' associations from 1909 to 1920 looked set to downgrade the quality standard that Baden-Powell sought. To cite an example, the first documented activity of '*Scouting*' in Catalonia dates back to 1911, when an excursionist called Ramon Soler organized a series of activities for boys in Barcelona simply by imitating a set of postcards from the Boy Scouts Association UK with pictures of *Scouts* on them¹⁷⁸.

From the outset, the aesthetic aspect played an extremely important role. With the creation of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in 1920 (which later became WOSM), followed by that of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) in 1928, World Scouting was institutionalized into two organizations (male and female) and three main axes were established to mark the difference between what Scouting was and was not: a) the essential characteristics (principles

¹⁷⁷ NAGY, 1985: 103.

¹⁷⁸ GABARRÓ, Marcel: "L'escoltisme a Catalunya (1912-1939)", p. 104; in: *Barcelona d'excursió*. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1999: 100-133.

and definition); b) the promotion of its unity, c) and the defence of the brand and intellectual property¹⁷⁹.

a) The first axis, '*essential characteristics*', has served as an ideological basis for Scouting. I explained the contents of these in Section 1 of this chapter, but it is interesting to note that the bases for these limits were established at the first world conferences (1922 and 1924). The most important was the already quoted Resolution 14/24, which proclaims the "principles of 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"¹⁸⁰.

This text indicates the movement's vocation of educating the individual, national commitment, international inspiration – without national barriers – and openness to origin, class, and creed, with a direct reference to anti-sectarian ecumenical inspiration. Resolution 11/22 also points out that membership must be voluntary, and 16/24 "re-asserts and emphasizes the non-military character of the Boy Scout Movement" adding that its aims are to develop "a spirit of harmony and goodwill between individuals and between nations". Resolutions were also passed requesting that competitions were not held between countries at the *Jamborees* so as not to undermine international fraternity, and political propaganda was forbidden in Scouting activities¹⁸¹. Since these early resolutions, there have been many others that have defined further the purpose, principles, and method of the Scout Movement¹⁸², but before the constitutional reform of 1977 that established the principles, as I explained in Section 2, the "principles" were described in resolutions on two other occasions. A resolution of 1957 described the

"fundamental principles of Scouting as founded by the former Chief Scout of the World, the late Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell: 1. Duty to God; 2. Loyalty to one's own country; 3. Faith in world friendship and brotherhood; 4. Accepting, freely undertaking and practising the ideals set forth in the Scout law and Promise; 5. Independence of political influence; 6. Voluntary membership. 7. The unique system

¹⁷⁹ The analysis of these three axes is based on resolutions of World Scout Conferences, which have all been published. Despite my requests to the WAGGGS World Bureau, archive problems have meant that it was not possible to access the resolutions approved by the WAGGGS world conferences since it was established.

¹⁸⁰ WOSM, 1985: 3 (Resolution 14/24, "Principles of Scouting").

¹⁸¹ WOSM, 1985: 1 (Res. 11/22, "Membership, Voluntary"), 5 (Res. 16/24, "Policy, Non-Military"; Res. 11/26, "Jamborees, Competitions"), 11 (15/33, "Political Propaganda"), 15 (Res. 16/37, "Political Propaganda").

¹⁸² Resolutions 15/37 "Patriotism"; 16/49 "Membership, Voluntary"; 27/49 on the freedom of peoples and nations; 18/55 on the contribution to peace; 8/61 "Duty to God/Religion"; 8/65 "Training for citizenship, Community Service". WOSM: 1985.

of training, based on the patrol system, activities in the open air and learning by doing; 8. Service to others"¹⁸³

And twelve years later, in 1969, as part of the constitutional reform led by Nagy, the national, international, and universal nature of Resolution 14/24 quoted earlier took on greater importance. More crucially, however, it highlighted the fact that these elements had to form the basis of the recognition policy, a policy that was on a different level to – and effectively *above* – the powers of legal recognition of the public authorities in the various countries:

"Therefore, the Conference reaffirms that the conditions for international recognition of any national scout organization (and its membership) are set forth in the Constitution of the Boy Scouts World Conference. Recognition does not represent intrusion into the field of politics, nor should it be considered by any government or official as affecting the sovereignty or diplomatic status of any country"¹⁸⁴.

The message was clear enough: the Scouting recognition policy is exclusive to the world organization, objectively and based on the established conditions – principles and definition – not to the recognition of the public authorities. This message needs to be understood in a dual context. Firstly, unlike in socialist countries where Scouting was outlawed, the Polish government simply changed the reference to God in the principles of the Polish Scout association to a reference to socialism¹⁸⁵. The world organization refused to accept this and withdrew Poland's recognition. Secondly, during the decolonizing process, many new States considered that the powers of recognition for new Scout associations in these countries fell within the scope of the state authorities, and the resolution wanted to clarify that recognition could only come from the world organization.

b) The 'promotion of unity' is the second axis for setting out what Scouting is and is not. Since the early days, it has involved trying to halt the fragmenting tendency of a movement that covers a huge cultural, territorial, and religious diversity, and to maintain the policy of a single organization per "country" – later be re-written as "State". The first resolution on this matter was 12/22, which adopted the British model of one association per country as being the most desirable, and insisted that if a country did have more than one, it would be an exception:

"The Conference decided that wherever possible, in the best interests of the boys of all nations, every reasonable effort be made for an amalgamation of the various associations in any one country and if this be impracticable, the various associations concerned arrange themselves for the selection of one International Commissioner to do business with the International Bureau"¹⁸⁶.

Initially, the concern for unity was caused by cases such as France, which had a number of associations of specific religions and one lay one. As time passed, the difficulties of managing the international dimension of the organization, which covered a huge cultural diversity spanning five continents and had a major task ahead of it with the decolonizing process and the creation of new independent

¹⁸³ WOSM, 1985: 41 (Res. 19/57, "Keynote Resolution").

¹⁸⁴ WOSM, 1985: 59 (Res. 3/69, "Declaration of Principle").

¹⁸⁵ "Note on the current situation in the Polish Scout Movement". Monthly Report of the Secretary General of WOSM, July 1989.

¹⁸⁶ WOSM, 1985: 1 (Res. 12/22, "Unity").

states, generated the fear of regional disintegration in addition to the existing fear of disintegration for religious reasons. As I mentioned earlier, the concern over this fragmenting tendency was the reason why the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva was commissioned to do the 1965 study, which led to Laszlo Nagy's "Report on World Scouting"¹⁸⁷ in 1967. Two years afterwards, the Conference adopted a resolution that reiterated this view:

"It directs the World Committee to ensure that any new country wishing to apply for membership of the Conference shall be encouraged and helped as necessary to establish a single, united national organization open to all boys"¹⁸⁸.

The modern version of the text of the WOSM and WAGGGS Constitutions¹⁸⁹ echo this view, which establishes unity within each country and between world regions.

c) The third and final axis distinguishing what Scouting is and what it is not, is the '*defence of the brand and intellectual property*'. At the 1924 International Scout Conference, a resolution asked associations "to prevent or combat any unauthorized use of Scout titles, uniforms, badges or insignia" to ensure that only recognized associations – i.e. members – could use them. This request was reiterated at the conferences of 1931 and 1959¹⁹⁰. For example, as Parsons explains in his research on Scouting in Britain's African colonies, the prestige of the Scout uniforms was reason for trafficking with them in various countries¹⁹¹. The policy of the world organization has been to encourage each recognized association to register the copyright of the world emblem in their respective country. Diverse resolutions have regulated copyright management for the reproduction of Scout publications from other countries, and even for the translation of world organization documents by recognized associations into the languages of the different countries¹⁹². The relevance of this axis lies in the need to avoid public confusion between recognized Scouting and organizations that use the Scout name when they are not members and do not share its defining principles and elements.

To summarize then, the difference between what is and what is not Scouting has been founded on a combination of these three axes: the principles and defining elements; the promotion of unit; and the defence of the brand and intellectual property. Nonetheless, throughout its history, the recognition policy has come across problems both in its definition and its execution, and these problems still need to be addressed if Scouting is to be clarified as a world association subject.

3.3. Practices and Problems with the Recognition Policy

The ability to grant or withdraw the recognition of a Scout association¹⁹³ is probably the most significant power of the two organizations of World Scouting, WOSM and

¹⁸⁷ NAGY, 1967.

¹⁸⁸ WOSM, 1985: 61 (Res. 4/69, "Unity of Scouting").

¹⁸⁹ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

¹⁹⁰ WOSM, 1985: 3 (Res. 12/24 "Protection of Uniform, etc."), 9 (Res. 12/31 "Protection of Uniform, etc."), 43 (Res. 7/59 "Legal Protection").

¹⁹¹ PARSONS, 2004: xi.

¹⁹² WOSM, 1985: Resolutions 10/24, 11/35, 11/51, 23/63.

¹⁹³ I will reiterate here that for the purpose of this research work, the terminological difference between 'Scout' and 'Girl Guide/Girl Scout' introduced by WOSM and WAGGGS is irrelevant because both organizations mutually recognize each other's legitimacy. Moreover, they were founded by the same person based on the same principles, contain member associations with dual membership, and only

WAGGGS, since it is this practice that allows them to ensure the unity and uniformity of World Scouting in the midst of such diversity. In the section on history, I have already pointed out the mistake of trying to analyse World Scouting before 1920, because it was not until then that international Scouting existed as a defined and analysable subject. It is only with the founding of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in 1920, followed by the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts in 1928, that we can talk about World Scouting without ambiguity.

When the World Scouting organizations were set up, they established the capacity for recognition by combining the application of intellectual property rights with a democratic decision-making system. Firstly, because Robert Baden-Powell, the man who invented and defined *Scouting*, establishing its purposes and principles and institutionalizing it as an association in Great Britain, was also the man who spearheaded the creation and development of the two World Scouting organizations¹⁹⁴, which always recognized his moral authority¹⁹⁵. And secondly, because these world organizations immediately established a democratic decision-making system to guarantee that what was and was not Scouting were defined through the collective debate of all member associations of the world organization and not, as could have been the case, the result of arbitrary and unclear decisions made by a self-invested elite.

Since their establishment then, the WOSM and WAGGGS world organizations have been the legitimate subjects both for setting the standards that Scout organizations must meet and for recognising what Scouting is and is not. This system differs from that of other civic organizations around the world. In some cases, such as many federations of youth associations, the international organization is a federation of organizations that carry out the same type of action (educational, cultural, student, etc.) and perhaps have a set of very general principles. In others, such as Amnesty International or Greenpeace, the national groups operate like franchises that follow guidelines set down on a worldwide basis. Even the international organizations of political parties only ask their formations to assume a foundational manifesto, i.e. to indicate their agreement with the general principles.

World Scouting asks for more. The constitutions of the two world organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS, establish that only one organization can be recognized per state and that this organization must adhere to the purpose and principles of World Scouting, that it must wholly adopt the method, that it has a Promise and Law text approved by the world organization, and that it is open, without discrimination, to all those who wish to adhere to the principles of the movement. Furthermore, the national organization must be independent, non-partisan, self-governed, and

remain separate organizations largely because of a difference in opinion on how to promote equality of the sexes.

¹⁹⁴ A clear example is quoted in "Memorandum: By the Founder on the Report of the World Conference", 1928, addressed to the team carrying out the institutionalization of WAGGGS.

¹⁹⁵ The moral authority of Baden-Powell, and even the title "Chief Scout of the World" he was awarded by acclamation at the London Jamboree of 1920, were democratically established by the new body at the subsequent World Conference, the first to adopt resolutions (Paris, 1922). Resolution (3/22) establishes that "The Conference re-affirms its recognition of Sir Robert Baden-Powell as the Chief Scout of the World and asserts its belief that the ideals as set forth in Scouting for Boys are so fundamental as to transcend the limit of race and country. They place on record their appreciation of the immense obligation under which the world lies for the system which his genius has evolved and the distribution of that system to all nations to which his personality has materially contributed". WOSM, 1985: 1.

voluntary. The competent body for accepting new organizations as members is the World Conference, at which all national organizations have the right to vote. The WOSM constitutional text says the following on the subject:

"Membership of a National Scout Organization in the World Organization requires: (a) Establishment of its legal entity and evidence of its national operation. (b) Adoption of and sustained adherence to the purpose, principles and method as laid down by Chapter I of this Constitution. (c) Enrolment to be open to all who agree to conform with the purpose, principles and method of the Movement. (d) Maintenance of the Organization as an independent, non-political, voluntary movement of probity and effectiveness. (e) Registration with the World Bureau. (f) Regular payment of its registration fees. (g) Notification to the World Bureau of any intended changes to its National Scout Constitution relating to matters covered by Chapters I, II and III of this Constitution, before these are finally ratified. (h) Submission of an annual report to the World Bureau"¹⁹⁶.

The WAGGGS Constitution states:

"A Member of the World Association shall be a National Organization which: (a) adheres to the Fundamental Principles and has a Promise and Law, in wording approved by the World Board, which embodies the essential elements of the Original Promise and Law; (b) adopts the method of the Girl Guide/Girl Scout Movement (...).(c) Has a membership which is: *i.* voluntary; *ii.* open to all girls and young women without distinction of creed, race, nationality, or any other circumstance; (d) is self-governing, with freedom to formulate its policy and put it into practice; (e) is independent of any political organization and any political party"¹⁹⁷.

Both world organizations have a Constitutions Committee, the members of which are appointed by the respective World Committee, to advise on matters relating to the constitutionality of the legal frameworks of member organizations and the adaptation of their *Promise* and *Law* texts to the constitutional principles of the movement.

Over the years, the complex recognition policy has proved difficult both to define and implement. In fact, a substantial section of the 1967 "Report on World Scouting", directed by Laszlo Nagy, is rightly devoted to the "policy of recognition"¹⁹⁸, with the criticism that "it is not always applied with the same rigour". The study argues that the recognition policy established by the WOSM Constitution had been "slightly overridden by the evolution of the movement", that the text was incomplete, insufficient or not defined clearly enough, and that it was not always put into practice. It also revealed that the World Bureau had produced a document¹⁹⁹ to indicate how to apply the relevant article of the Constitution, but even that was "vague in some essential points"²⁰⁰. The report added that neither admission requests nor resignments were normally carried out on the initiative of the World Organization. Therefore, exclusions aside (which only took place exceptionally), the recognition policy was more a reaction than an action²⁰¹. However, it was not until ten years later, in 1977, that WOSM changed the

¹⁹⁶ WOSM, 1983: Article V.3.

¹⁹⁷ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1.

¹⁹⁸ NAGY, 1967: 42-50 (in Section II: "Problems concerning the unity of the movement").

¹⁹⁹ "Summary of Procedure as to Recognition and Registration of National Scout Organizations applying for Admission to the Boy Scouts World Conference". NAGY, 1967, Appendix H: 189-190.

²⁰⁰ NAGY, 1967: 42.

²⁰¹ NAGY, 1967: 41.

constitutional text of the Scouting principles for a clearer definition and to establish the limits of their adaptation in each country, an essential move for delimiting exactly what can and cannot be considered Scouting.

Nonetheless, the recognition policy, beginning with the very name, is still the Achilles' heel of World Scouting. Neither of the organizations has developed a clear line of argument on the link between democratic membership, recognition, and the possibility of generating change from within, which has led to the creation of organizations, particularly in the last fifteen years, calling themselves Scouts but which are not World Scouting members. Without making a rigid classification as such, Nagy's report highlights what I think are the three main elements found at the heart of many splits and which, paradoxically, have been crucial to the growth of World Scouting. The first is Scouting's interaction with other organizations that support it because they supposedly have the same purpose, particularly churches and religious confessions: I will deal with element this later. The second element is the cultural factor, i.e. the organization's identification with a specific national or regional group, which sometimes differs from the officially recognized one. And the third element is the discrepancy on interpretations of the differential characteristics of the association, i.e. how true it is to the original associative model. Interestingly, the two biggest international organizations that use the 'Scout' name without being members of World Scouting, '*Scouts d'Europe*' and the '*World Federation of Independent Scouts*' were the result, in the one case, of interaction with the Catholic church and, in the other, of a conflict over association culture in the associations of a number of countries.

As I mentioned in the Structure section, the official policy of WAGGGS and WOSM is only to recognize one 'association' per country²⁰². In the special cases where a country has more than one association, a 'federation' must be created²⁰³, which will be the recognized 'national organization'. The term '*national organization*' therefore covers both associations and federations. Only 'religious' and 'cultural' factors can justify a single State having more than one association, which means that the third factor I will deal with – conflict over the vision of association – is the only one of the three that has never been recognized by organizations as justification for the division of Scouting in a country. While the associative vision remains within the limits agreed worldwide, the majority vision adopted in each case is backed.

3.4. Factor One: Religious Confessions. The *Scouts d'Europe* case

The adoption of Scouting by other organizations, including religious, is mentioned in the very first edition of *Scouting for Boys* in 1908. The introduction, addressed to "instructors", says "the [scout] system is applicable to existing organisations such as schools, boy's brigades, cadet corps, etc., or can supply a simple organisation of its own where these do not exist"²⁰⁴. The founding of the Boy Scouts Association UK, however, meant that the alternative, "[to] supply a simple organisation of its own", was put into practice and organizations wanting to apply the Scout method

²⁰² WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

²⁰³ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 d).

²⁰⁴ BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 5.

were then subject to decisions made by the Scout association on the method. This difference is very important. If the model had been maintained whereby a book inspired a method called Scouting in which each group or organization had absolute freedom as to how to apply it, we could not discuss Scouting as a defined organizational subject; we would have to refer to it as a more or less defined educational method, like active education. However, the creation of a legitimate organization to set the standards, first in Britain (1909) and then throughout the world (1920), forced organizations who wanted to employ the Scout method to do so in accordance with the methodological and ideological guidelines of the corresponding Scout organization.

There is one exception to this: the North-American WOSM association, Boy Scouts of America. This is the only organization that has always had a system in which sponsors are responsible for much of the programme's implementation, even down to the selection of Scoutmasters. Following Kunz (1967), I define this model of Scouting sponsorship as a special case of interorganizational relations where the sponsored organization uses other organizations to implement its programme at a basic level²⁰⁵. I will analyse the negative effects of this model when I come to discuss incoherencies in practices in Chapter 5.

Although Scouting opted for the model of forming its own association, in England in 1909 and in the rest of the world in 1920 – with the single exception of the USA – it always sought the cooperation of civic institutions, associations, parishes, and schools to promote the movement, and it is this model that has made it so strong. The model is based on a symbiosis, in the sense that some of the principles of the collaborating institution are implemented through the principles of the Scout Movement. However, there is always a general danger of upsetting the balance of this symbiosis, like when a parish tries to use Scouting as a tool for catechism or a church wants to use it as a tool for evangelism, and this use is placed above the principles of the Scout Movement. The prevalence of the principles and characteristics of Scouting over those of the institutions that collaborate with it has been – and is still – one of the most contentious subjects in World Scouting. Although there have been instances where a public institution has tried to use Scouting as a way to transmit the ideology of the regime in question – something I have analysed in the section on global citizenship – this problem has occurred and still occurs today mainly with religious institutions.

The British model of Scout association established in 1909 was originally based on "the universal and ecumenical character of Scouting, which regarded all religions as means of satisfying the spiritual needs of youth"²⁰⁶, which means that the full range of beliefs are covered by a single association and that no church or confession should be above any other in the association. There is also the option of setting up internal committees for a given confession. This model was adopted by almost 90% of WOSM and WAGGGS member organizations and is the organizational basis of World Scouting. However, there has been a very strong inclination towards religious particularism, particularly because of external pressures from churches, and this has led to the creation of associations linked to a single religion. The phenomenon

²⁰⁵ KUNZ, 1969: 666.

²⁰⁶ NAGY, 1985: 100.

began in France, which, in December 1905, passed its Law on the Separation of Church and State²⁰⁷. In 1911, before the World Scouting organization was established, the *Éclaireurs de France* was set up. This was a specifically lay association whose promise made no mention of God, but it adopted the British *Scout* method – *éclaireur* is regarded as a synonym of 'Scout' in French. That same year saw the creation of the *Éclaireurs Unionistes de France*, a Protestant association backed by a leader of the Unions Chrésiennes de Jeunes Gens, the equivalent of the YMCA²⁰⁸. This is how France came to have both a specifically lay association – i.e. one that did not carry out religious activities of any kind, unlike the British association – and an association that was explicitly linked to a church – also unlike the British case, which did not depend on any other institution.

The Catholic church was initially cautious about Scouting, mainly because it was a movement of English origins that also contained elements reminiscent of Freemasonry: just as the Freemasons establish that members must believe in a supreme being, obey the laws of God and men, and extend charity and brotherly love, the principles of Scouting established that the Scout had to believe in God, be loyal to the King, and always help others²⁰⁹. Nonetheless, in the 1920s, the Catholics finally conceded and adopted the French Protestant model. The Catholic Church in Rome began to promote the creation of separate Catholic 'Scout' associations, under the direct responsibility of dioceses. "Many considered this step as "spiritual imperialism" contrary to the universal basis of Scouting as well as dissidence or even an attempt to attract potential priests", says Nagy²¹⁰. The first case was the Associazione Scouts Cattolici Italiani in 1916²¹¹, even though Italy already had a non-denominational association; it was followed by the Scouts de France (1920, followed by the Guides de France in 1923) and the Corpo Nacional de Escutas-Escutismo Cat3lico Portugu3s (1923). Although the Vatican officially recognized the educational value of Scouting in the 1930s, it did so referring to the model of separate Catholic Scout associations, one that was maintained in many French-speaking countries after decolonization and adopted in a number of other cases: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay in the 1960s, and Benin and Guinea in the 1990s. In all of the above instances, Catholic groups split from the recognized Scout organization and set up a separate one²¹².

It was because of France's separation of lay and confessional Scouting, as opposed to the British model of one, non-denominational type of Scouting with religious inspiration, that World Scouting accepted federations when it was formalized in 1920. At the Second International Scout Conference, held in Paris in 1922, one of the hot topics of the new constitutional framework, which was to transform the Constitution into a tool to prevent fragmentation and dissidence, was whether international recognition could only be granted to single associations, as in Britain,

²⁰⁷ The French Law of 1905 established the religious neutrality of the State and its lack of authority in religious matters, in stark contrast to the situation in Britain, where the 1534 Act of Supremacy, inspired by King Henry VIII and passed by Parliament, made the monarch head of the Church of England – 'Supreme Governor' – which has been the case since 1559.

²⁰⁸ KERGMARD and FRANÇOIS, 1983: 34.

²⁰⁹ KERR, 1994. The same author also notes that no documentation has been found to prove that there is a direct relationship between Robert Baden-Powell and the Freemasons.

²¹⁰ NAGY, 1985: 100.

²¹¹ See PIERI, 2003: 19-20.

²¹² NAGY, 1967: 46; WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, August/September 1996, 3-5.

or to federations of associations, as in France. This was when "all national Associations were recognized without any preconditions, as had been promised two years earlier in London. This meant that in some of the founder countries, secular Associations without any explicit reference to service to God were accepted"²¹³. Nonetheless, the subsequent Conference passed the resolution quoted earlier on Scouting Principles, which included a comforting reference for those who saw both the acceptance of lay Scouting and the existence of associations not linked to any religion as the start of an agnostic or atheistic departure, despite making it clear that there was no room for a clash between religions:

"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 practise his religion, and the policy of the Movement forbids any kind of sectarian propaganda at mixed gatherings"²¹⁴.

This situation has generated tensions at different points in the past. In their book on lay French Scouting, Kergomard and François note that an attempt was made in 1949 to exclude associations with promises not mentioning God or religion from the 12th International Scout Conference²¹⁵. Although this is not recorded in the official Conference Report, it does appear in an internal report written by the British delegate to the conference, a copy of which is kept in the archives of the World Scout Bureau. In it, he explains that the Dutch association submitted a document on Scouting and religion, which led to a resolution proposal stating that:

"Since the Scout promise is the basis of all our Scoutwork it is essential that all Associations registered as members of the Conference should accept the Scout Promise of Duty to God (or to my religion). Those Associations which do not accept this Scout principle cannot be regarded as members of our International Scout Movement"²¹⁶

Although the British report does not say so, Kergomard and François note that the greatest pressure was brought to bear by the North-American delegation. They claim that the non-denominational associations were mainly from European countries at the time: Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Holland and Italy, and that "they were subject to a three-day attack orchestrated by the American delegation. In a private conversation, the leader of this delegation stated that the Éclaireurs de France were atheists and hence, communists"²¹⁷. Although the position taken by the French delegate, Pierre François, was that his association could not accept a mandate like the one being proposed, voting went ahead regardless with the result of 72 votes for and 72 against. The Canadian Chair of the meeting voted against and it was finally agreed to remove the resolution from the minutes and pretend that it had never existed. But it *did* exist: as Colquhoun, the UK Scouting delegate, says in his report, "At any rate, there is no doubt that the International Committee

²¹³ NAGY, 1985: 94. "It was a question that remained highly controversial until 1977 when the Constitution was amended under which the status quo was more or less respected but strong emphasis was placed on the spiritual dimensions of Scout education".

²¹⁴ WOSM, 1985, 3 (Res. 14/24); see "From Conference to Conference", article by the Director of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in *Jamboree: Journal of Boy Scouting*, May 1947 (Vol. II): 147.

²¹⁵ KERGMARD and FRANÇOIS, 1983: 345-346.

²¹⁶ 'For information of the Committee of the Council for meeting of 28th September, 1949. Twelfth International Scout Conference. August 8-10, 1949, at Elvessaeter, Norway'. Report signed by J.F. Colquhoun, [UK Scouting] Commissioner at Headquarters, 8th September 1949: page 3. (World Scout Bureau Archives).

²¹⁷ KERGMARD and FRANÇOIS, 1983: 346.

will watch the position of future applicants for membership most carefully"²¹⁸. And this is just what happened: to date, there has been no backing down with regard to the official view that Scouting and belief are inseparable, even though the existence of lay Scouting proves that the formula can be overlooked without Scouting losing its identity.

As I explained earlier, of the more than one hundred and seventy member countries of WOSM and/or WAGGGS, only twenty have federations that include Scout associations linked to a church or religious organization: Germany, Belgium, Burkina Faso, Canada (the French-speaking associate of *Scouts du Canada*), Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Spain and its associated Catalan federation, France²¹⁹, Gabon, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Luxemburg, Madagascar, Norway, Portugal, Senegal, and Sweden. The Scout federations with associations linked to a religious confession are mainly from Europe and countries with a French influence. Besides associations linked to churches, there are some special instances of Scout associations being connected to the YMCA, as is the case in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Nonetheless, in European countries with a Catholic tradition that have more than one Scout association, the Catholic Scout associations are generally bigger than the non-denominational or lay associations, which is true of France, Italy, the two communities in Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Catalonia. In contrast, non-denominational associations are bigger in Scandinavian countries.

No studies have been conducted to show whether the model of religious federations is beneficial for Scouting, although, in the case of the Catholic church, when a balance has been struck between the interests of the church and the principles and characteristics of Scouting, these associations have been bigger than the non-denominational or lay associations. However, countries with only one Scout association have produced proportionally more members as a percentage of the total population aged 5 to 19; these include the United States (5.21% in the WOSM association and 4.65% in the WAGGGS association), Thailand (6.85% in the WOSM association), and Great Britain (4.27% in the WAGGGS association). As I said earlier, over the last fifteen years, WOSM has regarded federations as an exception; it has stalled the creation of new federations and encouraged federate associations to merge in an effort to restore the model of a single association for each country. However, Nagy pointed out in his 1967 report that, "contrary to the usually prevailing opinion, dissidence is not the speciality of the countries where the associations form a federation"²²⁰, but that it was a feature in countries with single associations. Nevertheless, he fails to offer a complete comparison indicating whether this could bear relation to the fact that most countries have a single association.

²¹⁸ 'For information of the Committee of the Council for meeting of 28th September, 1949. Twelfth International Scout Conference. August 8-10, 1949, at Elvsaeter, Norway'. Report signed by J.F. Colquhoun, [UK Scouting] Commissioner at Headquarters, 8th September 1949: page 4. (World Scout Bureau Archives).

²¹⁹ In 1990, the French federation approved the entry of the new Scouts Musulmans de France association, which joined the existing secular, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish associations. This was the last time that a new confessional association was accepted in World Scouting.

²²⁰ NAGY, 1967: 45.

In 1948, the separation of Catholic associations in some countries jeopardized the world organization when the International Catholic Scouters Conference (ICSC) was established for Catholic Scout associations and the Catholic offices of pluralistic associations. To prevent the split that had occurred in some countries from spreading worldwide and thus preserve the unity of the movement, in 1962 (the same year that the Vatican approved the Statutes and Constitution of the ICSC), the World Scout Committee (WOSM) gave the ICSC consultative status, as it would later do with other similar organizations of other confessions. On the basis of religious criteria, these '*organizations*' cover national Scout associations (i.e. members of World Scouting) linked to a single religion, whether as an association or a religious secretariat in a pluralist association. For WOSM, these organizations are the International Catholic Conference of Scouting (name adopted in 1975 by the former ICSC)²²¹, the International Union of Muslim Scouts, and the International Link of Orthodox Scouts. For WAGGGS, there is the International Catholic Conference of Guides. The organizations, which have '*consultative status*' with WOSM or WAGGGS, give confessional Scout organizations a framework in which to share their common beliefs, although they also alter the unity of the movement. The World Committee must approve the consultative status of an organization²²², and they are seen as a concession to prevent the split of the movement on religious grounds²²³.

In 1983, seven French-speaking lay Scout associations (the European French and Belgian associations and five African associations) set up the Coopération Francophone du Scoutisme Laïque (COFRASL) to organize a formal network of development cooperation activities. Regardless of whether the aim was indeed to develop cooperation, lay Scout work in groups began to stir the interest of other European Scout associations that called themselves 'lay', 'pluralist'²²⁴, or even 'open' or 'secular', depending on the language and cultural tradition. There are no clear definitions for these terms, but the term 'lay' can be used to describe Scout associations in which religion is not practised as a group and which follow the French-speaking tradition of 'laicity', while pluralist associations have groups linked

²²¹ The members of the International Catholic Conference of Scouting (2006) are associations with membership of WOSM – or its respective pastoral commissions, indicated by * – in the following countries: Madagascar, Burundi, Rwanda, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Senegal, Chad, Benin, Gabon, Peru, Ecuador, Paraguay, Canada (French-speaking), Costa Rica, Colombia, Chile*, Argentina*, Uruguay*, Haiti, the United States*, Santa Lucia, Bolivia, Brazil, Korea, Japan*, the Philippines*, Thailand*, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Singapore, Switzerland (Italian)*, Italy, Romania, Hungary*, Israel, Jordan, Portugal, Germany, Belgium (Flemish and Walloons), Czech Republic, France, Lebanon, Luxemburg, Lithuania, Catalonia, Spain, Palestine, Liechtenstein, Austria, Ireland, the United Kingdom*, Malta, Switzerland (German)*, and Poland.

²²² WOSM, 1983: Article XV.9.

²²³ See the section on Structure and Operation in this chapter.

²²⁴ "Le pluralisme actif est ce qui différencie les Scouts Pluralistes des autres organisations de jeunesse. Il constitue un axe majeur de l'action éducative auprès des enfants et des jeunes. Ainsi, nos groupes locaux accueillent chaque jeune quelle que soit son origine, ses croyances, sa philosophie ou sa culture. Musulmans, catholiques, protestants, juifs, laïques, agnostiques,... tous ont leur place dans le scoutisme pluraliste. Nous faisons le choix de la rencontre d'origines sociales et de valeurs spirituelles multiples, sources de richesse et de tolérance dans un souci d'ouverture et de droit à la différence". [The active pluralism of Scouts Pluralistes is what sets it apart from other youth organizations. It is a key focus of our educational action with children and young people. Hence, our local groups take in all youths regardless of their background, beliefs, philosophy or culture. Muslims, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, lays, agnostics, etc., all have a place in Pluralist Scouting. We choose to mix our social backgrounds and multiple spiritual values, sources of wealth and tolerance, in a bid for openness and the right to difference].

"Qui sommes-nous?" section of the website of the Scouts et Guides Pluralistes de Belgique: <http://www.sgp.be/qui/qui.htm> [Consulted on: 24th July 2006].

to religious confessions and lay groups. In contrast, open associations stem from the English-speaking tradition, in which there is no religious link but laicity is not contemplated; the term 'secular' is used in some countries to define both lay and open associations, though with little success because it indicates an absence of spiritual dimension in English²²⁵. So, in 1996, twelve WOSM member associations²²⁶ – and some WAGGGS members – set up the Union Internationale des Associations Scoutes-Guides Pluralistes/Laïques (UIPL, translated into English as the *International Union of Pluralist/Secular Scout-Guide Associations*), with a similar aim to the confessional organizations: to work together to educate people in the spiritual dimension, though from a non-confessional point of view. The UIPL Charter (point 5) establishes the aim as:

"Nos associations pluralistes/laïques et coéducatives affirment leur volonté de développer le patrimoine commun scout et guide. Des associations membres de l'AMGE [WAGGGS] et/ou de l'OMMS [WOSM] s'affirmant pluraliste/laïques, décident:

- pour renforcer la coopération entre les enfants, les jeunes, les adultes elles sont responsables
- pour créer un lieu de réflexion sur les valeurs qui font leur spécificité
- pour développer par la rencontre volontaire la pratique d'activités communes
- pour mieux coordonner leurs actions
- de s'associer en une Union Internationale ouverte à toutes les associations qui auraient les mêmes intentions.

La création de cette Union est aussi un appel à approfondir et à enrichir principes et valeurs spécifiques par un dialogue renforcé avec toutes les composantes du scoutisme et du guidisme mondial, en particulier avec celles ayant un lien avec des confessions"²²⁷

The leaders of the new UIPL asked WOSM to give them the same consultative status as the religious organizations. But the World Committee decided to reject these statutes on the basis that WOSM already had this role of working to educate the spiritual dimension from a non-confessional point of view. This stance also followed the negative reaction of WOSM's management to the progressive secularization of its associations, as revealed by many requests to remove the term 'God' from the Promise²²⁸.

²²⁵ The bilingual Catalan/English edition of *La laïcitat a l'escoltisme / Laicity in Scouting/Guiding* (ADROHER, 1998: 40) includes a "Translation clarification" explaining that the French terms "laïc/laïcité" have no English translation, since "secular/secularity" strips the term of its spiritual dimension, while it is retained in the lay French Scouting tradition. This translation issue has been the cause of many misunderstandings between "lay" Scouting with French or Latin roots and the "open" Anglo-German or Scandinavian Scouting, even though they are very similar in approach.

²²⁶ The founding associations were from Belgium (Flemish and Walloon associations), Italy, Cameroon, Central Africa, Gabon, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, France, Catalonia, and Luxemburg. (<http://www.cngei.it/uilp/uilp1.htm>) [Consulted on: 24th July 2006].

²²⁷ [Our pluralist/lay and co-educational associations hereby declare their wish to develop the common heritage of Scouting and Guiding. Member associations of WAGGGS and/or WOSM declaring themselves to be pluralist/lay resolve to:

- strengthen cooperation between children and youths and the adults responsible for them
- create a space for reflection on the values that make them unique
- develop, through voluntary participation, the practice common activities
- coordinate their actions better
- form an association through an International Union open to all associations with these same intentions.

The creation of this Union is also an appeal to further and enrich specific principles and values through consolidated dialogue with all members of World Scouting and Guiding, especially those with confessional links]. "Charte de Union Internationale des Associations Scoutes-Guides Pluralistes/Laïques" (<http://www.cngei.it/uilp/uilp1.htm>) [Consulted on: 24th July 2006].

²²⁸ Jacques Moreillon, Secretary General of WOSM from 1988 to 2004, in weighing up the work carried out during his mandate, illustrates this point perfectly: "We also had to be quite tactical and pay great attention to detail, especially to the written word and to the coherence of WOSM's positions. For instance, on constitutional matters linked to the recognition of new countries (an area which brought us

Paradoxically, although the Vatican originally encouraged the model of grouping Catholic WOSM and WAGGGS Scouting into associations, the Catholic Church has recently given its support, outside WOSM and WAGGGS, to the largest organization to use the 'Scout' name without accepting the principles and characteristics of World Scouting – *Scouts d'Europe*. This Catholic organization was established in Germany in 1956 and introduced into France two years later²²⁹. It includes associations linked to the Catholic Church that are not members of either WOSM or WAGGGS but which still use the 'Scout' name.

This organization, legalized in French law, is officially called the *International Union of European Guides and Scouts-European Scouting Federation* (in French, *Union Internationale des Guides et Scouts d'Europe-Fédération du Scoutisme Européen*)²³⁰. According to the association's official figures, it has 55,000 members "in Europe and Quebec", of which almost half – 25,000 – are from the French Association des Guides et Scouts d'Europe²³¹, and most of the other half – 19,000 – are from the Associazione Italiana Guide e Scouts d'Europa Cattolici²³². The figure is a modest one, not only in comparison to World Scouting, but also to European Catholic Scouting associations – the French and Italian Catholic Scout associations, *Scouts et Guides de France* and *Associazione Guide e Scouts Cattolici Italiani*, both WOSM and WAGGGS members, have 66,000 and 177,000 members, respectively. Moreover, the people in charge of Catholic Scout associations and World Scouting generally are concerned about the explicit support lent by the Catholic Church to this organization. Back in 1977, the Vatican approved the Catholic Scouting Charter drawn up by the International Catholic Conference of Scouting, thus giving official approval to an organization that accepts the authority of World Scouting above any other. Later on, however, the Vatican discovered that Scouts d'Europe was an aesthetically similar organization but did not accept any authority other than the Catholic Church, as established in its Statutes:

1.2.9. The Union is composed of Catholic scouting associations. It acts and makes decisions according to the rules of this faith.

So in 2003, despite the opposition of Catholic European associations that were members of WOSM and WAGGGS, the Vatican officially recognized the International Union of European Guides and Scouts through Decree 1130/03/AIC of the Pontifical Council for the Laity, and approved its Statutes, which are subject to Canon law.

37 new countries in these 15 years thanks mainly to the fall of the Soviet empire), we stood firm in the defense of Scouting's principles, avoiding easy or "pro-forma" recognition of "pseudo-Scout" organizations without a spiritual dimension. This was essential in a period during which so many new NSOs were being prepared for recognition ... and achieved it. This policy has not only set a high level of requirements for admission to WOSM, but it is also preventing many problems for us today which we would have otherwise had if we had shown ourselves more permissive. I am glad that the World Scout Committee always supported us on this issue". "Address of Dr. Jacques Moreillon, former Secretary General of WOSM, to Dr. Eduardo Missoni, WOSM Secretary General". Circular 4/2004, World Scout Bureau: 31st March 2004.

²²⁹ 'Les Scouts d'Europe misent sur la transparence pour redresser leur image' Article in *Le Monde*, 1st September 2000.

²³⁰ Statutes of the International Union of European Guides and Scouts-European Scouting Federation, 2003. English version: http://www.uigse.org/statuto_en.asp; French version: http://www.uigse.org/statuto_fr.asp. [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

²³¹ Website of the French Association des Guides et Scouts d'Europe: <http://www.scouts-europe.org/decouvrir/index.shtml> [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

²³² Website of the Associazione Italiana Guide e Scouts d'Europa Cattolici: <http://www.fse.it/> [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

Various articles in the Statutes reveal that its actions are an instrument of the Church:

1.2.1. The Union aims at gathering, in one same community of faith, prayer and action, the various national associations of the European Guides and Scouts²³³, the fundamental objective of which is to educate young people by using Baden Powell's traditional scouting methods, based on the Christian values at the roots of our common European civilisation.

1.2.6. The UIGSE-FSE wants to form a man of faith, son of the Church.

1.2.7. The UIGSE-FSE gives the primacy to each Christian's vocation to holiness. A Scout or a Guide has to be faithful to his Promise, his Principles and his Law according to the requirements of the Sermon on the Mountain, which is the true Charter of his whole Christian life.

In this sense, the UIGSE-FSE is called to be more and more a means of sanctification within the Church, a means favouring and encouraging a more intimate union between its members' concrete life and their faith.

The Statutes also establish that 'chiefs' must belong to the Church, an obligation that does not exist in Catholic World Scouting associations:

1.2.13. The youth's full religious development requires that their chiefs should belong to the same Church or Community as theirs, should profess the same doctrine, should take part in the same liturgical and sacramental life.

Furthermore, the premise that Scouting should be open to all is ignored, even though the term 'Scout' is used, since the Statutes establish that non-Christian children and young people can only be members in exceptional cases, and that any individual who has not been baptised cannot make the Scouts d'Europe version of the Promise:

1.2.14. Some non Christian young people may be exceptionally admitted within the units, on condition that their parents have previously accepted to recognise the confessional character of the Group. No one may pronounce his Scout or Guide promise if he is not baptised. However, a Scout or a Guide may be admitted to pronounce his Promise if he is involved in the catechumenate.

The text of the Promise (Article 1.3.2) incorporates loyalty to the Church, which is something that does not exist in any World Scouting association:

"Sur mon honneur, avec la grâce de Dieu, je m'engage:
à servir de mon mieux Dieu, l'Église, ma Patrie et l'Europe;
à aider mon prochain en toutes circonstances;
à observer la Loi Scoute"²³⁴.

If we analyse the Statutes of Scouts d'Europe, we can see that it is actually a movement designed to be a tool for the Catholic Church's action as an organization and that it has simply taken the elements of Scouting that it has considered useful and discarded those that it does not require. It has adopted the name, appearance, elements of the method, and even part of the text of the Promise and the Law of World Scouting (on the basis that Scouting is a programme that can be freely adapted), and interpreted the writings and positions of Robert Baden-Powell as it has seen fit. It also adopts an ambiguous discourse to benefit from the public image

²³³ The French version reads, "les diverses associations nationales des Guides et Scouts d'Europe".

²³⁴ [On my honour, with the grace of God, I promise to: Do my best to serve God, the Church, my Country and Europe; to help other people in every circumstance; to keep the Scout Law]. The same article of the Statutes indicates that the French version of the Promise prevails over any other.

of World Scouting. For example, its French association introduces one of its promotional documents in France by saying "Le scoutisme, c'est 250.000 jeunes en France, garçons et filles, qui pratiquent d'activités passionnantes, principalement dans la nature, sous forme d'aventures attrayantes"²³⁵, while the same leaflet says that Guides et Scouts d'Europe has 28,000 members. Besides failing to heed the premise of unity in diversity, a crucial aspect of World Scouting, and despite using its image, Scouts d'Europe fails to meet three basic requirements of the Scout Movement: being open to all, organizational independence, and the universal dimension. The latter is a dimension that goes way beyond a presence in more than two countries: as established in 1924, Scouting "is *universal* in that it insists upon universal fraternity between all Scouts of every nation, class or creed"²³⁶.

3.5. Factor Two: The Cultural Factor

The term '*national organization*' covers Scout associations and federations, and always refers to the holder of the world organization membership. As I explained earlier, the official policy of WAGGGS and WOSM is to recognize a single member organization per country²³⁷, and only 'religious' and 'cultural' factors can justify a state having more than one association. Although the religious factor, which I have discussed in this chapter, is the reason for most federations, the 'cultural' factor is a thornier issue because its definition touches on aspects such as the international political recognition of national groups that do not have their own State or official recognition. The 'cultural factor' also covers associations with a nationalist vision that does not have any international legitimacy or influence from other countries. The first cases were the British Boy Scouts²³⁸ in England and the Fédération Nationale des Éclaireurs Français, which in 1913 "s'affirment résolument français et hostiles à toute prépondérance anglosaxonne et à toute organisation internationale où dominerait cette influence"²³⁹. In the United States, legal action by Boy Scouts of America in 1918 prevented the equivalent of the British Boy Scouts splinter group, originally called the 'United States Boy Scouts' or 'American Boy Scouts', from keeping the Scout name and they were forced to be renamed the 'American Cadets'²⁴⁰. There is an interesting case of an ultranationalist movement in Thailand during the 1970s, called the 'Village Scout Movement', studied in detail by Katherine Bowie, which, despite the name, had nothing to do with World Scouting or Thai Scouting²⁴¹.

²³⁵ [Scouting has 250,000 young male and female members in France who carry out exciting activities, mainly outdoors, in the form of thrilling adventures]. "Ensemble pour l'aventure", leaflet from the French Association des Guides et Scouts d'Europe.

<http://www.scouts-europe.org/public/documents/pdf/Tract2002.pdf> [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

²³⁶ WOSM, 1985: 3 (Resolution 14/24).

²³⁷ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

²³⁸ "To his [Baden-Powell's] distress, some of the pacifists set up a splinter group, the National Peace Scouts, while some of the militaristically inclined people established the British Boy Scouts and the Empire Scouts as an answer to his un-compromising stand against including military drill in his scheme" HILLCOURT, 1964: 296. See also NAGY, 1985: 67.

²³⁹ [hereby declare that they are resolutely French and hostile to the supremacy of any English-speaking culture and any international organization in which this influence prevails]. KERGMARD and FRANÇOIS, 1983: 38.

²⁴⁰ MACLEOD, 1983: 157.

²⁴¹ BOWIE, Katherine A. (1997): *Rituals of National Loyalty: An Anthropology of the State and the Village Scout Movement in Thailand*. New York: Columbia University Press.

In World Scouting, however, use of the 'cultural' factor to justify the existence of different recognized Scouting associations came originally from the groups of refugees from Eastern Europe in the 1920s. In 1929, the International Scout Conference made two exceptions for the acceptance of new members: the Scout associations of Russia and Armenia, both set up by exiles residing in France. As Nagy explains,

"Russia was recognized as a founder country [1920] but a special case inasmuch as Scout representatives in exile were given recognition in 1928, although their association faded away shortly after. In practice, the Russian exile association should have been incorporated into the French one since it operated in French soil. The second exception was the Armenian Scouts, also registered in France, who received recognition in 1929 and still [1985] enjoy it. This was another exception that confirmed the rule; a unique case which resulted from the ambiguity of the use in the original constitution of the words "country" and "national organization"²⁴².

Recognition of the role of minorities went through various stages in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1926, the International Scout Conference approved a resolution (15/26) to allow national minorities in countries other than their own to create their own Scout groups within the association of the country where they resided, with "the right to use their own language in their inner life". Then, in 1929, International Conference Resolutions 19/29 and 20/29 established that the association of origin had to be consulted before a group was set up with a different nationality²⁴³. And finally, just before World War II broke out, in July 1939, Resolution 12/39 was passed on displaced individuals. This recommended that they be integrated into the existing association instead of creating "any separate national group in another country"²⁴⁴.

After World War II, World Scouting was forced to change its policy given the huge numbers of refugees and displaced persons. The Russian Scout association in exile in France, which had been approved in 1928, was stripped of its recognition. The "Displaced Persons Division" was then set up in the Boy Scouts International Bureau to help refugees and displaced persons in Germany and Austria. However, to avoid repeating the earlier model, Resolution 14/47 of the 1947 International Conference explicitly stated that "registration with the DP Division will not give right of membership of the Boy Scouts International Conference but will give recognition as Scouts under the protection of the Bureau"²⁴⁵. The new position on displaced persons and refugees then, prevented the creation of new associations in exile hoping to obtain international recognition. Instead, it encouraged displaced persons to join Scouting in their adopted country until they returned to their native country – a hypothetical return in most cases²⁴⁶. Russia did not become a member of WOSM until the year 2000, while Armenia did so in 1997, when it recovered its independence. When Armenia became a member of WOSM with full voting rights,

²⁴² NAGY, 1985: 94.

²⁴³ There is a very interesting analysis of this model in the article 'A Comparative Study of the Boy Scout Movement in Different National and Social Groups' (SCHEIDLINGER, 1948), which analyses the presence of Polish Scouting in the United States, carried out by Polish exiles after World War II, and the questions regarding which language to use, which flag to adopt and which country to swear loyalty to.

²⁴⁴ WOSM, 1985: 7, 15. Yet between 1922 and 1932, the Boy Scouts Association UK itself had encouraged and managed the migration of Scouts to the colonies, mainly to Australia, but also to Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, as recently shown by VOELTZ (2003).

²⁴⁵ WOSM, 1985: 17.

²⁴⁶ NAGY, 1985: 120.

the association that had been recognized in France, '*Scouts of Armenia*', disappeared.

In 1936, the combination of cultural and religious factors in Canada resulted in the creation of a French-speaking Catholic Scouting federation (*Fédération des Scouts Catholiques*), mainly in Quebec, with links to the Catholic Scouts de France association. English-speaking Canadian Scouting already existed as an autonomous 'branch' (Canadian General Council) of the British Boy Scouts Association, a typical situation in many Commonwealth countries. In 1946, Scouts of Canada was awarded international recognition as a WOSM member with full voting rights and the situation of the French speakers was regularized in 1961 with the creation of the French-speaking Association des Scouts du Canada, which was made an associate member of the Scouts of Canada.

Although Scouting has had to adapt to the independence processes that have taken place over the last 100 years – particularly as a result of decolonization and the collapse of the USSR – Scout jurisprudence has been very careful not to use culture as a way of encouraging the creation of separate associations in areas seeking independence²⁴⁷. In his report quoted earlier, John Beresford points out that,

"[t]here is today increasing pressure from ethnic and other minorities in some countries to seek independence for their region. Scouts and Guides in these regions may feel loyalty towards the aspirations of their regional and local communities and press to become separate Associations. However both WAGGGS and WOSM have identical policies (with rare exceptions) in adopting the UN criteria for recognising a sovereign state and do not permit two National Organisations in the same State"²⁴⁸.

The current strategy is to prevent Scouting from becoming involved in the conflict that generally precedes independence; however, as soon as a country obtains internationally recognized independence, the organization quickly sets about creating an independent Scout organization. The WAGGGS by-laws have a specific point that deals with these cases, entitled "National Organizations in countries attaining political independence":

"A National Organization which has been part of the World Association through a Member Organization may, on the attainment of political independence by its country, apply direct for Membership of the World Association. In a country where the formalities of political independence are in process but not fully completed the National Organization in that country may submit an application for Membership of the World Association. Subject to recommendation by the World Board the application may be submitted to Full Members meeting at a World Conference, for approval. The World Conference may authorize the World Board to send, at its discretion, the official acceptance as a Member of the World Association and the Certificate of Membership; this to be either when the formalities of the country's independence are completed or, in special circumstances, at a time considered more appropriate by the World Board"²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁷ I develop this point further in VALLORY, 2004.

²⁴⁸ "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.9.

²⁴⁹ WAGGGS, 1999: By-law I, Section 4.

As I explained in the Structure and operation section of this chapter, there are six countries that have recognized Scout organizations with different associations for 'cultural' reasons: Belgium, with its Flemish and Walloon communities; Bosnia Herzegovina; Canada and the French-speaking community; Denmark and the Faeroe Islands and Greenland; Spain with the Catalan federation, and Israel. Of all these cases, only the French-speaking Scouts du Canada association, the Faeroe Islands association, and the Catalan federation have the special 'associate' status. There are also three more territorial exceptions: Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Palestine, of which only the latter is a clear case of the "exceptional" recognition of a non-state national community.

Taiwan has a different case with WOSM and WAGGGS: while WAGGGS has recognized the Girl Scouts of Taiwan as a member since 1966, WOSM has not recognized organization under the name of Taiwan. WOSM does have a recognized organization called *Boy Scouts of China*, although it only effectively operates in Taiwan. Chinese Scouting was a WOSM member from 1937 to 1950, before it was outlawed. The logic behind the WOSM member organization that keeps Scouting in Taiwan is not that of the Taiwan independentists, but of the Chinese unionists, who moved to Taiwan. Taiwan's status has been maintained, but it is provisional and WOSM hopes that "[it] represents an extra issue in view of a hopefully near future when Scouting will officially start in People's Republic of China"²⁵⁰.

The Hong Kong Scout (WOSM) and Guide (WAGGGS) associations were recognized when *Hong Kong* was under British protection, before it became an independent state. In 1997, when Hong Kong became part of the People's Republic of China as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) – bearing in mind that Scouting is not officially recognized in China – the Scout association of Hong Kong was maintained and still exists to date. Portuguese Scouting in Macau on the other hand was not so fortunate²⁵¹ when Macau passed into Chinese hands in 1999, also as a Special Administrative Region.

Lastly, the *Palestinian Scout Association*, founded in 1951 with relations with the Arab region, where it was an 'associate member', was recognized by WOSM as a non-voting member in 1996 – three years after the "Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements" was signed in Washington, which established a Palestinian National Authority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It is a pluriconfessional Scout association that meets the three essential conditions for recognition: one association per "territory", accepted statutes, and a defined territorial base: the land governed by the Palestinian National Authority. The resolution on recognition establishes that "this conditional recognition", based on "the uniqueness of the case", "shall give the palestinian Scout Association the principal privileges and attributes of membership, except the right to vote", and

²⁵⁰ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005; adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 8.

²⁵¹ "[F]ull membership status is granted to National Scout Organizations belonging to "territories" that are not recognized as politically sovereign, as it is the case for the Scout Association of Hong Kong. With the added paradox of another Scout Organization established in a territory with the same political status as Hong Kong (i.e. Macau) to whom the membership is not granted". "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005; adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 8.

"records that this situation shall prevail until the sovereignty of Palestine is internationally established, at which time the Palestinian Scout Association shall be considered for full membership status in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution of WOSM"²⁵².

Besides these three exceptions, no specific policy has been adopted regarding the consideration that these "territories" should have, i.e. Scout groups in non-independent communities that are geographically and culturally distant from their mother country, which now total 26 for WOSM²⁵³. They have obtained world membership through diverse means, whether through membership of the Scout association of their mother country, or through the adoption of the ambiguous status of 'accredited' association for the corresponding region.

3.6. Factor Three: Conflict over the Vision of Association. The 'Independent Scouts' case

To analyse the conflict over the vision of association in Scouting, I will use Sunder's definition (2001), which is the discrepancy in an organization between the argument that associative cultures change, sometimes for the better, and the argument that denies an organization legitimacy to change any of what it considers its founding elements²⁵⁴.

As I said earlier, there was a great deal of confusion in the early days of Scouting regarding its identity as an associative project. To begin with, *Scouting for Boys* did not refer to the establishment of a specific association, saying that existing organizations could carry out *Scouting* simply by following the instructions in the book. The founding of the Boy Scouts Association (UK) in 1909 was a reaction to the groups of boys that had been set up to put the ideas of *Scouting for Boys* into practice. Hence, Baden-Powell's insistence that "Scouting started itself"²⁵⁵, meaning that Scouting existed before the organization itself. Although this idea tries to place more emphasis on the boys than on the organization, the conceptual interpretations are important: if Scouting is an action that everybody interprets as they see fit, on what basis can we say that the Hitler Youth was not Scouting? There is only one answer: Baden-Powell. While the founder of Scouting lived, he had both the legal and moral authority recognized by everybody as the man in charge, firstly of British Scouting and then World Scouting (after 1920); it was he who dispelled doubts about what Scouting was. Baden-Powell was the man who progressively passed on his moral authority to the associations that made up World Scouting, and this is why the World Conference was so important right from the start. His speeches and discourses were full of pointers about what Scouting was and was not, pointers that the legitimate bodies later formalized as resolutions. While Robert Baden-Powell

²⁵² "Document 9: 'Recognition of New Members'. 34th World Scout Conference" (Oslo, Norway, 1996). WOSM, 1996, pp. 2-4.

²⁵³ WOSM identifies 28 "territories" in a recent document: "Anguilla, Antarctica, Aruba, Bermuda, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Cook Islands, Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Faroe Islands, French Guiana, French Polynesia, Gibraltar, Greenland, Guadeloupe, Macau, Martinique, Montserrat, Netherlands Antilles, New Caledonia, Norfolk Island, Puerto Rico, Réunion, Saint Helena, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, Turks and Caicos Islands, Virgin Islands (British), Virgin Islands (U.S.), Wallis and Futuna". "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 8.

²⁵⁴ SUNDER, 2001: 500-5001.

²⁵⁵ BADEN-POWELL, 1937.

and Olave Baden-Powell led the two world organizations, they showed an ability to move with the times, as with the marine or aerial types of Scouting. Ideologically, the evolution of Baden-Powell's own thoughts between 1908 and 1918 on peace, cultural diversity, and freethinking is famous in itself.

On Robert Baden-Powell's death in 1941, a debate emerged on how to interpret his thinking, particularly regarding changes in the defining elements of the different associations. Because the organizational system of World Scouting does not impose a single model of associative culture (in terms of the application of worldwide common minimums), the changes in the various associations over the years have had supporters and detractors who have not always reached an agreement. As a result, the evolution of the methodology and image of Scouting in many countries has transformed or replaced formal and practical elements that were originally part of the associative culture, which has led to splintering.

The first case dates back to 1964, when the Boy Scout Association UK set in motion a process "to study all aspects of the future of Scouting and to make recommendations ... as to the development of the Movement", which resulted in a document called the "Advance Party Report"²⁵⁶. The implementation of the conclusions of this report included changing elements such as the uniform, the name of the association (removing the word 'Boy'), elements of the method, and characteristics of the sections, besides organizational matters. Some people in the UK strongly disagreed with the proposed changes, because they saw them as abandoning the traditions and intentions of Robert Baden-Powell. In 1970, after the changes had already started to be implemented, the detractors formed a new British association called the Baden-Powell Scouts. Interestingly, the group split from the Scouting established by Baden-Powell because it refused to accept the changes agreed in a democratic decision-making process, but it adopted the name Baden-Powell as a source of legitimacy for its new project. There were similar splits in a number of countries²⁵⁷ (mainly in Europe) and although they were numerically irrelevant and never became WOSM members, they did encourage the general public to question the unity of Scouting and its modernity. Therefore, while many WOSM member associations tried to dispel the stereotyped image of military-like uniforms or formal stagings that were at odds with central Western values, the splinter associations based their existence on 'loyalty' to these elements, which were – to them – what "Baden-Powell's Scouting" was all about.

In 1996, a number of these associations set up the World Federation of Independent Scouts in Germany, to give associations that called themselves Scouts but were not members of World Scouting an international federation through which they could organize camps, rallies, and collective training²⁵⁸. In Germany alone, there are eleven member associations, but the largest and oldest (1970) is still the

²⁵⁶ The Boy Scouts Association, 1966: "The Advance Party Report (Popular Edition), Being the Recommendations of the Chief Scout's Advance Party, 1966". London: The Boy Scouts Association.

²⁵⁷ NAGY (1967: 43-44) mentions the case of the splinter association, the "All India Boy Scouts Association", which he says had more than 145,000 members and the reason for the split "also touches on the application of scout methods": the recognized association had introduced methodological changes and begun co-education, but the splinter association wanted to maintain the important traditional methods of the British and keep girls and boys separate.

²⁵⁸ Website of the World Federation of Independent Scouts-Europe:
<http://www.wfis-europe.org/en/start.html> [Consulted on: 8th July 2006].

British Baden-Powell Scouts; according to their data, the World Federation of Independent Scouts (WFIS) has 30,000 individual members around the world. To make a comparison, the Scout Association UK alone, member of WOSM, has 500,000. The only requirement for becoming a member of this international federation is not belonging "to another world organisation" and "to follow, and use, Baden-Powell's original program, traditions, uniforms, morals, ethics, and structure as laid out in B-P's *Scouting for Boys*", accepting modifications only for "health, environmental, first-aid, and safety reasons"²⁵⁹. The "international" membership of WFIS associations is, to all effects, rather unrealistic. Its website indicates that WFIS "acts as an umbrella association for regional scout organisations"²⁶⁰, which tells us that the name only includes regional organizations. Moreover, as of November 2006, there was only a website for the European region and there was no information on any other continent. As an organization, it does not have a shared set of ideas or bases other than that of not belonging to any other world organization, and its international structure is also rather dubious: the website states that members of its World Council are voted over the Internet²⁶¹.

As Sunder (2001) has explained in reference to the Boy Scouts of America, "modern society is becoming increasingly homogeneous across cultures and heterogeneous within them"²⁶², and this is equally applicable to associations. Since it is the world organization, with its democratic decision-making process, that has the legitimacy and authority to define what Scouting is and how it evolves, the policy in cases of splintering due to differences in interpretation of the principles or method has been to support the recognized organization, as in the British case mentioned above. However, as Sanders points out, there is a risk that legislation may be used to maintain a specific vision of the association and deny the rights of its members to promote changes, as occurred in the United States when the board of the Boy Scouts of America refused to accept homosexuals based on a dubious interpretation of the principle of freedom of association²⁶³. However, the organizations set up in the United States in opposition to the discriminatory action of the Boy Scouts of America opted to use advocacy or pressure groups, rather than creating a splinter association. One of the reasons is legal difficulties, as the *Inclusive Scouting*²⁶⁴ network explains in its list of reasons why it does not set up a new organization:

- 1) Congress in 1916 chartered the BSA as the sole Boy Scout organization in the USA. The BSA has won every case against groups who tried to have another Scout organization.
- 2) Any such organization would foster a different kind of discrimination, which would be equally wrong.
- 3) Any other organization that formed could not possibly be real Scouting if it couldn't work with Scouters and other Scout units who are in the BSA.

²⁵⁹ <http://www.wfis-europe.org/en/start.html>.

²⁶⁰ WFIS website: <http://www.wfis-worldwide.org/start.html> [Consulted on: 2nd November 2006].

²⁶¹ "The election will be held, and votes able to be cast, between the dates of March 17th 2007 to March 31st 2007. Votes should be sent to wfis.election@gmail.com". WFIS website: <http://www.wfis-worldwide.org/election.html> [Consulted on: 2nd November 2006].

²⁶² SUNDER, 2001.

²⁶³ I will deal with this question in more detail in Chapter 5, in the "incoherencies in practices" section.

²⁶⁴ The Inclusive Scouting network is an initiative of diverse US groups of Scouting members, parents of Scouts and other individuals with no connection whatsoever, who oppose Boy Scouts of America's discrimination against homosexuals and atheists.

- 4) The costs of forming such a separate organization are prohibitive.
- 5) Our purpose is not to split the BSA, it is to strengthen it and save it from those who would turn it into a narrow organization"²⁶⁵.

The main opposition movement to the discriminatory policy of the BSA, *Scouting For All*, defines its mission as being:

"to advocate on behalf of its members and supporters for the restoration of the traditionally unbiased values of Scouting as expressed and embodied in the Scout Oath & the Scout Law, and to influence the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) to serve and include as participating members ALL youth and adult leaders, regardless of their spiritual belief, gender, or sexual orientation"²⁶⁶.

Generally then, splinter associations that use the term 'Scout' tend to be more resistant to change than the recognized organization, probably because if there is a split in the opposite direction, they stop using the term 'Scout'.

3.7. Recognition Policy Typologies

No WOSM or WAGGGS documents on the recognition policy establish a typology of associations that use the 'Scout' – or 'Guide' – and are not members of World Scouting. When an association calls itself 'Scout' without belonging to WOSM or WAGGGS, these organizations are put into the single category of 'non-recognized Scouting'. Nagy's 1967 report described three different categories of associations that called themselves Scouting without belonging to WOSM or WAGGGS: "non-recognized", "dissident", and "exiled and refugee"²⁶⁷; but did not give the reasons for this categorization. From the text, we learn that he considers associations that have never been recognized as "non-recognized", while dissidents are those caused by split in a recognized Scout association or federation. However, his definition is confusing because he uses Spain as an example of a non-recognized association²⁶⁸, when it was actually recognized until 1939. In its handling of exiled and refugee associations, Nagy's report coincides with the policy that World Scouting adopted after the end of World War II to prevent displaced persons from forming separate associations and promoting their integration into associations of their adopted countries²⁶⁹.

The three most important conclusions of Nagy's report on recognition policy are, firstly, that some large, non-recognized associations are growing and will continue to grow, regardless of whether they are recognized. Secondly, that when dealing with non-recognized or splinter associations, the children and young people who need Scouting should be put before the adults in charge, which would allow a more open approach to finding solutions²⁷⁰. And thirdly, that the principles of recognition

²⁶⁵ *Inclusive Scouting* website: <http://www.inclusivescouting.org:8000/faq/mission/> [Consulted on: 26th July 2006].

²⁶⁶ *Scouting For All* website: <http://www.scoutingforall.org/articles/mission.shtml> [Consulted on: 26th July 2006].

²⁶⁷ NAGY, 1967: 43-46.

²⁶⁸ NAGY, 1967: 45.

²⁶⁹ WOSM, 1985: 15 (Res. 12/39) and 17 (Res. 14/47). "We formally oppose the recognition of refugee associations, representing their country of origin". Nagy, 1967, 49.

²⁷⁰ "If an attempt were to be made to put oneself in the shoes of the innocent boy who needs scouting, and not in those of the adult who is generally responsible for the quarrels, one would become more tolerant towards the "lost sheep"". NAGY, 1967: 49.

must focus first and foremost on educational conditions rather than ideologico-political matters²⁷¹. Towards the end of the 1960s, this latter element in particular heralded a turning point in the recognition policy that World Scouting – mainly WOSM – had adopted since the end of World War II, in a context of changing frontiers, displaced persons, refugees, and exiles, and communist regimes in Eastern Europe where Scouting was banned. The new constitutional reform, which was brought in by Nagy and adopted during the 1970s, ensured that the definition of the principles was incorporated into the educational elements and that these were evaluated during recognition.

Nonetheless, there are two main problems with the use of the expression “non-recognized Scouting”. Firstly, it does not differentiate between the non-recognized associations that meet the essential characteristics of Scouting and the others that explicitly reject them. And secondly, by using the expression “non-recognized Scouting”, World Scouting seems to be implicitly accepting that the association they are referring to is also a Scouting association, only that it has not been recognized, which is particularly grave when it is referring to associations that reject the essential characteristics. This is reinforced by the deliberate use of terms such as “non-aligned Scout organisations”²⁷², to define associations that call themselves Scouts but do not belong to WOSM or WAGGGS. This expression, for example, puts the emphasis on the suggestion that there is a voluntary element to the qualification of associations (their “non-alignment”), instead of the fact that their Scouting nature has not been recognized.

If, as I have argued, World Scouting operates as a network, the recognition policy has to serve as a quality filter for approvals in this network, so that it can identify both the interested supplanting of and deviations that go against the shared elements. This is why I maintain that a more accurate categorization is needed of organizations that use the *Scouting* name or its derivatives and are not recognized by WOSM and/or WAGGGS. However, in order to reinforce the legitimacy of World Scouting in establishing which associations are recognized and which are not, three conditions would have to be met:

One: World Scouting recognition must guarantee that the education of citizens carried out in the name of Scouting in any country is based on the essential characteristics mentioned earlier, including non-discrimination, non-partisan independence, being non-compulsory in nature, and being committed to peace. This would require revising the recognition of associations that are socially regarded as discriminatory, that are dependent on government bodies, where individuals are forced – in whatever way – to become members, and that promote values inciting hatred, violence, or paramilitarism.

Two: Having a democratic system by which the members of a national association can decide its evolution should be an essential condition for exclusive World Scouting recognition. To do otherwise would be to grant the leaders of the

²⁷¹ “We therefore recommend that the new rules setting out the principles of recognition be stricter about educational conditions, but not quite so hard about ideologico-political criteria which are, by definition, extra-scout matters”. NAGY, 1967: 49.

²⁷² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-aligned_Scouting_and_Scout-like_organisations [Consulted in August 2007].

recognized association and not the movement the monopoly of the vision of what Scouting is in the country in question.

Three: In its recognition policy, World Scouting should revise the undue influence of churches – institutions external to the movement – on decision-making in many associations. This influence has led to a reductionist reading of the spiritual dimension of Scouting's education that has confused it with religious education or faith development and generated a conflict with two extremes: radical religiousness or militant atheism, with no room for personal growth and discovering one's self²⁷³.

Having explained these conditions, I will now classify organizations that call themselves Scouts without World Scouting recognition (i.e. that are not World Scouting members) into three groups (Table 2). I call them "competitor parascouting", "provisional parascouting" and "false Scouting". The first, *competitor parascouting*, is a movement that uses the name 'Scout' and meets the essential characteristics of World Scouting, but exists in a country where there is already a recognized Scout organization and, for whatever reason, it does not want to form part of this organization. The second group, *provisional parascouting*, is a movement that identifies itself as Scouting, meets the essential characteristics of World Scouting, and exists in a country without recognized Scouting, but cannot be legalized in its country²⁷⁴, or is in the very early stages and cannot guarantee educational quality. Hence, it cannot yet be recognized – i.e. it is in an interim situation with regard to recognition. And lastly, *false Scouting* is any movement that adopts the 'Scout' name when its principles or practices breach or directly contravene elements of the essential characteristics of World Scouting.

Table 2: Proposed classification of non-recognized organizations

	<i>Exists in a country that already has recognized Scouting</i>	<i>Exists in a country that does not have recognized Scouting</i>
<i>Conforms to the essential characteristics</i>	Competitor parascouting	Potential parascouting
<i>Rejects the essential characteristics</i>	False Scouting	

Author's own work

a) The first type, *competitor parascouting*, would contain organizations that call themselves 'Scouts' and which meet the essential characteristics of World Scouting and act in coherence with them, but are established or act in countries

²⁷³ In the words of Laszlo Nagy in his 1967 report, "it is possible to have a real need for spirituality without God – a need that certainly cannot be defined as "religiosity", for it is attached neither to morals nor to a belief in God but to feelings, to sensitivity and sometimes even to sensuality". NAGY, 1967: 25.

²⁷⁴ The resistance of underground Scouting in authoritarian regimes reinforced the movement after the fall of these regimes. Two special cases are those of Catalan (BALCELLS and SAMPER, 1993) and Italian (VERGA and CAGNONI, 2002) Scouting.

where a recognized Scout organization already exists. The importance of accepting the essential characteristics of World Scouting in my classification lies in the fact that a non-recognized association may end up becoming a member if the difficulties of its integration into the recognized Scout organization are studied and solutions found. This is what happened in Benin, when a Catholic Scout association split from the recognized organization on the grounds of poor quality education, with the backing of the Church. The World Scouting Bureau, which got involved after 1995, rejected the creation of a federation and suggested that Scouting be refounded in Benin with a new association that covered and satisfied the interests of both parties. The refusal of the dissenting Catholic association, however, blocked the process three years later²⁷⁵. Another example are the British Baden-Powell Scouts, which I mentioned earlier, explaining that they do not accept the democratic evolution of the recognized Scout Association UK in matters of methodology and symbolism.

Associations like the Catholic one in Benin or the British Baden-Powell Scouts cannot be considered proper 'Scout' associations, even though their work is very similar to that of Scout associations, because Scouting is not only the practice of the method; it is also the education of citizens based on shared ideals, through the experience of being a member of World Scouting, which promotes the education of individuals in becoming citizens of the world. As I pointed out earlier, the World Federation of Independent Scouts (WFIS) as an organization has neither a shared set of ideals nor arguments beyond that of not belonging "to another world organisation"²⁷⁶, and cannot guarantee shared principles or a coherence beyond that of individual countries. This is why it is not a world movement. And hence, it is not Scouting, even if it uses the name.

The use of the Scout name by associations that do not accept the democratic rules of World Scouting – in that the recognized association has a system to guarantee the participation of its members – is actually the exploitation of a brand's reputation without accepting the parameters that define it. However, if we now consider the children and young people that form part of these associations, because they accept the essential characteristics of Scouting, they could become part of World Scouting at some point in the future. This is why I suggest the expression 'competitor parascouting': 'parascouting' because they are not actually Scouting but could be in the future, and 'competitor' because they compete with the recognized Scout association.

b) The second type, '*potential parascouting*' would contain associations that meet the essential characteristics of World Scouting but cannot be members for two reasons: either because they are still embryonic and need more members or a more stable organizational structure, or because there are difficulties or impediments to establishing a Scout association in their country. In the first case, WOSM and WAGGGS maintain formal or informal contact with groups that practice the Scout method in countries without recognized Scouting, referred to as

²⁷⁵ WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, March 1995, November 1998.

²⁷⁶ WFIS-Europe website: <http://www.wfis-europe.org/en/start.html> [Consulted on: 2nd November 2006].

"potential member countries"²⁷⁷. In some cases – especially in micro-states – associations do not have enough members to provide quality guarantees and, in others, they are still in the process of structuring their organizational system with guarantees. In both instances, World Scouting works towards the goal of awarding the association 'potential' recognition as a member with full voting rights. In countries where it is difficult or impossible to set up a Scout organization, there are groups that use the Scout method to promote the common values of the movement and would eventually like to form part of it, though in many cases this cannot be confirmed. It was the case of Catalan Scouting during the Franco dictatorship or Italy during fascism, and also of the Polish Scouting of the 1980s that was not controlled by the communist regime²⁷⁸. Therefore, these associations have the desire to become fully recognized associations and this recognition depends only on a change in socio-political circumstances.

c) The third and last type, '*false Scouting*', would include associations that reject or consciously breach the principles and conditions required to be a World Scouting member and are refused membership for this reason. This was the case of several German associations before 1945, which did not subscribe to World Scouting's view of national loyalty as being on a par with universal fraternity and equality as being above race, creed, or origin. It was also the case of the Polish association after 1949, when Poland became a socialist state and the government merged the association into its structure, altered its Promise and Law, age of membership, and appearance, and put party leaders in charge of it²⁷⁹. WOSM withdrew the association's recognition. The same happens when an association cannot guarantee its independence – generally of a government – or its autonomy in decision-making. One example of this took place in 2000, when WOSM launched its Peace Cruise project in which a crew from a range of countries had to live on a ship together as it cruised around the Mediterranean. However, the Turkish government refused permission for the ship to land. When the Turkish Scout association failed to mediate with the Turkish government, possibly due to pressures from the government itself, the Secretary General of WOSM sent a letter to the head of the association reminding the Scouts of the constitutional obligation of maintaining their independence from governments and indicating that if this were not the case, Turkey's recognition would be withdrawn²⁸⁰.

There are three main subgroups within false Scouting. The first, which I have dealt with, is where the principles of the sponsoring institution are placed above the principles of World Scouting, as is the case of the Scouts d'Europe with its subordination to the principles and positions of the Catholic Church. The second, also dealt with here, is where loyalty to "original Scouting" (with a rather subjective interpretation), generates a model that opposes the principles of inclusiveness, openness, and the sense of global belonging, which have been characteristics of World Scouting since it was founded. The third is where the Scouting appearance is

²⁷⁷ "Potential member countries: There are 35 countries where Scouting exists (be it embryonic or widespread) but where there is no National Scout Organization which is yet a member of the World Organization of the Scout Movement". WOSM website: <http://www.scout.org/satw/elsewhere.shtml> [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

²⁷⁸ "Note on the current situation in the Polish Scout Movement", WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, July 1989.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ Series of documents on the Peace Cruise. World Scout Bureau archives.

used by governments or political parties to develop youth movements, generally for indoctrination, although in most cases the 'Scouting' name is changed to something else ('Pioneers' in communist regimes).

CHAPTER 4. WORLD DIMENSION: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS (1924-2004)

1. WORLD SCOUTING TODAY (2003)

- 1.1. Geographical Presence
- 1.2. Population and Density
- 1.3. Age Ranges
- 1.4. Gender

2. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WOSM (1920-2004)

- 2.1. Member Countries
- 2.2. Individual Membership
- 2.3. Age Ranges (1968-2004)
- 2.4. Participation in World Decision-Making Processes: World Scout Conferences
- 2.5. International Youth Camps: World Scout Jamborees

INTRODUCTION

The hypothesis of this research is that World Scouting fosters a sense of global belonging among its members through a combination of its principles, organization and world dimension. This latter element is crucial for gauging the movement's impact on 83.3% of today's independent states around the world with its simultaneous strong local tradition and active international life, giving rise to a rare example of intercultural harmony in civil society around the world. In the previous two chapters, I demonstrated the ideological consistency of World Scouting – through its two organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS – as an object of analysis with a coherent historical sequence of events, democratically established inclusive principles with an international scope and a system of organization that guarantees the participation of all member countries and methodically delimits its components.

To determine the extent to which World Scouting has been and still is an organization with a global scope and presence, it was necessary to demonstrate two things: firstly, that it is an international movement, both now and in its early years, that reaches the majority of countries and continents of the world and has substantial numbers of members, considering that it is a voluntary organization, and secondly, that people from all over the world – not only the European or Western elite – have a say in its democratic stances.

To demonstrate the international dimension of both world organizations, I first had to determine the exact data needed to assess the dimension and find out whether this information existed. The world dimension can be evaluated firstly by geographical presence; in this case, by the number of countries that are World Scouting members. Secondly, it can be evaluated by social relevance, i.e., by the number of individual members of World Scouting in each of these countries. I also thought it important to find out the past evolution and current situation of this aspect, where possible. Lastly, to avoid biases caused by volumes of youth populations in the different countries, I decided to contrast the Scouting census with the youth population counts in each country. On an organizational level, however, interaction between the parameters of countries and numbers of individuals was not

possible, so I added a further two parameters: participation in world conferences and world Jamborees. As I explained in Chapter 3, the world conferences are the supreme governing body of World Scouting and meet on a regular basis. Since each country is given the same number of delegates, it was interesting to find out which ones attended the different conferences, in order to gauge the composition of participants in the highest decision-making process of World Scouting. The World Scout Jamborees are the main international camps for young Scouts, though many other Scout exchanges are held each year.

Data Collection and Analysis

For the analysis, I contacted the two world organizations in order to collate and process information from the current censuses and those that have been conducted since they were founded. My dealings with WOSM were satisfactory. This organization has a statistics unit that gave me free access to all of its past censuses, some of which were handwritten. They were collated and computer-processed one by one, given that none before 1990 were in electronic format. The first surviving census in the archives of the World Scout Bureau (Geneva) and the Scout Association UK (Gilwell Park, England) was published in 1924 and the latest census available at the time this information was collated (February 2006) dates from 2004. WOSM's statistics unit has a major challenge ahead of it in computerizing its data and conducting studies for use in prospective analyses. In fact, the World Scout Bureau conducted studies back in the 1960s and 1970s – without the aid of computers – on the evolution of the census and densities as a proportion of the total population, as I will explain later. This statistics unit has helped me to clarify queries and contradictions that have cropped up during the computer processing of the historical data, including calculation errors and different figures from different sources. The result was the creation of four new data sets¹. Appendix 4 contains a summary of the data processing, particularly the incidents that took place when the data was entered into the computer.

The historical data of WAGGGS has not been analysed because it was not available at the time of data processing. Despite an initial attempt to collate information, technical problems with the World Bureau WAGGGS archive meant that it was not possible to carry out a similar process with its data, so I have only included data from its latest census (2003). As a result, there is no combined historical analysis of the evolution of WOSM and WAGGGS censuses, which would have been very interesting since it was not until the 1960s that WOSM associations began to accept girls as members, as I explained in Chapters 2 and 3. The historical analysis of censuses, therefore, only looks at WOSM associations, whose members have mainly been male. The combined historical analysis remains a task for future research. Nonetheless, since current WAGGGS data *is* available (the most recent being from the 2003 census), a combined analysis of current World Scouting has been made to compare the 2003 WAGGGS and WOSM censuses. This analysis illustrates the

¹ Eduard Vallory: 'World Scouting 2003 Data Set'; 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004'; 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004', and 'Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002'. Department of Political Science, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, 2007.

current situation of World Scouting by numbers of member countries and individual young members (between the ages of 5 and 19 years) – i.e. not including adults, as I will explain later. WAGGGS breaks down the data from its 2003 census by age group and gender, while WOSM splits the data into age groups but only provides information on gender for the age groups overall. It has therefore not been possible to contrast the analysis of age groups with that of gender.

For the analyses of both current and historical data, I have compared the member countries of World Scouting with the independent states existing at any given time. To do so, I contrasted the data from the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses with the “Correlates of War Project”², a joint initiative by the University of Illinois and Pennsylvania State University that identifies actors as member states of the international system between 1816 and 2004. The project uses Russett *et al.* (1968) and Small and Singer (1980)³ for the data for 1920 onwards and establishes the essential requirements as being members of the League of Nations or United Nations or having a minimum population of 500,000 inhabitants and being recognized through diplomatic missions of two “major powers” – also based on the Small and Singer (1980) classification.

Despite being unable to study the evolution of the census in one hundred and seventy countries separately, I believe that aggregating the data by continental regions gives a sufficient indication of the relevance of the global dimension of the Scout Movement, though the creation of the database will allow future researchers to analyse the information by country. By classifying countries into continental regions I have avoided those currently used in World Scouting. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, because of the differences between WOSM and WAGGGS, such as WOSM’s Eurasian region, which includes the countries of the former Soviet Union. And secondly, because the World Scouting regions sometimes use more cultural than geographical criteria, such as Israel’s location in the European region. Hence, I have grouped countries into the continental regions used by the United Nations Population Fund⁴, which considers the whole of Central America to be part of the region of North America, a classification that I have maintained.

To sum up, I have used five main sources for the data on Scouting analysed in this chapter, four of which are data sets that I have made:

(i) The ‘World Scouting 2003 Data Set’ (my own work), which contains (a) the number of WOSM and WAGGGS member countries in this year; (b) the number of young members of World Scouting in this year, for both WOSM and WAGGGS and overall, split into three age ranges (5-9, 10-14, 15-19) and by gender; (c) the

² Correlates of War Project. 2004. “State System Membership List, v2004.1.” February 2005. Online, <http://correlatesofwar.org>.

³ Bruce M. Russett, J. David Singer, and Melvin Small (1968): ‘National Political Units in the Twentieth Century: A Standardized List’, *American Political Science Review*, 62(3):932-951. J. David Singer and Melvin Small (1972): *The Wages of War 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook*. John Wiley & Sons, pp. 19-30. Melvin Small and J. David Singer (1982): *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 38-46.

⁴ United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical supplement (1948-1997). Notice that this division considers all countries in Central America and the Caribbean to form part of the region of “North America”.

population census data of the United Nations for 2000 for the same three age groups; (d) density (the number of Scouts divided by the population of the same age range, multiplied by 10,000) obtained by cross-referencing *b* with *c*.

(ii) The 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004' (my own work), which contains (a) the number of WOSM member countries, with intervals of every two to three years, depending on when the census was published; (b) the comparison with the number of independent states in each case, based on Correlates of War⁵; (c) the Scout census of each country; (d) the breakdown of countries into continental regions, using the UN Demographic Yearbook.

(iii) The 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004' (my own work), which contains (a) the number of WOSM member countries, with intervals of every two to three years; (b) the comparison with the number of independent states in each case, based on Correlates of War; (c) the Scout census of each country, split into three approximate age groups: 5-9, 10-14, 15-19; (d) the breakdown of countries into continental regions, using the UN Demographic Yearbook.

(iv) The 'Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002' (author's own work), which contains: (a) the number of world Scout conferences organized since 1924; (b) the number of WOSM member countries in these years; (c) the number of WOSM member countries in these years that have attended the world Scout conferences.

(v) The 'World Scout Jamboree' data set, version 1.4 (produced by the World Scout Bureau), which contains: (a) the world Jamborees organized since 1924; (b) the number of WOSM member countries that have attended the world Jamborees in those years; (c) the number of individuals from each country who have attended.

Data Reliability

While the data on the world Scout conferences and Jamborees is taken from the register of the people who attended them, and the data on WOSM member countries is taken from the World Scout Bureau register of enrolments and departures since day one, the data on the censuses of individual members of Scouting in the different countries are somewhat more unreliable. So, we need to bear two things in mind: that the censuses use figures reported by the national associations to the world organizations, through the available means, and that the censuses have always been related to the payment of fees.

In both WOSM and WAGGGS, the fees paid to the world organizations vary according to the number of members in each country, as is the case with the United Nations. Thus, in World Scouting, all countries have the same voting rights at the World Conference but the fees they pay depend on how many members they have – and in the case of WOSM, just since 1996 it has set up a system of different fees based on the four categories of economies of the World Bank, which are based on

⁵ Correlates of War Project, 2004: "State System Membership List, v2004.1".

per capita gross domestic product (GDP). So, in the past, associations have had reason to report lower member counts than the real ones in order to pay less fees. Proof of this came in 1996, when the World Scout Conference agreed that countries with the lowest category of GDP would only pay fees for the first million members. That same year, the Indonesia association reported almost five times the members of its previous census.

The definition of “members” is also interpreted in different ways by different countries. The statistical report on the WOSM censuses from 1990 to 2000⁶ notes that the spectacular increases in the census of Indonesia (Gerakan Pramuka) after 1996 and the United States (Boy Scouts of America) after 1997 also occurred because the two countries decided to include in their censuses all children and youths who took part in extracurricular activities run by Scouting—referring to them as “associate members”. The inclusion of these “associate members” by the Indonesian WOSM association makes a huge difference, not only to WOSM, but also to World Scouting as a whole, since its 2003 census (8.05 million members, of whom 7.2 are children, adolescents and youths) makes up over a quarter of the total adding up WOSM and WAGGGS. According to WOSM, the Indonesian association reports that only 370,000 members of the total 8 million Scouts in the 2003 and 2004 censuses “are duly registered, pay a fee and are individually identified”⁷, while the remaining 7.6 million are ‘associate members’ who take part in official extracurricular activities organized by the Scout association, though all 8 million are included as members for the WOSM censuses. Although I have not looked into other potentially similar situations, in certain points of the comparative analyses, I separated Indonesia from the rest of the Asian region to give a truer view of Asia’s impact on Scouting as a whole and avoid an overly biased representation.

There is no uniform definition of age ranges across World Scouting. The ‘sections’ or age groups vary from country to country, and they do not always refer to the same ages. The reliability of the data broken down into sections in the censuses is therefore relative and more for guidance purposes than anything else: it cannot be said to be the result of an in-depth analysis of the actual situation. Nonetheless, it does give us an indication of the changes that have taken place within different age ranges and in densities. I have therefore chosen to group the various “sections” into three age groups that can then be compared to the United Nations population census for the current and past (1968-2004) analyses. For the gender comparison with the 2003 analysis, while WAGGGS has broken down the data in a rather curious way, the WOSM data was taken from an extra question on its censuses, which was not always answered; thus, there is no way of knowing whether the value zero means that there are no girls or that the association has not counted girls and boys separately.

By comparing the Scout census with the real population of each country for the World Scouting analysis of today (2003), the number of members could be

⁶ ‘Fact Sheet: World Scouting Membership 1990-2000’. World Scout Bureau. WOSM: August 2001.

⁷ E-mail from Luc Panissod, Deputy Secretary General, World Scout Bureau, dated 15th August 2006.

interpreted by taking into account the population of the country, using densities, and not only as raw data. However, for the historical evolution analysis, the United Nations does not have data on country population counts before the 1980s. Since my analysis groups countries into continental regions, this lack of data made it impossible to conduct a joint analysis, so the evolution section contains only raw data. As a result, we cannot determine the relative importance of the growth or decline of Scouting in the real population compared to the growth or decline of the corresponding population brackets in the various countries and continents. Nonetheless, future research could be carried out along these lines for a number of countries because the United Nations censuses do contain historical population data on some countries.

The data sets that I have created for this research may still contain errors, despite thorough checks of potential errors and inconsistencies, which have been corrected wherever possible with the support of the Statistics Unit of the World Scout Bureau (Appendix 4). Nevertheless, they represent the first electronic comparison of this data and bring to light results and inconsistencies that have not been seen before and, more importantly, they can be used as the starting point for future research.

Chapter Contents

This chapter will attempt to describe the world dimension of Scouting today and throughout WOSM's history, starting with its creation in 1920 (the earliest data available dates back to 1924). For the current world dimension, which uses the WAGGGS and WOSM censuses for 2003 (excluding Scout leaders, i.e. including only girls and boys) the analysis aims to answer four questions: (a) whether Scouting's geographical presence extends to the majority of countries in the world and in a uniform manner across different continents or whether it is only present in a few countries outside the West; (b) how many people are members in each of the main regions of the planet and what proportion of the total youth population do they represent (density); (c) what is the relevance of the different age ranges (to determine whether this is a movement of youths, adolescents or children, with the consequences this has on its capacity for citizenship education, and to find out whether this situation is similar on the different continents), and (d) what is the percentage of boy members and girl members (to find out whether the educational task is aimed more at one of the sexes or whether it is similar for both).

The analysis of WOSM's historical evolution uses the full censuses, i.e., it does not separate children/young people from leaders, and focuses on four points: (a) the evolution of its geographical presence, parallel to the change in the number of independent states around the world, in order to determine whether they are similar or whether the presence of WOSM is historically concentrated in certain areas; (b) the number of individual members, to find out whether their numerical relevance has increased or decreased over the years; (c) WOSM's evolution by continents, broken down into three age ranges to determine whether the weight of each in World Scouting as a whole has varied or remained stable; (d) the participation of countries in world conferences since Scouting was founded, which will reveal whether the countries that have taken part in decision-making processes were

mainly from a specific area or whether all continents have been uniformly represented, and (e) the participation of young people in Scouting's most emblematic international activity, the World Jamborees, held regularly since 1920, to determine whether there has been a real diversity in participants or whether they have simply been local or regional meetings.

1. WORLD SCOUTING TODAY

The aim of this section is to reveal the current situation of World Scouting using the latest available data on the world organizations WOSM and WAGGGS. Although the last available WOSM census is from 2004, the last WAGGGS census is from 2003 so I have decided to compare the 2003 censuses of the two.

The WOSM and WAGGGS censuses use different categories to classify individuals by age range in the education process. However, these age ranges are defined by the individual associations, so the classification in the censuses is only approximate. The most clearly delimited range is the age range with which Scouting began, Scouts/Guides, roughly from 11 to 15 years. It is preceded by the Senior Scouts/Senior Guides, which can range from 15 to 18 years. The Cubs/Brownies are immediately below Scouts/Guides and usually include the 8-11 age range. At the very top end, we have Rovers/Rangers for those aged 18 to 22 and, at the very bottom, Pre-Cubs/Pre-Brownies, aged 6 to 8 years. However, when it comes to comparing these age ranges with the United Nations population census in order to calculate density, we discover that the latter only divides the population into five-year age ranges, which only leaves us with two possibilities: either 5 to 24 years or 5 to 19 years.

I have only used the categories of the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses that include young people⁸ and not leaders or adult support. Although this could reduce the number of young people under the age of 25 who are leaders in many countries, given that it is impossible to separate them from leaders over the age of 25, I have limited the analysis to the above categories. As a result, I eventually chose the 5-19 years option because not all associations have leaders over the age of 18, so including the 20-24 range would give a biased view of density. Moreover, the most inaccurate range in the census categories is the middle one (Scouts/Guides), which is very close to the 10-14 population range. I have therefore combined the lower two (Pre-Cubs/Pre-Brownies and Cubs/Brownies) to compare them to the 5-9 years population range and I have done the same with the top two (Senior Scouts/Senior Guides and Rovers/Rangers) in order to compare them to the 15-19 years population range, as shown in Table 3.

This division matches that of the United Nations census: 5-9 years, 10-14 years and 15-19 years, which will allow for a more accurate analysis of Scout density.

⁸ In WOSM: Pre-Cubs, Cubs, Scouts, Senior/Venture Scouts, Rovers. In WAGGGS: Pre-Brownies, Brownies, Guides, Senior Guides, Rangers.

Table 3. Approximate correspondence between World Scouting categories and the age ranges of the United Nations Population Fund census

<i>WOSM/WAGGGS categories</i>	<i>Age ranges</i>
Pre-Cubs/Pre-Brownies Cubs/Brownies	5-9 years
Scouts/Guides	10-14 years
Senior Scouts/Senior Guides Rovers/Rangers	15-19 years

Author's own work

There are four parts to the analysis in this chapter, in line with the aims described above: geographical presence, population and density, age ranges and gender. Along the lines of this research – that World Scouting is a movement with two world organizations – the analysis deals with the two organizations individually and as one in order to determine their real impact.

The unit of analysis of this chapter are the countries – national organizations – that were WOSM and/or WAGGGS members in 2003 (see Appendix 4). The variables and characteristics below were taken into account for these countries:

- a) Geographical region to which it belongs (Africa, North America, South America, Asia, Europe and Oceania), using the United Nations database⁹ (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) Total members and the number of members broken down by gender and age range (5-9, 10-14, 15-19), based on the 2003 censuses of the two world organizations¹⁰;
- d) Population aged between 5 and 19 in each country, broken down into three groups: 5-9, 10-14 and 15-19. The population data for almost all countries was obtained from the United Nations Population Fund for 2000¹¹. However, the population of a few countries was unavailable, so approximate data from other population sources were used (see Appendix 4).

⁹ United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical Supplement (1948-1997).

¹⁰ Eduard Vallory: 'World Scouting 2003 Data Set'. Department of Political Science, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, 2007.

¹¹ 'World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision Population Database'. United Nations. Population Division. <http://esa.un.org/unpp>.

The descriptive analysis of the data has followed the aims of this research and of this chapter in particular. Each section describes the methodology used in more detail.

For *geographical presence*, I have compared the number of member countries with the total number of independent states in order to determine the world dimension of Scouting. I have done this by grouping the countries into the continental regions indicated earlier in order to determine the area of the planet to which the member countries of World Scouting belong. For *population and density*, besides indicating the number of World Scouting members in each continental region, I have calculated the density of Scouts for every 10,000 young people using the Scout censuses and data from the world population census for each country, using only the age range I mentioned earlier (5 to 19 years) in order to avoid biases in countries with a bigger young population. I have also compared the World Scouting censuses to the last world population census of the United Nations Population Fund, which is from 2000¹².

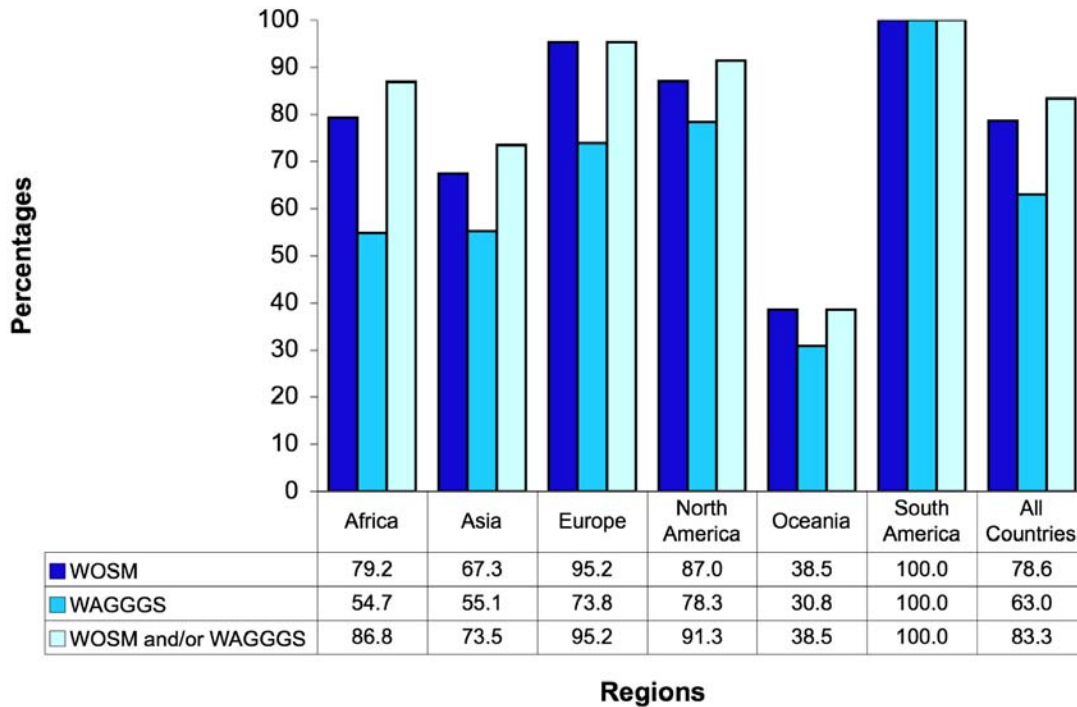
Finally, the analysis by *age ranges* is based on the equivalences of the 3 groups shown in Table 3. This made it possible to compare the Scout ranges with the real population in order to determine density. Even so, for *gender*, the analysis was limited by the fact that WOSM only breaks down the 5-19 range and, not the individual age groups, by gender, so I have only indicated the weight of each gender in WOSM, WAGGGS and World Scouting as a whole, broken down by continental region, but not in each age range.

1.1. Geographical Presence

The first element for analysing the world dimension of a movement like Scouting is to determine whether its geographical scope extends to the majority of the world's countries and whether it is uniform across the continents or only the case in a handful of countries outside the Western world. As I have explained, because there is not always one member association of World Scouting per independent state, I have used the core of independent states of the "Correlates of War Project" to determine the percentage of national Scout organizations corresponding to the independent states of the world.

¹² 'World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision Population Database'. United Nations. Population Division. <http://esa.un.org/unpp>.

Figure 4. Percentage of independent countries that are members of WOSM and/or WAGGGS out of all independent countries (2003)



Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 4 illustrates the percentage of WOSM and/or WAGGGS member countries out of all independent states in 2003. The percentages are for all countries as a whole and grouped into continental regions¹³. In the All countries column, we see that WOSM and WAGGGS together are present in 83.3% of independent states. Of these, WOSM is in 78.6% of states, while WAGGGS is in 63.0%. If we analyse the distribution by regions, we see that, with the exception of South America, all regions have a similar situation whereby the percentage of independent countries in which WAGGGS is present is always lower than that of WOSM. However, in South America, all independent countries have both WOSM and WAGGGS member associations. In Europe and Africa, the percentage of independent countries with WOSM members is approximately 20% higher than that of independent countries with WAGGGS members. In other regions, the difference between the percentages is less and even falls to the same level, as is the case of South America. The region with the lowest percentage of members of one of the two world organizations is Oceania, which has 38.4% overall (38.5% for WOSM and 30.8% for WAGGGS), because of the high number of mini-states in the region. The regions with a higher percentage of Scout presence, both WOSM and WAGGGS, are South America (100%), Europe (95.2% and 73.2%, respectively) and North America (87.0% and 78.3%, respectively).

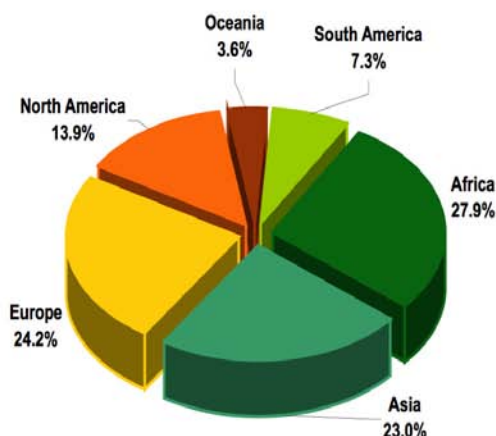
These percentages indicate that World Scouting has a broad-ranging international presence both globally (in 83% of independent countries) and on all continents.

¹³ The WOSM and WAGGGS censuses were conducted in 2003. The list of independent states was taken from the *Correlates of War Project*, which is from 2003. The continental regions are those established by the United Nations Population Fund (Appendix 4).

World Scouting has member organizations in thirteen of the fifteen countries of the world with the highest population rates¹⁴, and it is only not present in the People's Republic of China and Vietnam, where it is outlawed (not including Hong Kong or Taiwan, which have 215,000 World Scouting members between them). Scouting is officially present in 68 of the 80 countries and territories with over ten million inhabitants¹⁵. In order of population (UN, 2005), of these 80 countries, World Scouting is only not officially present in the People's Republic of China, Vietnam, Iran, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Iraq, Uzbekistan, North Korea, Syria, Kazakhstan, Mali and Cuba¹⁶. Moreover, the majority of independent states where World Scouting is not present, with the one big exception of China, are very small countries.

Having analysed the relationship between the national Scout organizations that are WOSM and/or WAGGGS members and independent states, I will now turn to look at the geographical presence of World Scouting, based on the number of member organizations with full voting rights, regardless of whether or not they are independent states. Figures 5, 5a and 5b below illustrate the geographical representation of World Scouting in the six geographical regions analysed here: first as a whole (the total for both world organizations) and then separately, dealing first with WOSM and then with WAGGGS. These figures show the weight of all countries in each of the regions as a fraction of the total.

Figure 5. WOSM and/or WAGGGS member countries in each region as a percentage of all WOSM and/or WAGGGS member countries in 2003 ($n = 165$)



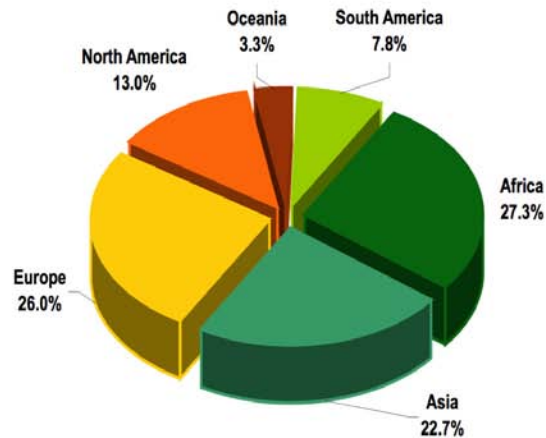
Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

¹⁴ China, India, United States, Indonesia, Brazil, Pakistan, Russia, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Japan, Mexico, Vietnam, Philippines, Germany and Ethiopia. UNITED NATIONS, 2005a.

¹⁵ UNITED NATIONS, 2005a.

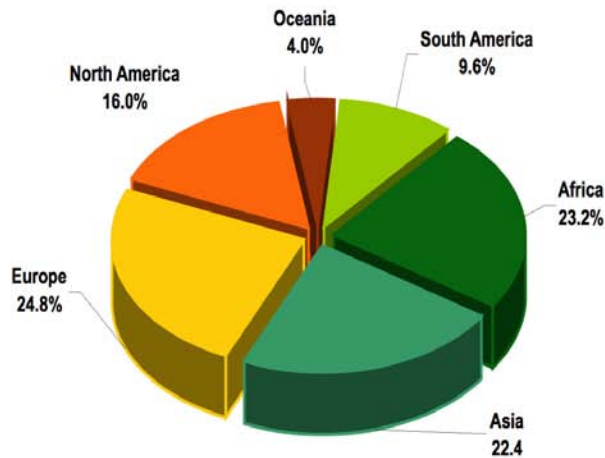
¹⁶ In 2006, Scouting was officially outlawed in five countries: the People's Republic of China, North Korea, Cuba, Laos and Myanmar. WOSM, 2006: 89.

Figure 5a. WOSM member countries in each region as a percentage of all WOSM member countries in 2003 ($n = 154$)



Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 5b. WAGGGS member countries in each region as a percentage of all WAGGGS member countries in 2003 ($n = 125$)



Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 5 reveals that Africa is the region with the greatest representation out of the 165 WOSM and/or WAGGGS member countries, given that it accounts for almost 28% of member countries. It is followed by Europe and Asia, with 24.2% and 23.0%, respectively. The percentage of member countries drops in North and South America, which have 13.9% and 7.3%, respectively. Finally, Oceania is the region with fewest countries, accounting for just 3.6% of the total.

If we analyse the regional representation of WOSM (Figure 5a), we see that the regions of Africa, Europe and Asia have the highest geographical presence percentages of the total 154 member countries in 2003. Specifically, Africa has 27.3% , Europe has 26.0% and Asia has 22.7%. These are followed by North America with 13.0% and South America with 7.8%. Again, Oceania has the lowest representation, with 3.3%.

The same analysis for WAGGGS (Figure 5b) reveals a similar distribution to the

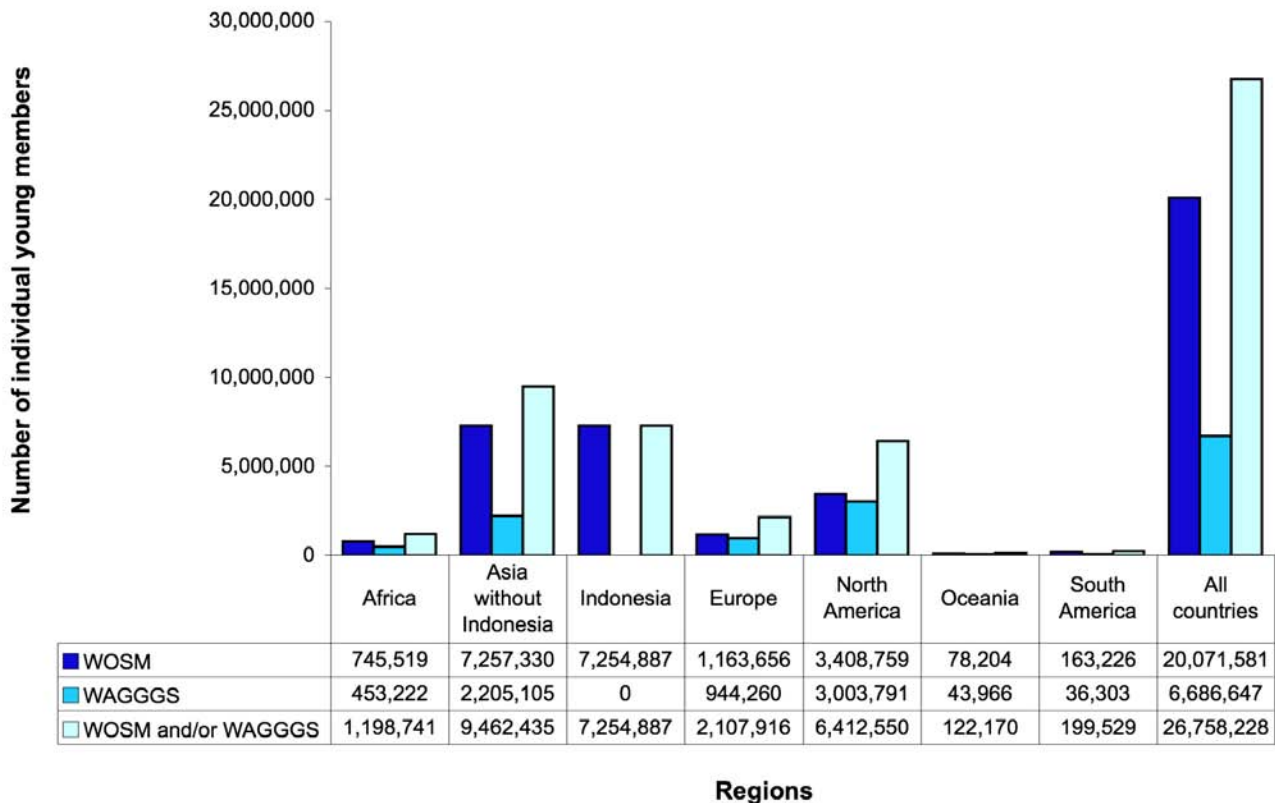
previous one: Europe, Africa and Asia are the regions with the highest representation, with 24.8%, 23.2% and 22.4% respectively. They are followed by North America with 16.0% and South America with 9.6%. Again, Oceania has a minority representation of countries, with 4%.

If we compare the percentages obtained by analysing the two world organizations separately, we see that the percentage of WOSM member countries in Europe and Africa is higher than the percentage of WAGGGS member countries, while the percentage of WAGGGS member countries in the rest of the regions is greater than that of WOSM.

1.2. Population and Density

After the geographical presence of World Scouting, another aspect to take into account to determine its world dimension is the number of young members it has, both globally and in each of the large areas of the planet, and to find out what proportion of the total young population it constitutes, that is, density. This point includes the World Scouting census, its distribution across continental regions and its density, i.e., the number of Scouts per ten thousand children and youths aged 5 to 19 in each of the regions.

Figure 6. Number of young people who are members of WOSM and/or WAGGGS by regions and overall, 2003



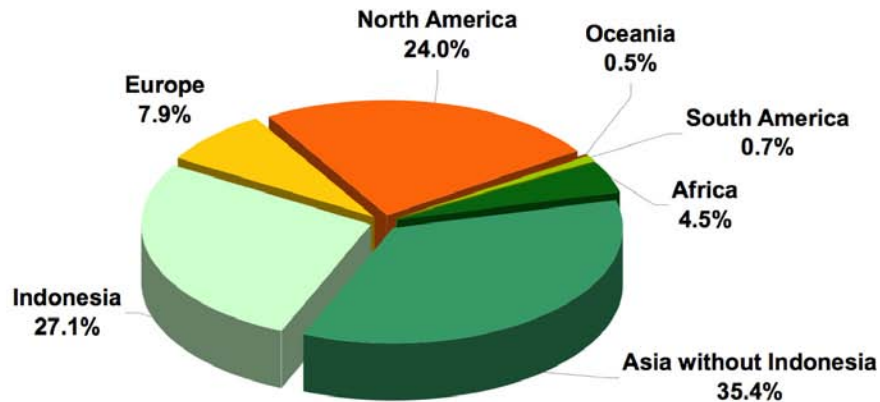
Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

World Scouting (2003) has over 26 million young members (i.e., generally under-20s). As shown in Figure 6, 20 million of these are WOSM members and the remaining 6.68 million are WAGGGS members. Analysis of the number of young people who are World Scouting members reveals that the region with the most members is Asia, with a total of 16.7 million young people (14.5 of whom are WOSM members and 2.2 are WAGGGS members). However, Indonesia (WOSM) accounts for more than two fifths of this figure, with 7.25 million young people. Asia is followed by North America, where 6.4 million young people – 24% of the total – belong to one of the two organizations (17% to WOSM and 44.9% to WAGGGS). Europe has approximately two million young World Scouting members, making up 7.9% of the overall total; of these, 1.16 million belong to WOSM and 944,260 to WAGGGS. Africa only has 745,519 young WOSM members and 453,222 WAGGGS members. Lastly, Oceania and South America are the regions with the least young members: Oceania has just 122,170 members and South America just 199,529. Generally speaking, there are more WOSM members than WAGGGS members, both when the data is analysed by regions and overall. This difference is almost double in all regions except for North America and Europe, where the number of members is virtually the same. At the other extreme is South America, where there are four times as many WOSM members.

In the 2003 censuses, the five biggest WOSM and WAGGGS associations between them account for 75% of the population of girls and boys between the ages of 5 and 19 in World Scouting. For WOSM, these are (in millions of members) Indonesia, 7.25; USA, 3.2; India, 2.29; Philippines, 1.94, and Thailand, 1.11, which gives a total of 13.8 million members (69% of WOSM's total). For WAGGGS, these countries are USA, 3.8; India, 1.1; Philippines, 0.67; United Kingdom, 0.55, and Canada 0.14, giving a total of 6.4 million members (76% of the total).

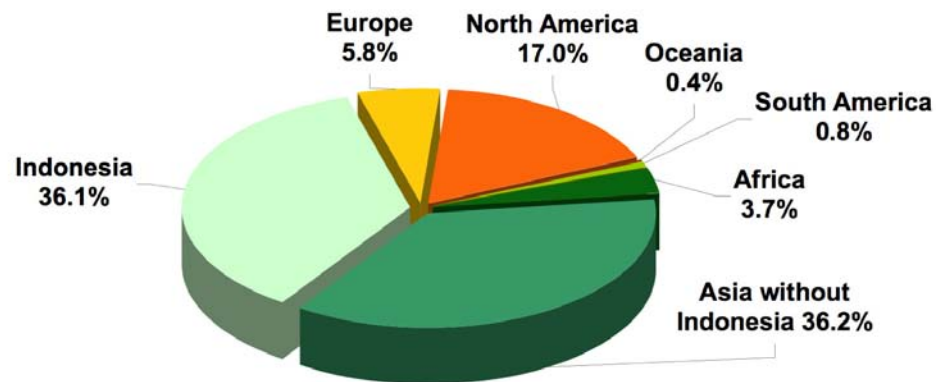
Nevertheless, a detailed analysis of the national associations would not be enough to gauge the weight of Scouting in each continental region and, by extension, find out which region has the highest representation in terms of members of World Scouting and in each of the two organizations. Figure 7, therefore, indicates the members in each region as a percentage of the total, and separates them into the two world organizations, represented by Figures 7a and 7b.

Figure 7. Percentage of young members of World Scouting (WOSM and/or WAGGGS) by region (n = 26.758.228)



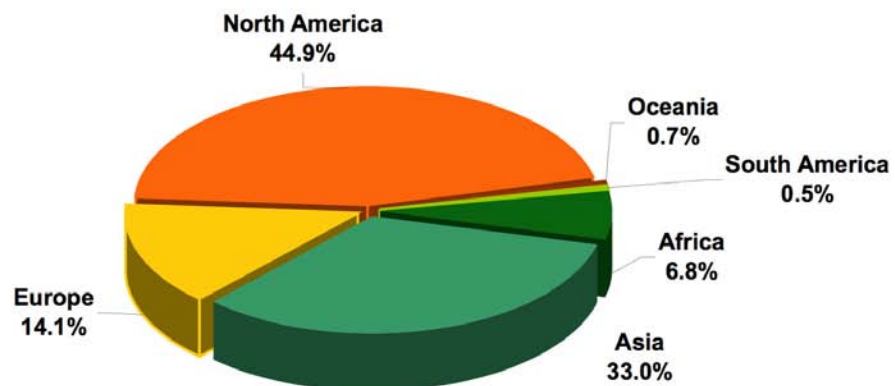
Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 7a. Percentage of young WOSM members (n = 20.071.581) by region



Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 7b. Percentage of young WAGGGS members (n = 6.686.647) by region

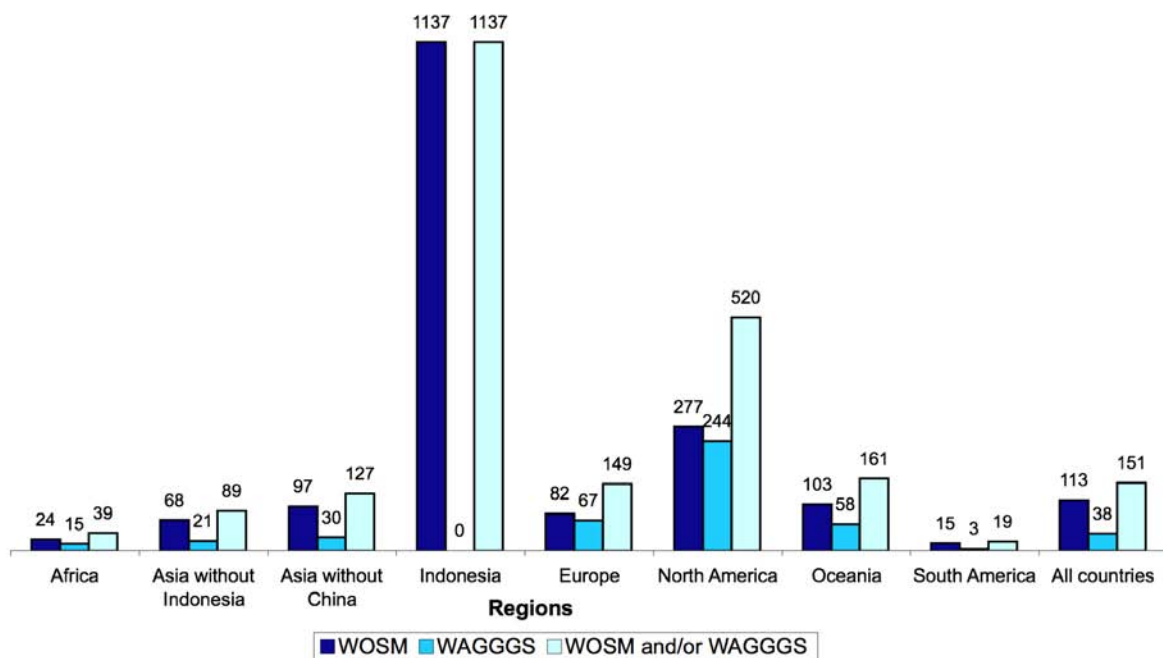


Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 7 shows that Asia is the region with the most young members of World Scouting (62.5% overall, of whom 27% are from Indonesia), followed by North America (24.0%). However, when we analyse the data on the two organizations separately (Figures 7a and 7b), we see that WOSM's percentage is clearly higher in Asia (72.3% compared to 17% in North America), even if we do not take into account the imbalance caused by Indonesia (36.2% compared to 17%), while for WAGGGS, this percentage is higher in North America, albeit to a lesser extent (44.9% compared to 33.0% in Asia). Oceania and South America are the regions with the least representation.

Having analysed the geographical distribution of members, I will now explain the relevance of this figure as a percentage of the total population aged 5 to 19, both globally and regionally. Figure 8 illustrates the distribution of the density of World Scouting as a whole and of the two organizations individually, taking the population aged 5 to 19 as a reference. The analysis has tried to avoid the traditional comparison with the total population count of each country, given that the important density here is the one concerning the age range of the census that could potentially be Scouting members, i.e., the younger inhabitants. Therefore, the population aged 5 to 19 has been processed country by country to compare it with the census of each Scout association. The density measurement used is the quotient between the total number of young people who are World Scouting members and the total population aged 5 to 19 multiplied by 10,000. This gives us the number of young World Scouting members for every 10,000 people in our age range.

Figure 8. Density by organization and region, 2003
(Number of Scouts per 10,000 people = (Number of Scouts/Population 5-19)*10000)*



* The values for WOSM and/or WAGGGS should be the sum of the values obtained by WOSM and WAGGGS. This is not the case for some regions because the data has been rounded up or down.

Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 8 compares the censuses with the population data and shows that, 151 of every 10,000 young people on the planet are World Scouting members: 113 belong to WOSM and 38 to WAGGGS. When breaking down the data, I have tried to eliminate two very important factors that would produce a heavy bias in the case of Asia¹⁷. Firstly, the fact that China, the most heavily populated country in the world, has outlawed Scouting; and secondly that, as I have mentioned, Scouting in Indonesia is connected to schooling, so there are more members in this country than any other country in the world (it has a density of 1,137 Scouts for every 10,000 young people).

If we break down the data by geographical region, excluding Indonesia, we see that North America is the region with the most Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants, specifically 520. It is followed in order of importance by Oceania – the continent with the least members – and Europe, with 161 and 149, respectively. Without Indonesia, Asia has a density of 89, which increases to 127 if we do not take into account the population of China. Africa and South America are the continents with the lowest density of Scouts (39 and 19), as is also the case with the census.

If we analyse the results obtained with the two organizations separately, we see that there are more Scouts for every 10,000 in WOSM than in WAGGGS, for all regions. Nonetheless, North America is significant in that the two organizations have a fairly similar number of Scouts. The clearest differences are to be found in Asia where, excluding Indonesia (which only has WOSM membership) and the population of China, 97 of every 10,000 young people belong to WOSM while just 30 in every 10,000 belong to WAGGGS. Similarly, Oceania has 103 Scouts in WOSM and 58 in WAGGGS for every 10,000 inhabitants.

1.3. Age Ranges

Scouting was founded as an educational movement aimed at adolescents, although it was extended shortly afterwards to the youth and pre-adolescent age groups (see Chapter 2). The consequence of these decisions are still relevant today because a movement that is predominantly juvenile does not have the same citizenship education capability as a movement that includes young people and adolescents.

As Dominique Bénard observes, the Scout Movement was founded as a way to overcome the problems of adolescents at the time of the second industrial revolution; a hundred years later, the education of adolescents has become a global challenge of utmost importance once again. Thus, in the words of the Assistant Secretary General of WOSM, “la qualité de notre programme éducatif se mesure non pas au nombre des jeunes qui nous rejoignent mais au nombre de jeunes qui nous quittent chaque année avec la motivation et les compétences nécessaires pour jouer un rôle constructif dans le développement de la société”¹⁸. The social impact of

¹⁷ If we include the whole of Asia, including the population of China and the census of Indonesia, it has a density of 154 Scouts per 10,000 young people.

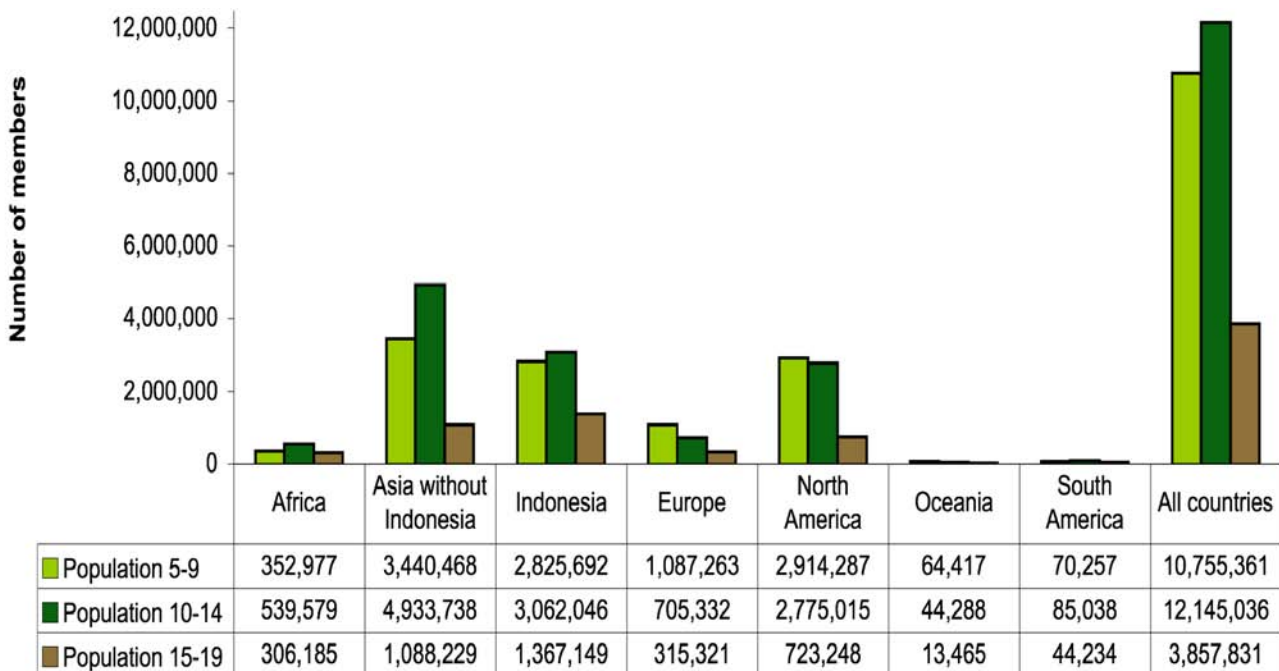
¹⁸ [“The quality of our educational programme is not gauged by the number of young people who join us

Scouting in its aim of educating responsible citizens is thus conditioned by its potential impact on adolescents. According to UNICEF, adolescence is “a period of transition between childhood into adulthood” which, for statistical purposes, can be divided into three stages: “early (10-13 years), middle (14-16 years), and late (17-19 years) adolescence”¹⁹.

We therefore need to know the percentages of these different age ranges in World Scouting as a whole and to find out whether this is similar around the world. Since the age ranges are approximate and vary from country to country, as I have explained, I have divided them into three groups to make them match up with the United Nations population census (Table 3): the child group, which covers those aged 5 to 9 years; the early adolescent group, which includes those aged 10 to 14 years, and the late adolescent group, which contains youths aged 15 to 19 years. In this point, then, I will analyse the data from the World Scouting census by separating it into the three age ranges indicated. The results are explained in two parts: the first offers a comparison between the number of people in each age range within each world organization while the second compares the number of members of each world organization within each age group.

1.3.1. Geographical Presence of World Scouting According to Member Age

Figure 9. World Scouting Census by Regions According to Member Age



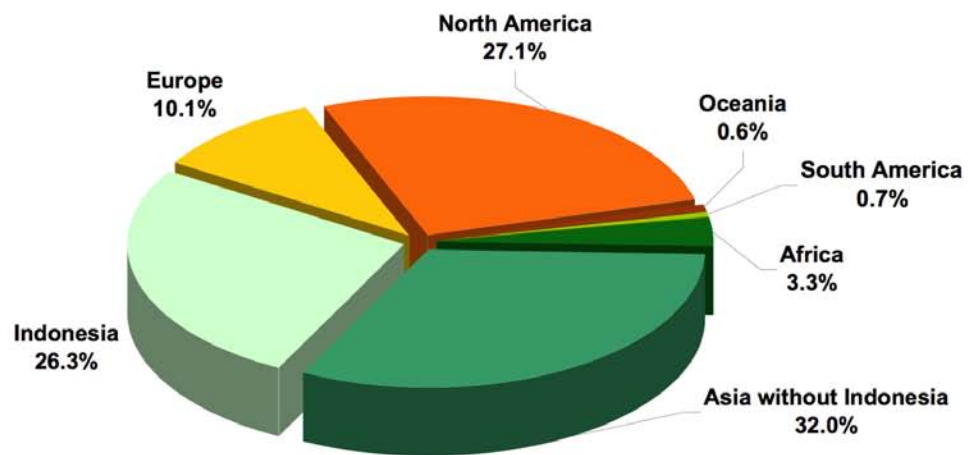
Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

but by the number of young people who leave us each year with the motivation and skills needed to play a constructive role in the development of society”.] Dominique Bénard, Deputy Secretary General and head of Educational Methods of WOSM: “Inventer le Scoutisme du XXI^e siècle”, opening address of the États Généraux du Scoutisme Francophone Canadien. Canada, 20th May 2005, Association des Scouts du Canada (pp. 3-4).

¹⁹ UNICEF: ‘Adolescence: the Big Picture’. http://www.unicef.org/adolescence/index_bigpicture.html (visited 23rd March 2007).

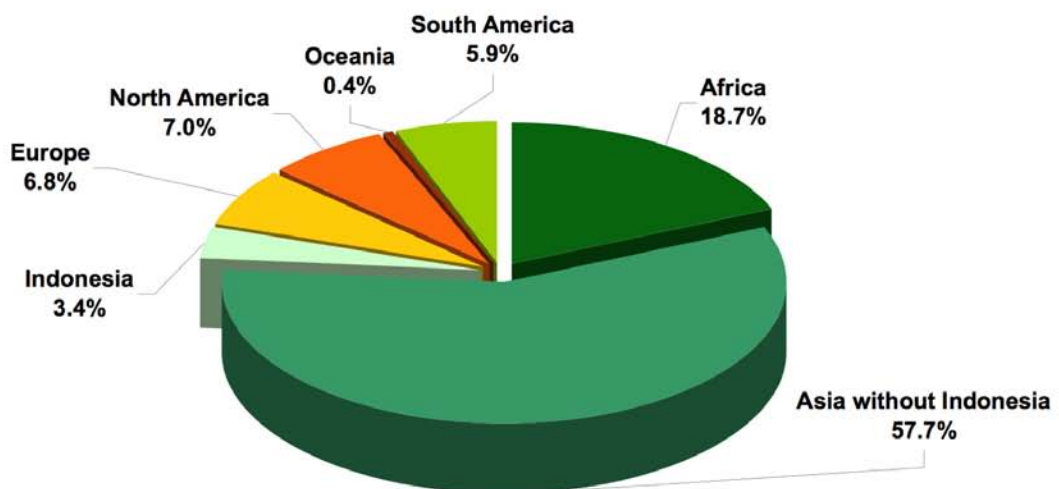
In its analysis of the geographical presence of World Scouting by member age, Figure 9 illustrates how the child and young members of World Scouting are mainly between the ages of 10 and 14, followed by those aged 5 to 9 years. In figures, there are 12.1 million boys and girls aged 10 to 14 years, 10.7 million aged 5 to 9 years and just 3.8 million aged 15 to 19 years. All regions have more girls and boys between the ages of 10 to 14, except North America and Europe, which have more boys and girls aged 5 to 9 years. On all continents, the younger age range is the smallest, although in Africa this figure is very close to the child range. I have also established which regions have the highest representation in each World Scouting age group overall, as illustrated in Figures 10, 11 and 12, which I have compared to the percentage of the total population in these age groups (Figures 10a, 11a, 12a).

Figure 10. Percentage of World Scouting members in the 5-9 years age group, by region (n = 10.755.361)



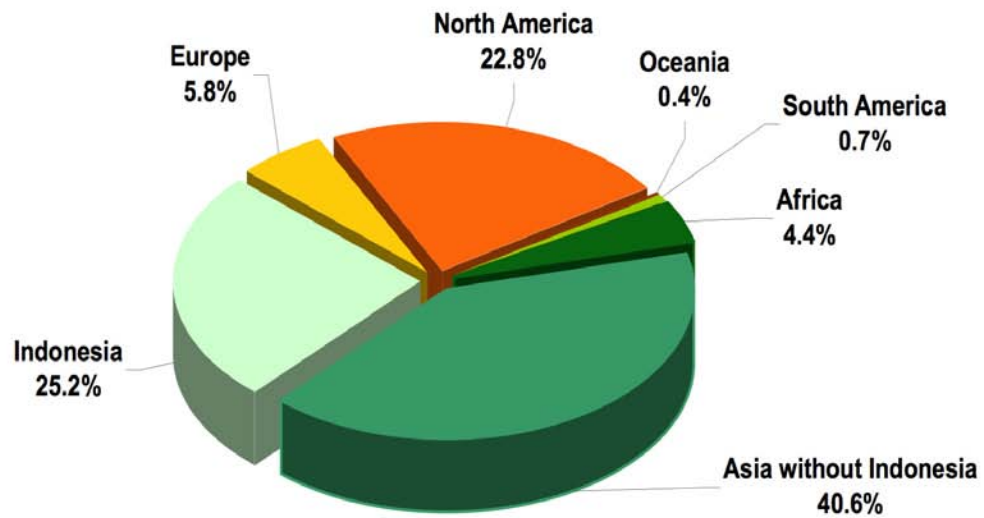
Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 10a. Percentage of world population by region (5-9 years age group)



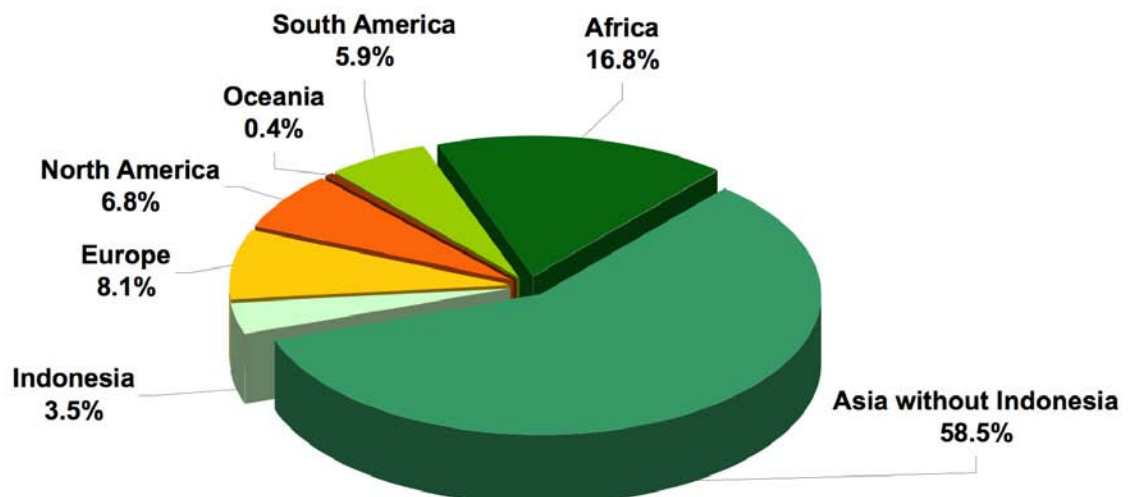
Author's own work. Source: United Nations Population Fund, 2000

Figure 11. Percentage of World Scouting members in the 10-14 years age group, by region (n = 12.145.036)



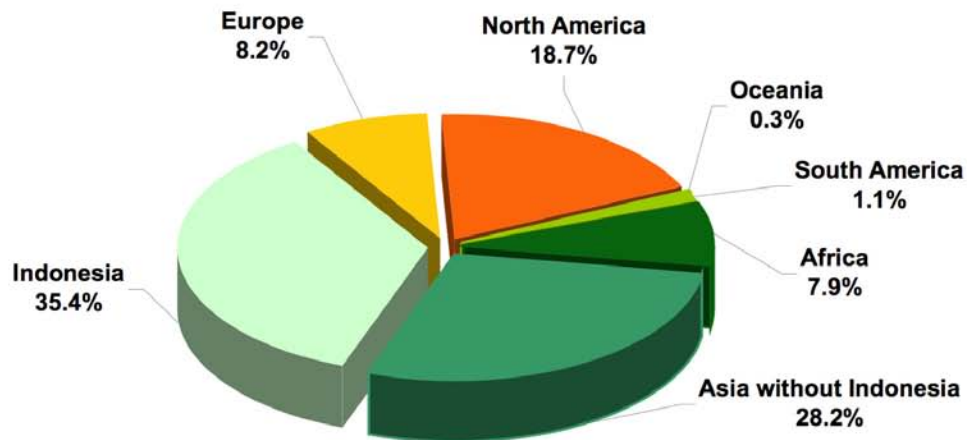
Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 11a. Percentage of world population by region (10-14 years age group)



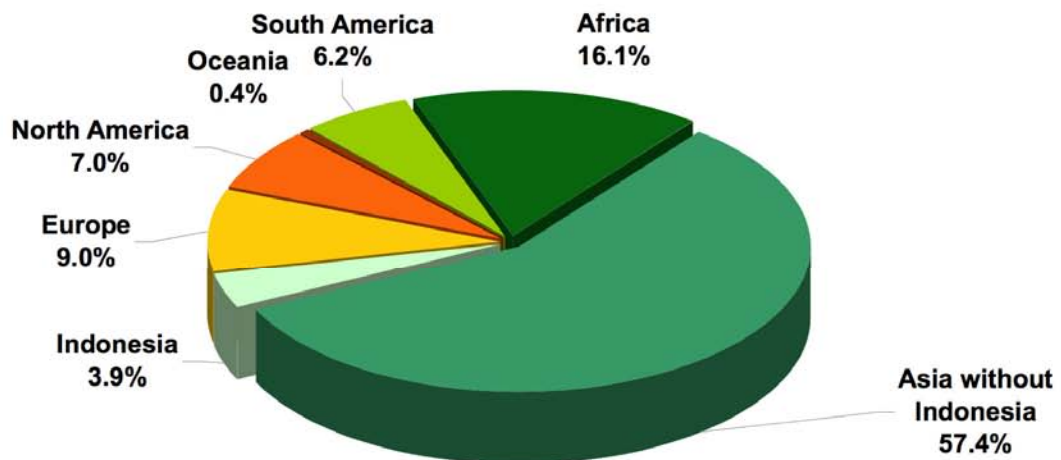
Author's own work. Source: United Nations Population Fund, 2000

Figure 12. Percentage of World Scouting members in the 15-19 years age group, by region (n = 3.857.831)



Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 12a. Percentage of world population by region (15-19 years age group)



Author's own work. Source: United Nations Population Fund, 2000

Figures 10, 11 and 12 show that the distribution of young members of World Scouting by regions is similar for the different age groups. More specifically, we see that Asia has the most members in all three age ranges, even if we exclude Indonesia. The 10-14 years age group has the highest representation (40.6%, increasing to 65.8% with Indonesia) and the youngest age range has the lowest (28.2%). It is followed by North America, whose percentage falls from 27.1% to 18.7% as age increases. Europe's largest group is that of children aged 5 to 9 years (10.1%) and its smallest is that of youths aged 10 to 14 years (5.8%). Africa, in contrast, has its highest representation in the 15-19 years age bracket (7.9%). Lastly, South America has less than 1% for the 5-14 age group and almost 10% for those aged 15 to 19 years. The number of members in Oceania does not exceed 1% of the total in any age bracket.

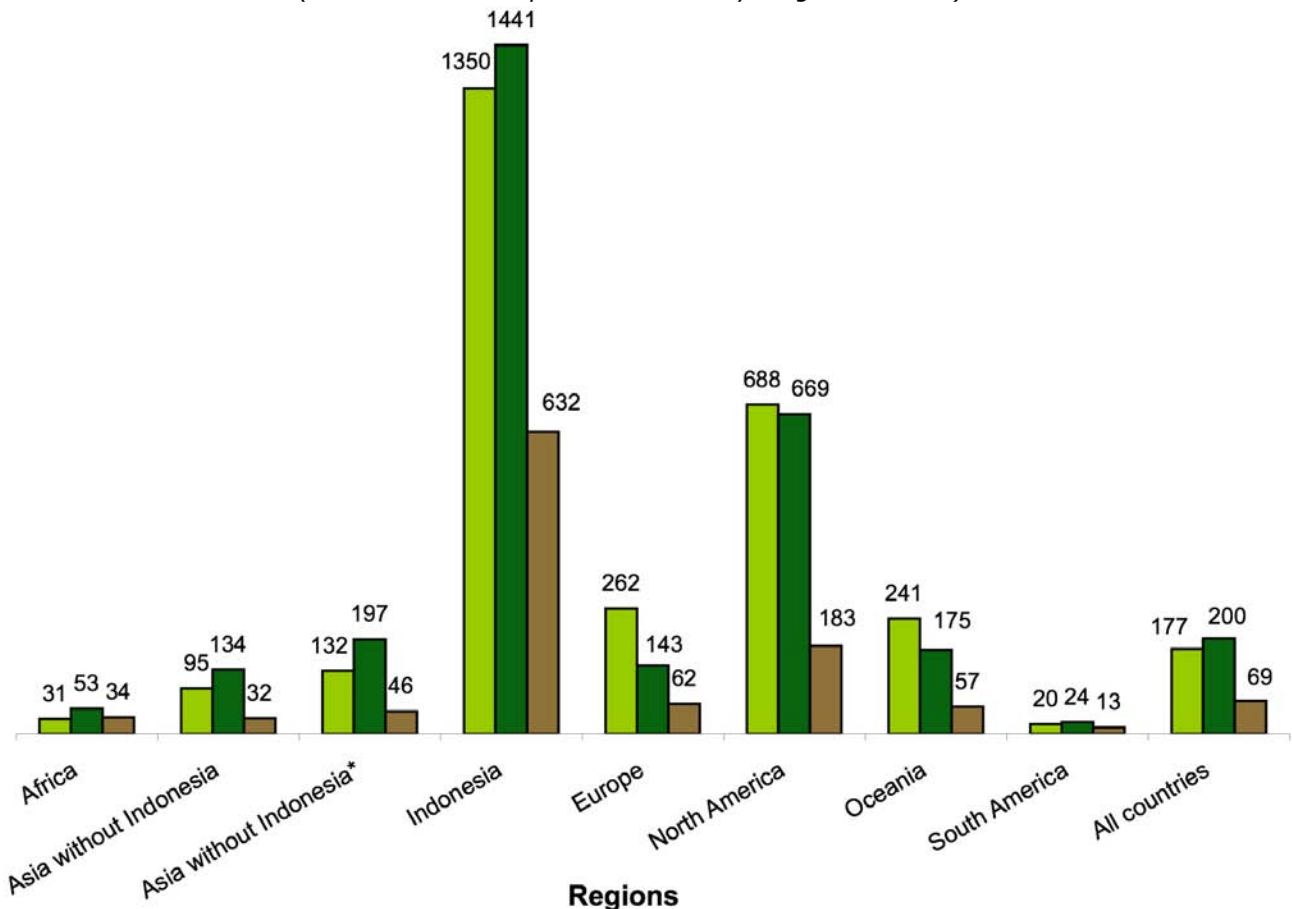
To determine the relevance of the census data, we need to take into account the real population in the age groups considered so that we can allow for the

difference in impact between countries with a young population and ageing countries. This is the reason for comparing these percentages with the same age ranges of the United Nations census (Figures 10a, 11a and 12a), as it allows us to confirm the excess bearing of the Indonesian Scout association in comparison to the country's real weight in the world's population, although it does balance out the absence of Scouting in China and the potential importance of the latter. The weight of the Scout census of North America is far greater than that of the country's young population on the world in general. These two excesses balance out the low percentages represented by the Scout populations of Africa and South America in the young population of these continents.

Nevertheless, the true relevance can be seen more clearly if we analyse the density of Scouting as a percentage of the population of this same age range. Hence, Figure 13 illustrates the density of Scouting grouped into continental regions, which is calculated using this formula:

$$\frac{\text{Number of Scouts}}{\text{Population in age range}} * 10000$$

Figure 13. World Scouting density according to member age, by region
(number of Scouts per 10 thousand young inhabitants)



* This density calculation does not include the population of China

Population 5-9 Population 10-14 Population 15-19

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

In all countries, for every 10,000 young people in the age group in question, World Scouting has 177 child members aged 5 to 9 years, 200 boys and girls aged 10 to 14 years, and 69 young people aged 15 to 19 years, which clearly shows that youths are the minority age group. As we did for Scouting overall, we include the biases produced by Indonesia's Scouting census and the ban on Scouting in the most populated country on the planet, the People's Republic of China. Scout density in the Europe and Oceania regions is clearly greater in the 5-9 age group, which suggests that Scouting mainly has a child profile there; the child age group is also the main one in North America, though its figures are very close to those of the 10 to 14 age group, which is the biggest group in the other regions: Africa, Asia and South America.

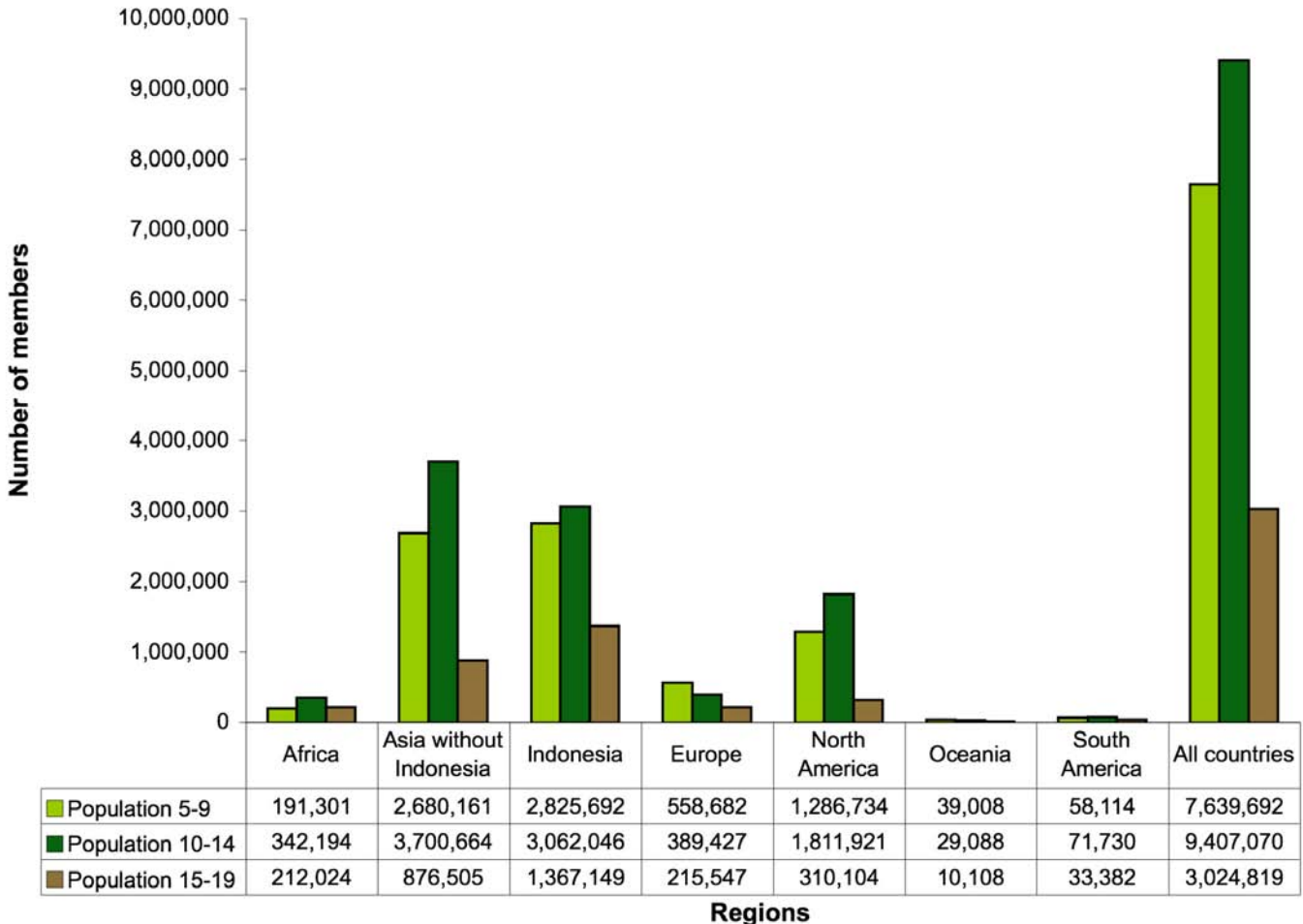
If we analyse the results by continental regions, we see that North America has the highest density in all age groups, if we exclude Indonesia. More specifically, there are 688 and 669 Scouts for every 10,000 individuals between the ages of 5 and 9 and 10 and 14, respectively, and 183 Scouts for every 10,000 people aged 15-19. The Europe and Oceania regions have similar distributions in terms of density by age and they have more Scouts between the ages of 5 and 9 than 10 and 14. In Asia, however, adolescents are the biggest age group, regardless of whether Indonesia is included. So, when we omit Indonesia, we see that, out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 10 to 14 years and 5 to 9 years, 134 and 95, respectively, are Scouts and only 32 out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 15 to 19 years belong to Scouting. This density increases if we exclude the census of the People's Republic of China: 197 in the adolescent group, 132 for children and 46 in the youth range²⁰.

The regions with the lowest density of Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants, regardless of age, are Africa and South America. In Africa in particular, 31 out of every 10,000 children between the ages of 5 and 9 years, 53 boys and girls aged 10 to 14 years and 34 youths aged between 15 and 19 years are Scouts. In South America, there are 20 Scouts for every 10,000 children between the ages of 5 and 9 years, 24 children between the ages of 10 and 14 years and just 13 out of every 10,000 youths aged between 15 and 19 years.

²⁰ If we include the Scout association of Indonesia and the population census of China, the density of Asia becomes 170 children aged 5-9 years, 214 boys and girls aged 10-14 years and 72 youths aged 15-19 years for every 10,000 young people.

1.3.2. Geographical Presence of WOSM According to Member Age

Figure 14. Census of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) according to member age



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

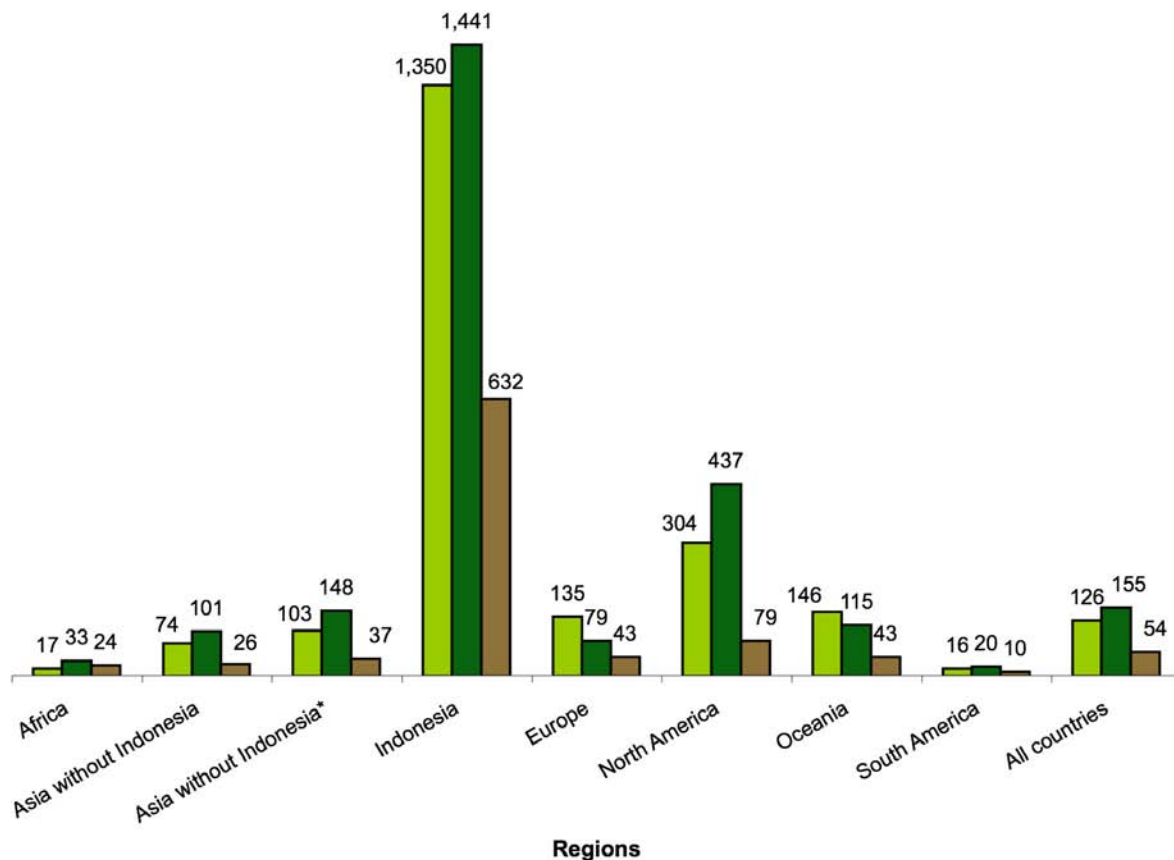
Figure 14 analyses WOSM by itself and shows how the 10 to 14 years age group is the biggest in all countries. In figures, WOSM has 7.63 million members aged 5-9 years, 9.4 million aged 10 to 14 years and 3 million aged 15 to 19 years. If we analyse the data by regions, we see that members aged between 10 and 14 years are the most numerous group in all regions except for Europe and Oceania, where WOSM has more members between the ages of 5 and 9 years. In contrast, youths aged between 15 and 19 years are the minority group in all regions. Of WOSM's members between the ages of 5 and 9 years, 5.5 million are from Asia (2.8 million of which are from Indonesia), 1.28 million are from North America, 0.55 million from Europe, 191 thousand from Africa, 58 thousand from South America and 39 thousand from Oceania. Asia is also the region with the most WOSM members between the ages of 10 and 14 years (6.76 million), followed by North America, which has 1.81 million members in this age group. No single region (excluding Indonesia) has a million young WOSM members between the ages of 15 and 19 years. The list is topped once again by Asia, with 876 thousand members (2.2 million if we include Indonesia), followed in descending order by

North America (310 thousand), Europe (215 thousand), Africa (212 thousand), South America (33 thousand) and lastly, Oceania (10 thousand).

Percentage-wise, Asia is the WOSM region with the most members in all age groups, regardless of whether we include Indonesia, with approximately 70% in all cases; the 15-19 age group has the highest representation with 74.2%. It is followed by North America, which has 19.3% in the 10 to 14 age group but only 10.3% for the older age range. Europe has around 7% in the upper and lower age groups and just 4.1% in the 10 to 14 age group. Africa's highest representation is in the 15 to 19 years category (7%) and it has around 3% in the others. Lastly, the number of WOSM members in Oceania and South America is no more than 1% in any age bracket. However, to understand the relevance of the census data, we need to take into account the population in the age groups we have considered, that is, density, calculated as previously with the formula

$$\frac{\text{Number of Scouts}}{\text{Population in age range}} * 10000$$

Figure 14a. Density of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) according to member age (number of Scouts per 10,000 youths)



* This density calculation does not include the population of China

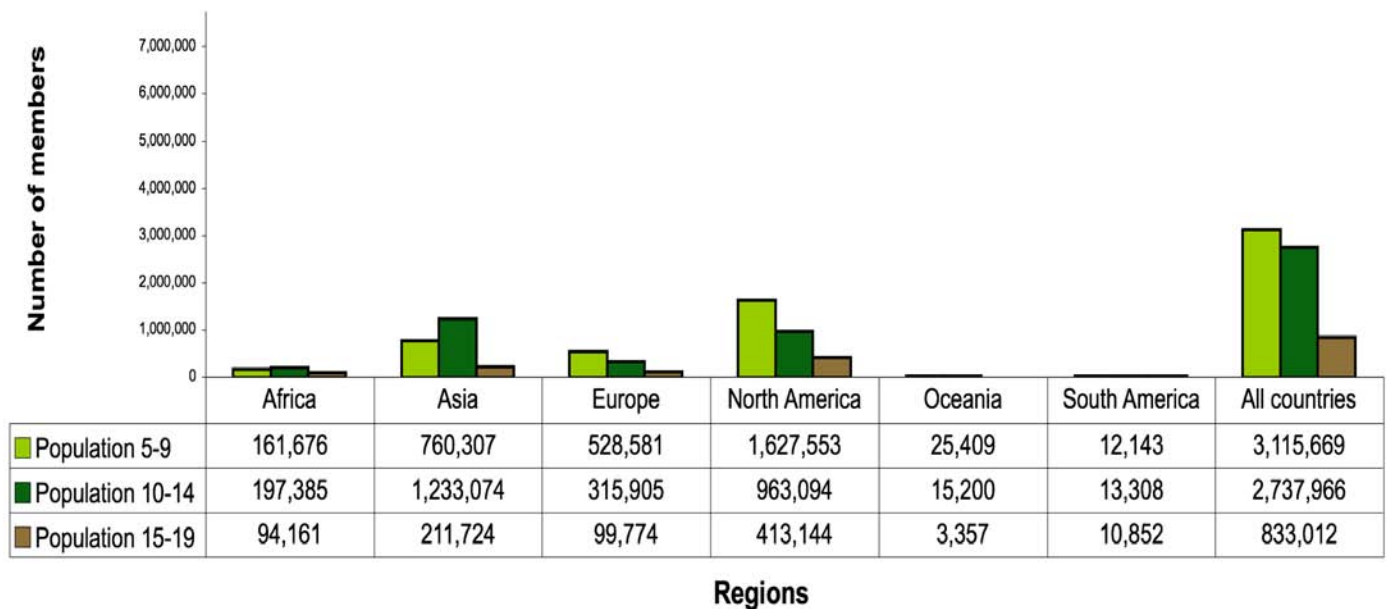
Population 5-9 Population 10-14 Population 15-19

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 14a shows that, for the total of member WOSM countries, the number of Scouts for every 10,000 people between the ages of 10 and 14 years is higher than for the rest of the age ranges. In figures, there are 155 Scouts in every 10,000 people aged between 10 and 14 years, 126 Scouts for every 10,000 children aged between 5 and 9 years, and 54 Scouts in every 10,000 youths between the ages of 15 and 19 years. The total density of WOSM is the same as for World Scouting as a whole. The region with the highest density is North America which, for every 10,000 people in each of the three age ranges, has 304 Scouts aged 5 to 9 years, 437 Scouts aged 10 to 14 years, and 79 Scouts aged 15 to 19 years, all WOSM members. It is followed by Asia which, excluding Indonesia, has a density of 148 Scouts aged 10 to 14 years for every 10,000 young people in the same age range, and a density of 103 aged 5 to 9 years and 37 aged 15 to 19 years – without taking into account the population of China. Europe and Oceania have the same distribution across the different age groups: the number of Scouts aged 5 to 9 years for every 10,000 inhabitants is greater than in the rest of the age groups. In Africa and South America, although the number of WOSM members aged between 10 and 14 years per 10,000 young inhabitants is higher than that of other age ranges, they have fewer Scouts for all age ranges than the other regions.

1.3.3. Geographical presence of WAGGGS by member age

Figure 15. Census of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) by member age



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 15 shows that the majority of WAGGGS members are children between the ages of 5 and 9 years, followed by individuals aged 10 to 14 years. In figures, 46.6%²¹ of all WAGGGS members are aged 5 to 9 years, 40.9% are 10 to 14

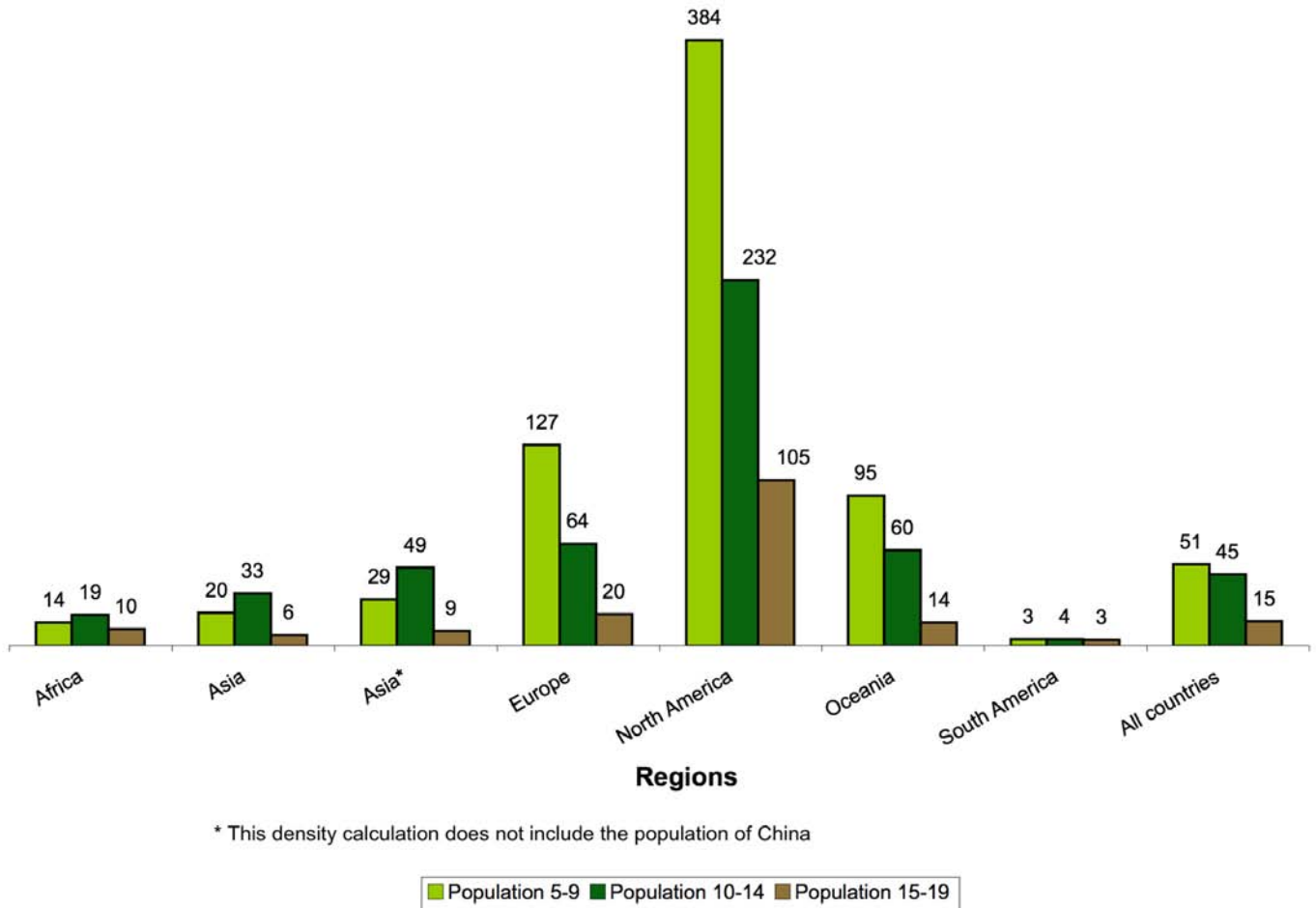
²¹ Calculated as the sum of the census of the three age ranges divided by the census of each age range multiplied by one hundred

years old and 12.5% are between the ages of 15 and 19 years. If we analyse the censuses of each region, we see that WAGGGS behaves differently to what we have seen from WOSM up until now. The number of children between the ages of 5 and 9 years is higher than the number of members between the ages of 10 and 14 years in North America, Europe and Oceania, while in Asia, Africa and South America, the number of members aged between 10 and 14 years is higher, at 1,233,074, 197,385 and 13,308 WAGGGS members, respectively. Thus, North America has 1,627,553 WAGGGS members aged 5 to 9 years, 963,094 members aged 10 to 14 years and 413,144 members aged 15 to 19 years. In Europe, on the other hand, WAGGGS has 528,581 million members aged 5 to 9 years, 315,905 million aged 10 to 14 years and 99,774 million aged 15 to 19 years. The region with the lowest census for all ages is Oceania: 25,409 WAGGGS members aged 5 to 9 years, 15,200 aged 10 to 14 years and 3,357 aged 15 to 19 years. WAGGGS is not present in Indonesia.

By analysing these percentages, we can see that the distribution of WAGGGS members by region is similar for the upper and lower age ranges, with North America accounting for around 50% of members aged 5-9 and 15-19 years. In the second age bracket (10 to 14 years), however, Asia holds first position with 45%. This region is also the second leading region for the other age groups after North America, which contrasts with the distribution of WOSM and World Scouting as a whole, since Asia is always the top region in these analyses. It is followed by Europe and Africa. While Europe's maximum representation is in the 5 to 9 years age group (17%), Africa's maximum representation is in the 15 to 19 group (11.3%). Finally, as we saw with WOSM, Oceania and South America are the regions with the least WAGGGS members.

Nonetheless, in order to determine the relevance of the WAGGGS census data, we need to take into account the population in the age groups considered in the regional countries total. Hence, Figure 15a below illustrates the density, calculated with the formula used earlier.

Figure 15a. Density of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) according to member age (number of Guides/Scouts per 10,000 young inhabitants)



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

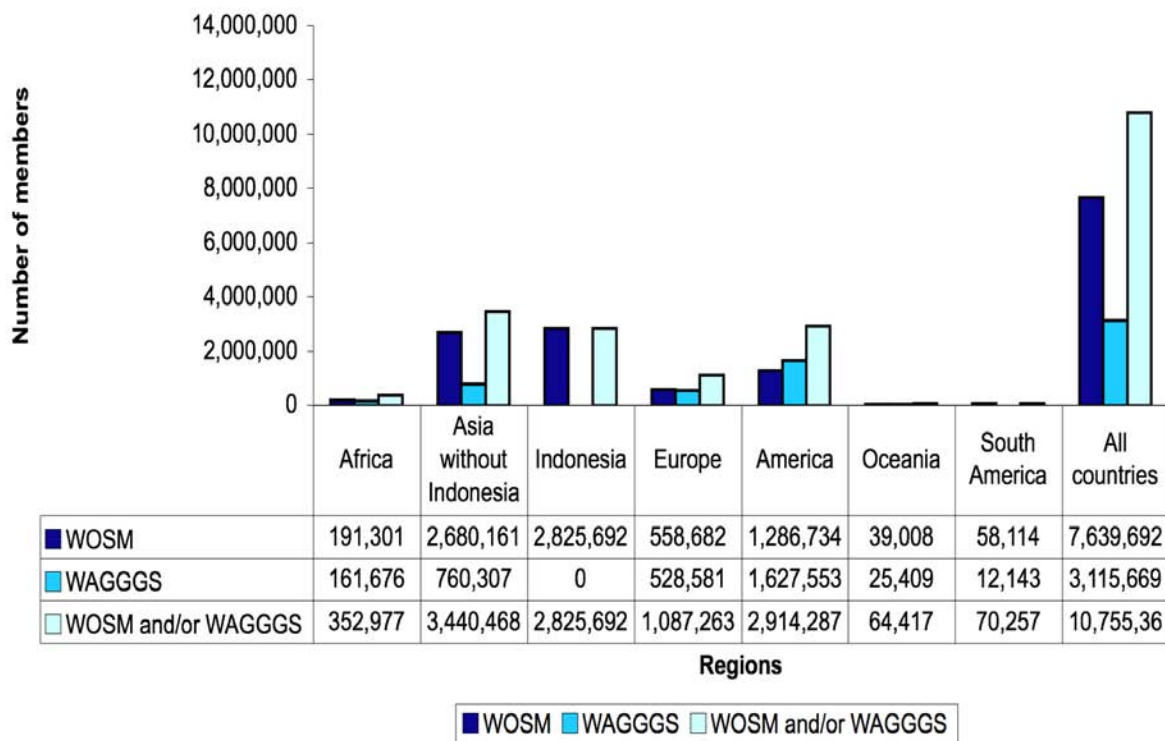
Figure 15a illustrates the density of WAGGGS and reveals the importance of the North American Girl Scouts of the USA association in the world total, even though this density decreases as age rises. In figures, we observe densities of 384, 232 and 105 for each of the age ranges – from lower to upper – respectively. It is followed by Europe and Oceania, which reveal the same pattern in age-group distribution. There are 127 and 96 WAGGGS members, respectively, out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 5 to 9 years, 64 and 61 out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 10 to 14 years and 20 and 14 out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 15 to 19 years. The continents with fewest WAGGGS members in all age groups are Asia, Africa and South America and these are also the continents with the lowest density, although the 10 to 14 years age group in Asia is close to that of Europe and Oceania. South America has the lowest density in all ranges, which also occurs in WOSM. The WAGGGS census shows that the densities are higher for members aged 5 to 9 years globally and more specifically in the regions of Europe, North America and Oceania.

1.3.4. Census and Density by Age Range According to World Organization

In the previous points, I compared the census and density of each age group in the two world organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS. The graphs below now compare the census and density within each age range for each of the World Scouting organizations.

a) Geographical Presence of the Population Aged 5 to 9 years by World Organization

Figure 16. Scout census by world organization. Population aged 5 to 9 years



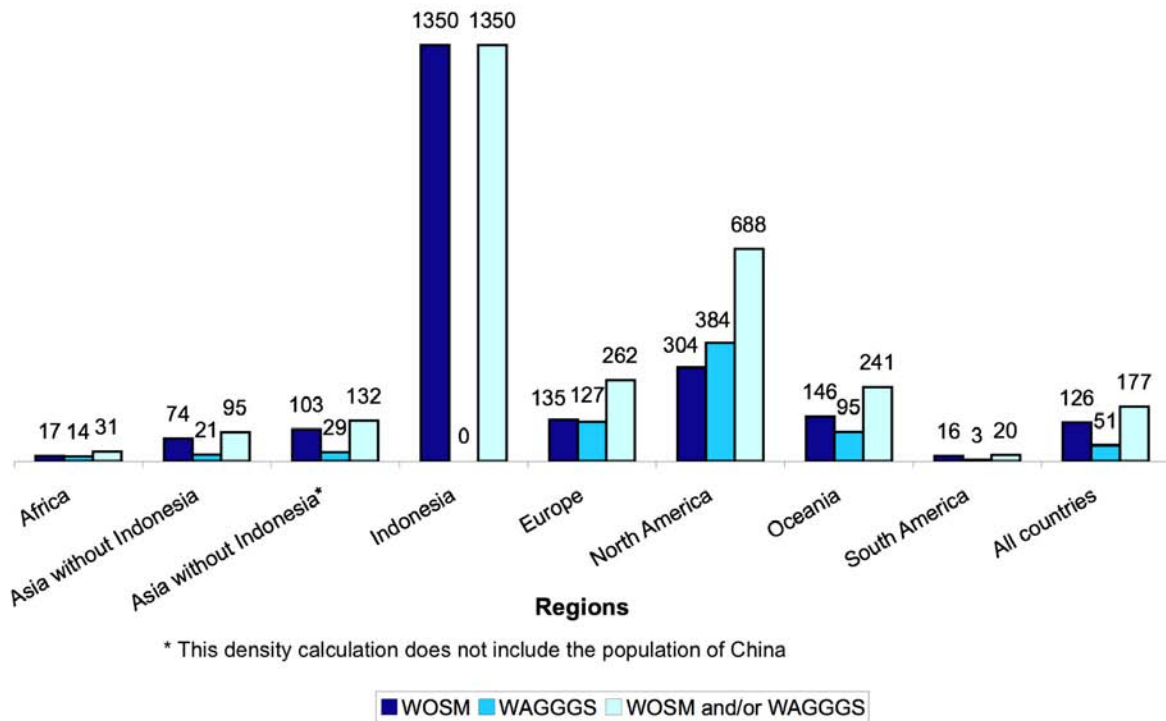
Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 16 shows that 10.75 million children aged 5 to 9 years are members of one of the two World Scouting organizations, 7.63 million of which belong to WOSM and 3.1 million belong to WAGGGS. If we compare the number of children aged 5 to 9 years in each organization, we see that Asia has considerably more children aged 5 to 9 years in WOSM than in WAGGGS: almost four times as many, excluding Indonesia, which is a similar figure to that of South America. In North America, however, the number of children aged 5 to 9 years is greater in WAGGGS than in WOSM.

In the Asia region, there is a more marked difference between the two organizations, since 5.5 million children aged between 5 and 9 years are WOSM members whereas only 760 thousand are WAGGGS members. This difference remains considerable even when we exclude the 2.8 million children in Indonesia. In Europe and Africa, although there are more Scouts between the ages of 5 and 9 years in WOSM than WAGGGS, the differences are less pronounced: 558

thousand WOSM members compared to 528 thousand WAGGGS members in Europe, and 191 thousand WOSM members compared to 161 thousand WAGGGS members in Africa.

Figure 16a. Density of members aged 5 to 9 years by world organization
(number of Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants aged 5 to 9 years)



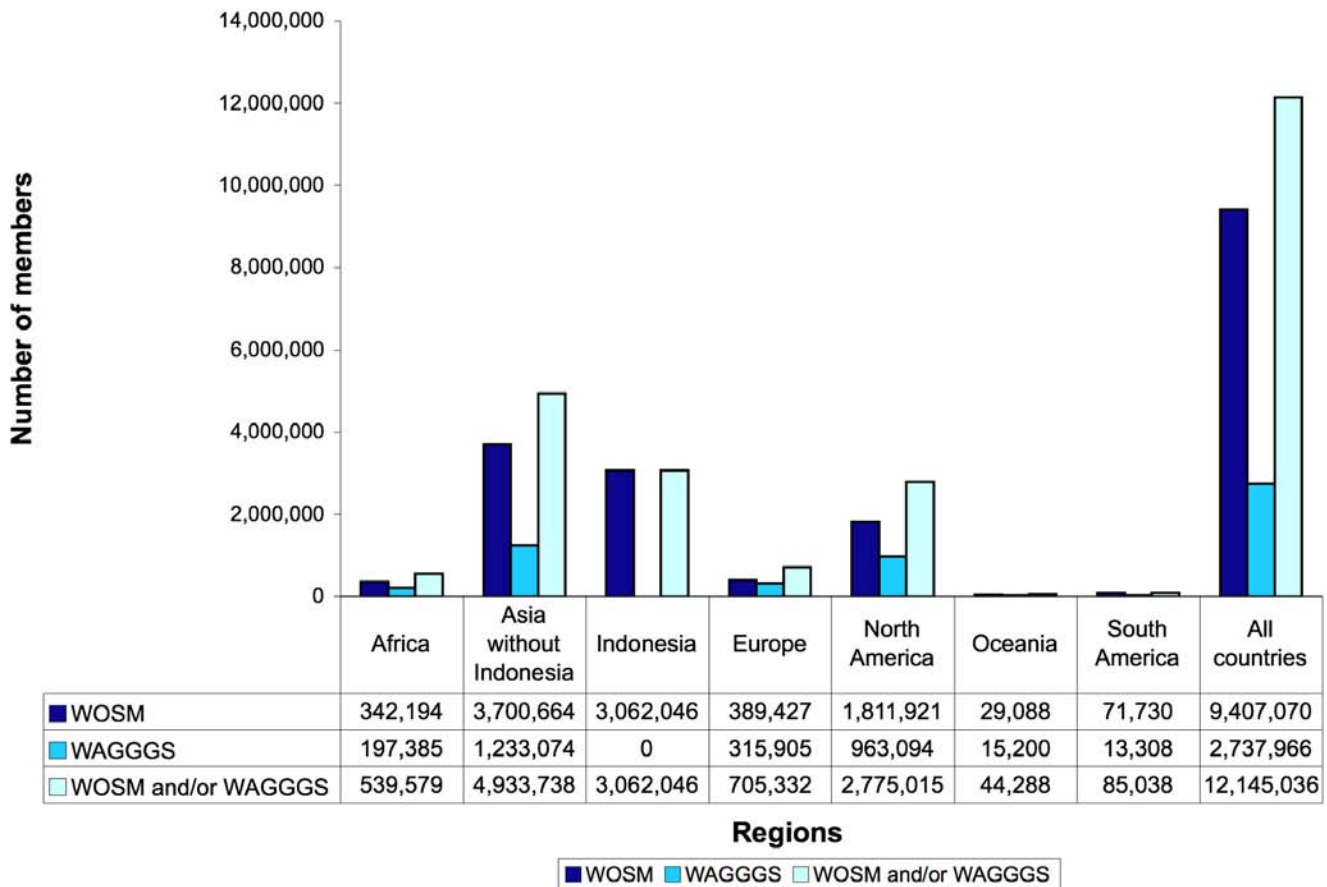
Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

For all countries taken together, the density of members aged 5 to 9 years (Figure 16a) is 126 WOSM members and 52 WAGGGS members for every 10,000 children aged 5 to 9 years. If we analyse the data by regions, we can separate Asia, Oceania and South America from the rest because the number of child WOSM members for every 10,000 inhabitants aged 5 to 9 years is greater than the number of WAGGGS members. The biggest difference is in Asia (103 WOSM members as opposed to 29 WAGGGS members, excluding Indonesia and China)²² and Oceania (147 WOSM members compared to 96 WAGGGS). The proportion of child members for every 10,000 inhabitants aged 5 to 9 years is very similar in the two organizations in Africa, Europe and South America, though WOSM still has more members. North America has more children for every 10,000 in this age range and more Scouts in WAGGGS than in WOSM. In figures, for every 10,000 girls and boys aged 5 to 9 years, 384 are members of WAGGGS and 304 are members of WOSM. We can therefore conclude that there are more children aged between 5 and 9 years in WOSM in all regions except for North America, where there are more children aged 5 to 9 years in WAGGGS.

²² If we include the Indonesian Scout association and the population of China, the density figures are 149 for WOSM and 21 for WAGGGS.

b) Geographical Presence of the Population Aged 10 to 14 years by World Organization

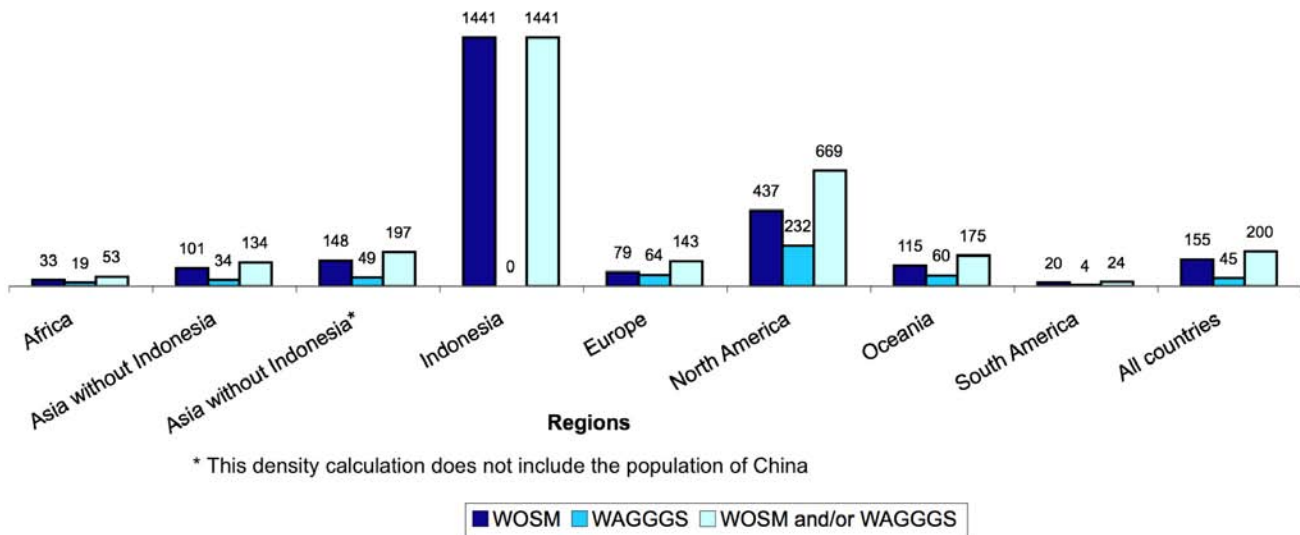
Figure 17. Scout census by world organization. Population aged 10 to 14 years



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 17 shows that the regions with the most Scouts aged between 10 and 14 years that are members of one or both of the world organizations are, in descending order: Asia with 7.9 million (3 of which are from Indonesia), North America with 2.7 million, and Europe with 705 thousand Scouts. The regions with fewest members in this age group are Oceania (44,288) and South America (85,038). In all regions, there are more boys and girls aged 10 to 14 years in WOSM. Asia and North America have the most: Asia has 1.2 million WAGGGS members as opposed to 6.7 million WOSM members between the ages of 10 and 14 years (3 million of which, as I have said, are from the Indonesian WOSM association) while North America has 1.81 million WOSM members and 963 thousand WAGGGS members. In the European region, the differences between the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses are less pronounced. In figures, in Europe there are 389 thousand young adolescents between the ages of 10 and 14 in WOSM and 315 thousand in WAGGGS.

Figure 17a. Density of members aged 10 to 14 years by world organization
(number of Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants aged 10 to 14 years)



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

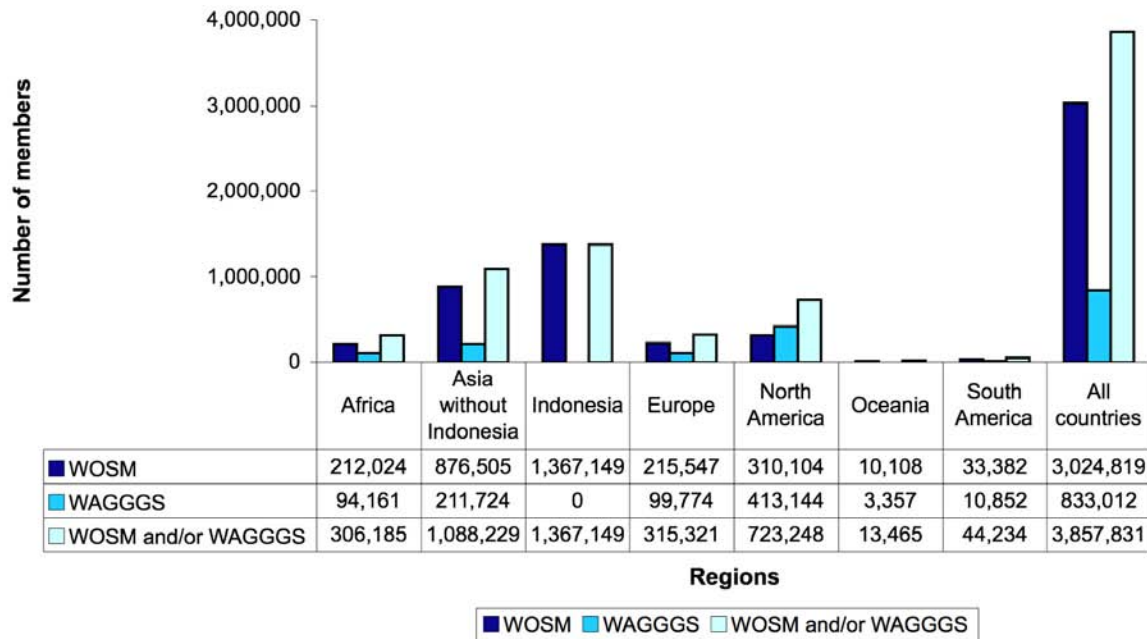
Figure 17a illustrates the density of the members of each world organization for the 10 to 14 age group. On the one hand, it shows that, for all countries taken together, 200 out of every 10,000 boys and girls of this age are World Scouting members, 155 of whom are WOSM members and 45 are WAGGGS members. Generally speaking, the number of WOSM members is higher than the number of WAGGGS members for every 10,000 boys and girls aged 10 to 14 in all regions.

If we analyse the results by continental region, we see that those with the highest and lowest densities are North and South America. More specifically, North America has the highest density in the 10 to 14 years age group: 437 out of every 10,000 inhabitants belong to WOSM while 232 belong to WAGGGS. South America, however, has fewer: 20 out of every 10,000 are WOSM members and just 4 are WAGGGS members. After North America, the regions with the highest densities are Asia and Oceania. In Asia (excluding the Indonesian association and the population of China), for every 10,000 boys and girls between the ages of 10 to 14 years, there are 148 WOSM members and 49 WAGGGS members²³, while in Oceania, there are 115 WOSM members and 60 WAGGGS members. These regions are followed by Europe, where 79 boys and girls out of every 10,000 between the ages of 10 and 14 are WOSM members and 64 are WAGGGS members. Africa and South America are the two regions with fewest Scouts aged 10 to 14 years out of every 10,000 inhabitants in this age range. The data on Africa indicates that 33 boys and girls out of every 10,000 aged 10 to 14 years are WOSM members and just 19 are WAGGGS members.

²³ If we include the Indonesian Scout association and the population of China, the density figures for Asia are 181 for WOSM and 33 for WAGGGS.

c) Geographical Presence of the Population Aged 15 to 19 years by World Organization

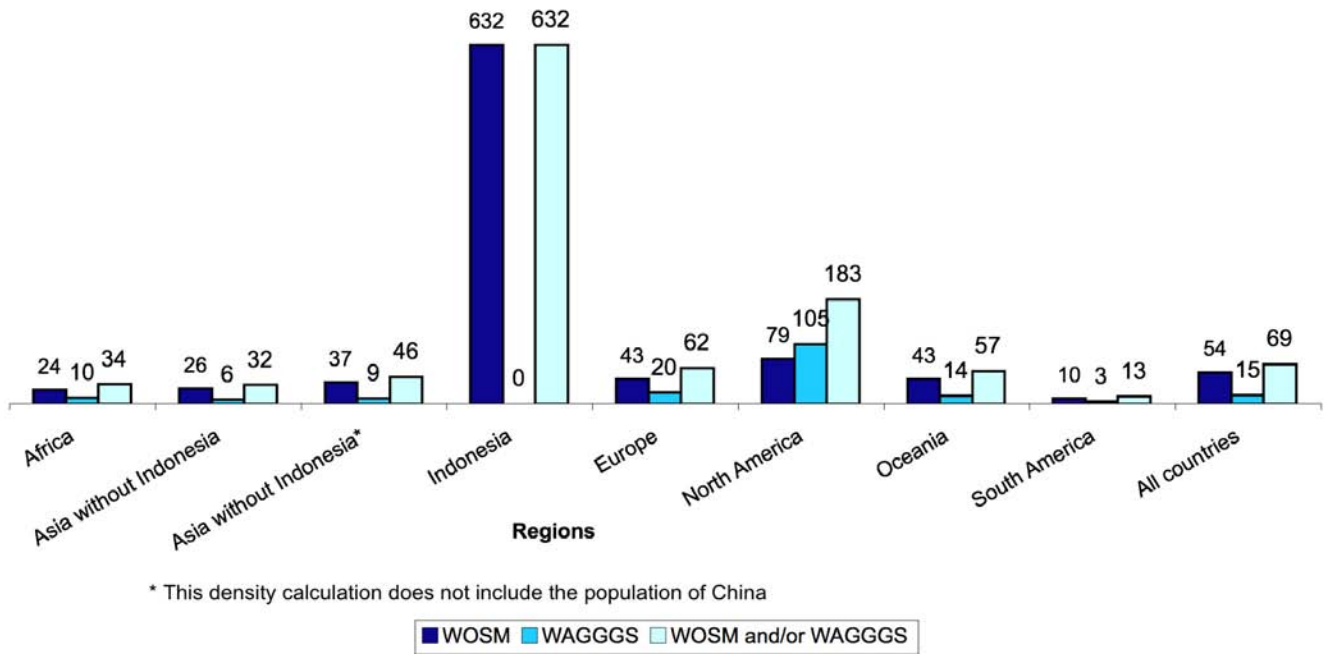
Figure 18. Scout census by world organization. Population aged 15 to 19 years



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 18 shows the censuses for the population aged 15 to 19 years. Asia has the most young World Scouting members (WOSM and/or WAGGGS) aged between 15 and 19 (2.4 million, of which 1.3 are from Indonesia), while Oceania is the region with fewest youth members (13,465) of the total. If we analyse the global results for all countries, we see that most World Scouting members – over 60% – aged between 15 to 19 years belong to WOSM. This is true of all regions except for North America, which has more young WAGGGS members. The most pronounced differences between WOSM and WAGGGS youths are found in Asia, where, even if we exclude Indonesia, 80% belong to WOSM.

Figure 18a. Density of members aged 15 to 19 years by world organization
(number of Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants aged 15 to 19 years)



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

If we observe the densities of the two world organizations for all countries taken together (Figure 18a), we see that 69 out of every 10,000 boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 19 are World Scouting members. More specifically, 54 are WOSM members and 15 are WAGGGS members. When we analyse the data by regions, we find more WOSM members for every 10,000 youths between the ages of 15 and 19 in all regions except for North America, as occurs with the census. This region also has the highest regional density, with 183. In figures, 105 out of every 10,000 youths aged 15 to 19 years are WAGGGS members and 79 are WOSM members. South America, on the other hand, has the lowest density (13). The biggest differences between the densities of WOSM and WAGGGS in this age range are found in Asia where, even if we exclude Indonesia, there are 37 WOSM members and just 9 WAGGGS members – excluding the population of China.

1.4. Gender

This research draws on the fact that World Scouting is an educational movement with two organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS, that were founded on the same principles in order to group the two genders, male and female, and which remain separate organizations today, essentially because of differences in the way they work to create a society without gender discrimination. Since WOSM amended its constitution in 1977, it has gradually opened its doors to both boys and girls²⁴ and only 20 of its 155 associations are officially for boys only. Numerically, however, it is essentially male.

WAGGGS is an exclusively female organization, though 34 of its 144 member associations belong to both world organizations and are co-educational. In a bid to clarify its association profile, in 1997, at the height of the discussion on associations belonging to both WAGGGS and WOSM, WAGGGS agreed that no new associations with boy members could join after 1998. In 2002, it agreed to emphasize its role as a female association, in contrast to WOSM²⁵. Nowadays, only 17 WAGGGS associations among those that do not have double membership with WOSM are open to boys and girls.

Nonetheless, I would like to observe the impact on gender in World Scouting as a whole in order to determine whether its educational action is biased towards a particular gender, which is suggested by the fact that WOSM has more members than WAGGGS. As I have indicated, this analysis could only be carried out on the age ranges as a unit, as opposed to individually, because WOSM does not separate its data on gender into age groups. Also, as I have mentioned, WOSM's data was taken from an extra question on its censuses and we cannot know for certain whether the value zero meant that there were no girls or that the association had not counted boys and girls separately. Table 4 indicates the total number of child and young members of World Scouting broken down by gender in each of the world organizations that the associations belong to and by continental regions.

²⁴ 'Policy on Girls and Boys, Women and Men Within the Scout Movement'. World Scout Conference, Doc. No. 9, Durban, 1999.

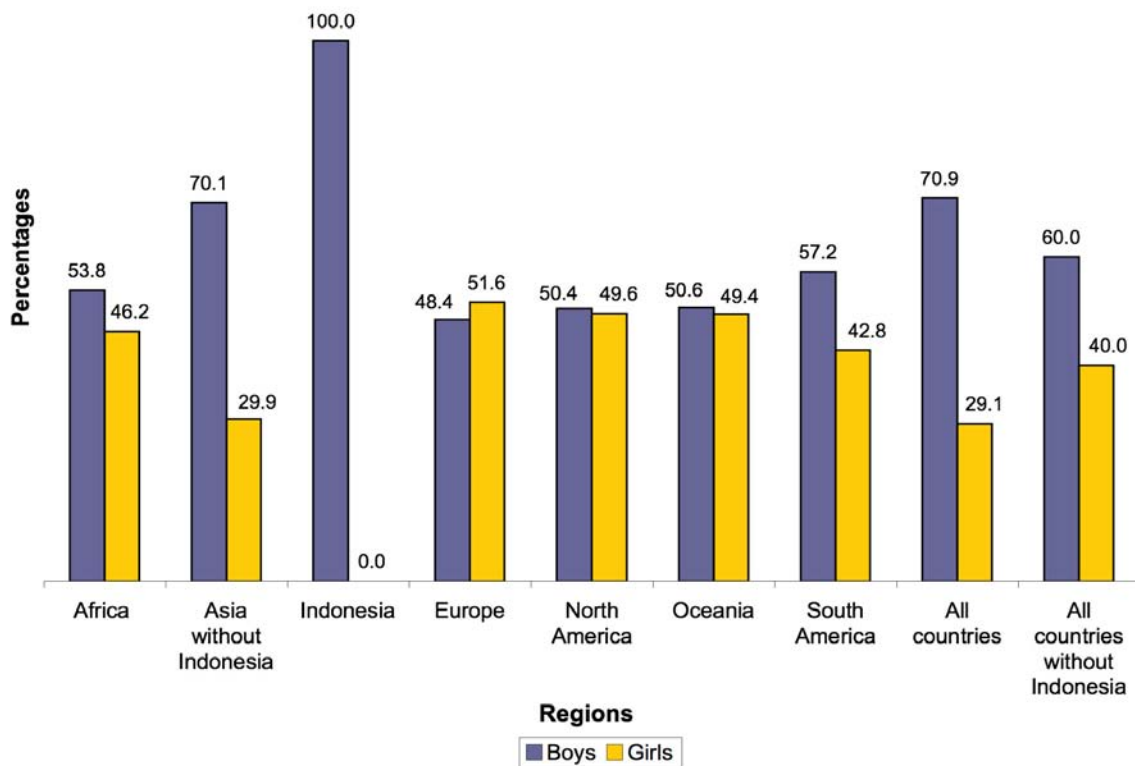
²⁵ WAGGGS Roma Statement, 1997; World Conference Report, WAGGGS, 2002.

Table 4. Number of child and young members of World Scouting, by gender, according to world organization and region

Region	WOSM			WAGGGS		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Africa	644,784	100,735	745,519	0	453,222	453,222
Asia without Indonesia	6,631,068	626,262	7,257,330	1,099	2,204,006	2,205,105
Indonesia	7,254,887	0	7,254,887	0	0	0
Europe	1,000,773	162,883	1,163,656	17,649	926,611	944,260
North America	3,234,322	174,437	3,408,759	479	3,003,312	3,003,791
Oceania	61,789	16,415	78,204	0	43,966	43,966
South America	112,142	51,084	163,226	2,054	34,249	36,303
All countries	18,939,765	1,131,816	20,071,581	21,281	6,665,366	6,686,647

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 19. Percentage of boys/girls in World Scouting (WOSM and/or WAGGGS)



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 19 indicates the percentage of girls and boys in World Scouting, obtained by adding the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses together, broken down by continental region. Surprisingly, boys and girls have a very similar presence in all regions, except for Asia, with the most equal gender ratio occurring in North America,

Oceania and Europe. In fact, the latter region is the only one where there are more girls than boys.

In North America, 50.44% of children and youth members of World Scouting are male and 49.56% are female. Oceania registers very similar percentages: 50.58% of the population under the age of 19 who are members of one or both associations are boys and 49.42% are girls. Europe, unlike the other regions, has a higher percentage of girls (51.6% compared to 48.4% boys), but the percentages are very similar.

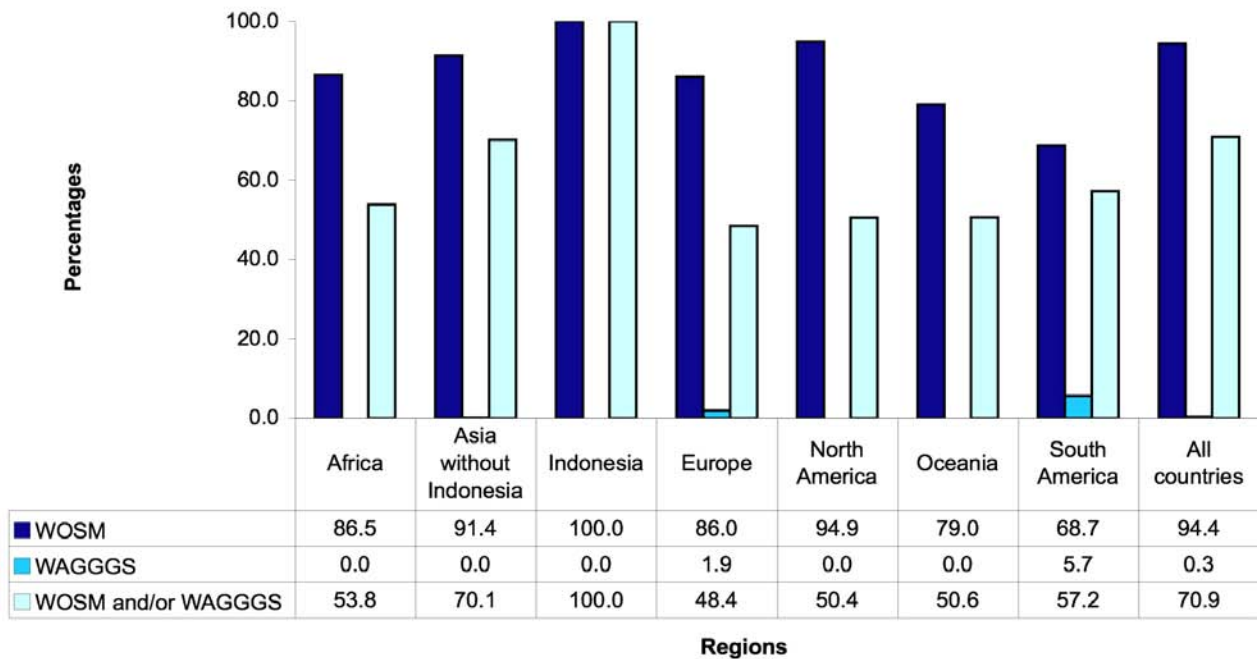
The percentages are slightly further apart in Africa and South America but still fairly similar: In Africa, 53.79% of Scouts are boys and 46.21% are girls, while South America has 57.23% boys and 42.77% girls. The biggest difference is in Asia, excluding Indonesia²⁶ – which states that it has no girls in its WOSM census, though it must have because it was a member of WAGGGS – where 70.1% of World Scouting members are boys and 29.9% are girls. We must therefore find out whether this potential existence of undeclared girls also occurs in other WOSM associations in Asia, which would explain the gap between it and the other regions.

1.4.1. Presence of Boys and Girls in WOSM and WAGGGS

Having dealt with the global distribution of gender in individual members of World Scouting, I will now break down the results for each of the organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS. I will use two approaches: firstly, I will compare the percentage of girls and boys in each of the world organizations, and secondly, I will indicate the ratio of boys to girls in WOSM and the ratio of girls to boys in WAGGGS, since, as I have said, there are still many more boys in WOSM and WAGGGS is practically exclusive to girls.

²⁶ If we were to include Indonesia, the figures for Asia would be much more unbalanced: 83.1% of boys compared to 17.0% of girls.

Figure 20. Percentage of boys by world organization

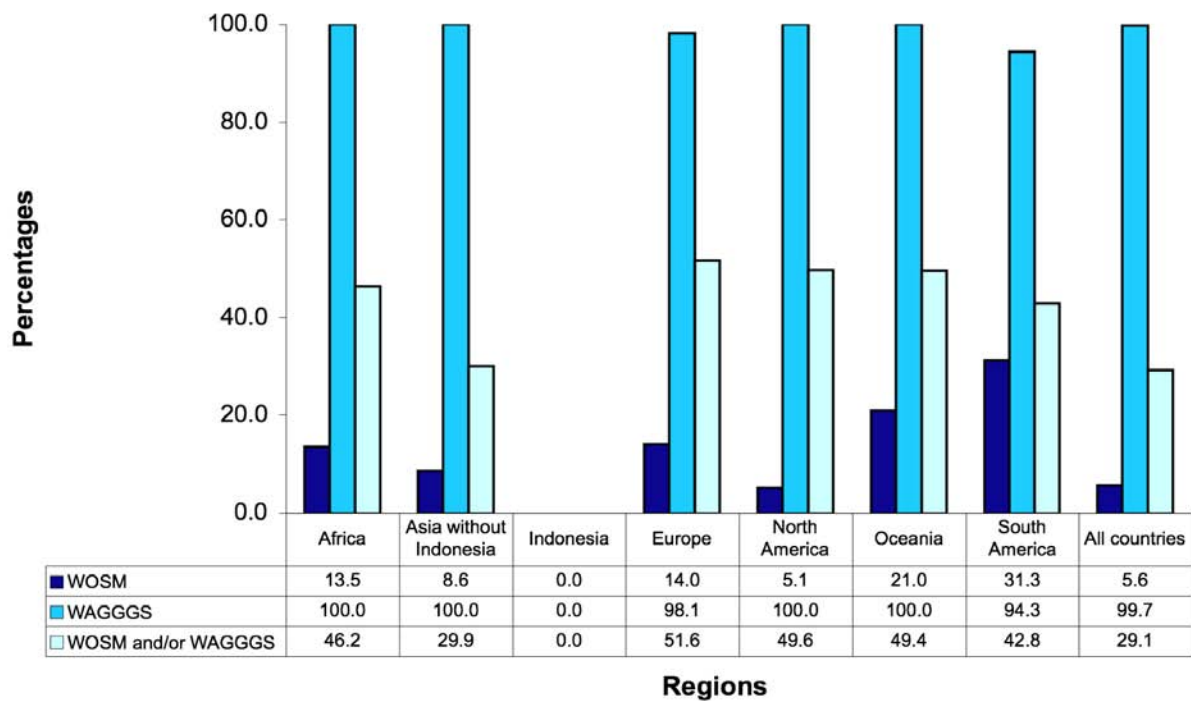


Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 20 indicates the percentage of boys in each of the world organizations in each region and in World Scouting overall (WOSM+WAGGGS). The percentage remaining, therefore, is the percentage of girls. When we analyse the presence of boys in each of the organizations, we see that it is higher in WOSM for all regions and countries. Specifically, 94.4% of all WOSM members are boys, while just 0.3% of WAGGGS members are boys.

North America has the highest percentage of boys in WOSM (94.9%), followed by Asia (91.4%, increasing to 95.7% if we include Indonesia). We also see that the percentage of boys in WAGGGS in these two regions is less than 1%. There are no male WAGGGS members in the regions of Africa and Oceania. The regions with the highest percentage of boys in WAGGGS are Europe and South America. In figures, South America has 5.7% and Europe has 1.9%. However, if we take the two organizations together, we see that around 50% are boys in all regions except for Asia, which has 83.1% boys. The reason for this difference is because the gender imbalance in one organization is compensated by the imbalance in the other, so they actually complement each other.

Figure 21. Percentage of girls by world organization



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

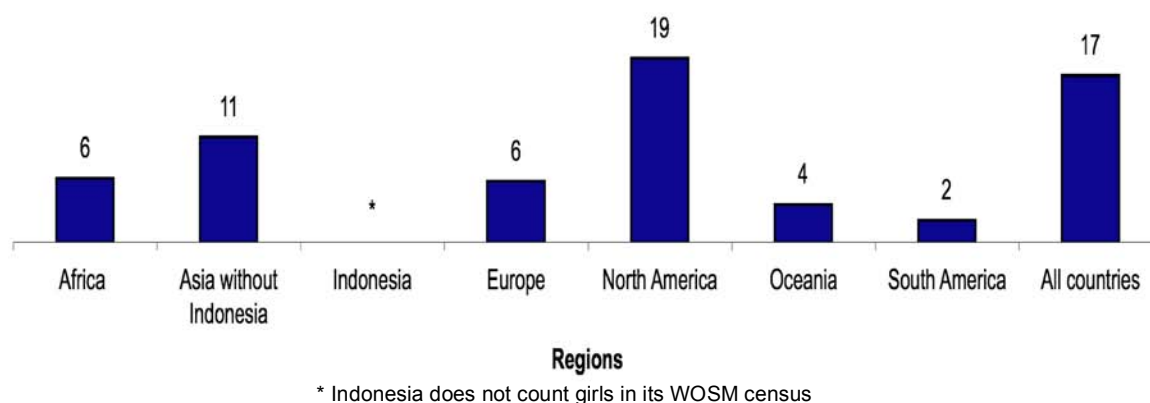
When we analyse the presence of girls in the world organizations (Figure 21), we find that the WAGGGS percentages are even higher than those of boys in WOSM. Of the total members of WAGGGS, practically 100% are girls in Africa, Oceania, North America and Asia. In Europe and South America, the percentage of girl WAGGGS members is over 90% (98.1% in Europe and 94.3% in South America).

If we look at the percentage of girls in WOSM by regions, we see that 30.3% of WOSM members in South America are girls. At first sight, this may suggest that there is more uniformity between sexes in WOSM in this region than in the others. However, we also need to bear in mind that some associations are members of both organizations and hence, split their censuses: boys are reported to WOSM and girls to WAGGGS. This is the case of many European associations and it also occurs in India, for example, which is one of the biggest in the world. In Oceania, Europe and Africa, 21%, 14% and 13.5% of WOSM members, respectively, are girls. Asia and North America on the other hand have the lowest percentages of girls in WOSM (4.3% and 5.1%, respectively). Generally speaking, the percentage of girls in WOSM is higher than the percentage of boys in WAGGGS across all regions, which is logical if we remember that WOSM is open to girls while WAGGGS is essentially girls-only. Nonetheless, the numbers of girls in WOSM are still very low.

1.4.2. Relationship between Girls and Boys in WOSM and WAGGGS

For a clearer picture of the distribution of the two sexes in WOSM and WAGGGS, I will indicate the ratio of boys to girls in WOSM and the ratio of girls to boys in WAGGGS, given that WAGGGS is virtually all-girls while WOSM, though co-educational, is still a very male-dominated organization. The ratio indicates the number of times that the number of boys exceeds that of girls, and vice versa, for each region.

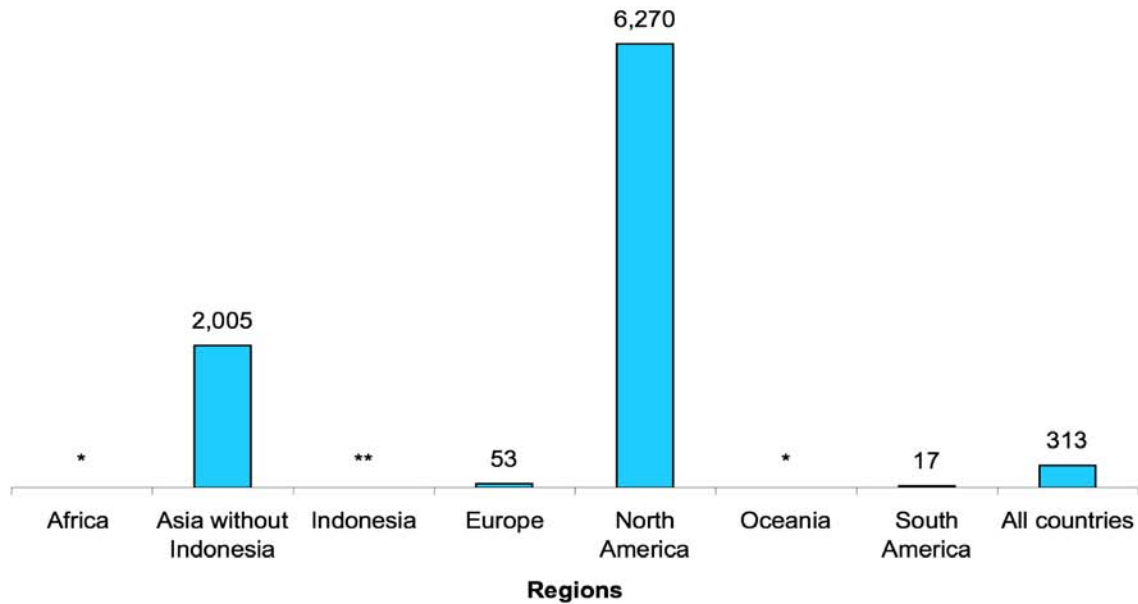
Figure 21. Relationship between the number of boys and girls in WOSM
(Ratio of girls to boys = Number of boys for every girl)



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

The analysis of the data on WOSM (Figure 21) shows very clearly that the number of boys is greater than the number of girls, as was the case when we added the two organizations together. In figures, there are 17 boys for every girl in WOSM in all countries. Analysing the results by regions reveals that there are considerably more boys than girls in North America (19 boys for every girl) and Asia (11 boys for every girl, 22 if we include Indonesia). The results for the other regions are less than the total of all countries. Thus, Europe and Africa have ratios of 6 while in Oceania and South America, the ratio of boys to girls is lower and hence there is a greater gender balance in WOSM: 4 boys for every girl in Oceania and 2 in South America. However, we need to bear in mind, particularly when analysing figures for Europe, that there are associations in which the boys are members of WOSM and the girls are members of WAGGGS, as I explained earlier.

Figure 22. Relationship between the number of boys and girls in WAGGGS
(Ratio of girls to boys = Number of girls for every boy)



* There are no boys in WAGGGS in Africa and Oceania

** WAGGGS does not exist in Indonesia

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

With WAGGGS, the gender distribution is the exact opposite to WOSM. Figure 22 shows that the number of girls in WAGGGS is overwhelmingly higher than the number of boys. In two regions (Africa and Oceania), there are no boy members at all and, hence, the ratio is zero. In figures, the number of girls in WAGGGS is 313 times greater than the number of boys in WAGGGS in all countries. That is to say, there are 313 girls for every boy. If we analyse the data by regions, we see that the most marked differences arise in North America and Asia, which have ratios of 6,269 and 2,005, respectively. In North America, this is because of the sway of Girl Scouts of the USA, which represents 42% of young WAGGGS members and has a strict policy of not accepting boy members. A long way behind are Europe and South America, which have 52 and 16 girls for every boy, respectively.

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

Eduard Vallory

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Supervisor: Dr. Imma Tubella

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(3 of 4)

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)²⁷ – 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.

²⁷ It was called the 'Boy Scouts International Bureau' from 1920 to 1973.

For the overall historical evolution, I used the *Correlates of War Project* database²⁸ 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)²⁹ 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 Saunders³⁰ 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 database³¹ (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.

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

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

³⁰ ST. GEORGE SAUNDERS, 1949: 246-7.

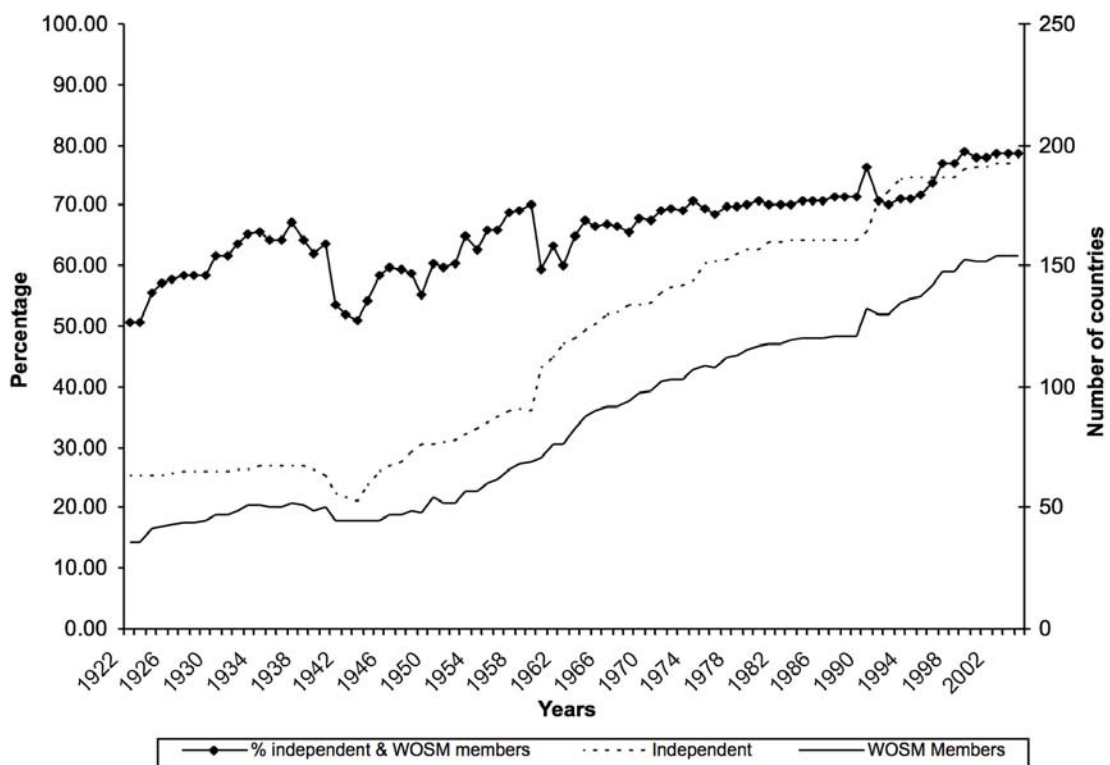
³¹ United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical Supplement (1948-1997).

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.



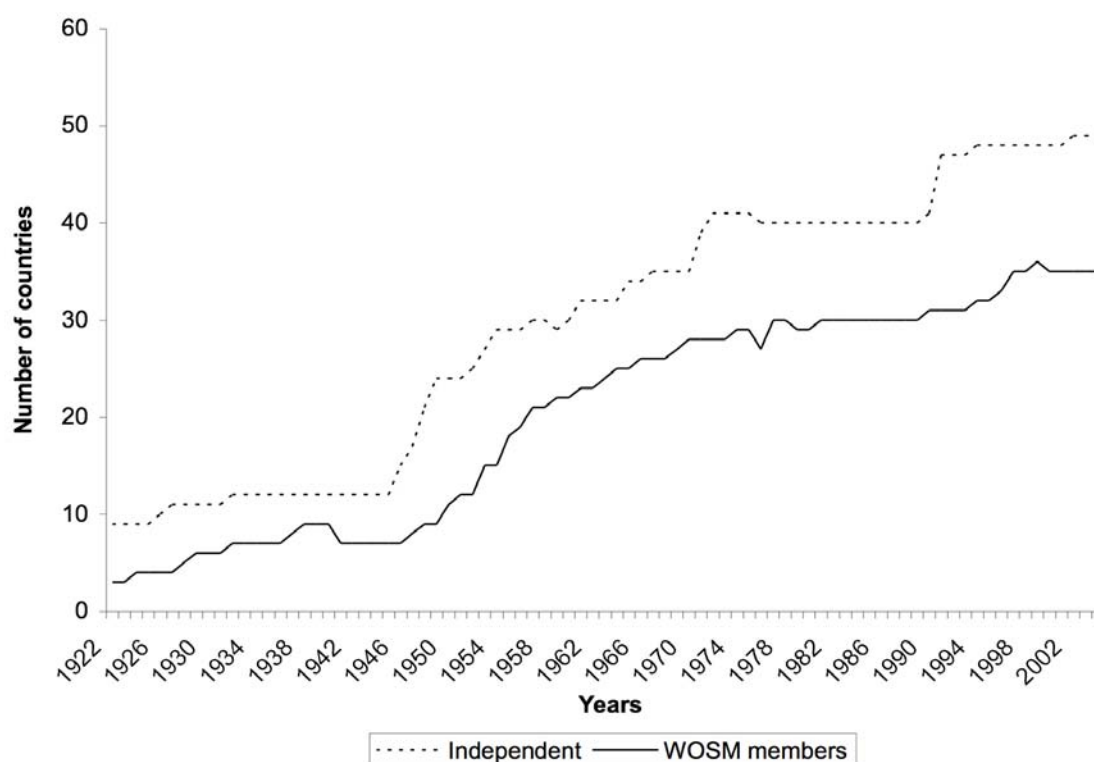
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

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 out³² 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.

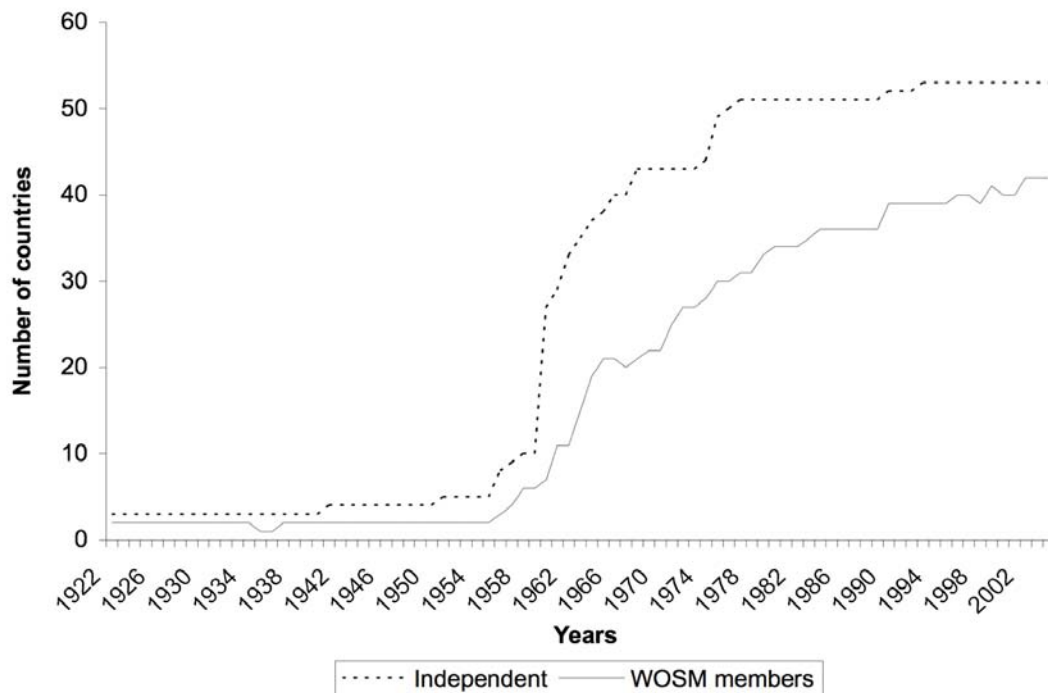
Figure 23.1. Number of independent states and WOSM member countries in Asia



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

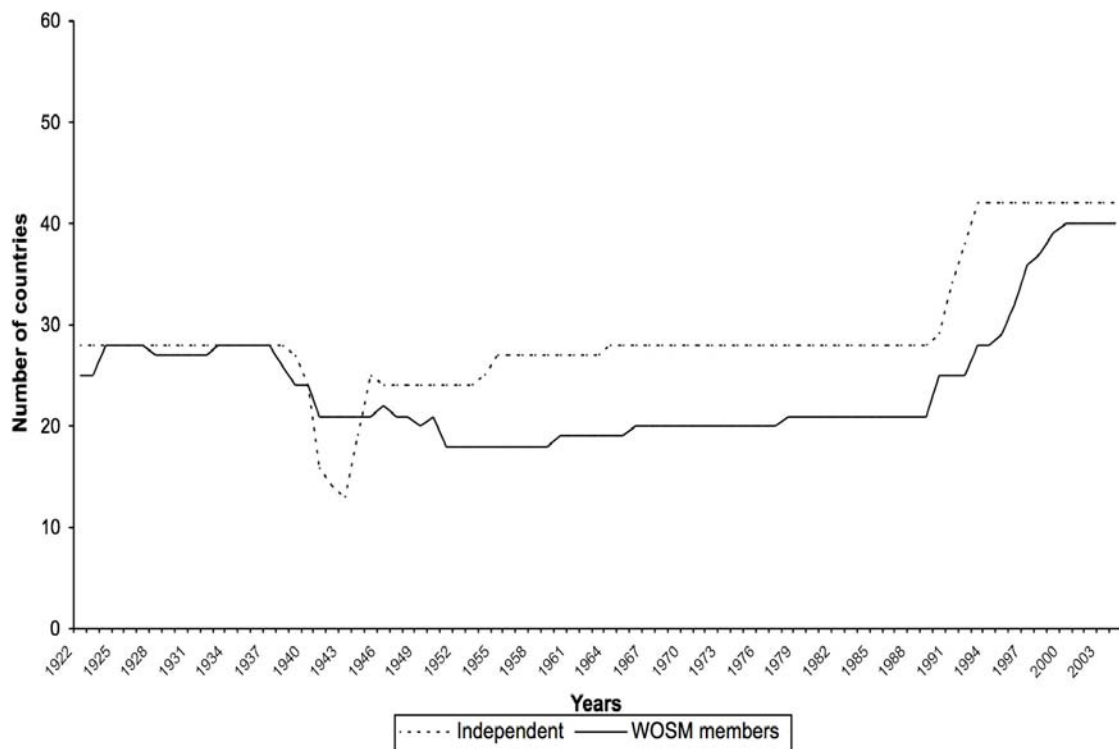
³² NAGY, 1985; PARSONS, 2004.

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



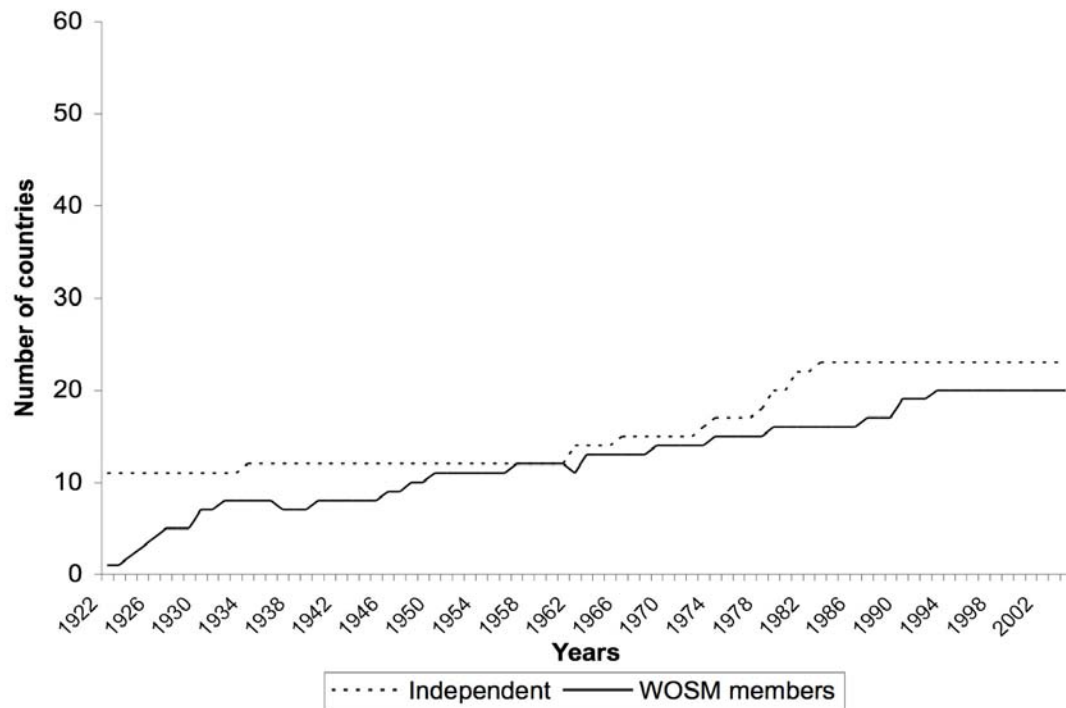
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

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



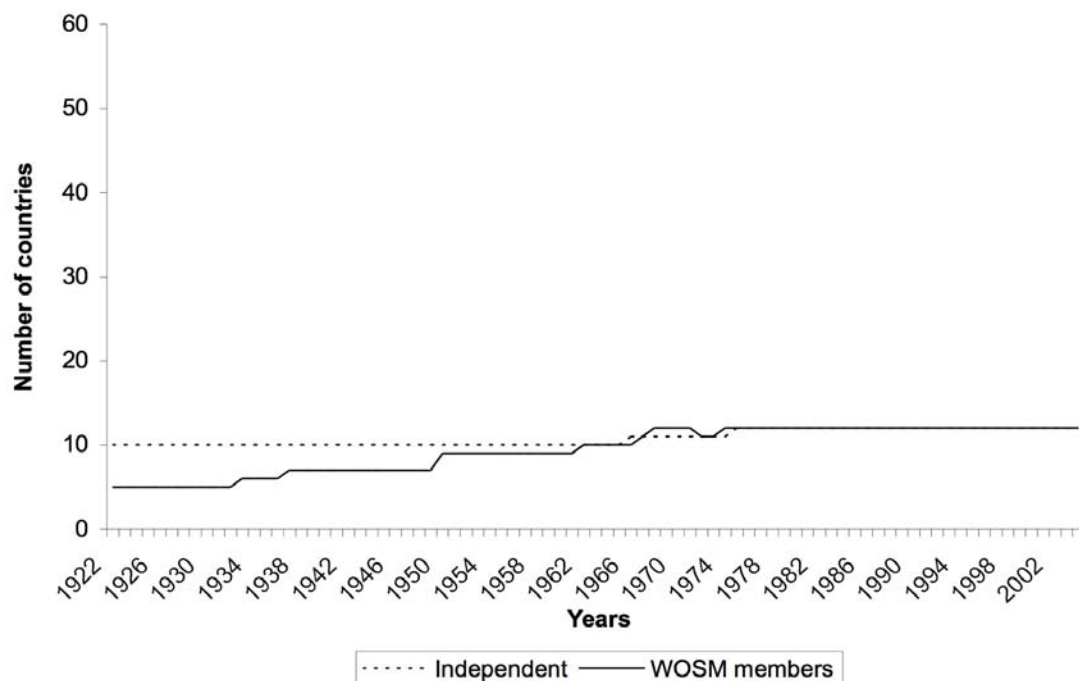
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

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



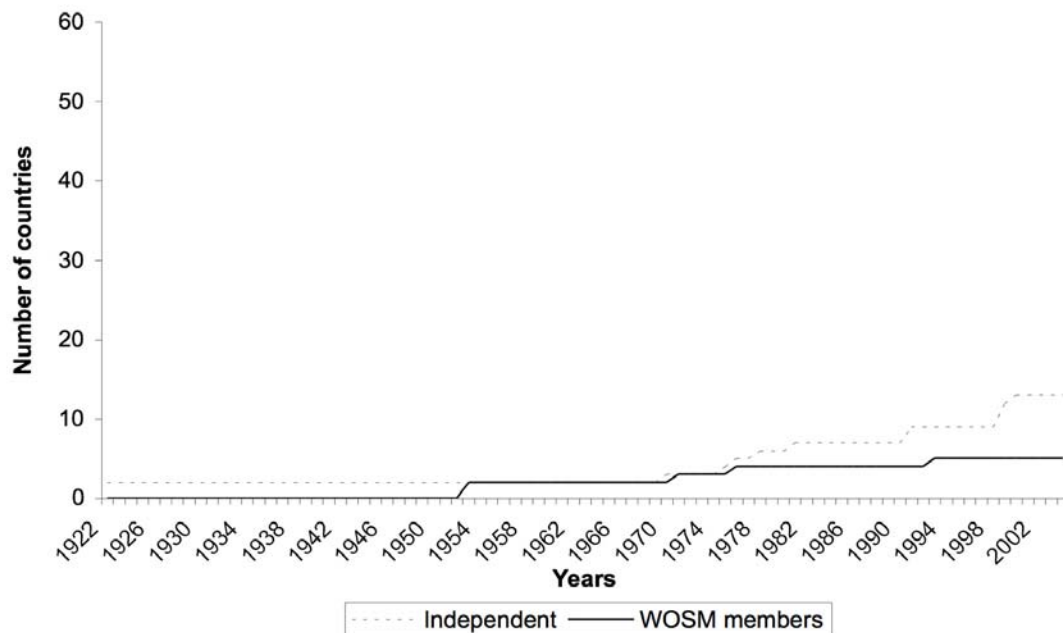
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

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 –

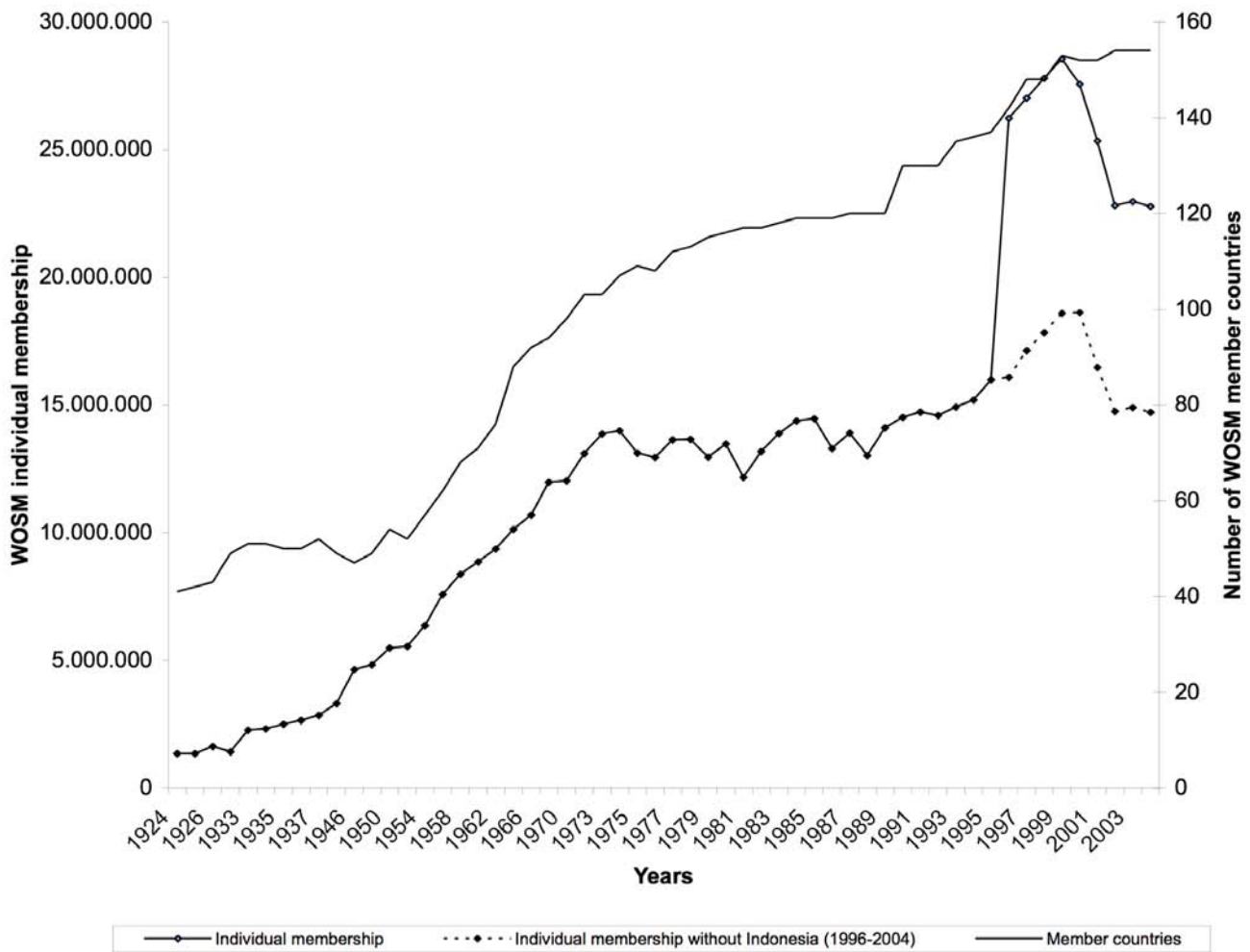
with the sole exception of Oceania. This shows that the international presence of World Scouting has evolved in parallel to the growth in the number of independent states. Nonetheless, we must compare this increase with the census of these countries to confirm that it was not simply an increase in associations 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

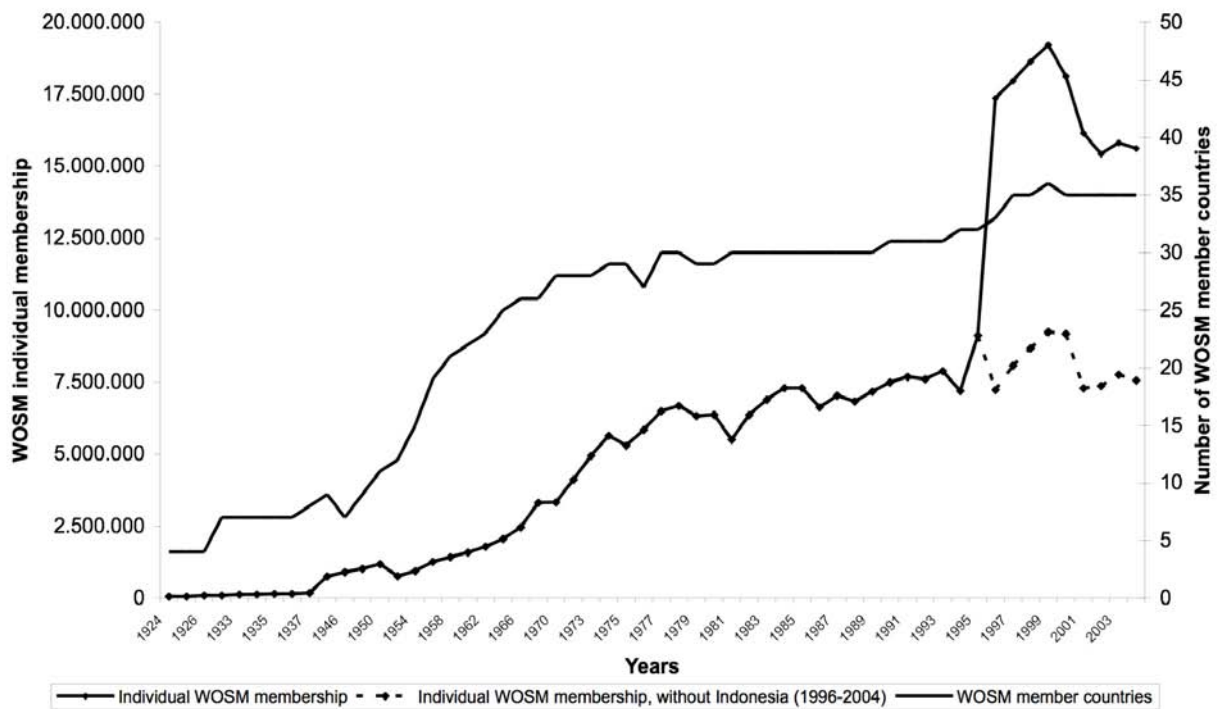
Figure 24 shows that, between 1924 and 2003, the number of WOSM member countries increased from 41 in 1924 to over 154 in 2004. In some periods, the increase was even greater. For example, there was an increase between 1946 and the 1970s, and then the number of countries remained more or less constant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

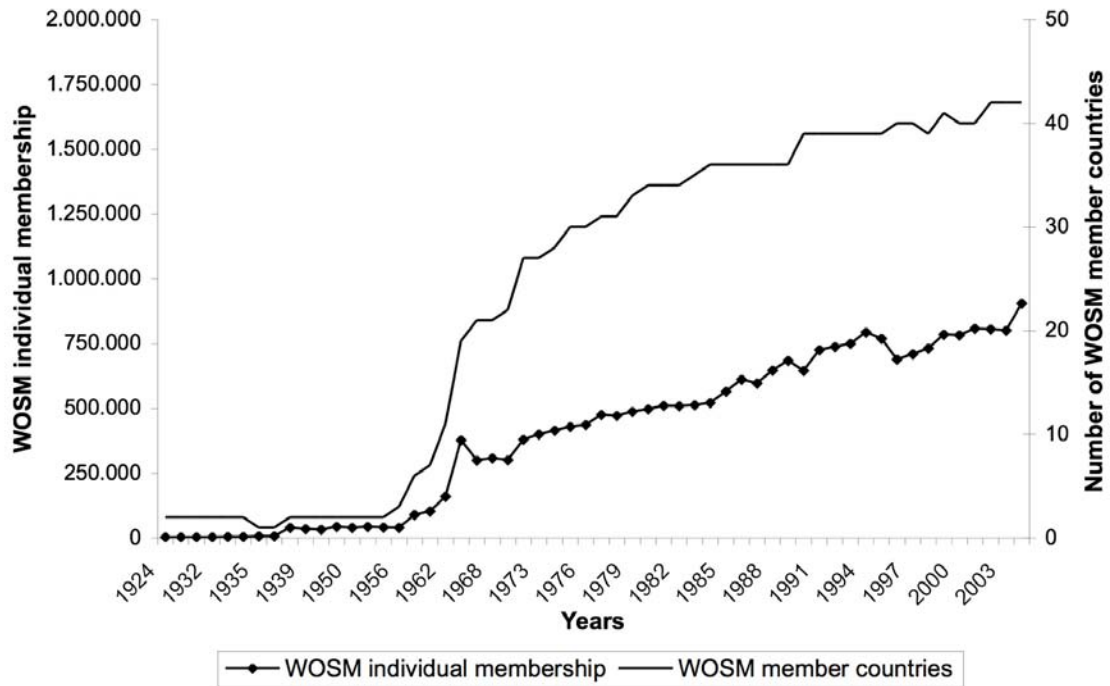
To identify the countries or regions that determine the direction of the evolution in members for all countries, the analysis is stratified by geographical region.

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



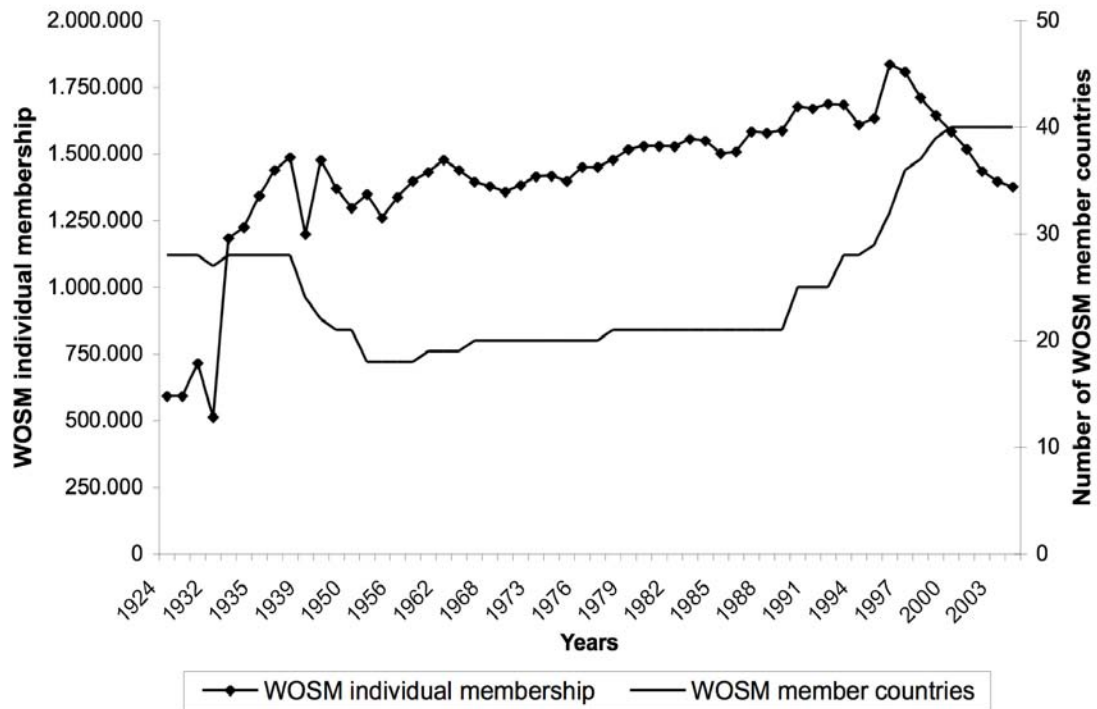
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

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



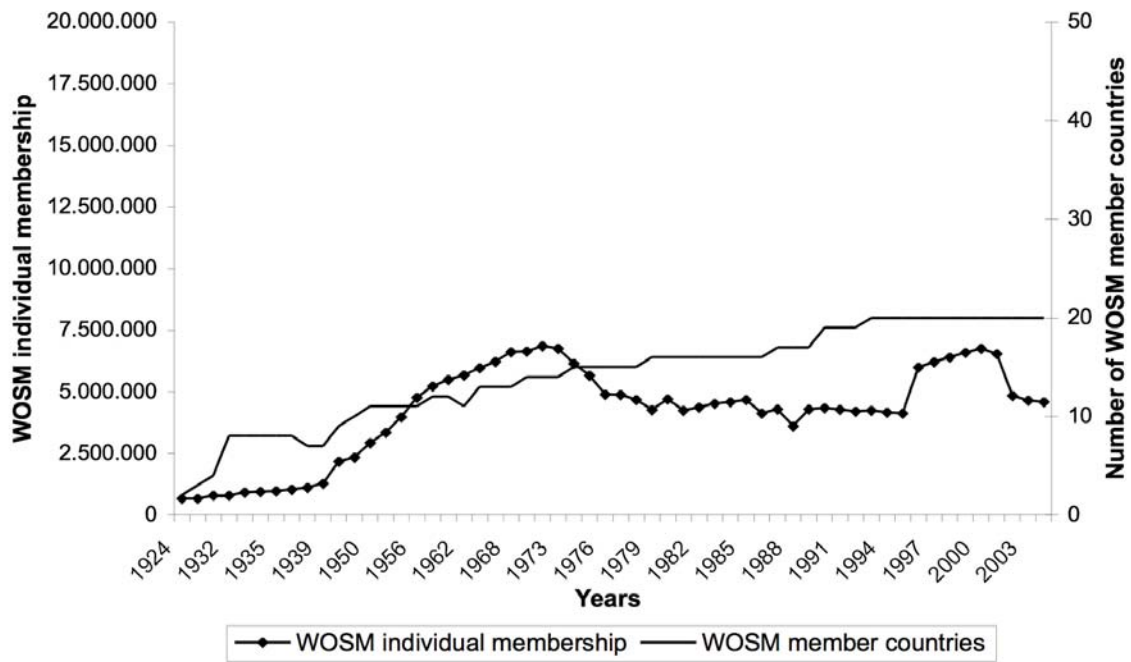
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

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



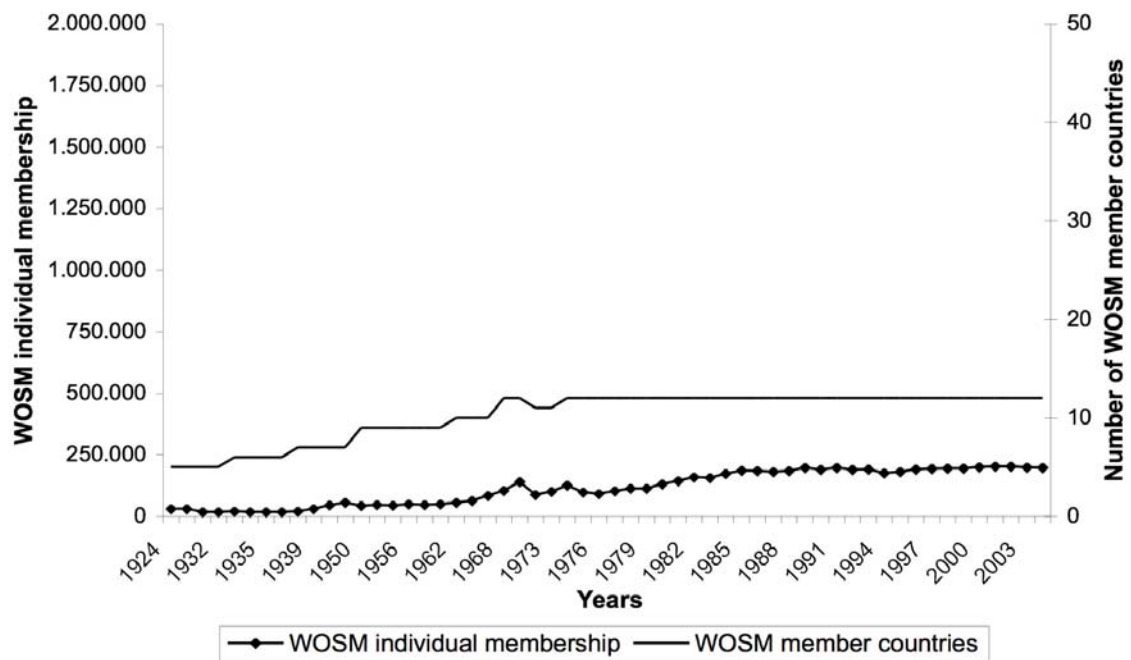
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

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



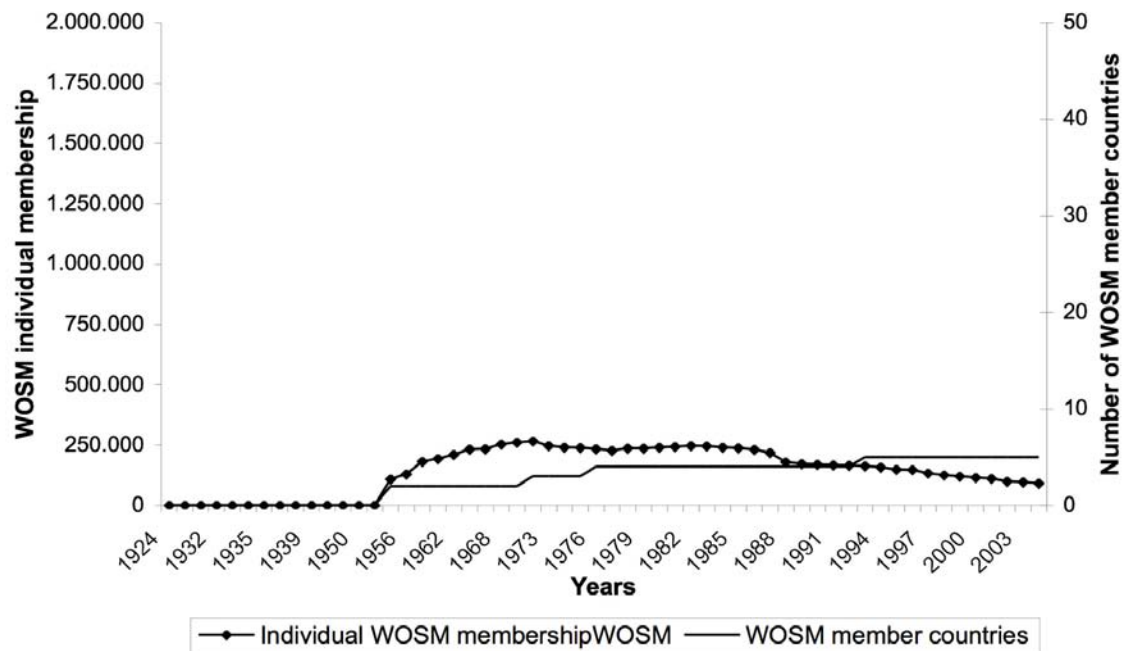
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004

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

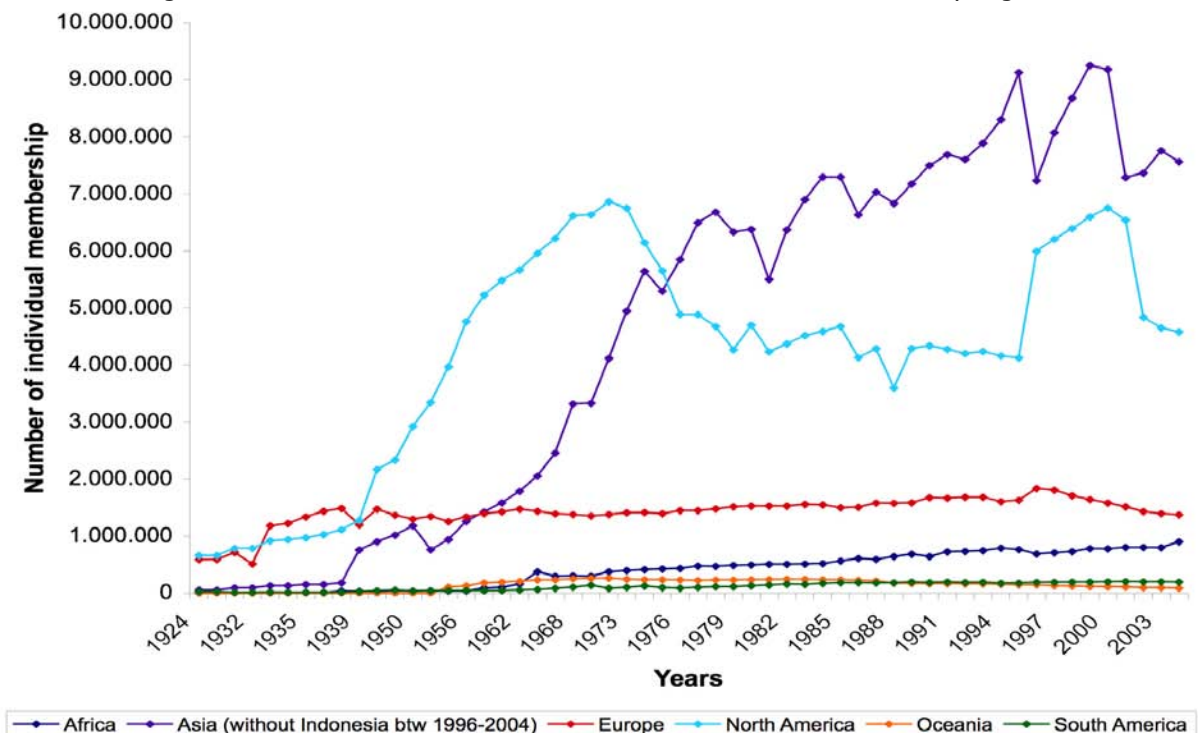
Figures 24.1 to 24.6 show the evolution in the number of country and individual members by regions. In general, the number of member countries has increased in all regions except for Europe, in parallel to the increase in independent states around the world. In Africa, there was a sharp increase between 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 members³³.

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

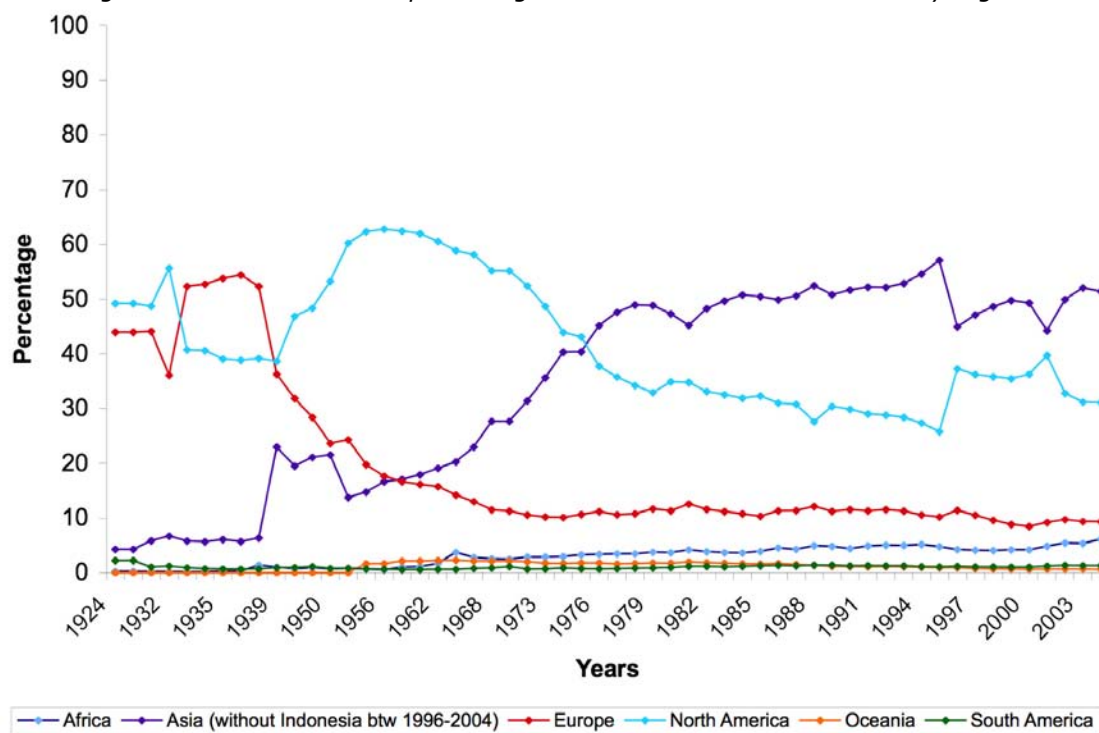


³³ *The 19th Annual Report & Year Book*, The Boy Scouts Association [UK], London, January 1928.

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.

Figure 26. Evolution in the percentage of individual WOSM members by region



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

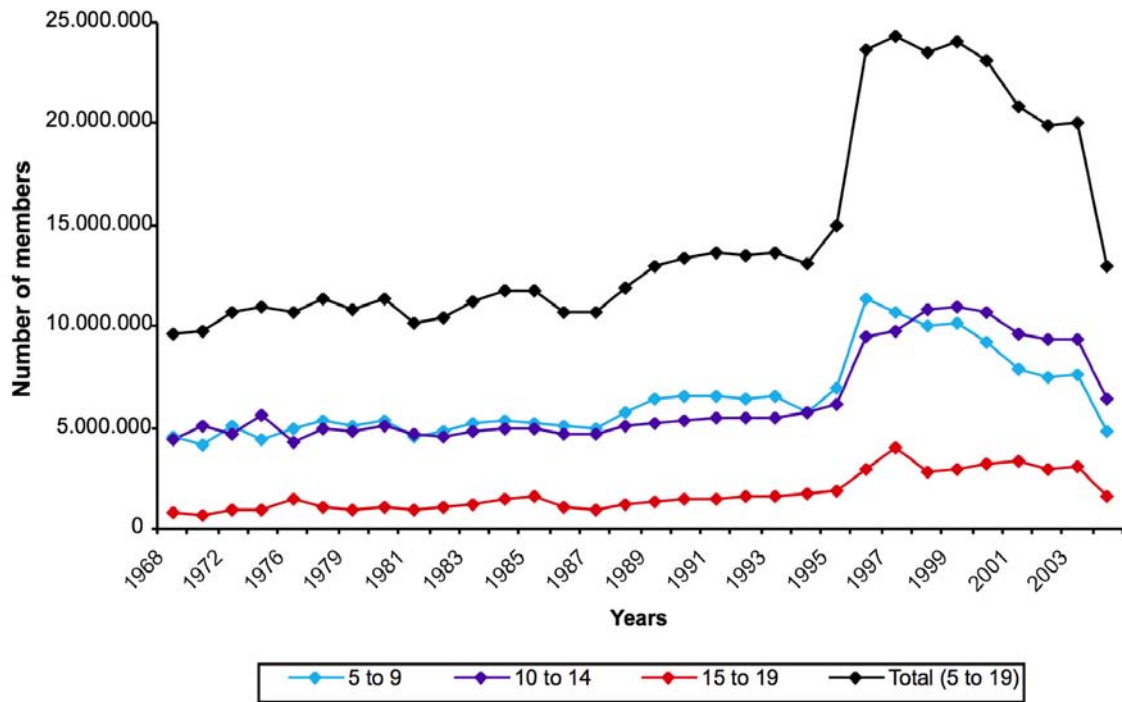
This evolution can be seen more clearly when we analyse the number of individual WOSM members in each region for the entire study period as a percentage of all individual WOSM members in each year. Figure 26 shows how the annual percentage and the evolution in the percentage vary considerably from region 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.

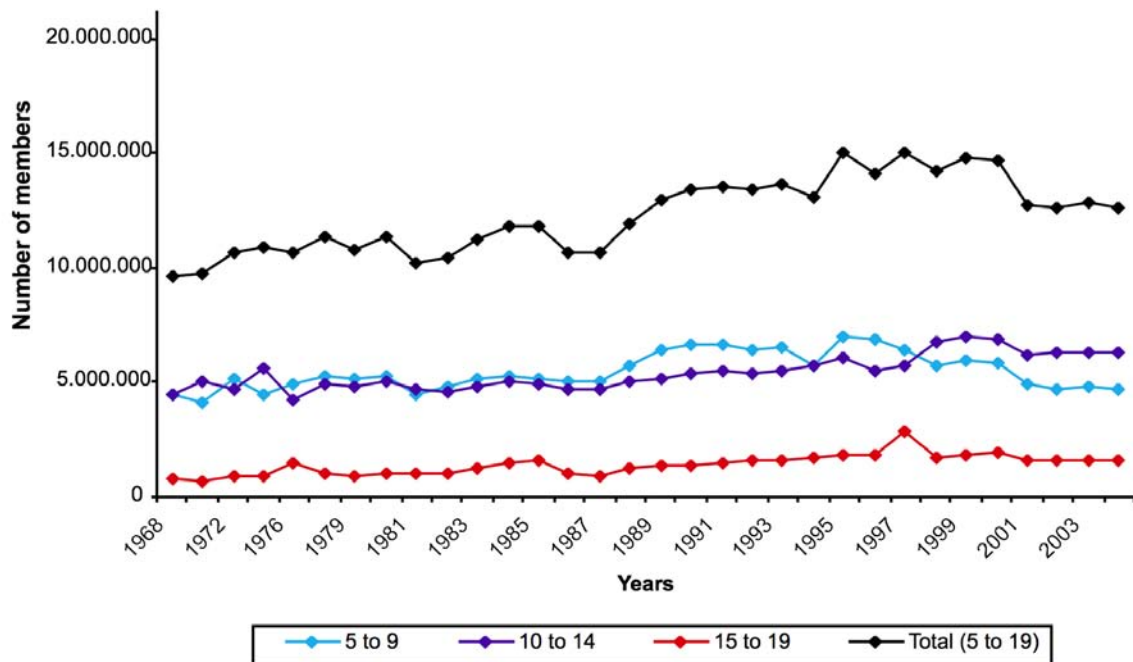
The decision to use 1968 as the start of the analysis of evolution broken down by age range was based on the fact that it is a point of inflection in the structure of the World Scout Bureau, when a new secretary general joined and a statistical data processing system was introduced to offer increased 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

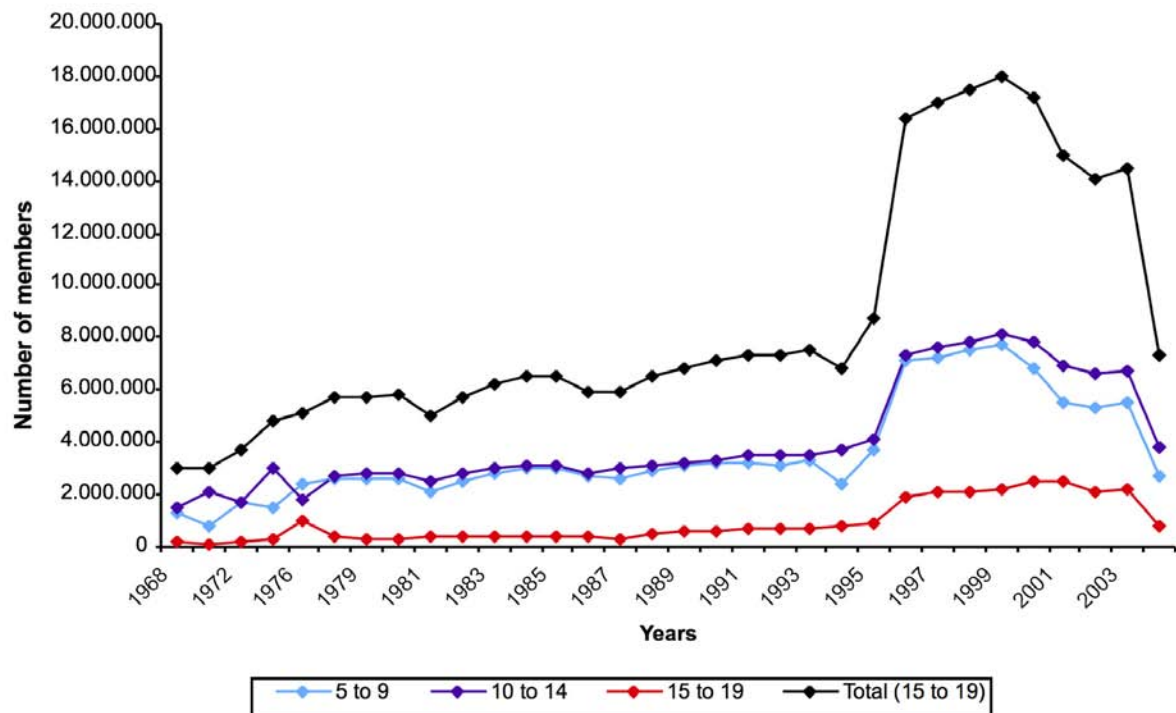
Figures 27 and 27a illustrate the evolution in the total number of young members of WOSM (hence, they exclude leaders) broken down by age group, from 1968 to 2004, for all countries, with and without Indonesia. Both graphs show that the children (5-9) and early adolescent (10-14) age groups are the biggest, 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"³⁴. To determine whether this distribution is similar in all continental regions, we must analyse the three age ranges by region.

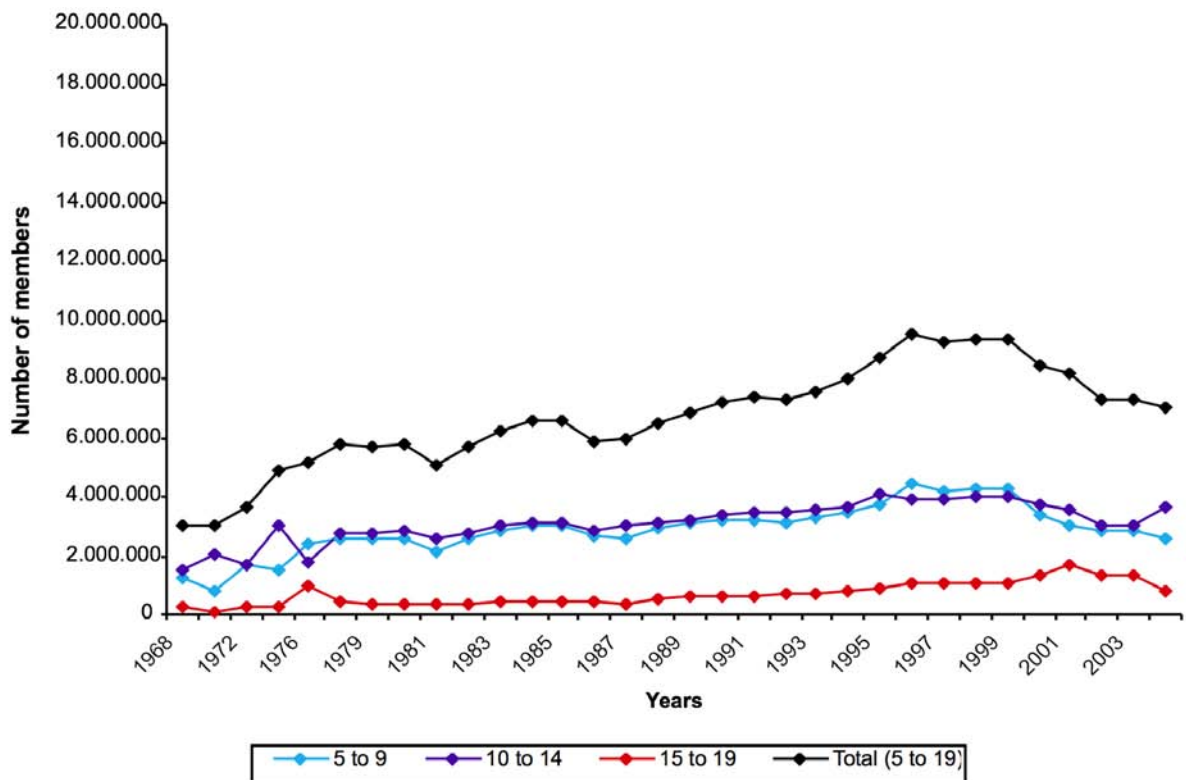
³⁴ ["The development of new programmes for the late adolescent category is our main priority in world education"]. Dominique Bénard, Assistant Secretary General and Head of Educational Methods of WOSM: "Inventer le Scoutisme du XXI^e siècle", opening address of the États Généraux du Scoutisme Francophone 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



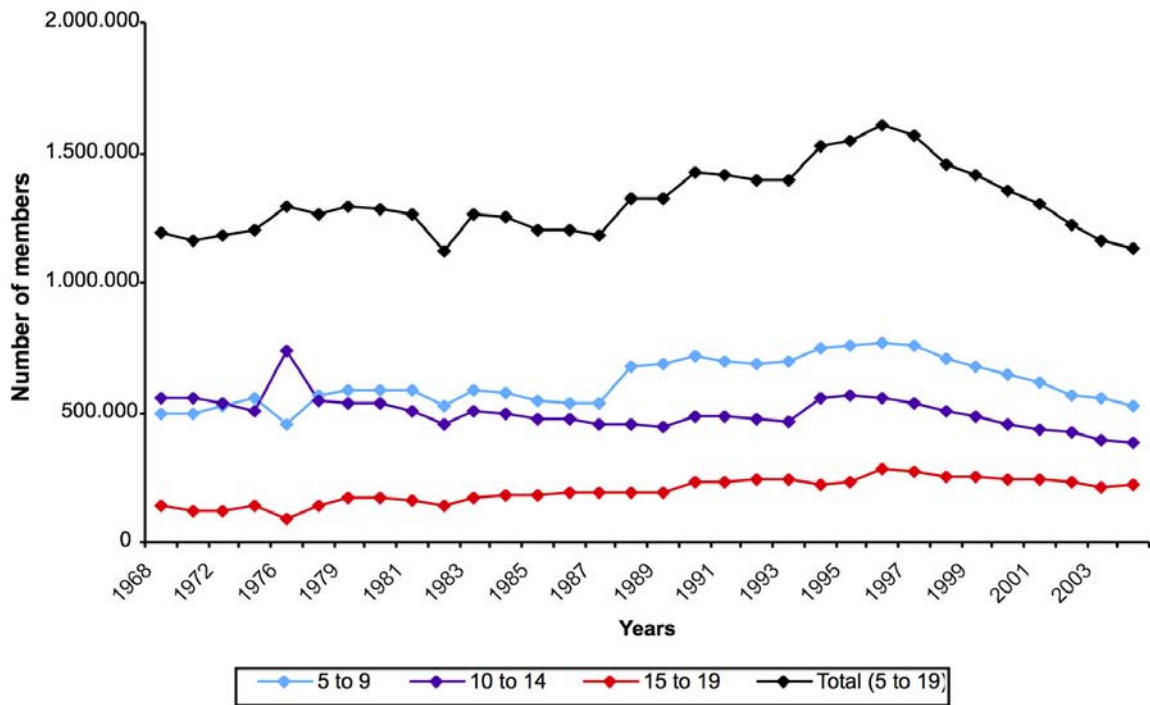
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

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



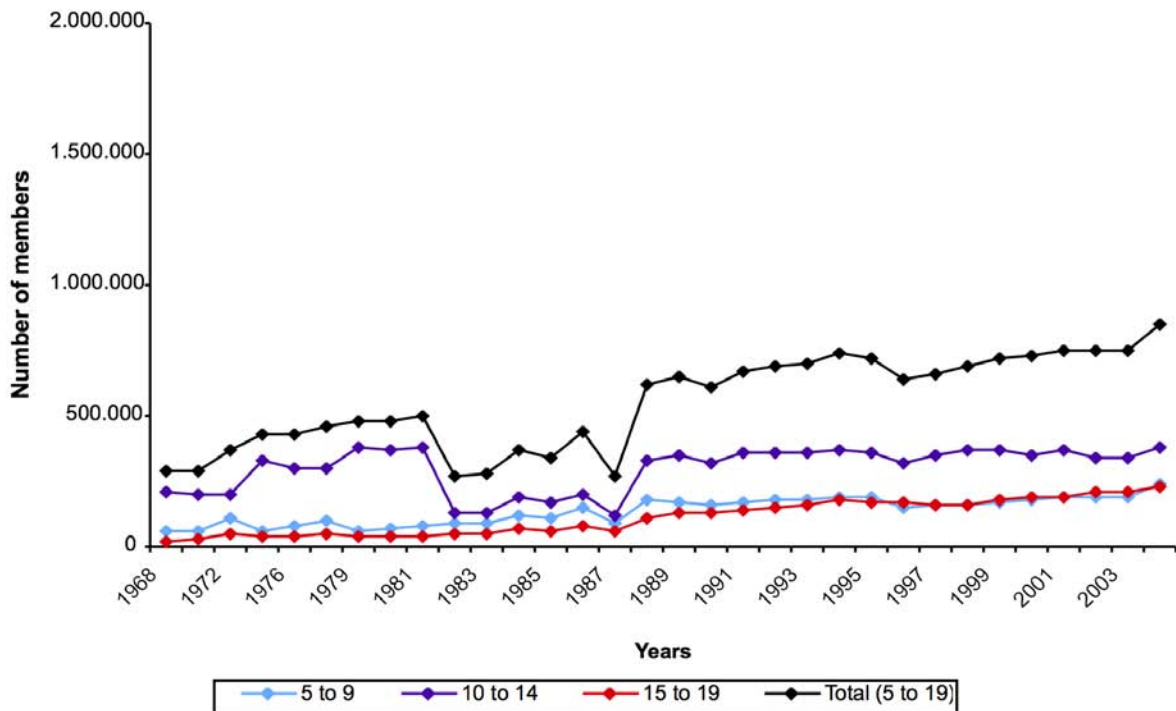
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

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



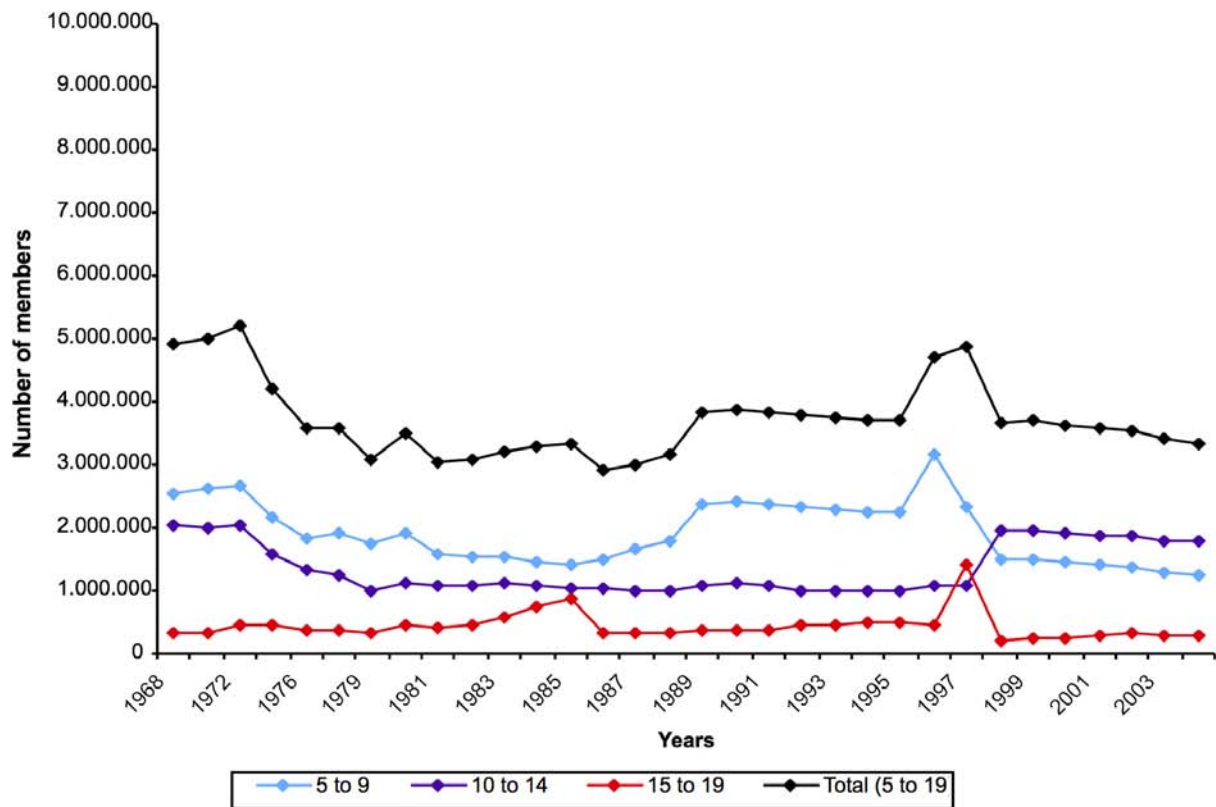
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

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



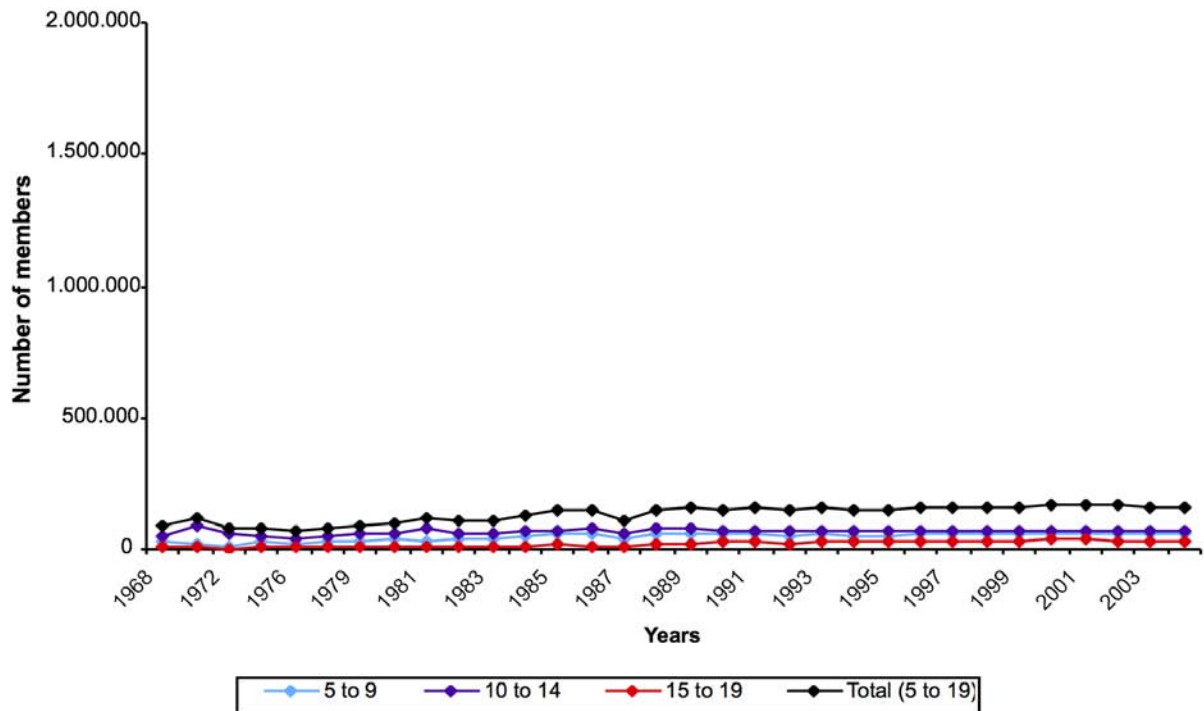
Author's own work. Source of data: WOSM, 1924-2004

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



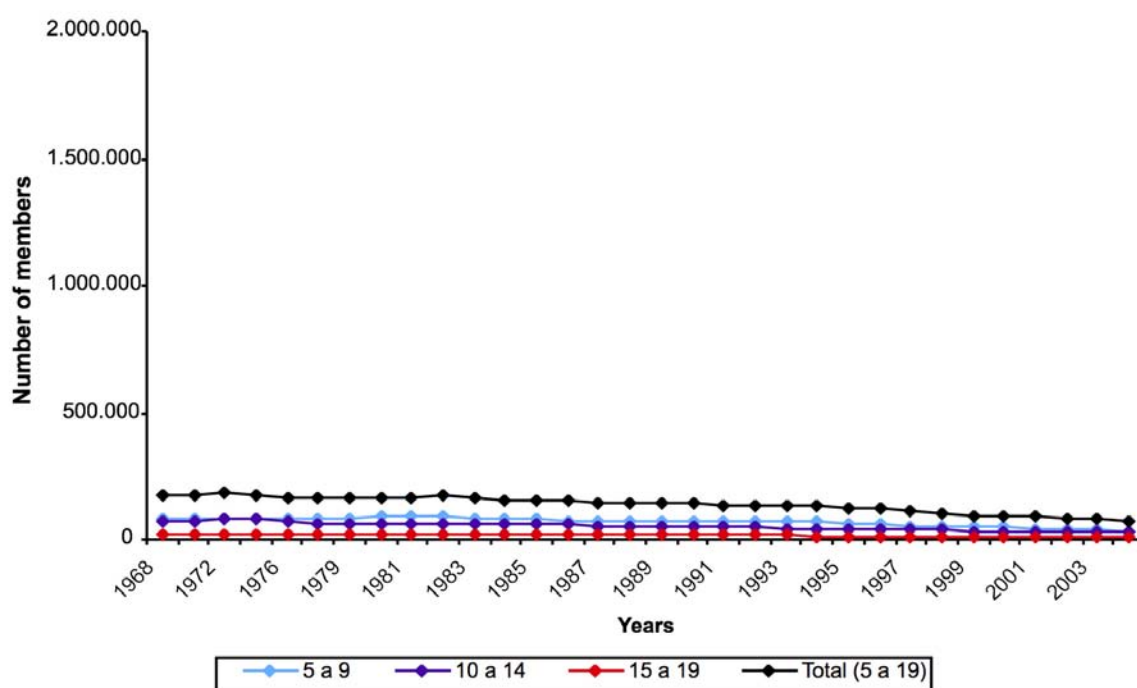
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004

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 held³⁵. 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.

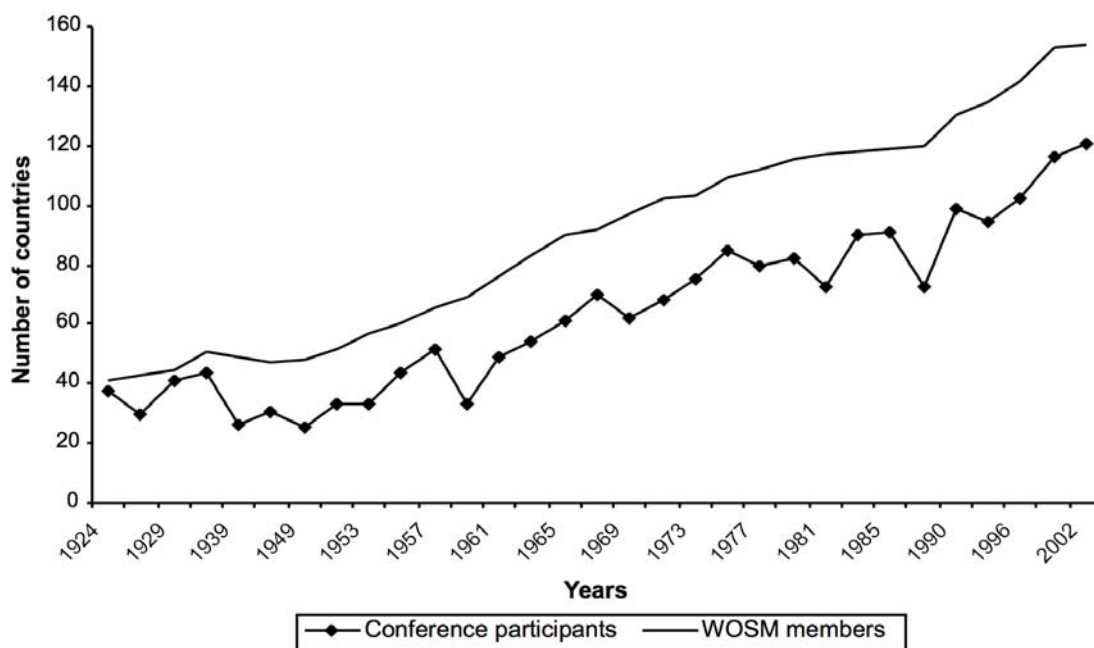
³⁵ No data is available on participating countries for the years in grey: 1920, 1922, 1931, 1935 and 1937.

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

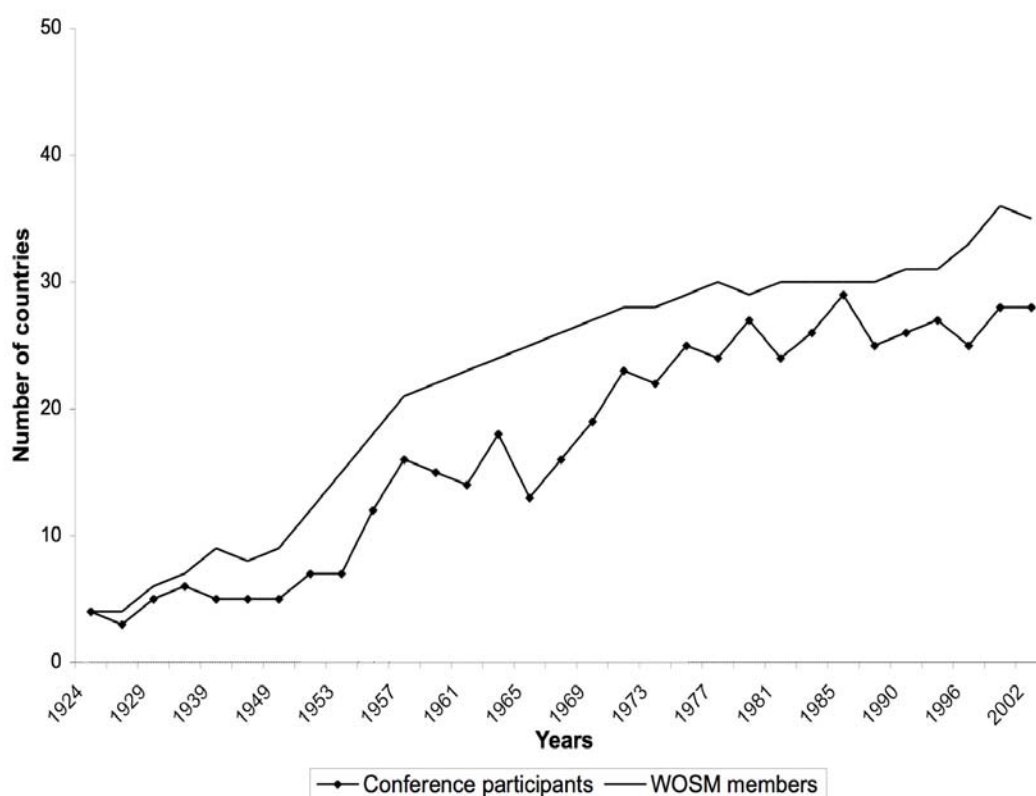
Figure 28 shows the evolution in the number of countries that participated in conferences compared to the evolution in the number of WOSM member countries. This comparison indicates whether the increase in members was accompanied by increased participation in the conferences. Generally speaking, we can 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)

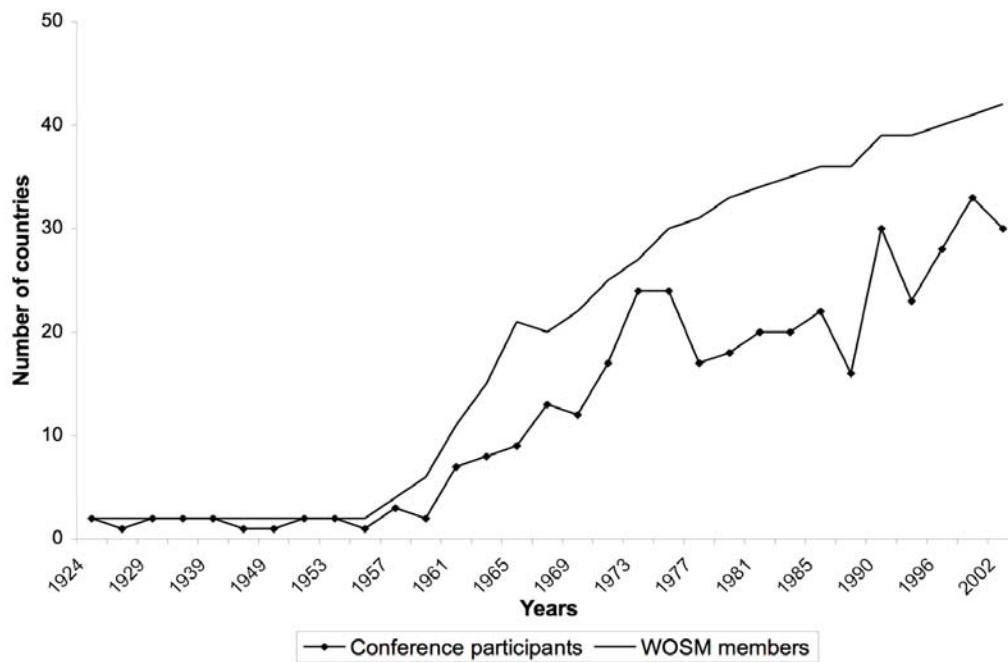
and 1988 (Australia), when it dropped back to 70. These two exceptions were also two of the years with the greatest differences in participation as a percentage of the total number of members: 62% and 60%, respectively. The lowest percentage of all occurs in 1959, with less than half: 47%, 33 participant 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



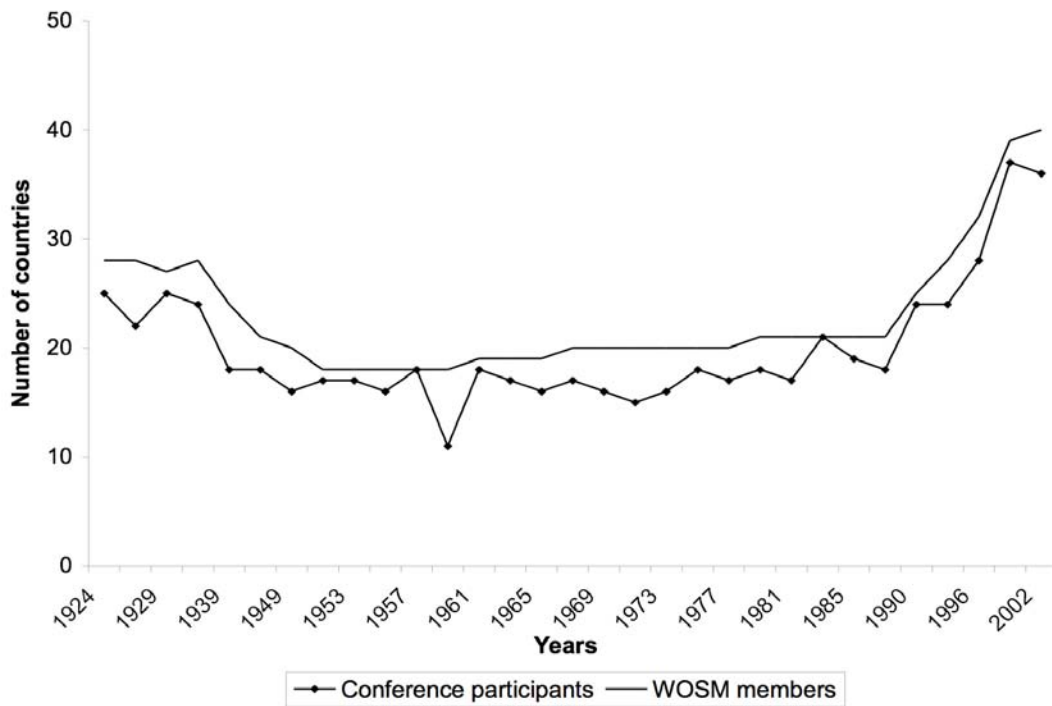
Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

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



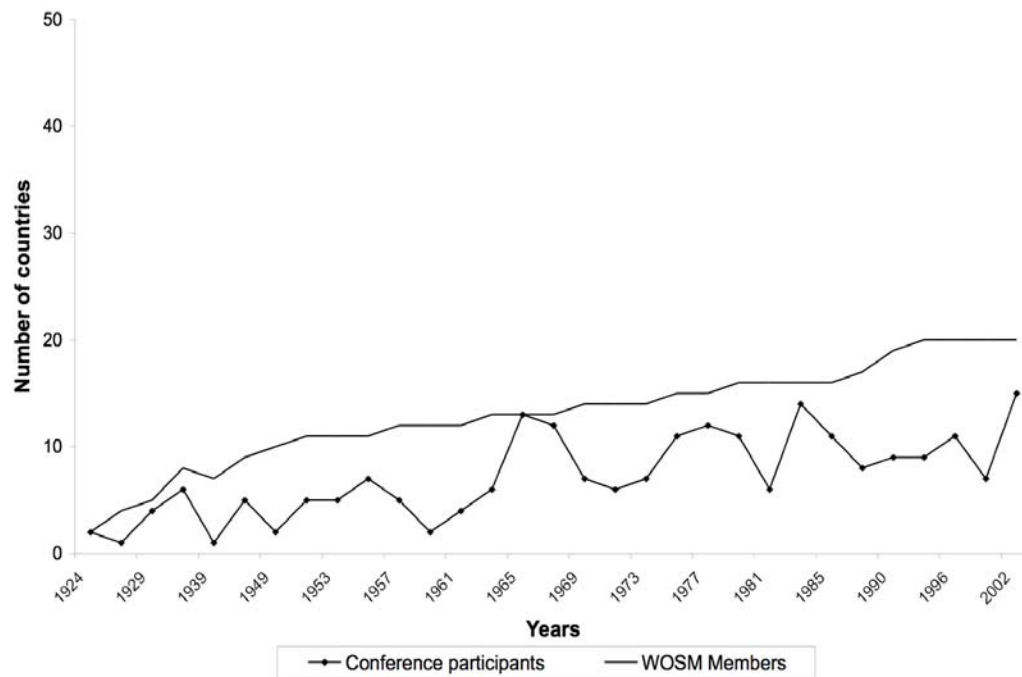
Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

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



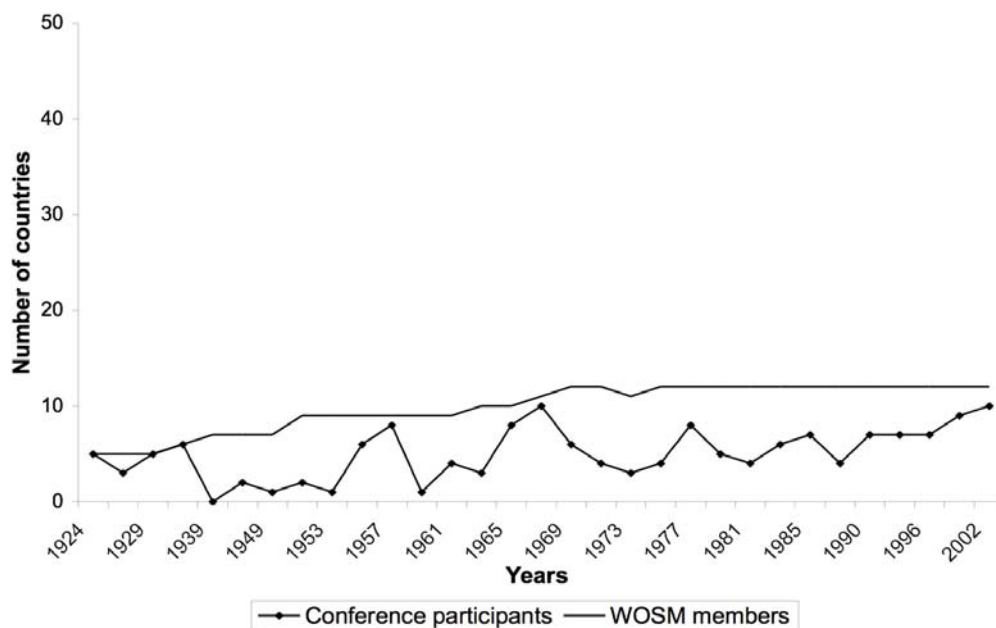
Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

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



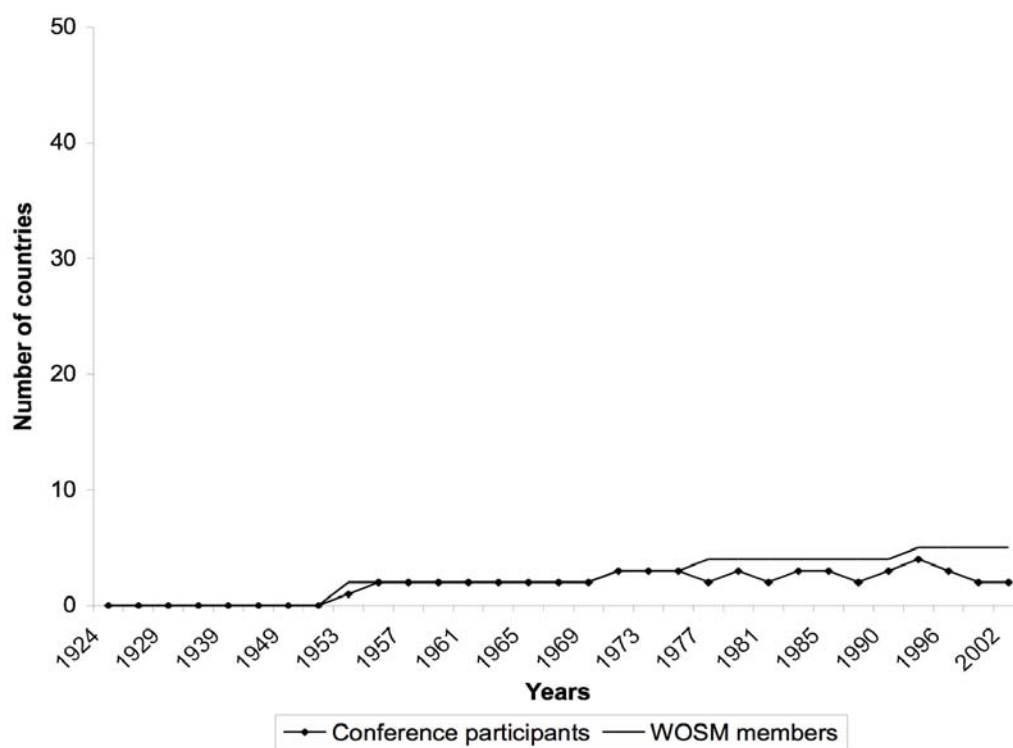
Author's own work. Source: Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002

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

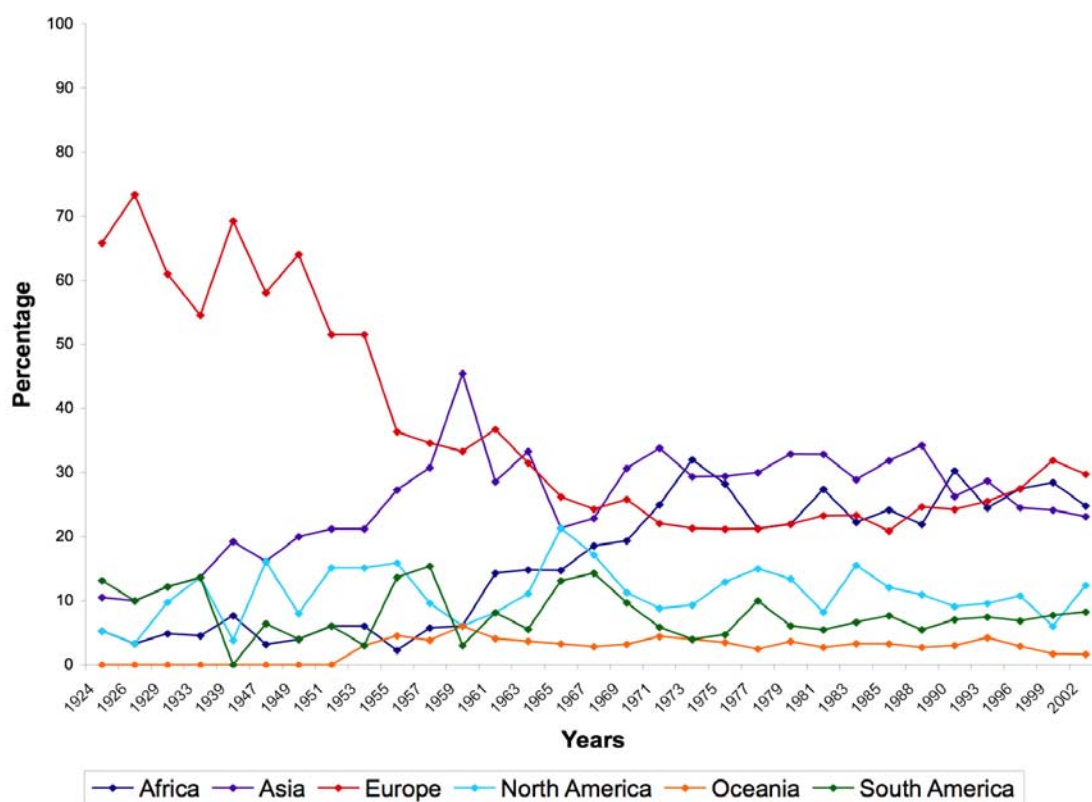
Figure 28.6. Comparison of the evolution in Oceania of WOSM member countries and those that took part in world conferences



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 Movement³⁶ 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

³⁶ 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.³⁷

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

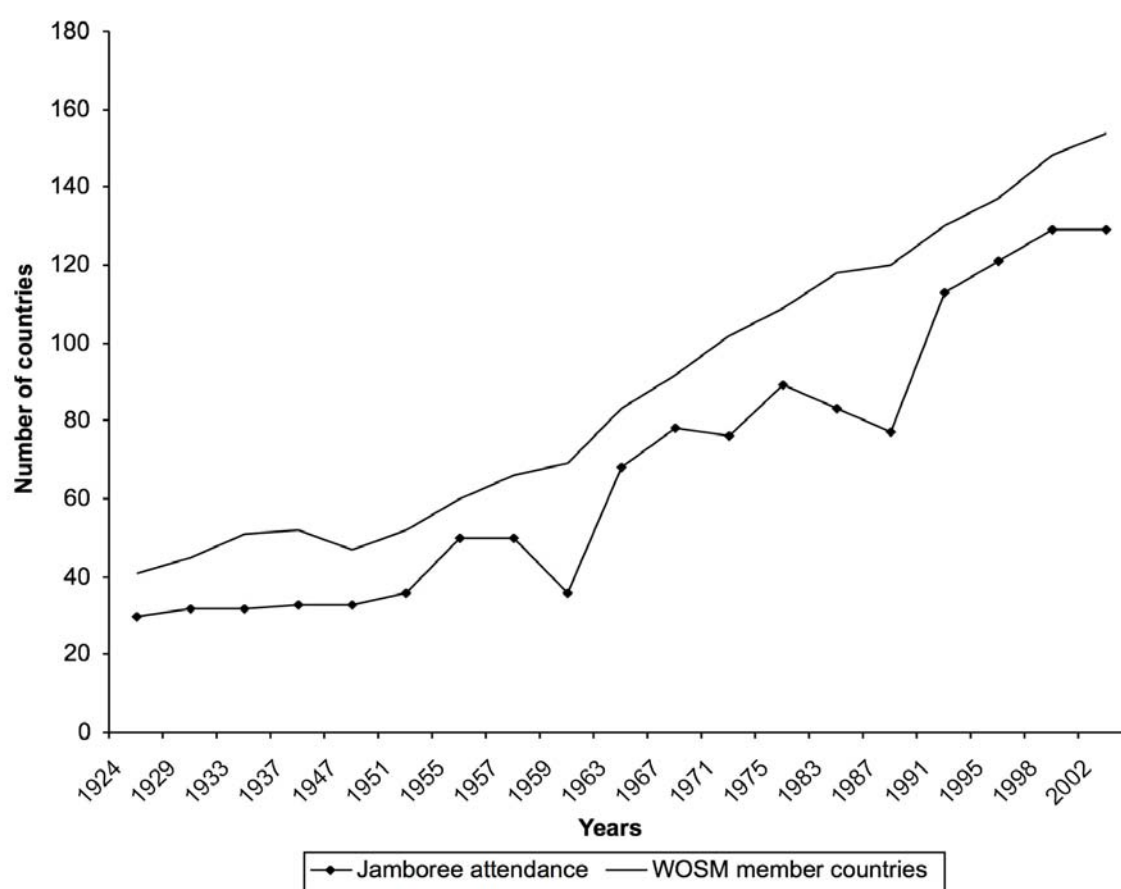
<i>Year</i>	<i>Organizer</i>	<i>Total attendance</i>
1920	United Kingdom	8,000
1924	Denmark	4,549
1929	United Kingdom	50,000
1933	Hungary	25,792
1937	Netherlands	28,750
1947	France	24,152
1951	Austria	12,372
1955	Canada	10,315
1957	United Kingdom	25,191
1959	Philippines	10,703
1963	Greece	11,111
1967	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

³⁷ 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.

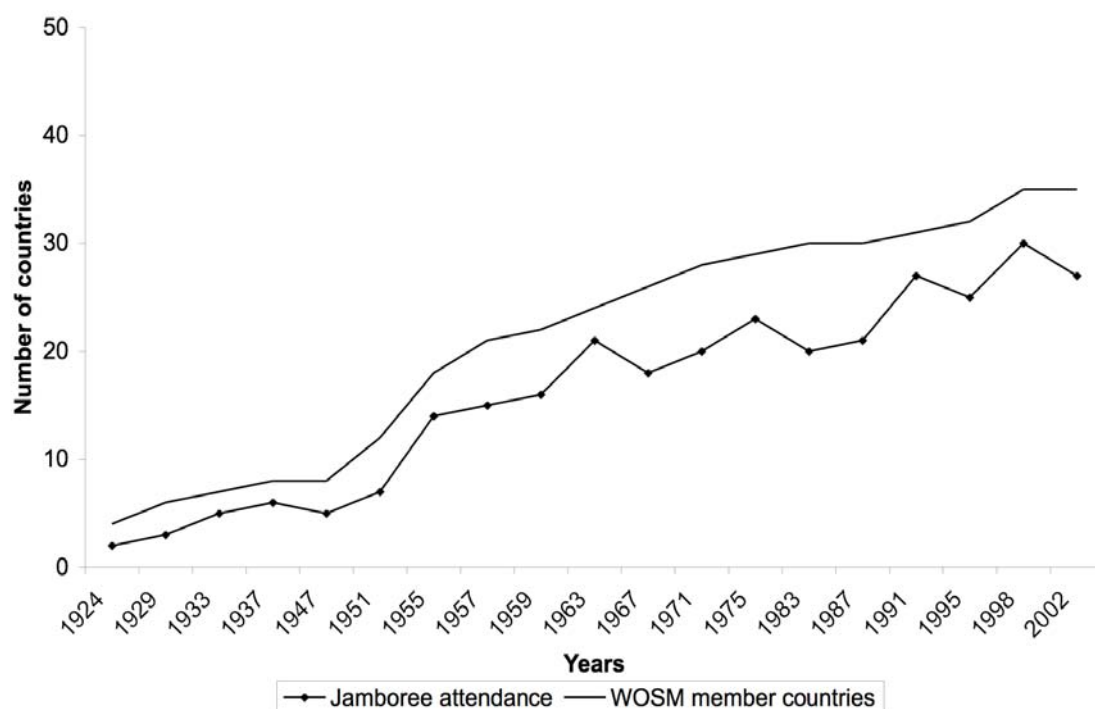
Figure 30. Comparison of the evolution in WOSM member countries and countries attending the World Scout Jamborees (1924-2004)



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

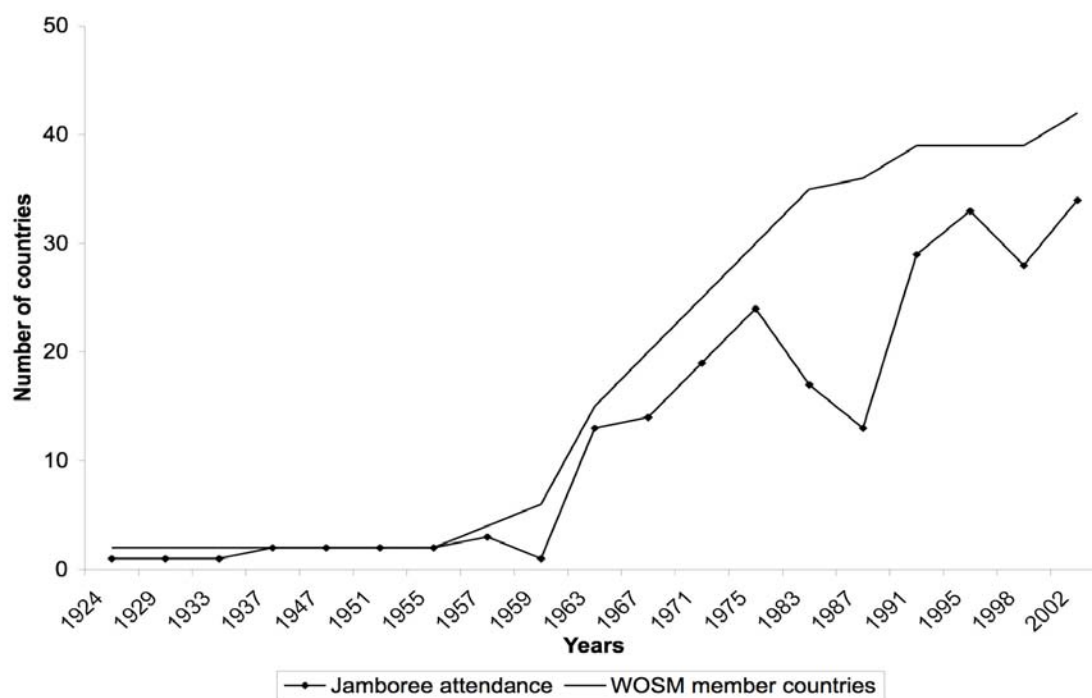
If we analyse the evolution of Jamboree attendance by geographical region (Figures 30.1 to 30.6), we see that, as with the world conferences, all regions display an increase in the number of countries attending except for Europe. Once again, the American regions have an irregular distribution. There 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)



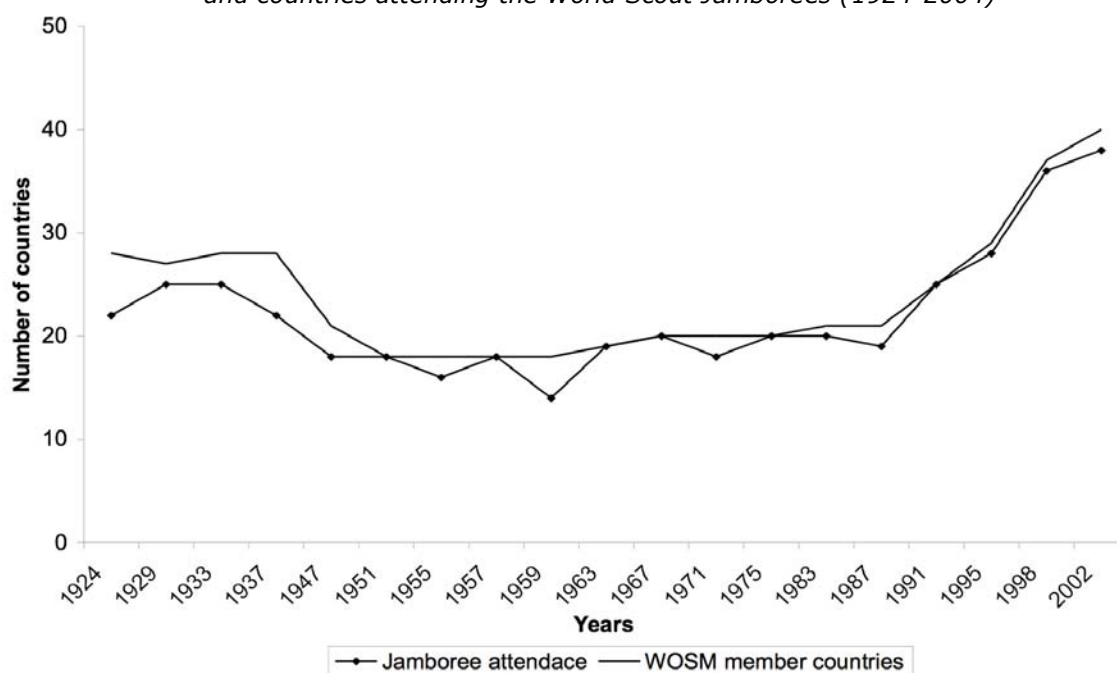
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

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



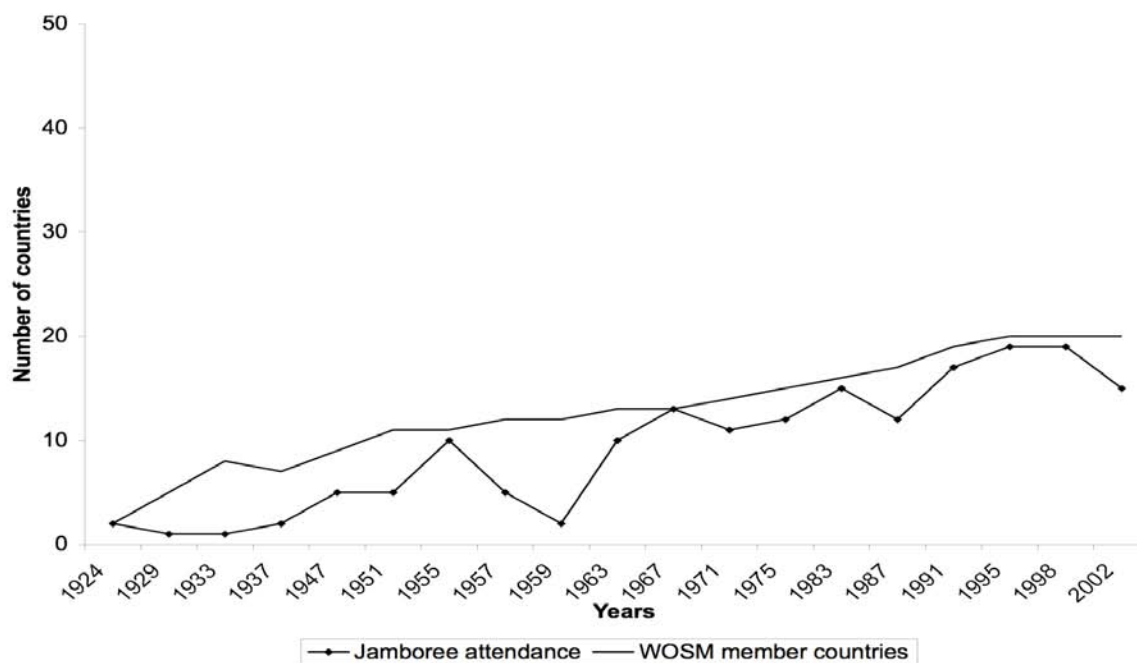
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

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



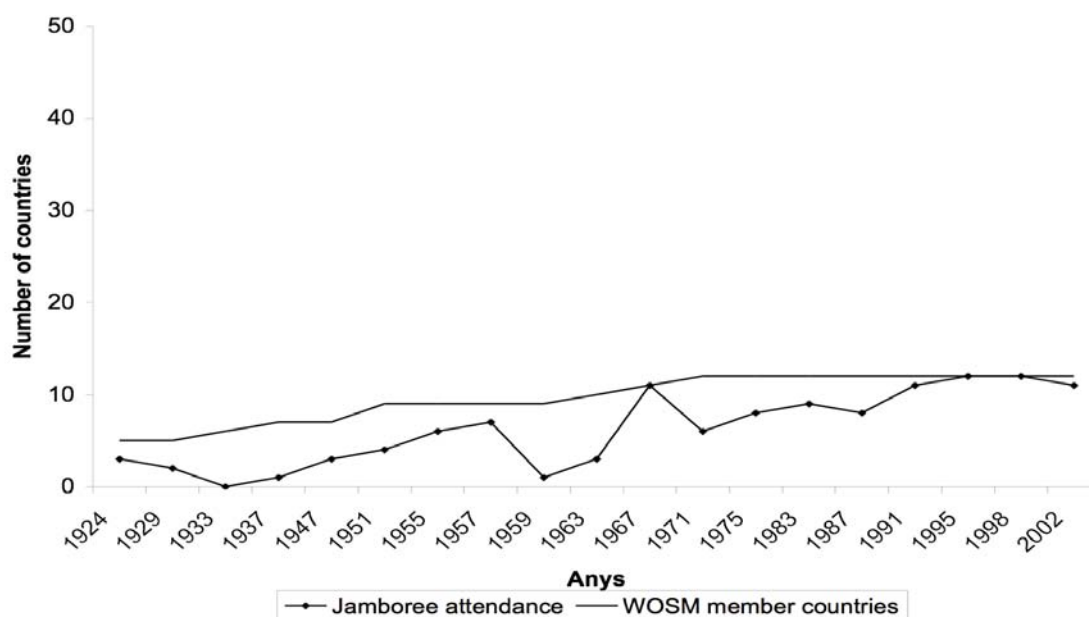
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004;
and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

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



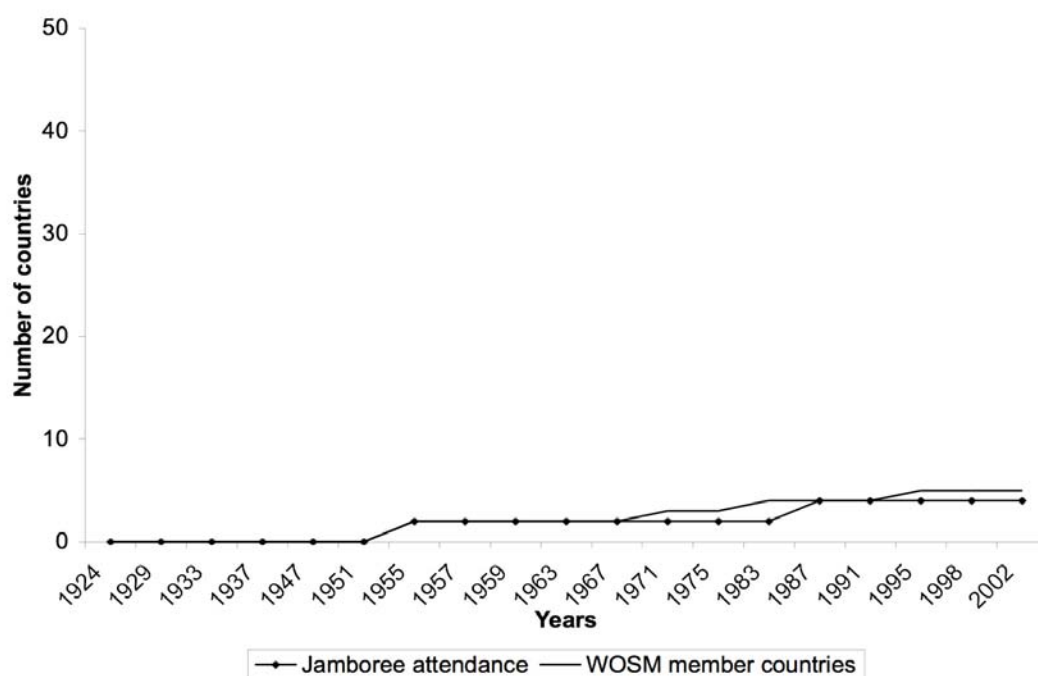
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004;
and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

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



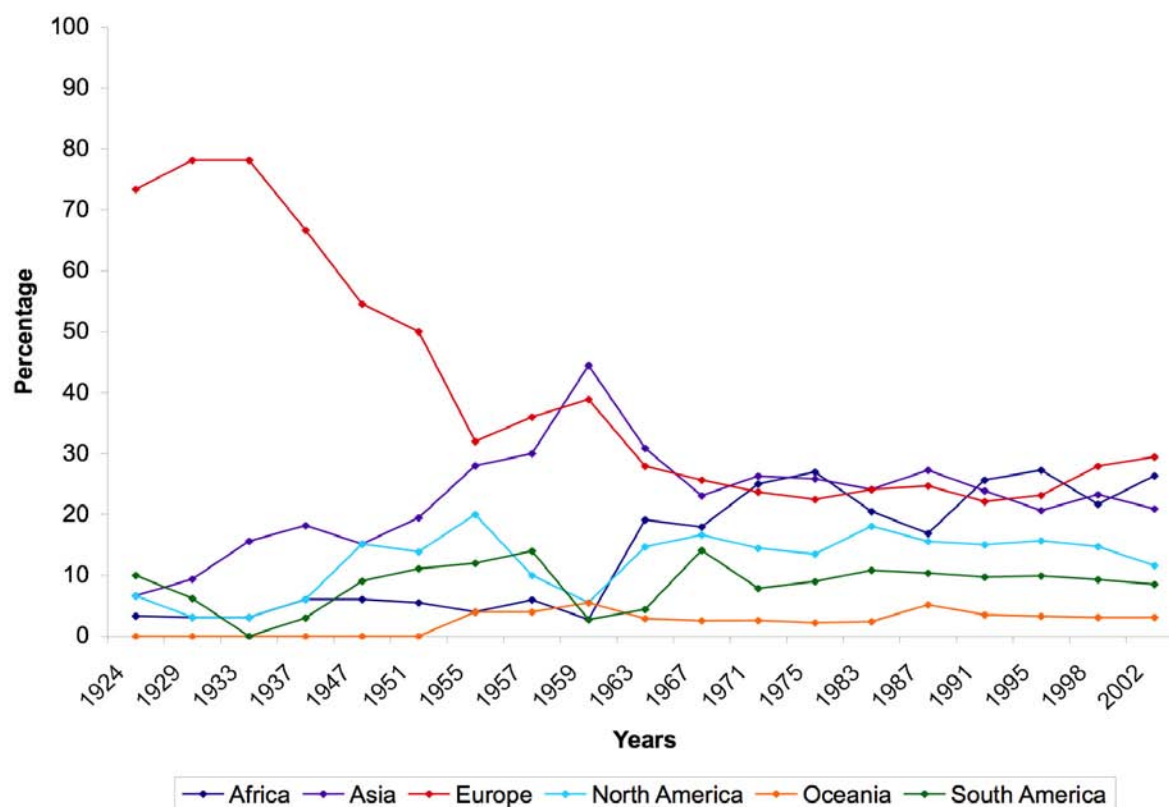
Author's own work. Source: WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004; and World Scout Jamborees data set, v. 1.4 (WOSM)

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"¹.

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,

¹ 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 2². 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"³.

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

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

³ 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 another⁴, 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 justice⁵.

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 Christianity⁶. 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"⁷.

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

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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".

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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*,⁸ 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 in⁹. 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"¹⁰.

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

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

⁹ "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.

¹⁰ 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 legitimization 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"¹¹.

"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,

¹¹ *Scouting and Peace* (A2): 13.

equality and the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms within society"¹².

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 II¹³. 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"¹⁴.

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."¹⁵.

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

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

¹³ 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).

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

¹⁵ *Scouting and Peace* (A2): p. 13.

development", and by encouraging relations between people and their environment¹⁶.

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"¹⁷. 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-Powell¹⁸, were all basic Islamic principles"¹⁹.

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"²⁰. 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"²¹. 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

¹⁶ *Scouting and Peace* (A2): 59-60.

¹⁷ *Scouting and Spiritual Development* (A2): 45.

¹⁸ It refers to the text of the *Scout Law*.

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

²⁰ *Scouting and Spiritual Development* (A2): 51.

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

aspects of interreligious education and dialogue in leader training²². 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)²³. 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"²⁴.

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

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

²³ 'Building World Citizenship': 1996-2002 Summary" (A2).

²⁴ "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)*²⁵

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.

²⁵ 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 Hatred²⁶

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

²⁶ 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) Community²⁷

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.

²⁷ 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 Delinquents²⁸

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

²⁸ 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*²⁹

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)³⁰. 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".

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

³⁰ '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"³¹. 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 1971³², the World Scout Conference officially made community development an integral part of Scouting's educational programme and it has since been fundamental for developing countries³³. 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"³⁴.

There are a number of reasons for the Scout Movement's proficiency in development cooperation³⁵. 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 culture³⁶. 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

³¹ *Scouting and the Environment* (A2): 7.

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

³³ *Scouting: An Integrated Approach to Development* (A2): p. 3.

³⁴ *Scouting and Peace* (A2): 8

³⁵ *Community Development Programme, 1987-1989* (A2).

³⁶ *Scouting and Community Development* (A2): p. 4-5

the self-esteem and quality of life of those living in these communities through their own efforts³⁷.

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 skills³⁸. 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 implemented³⁹. 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 themselves⁴⁰.

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'⁴¹, 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"⁴².

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

³⁷ *Scouting and the Environment* (A2): p. 10.

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

³⁹ *Scouting: An Integrated Approach to Development* (A2): p. 3.

⁴⁰ *Scouting and Community Development* (A2): p. 4-5.

⁴¹ '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.

⁴² *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"⁴³.

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"⁴⁴.

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*"⁴⁵.

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"⁴⁶.

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

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. iii.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. iii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145 (the italics are mine).

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 144.

projects, which include "The refusal to enter into partnership with any association which supports an oppressive regime"⁴⁷. 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"⁴⁸.

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 partnerships⁴⁹. 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"⁵⁰. In 2005, a seminar evaluating 10 years of Marrakech was held in Bangalore, which reinforced certain points of the Marrakech Charter⁵¹. 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 project⁵².

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 communities⁵³.

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

⁴⁸ *The Marrakech Charter (A2):* p. 4.

⁴⁹ *The Marrakech Charter (A2):* p. 10-11.

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

⁵¹ *The Marrakech Charter. Bangalore Revised Edition (A2).*

⁵² *The Marrakech Charter (A2):* p. 7-9.

⁵³ *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 youths⁵⁴. 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 society⁵⁵.

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 processing⁵⁶.

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"⁵⁷. 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"⁵⁸; 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

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

⁵⁵ 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).

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

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

⁵⁸ *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 issues⁵⁹.

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 disaster⁶⁰.

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 Programme⁶¹

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:

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

⁶⁰ *Thank You... Your Giving Is Our Gratitude* (A2).

⁶¹ 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 Disabled⁶²

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

⁶² 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*⁶³

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"⁶⁴. 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

⁶³ 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.

⁶⁴ 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 Union⁶⁵.

*e) El Salvador: Scouting as an Alternative to Gangs*⁶⁶

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.

⁶⁵ WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, November 1989.

⁶⁶ 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 Scouting⁶⁷. 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"⁶⁸.

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 these⁶⁹. 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

⁶⁷ SICA, 2006: 24-25.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ *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 Council⁷⁰.

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)⁷¹. 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 agencies⁷². 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 Committee⁷³.

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 documents⁷⁴ 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

⁷⁰ *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): 14.

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): p. 13.

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

⁷⁴ '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 Assembly⁷⁵.

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"⁷⁶.

WOSM⁷⁷ 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"⁷⁸. 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 politics⁷⁹. 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 YWCA⁸⁰, together with the Red Cross⁸¹ (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

⁷⁵ 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.

⁷⁶ *Scouting and the United Nations*, (A2): 41.

⁷⁷ "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.

⁷⁸ "International Education Kit" (A2), Section 3, p. 1.

⁷⁹ *Scouting and the United Nations* (A2): 40.

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

⁸¹ 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 generations⁸². 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 Algeria⁸³. 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 associations⁸⁴. In the end, though, it was not held because of government stability problems.

⁸² Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005.

⁸³ 'Scouting and the Humanisation of Globalisation' (A2).

⁸⁴ '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*⁸⁵

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"⁸⁶.

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 their 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"⁸⁷

⁸⁵ '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.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 3.

⁸⁷ *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?"⁸⁸

The next International Scout Conference, held in Switzerland in 1926, adopted as standard a series of resolutions⁸⁹ 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"⁹⁰.

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"⁹¹.

*b) The Emancipation of Young Africans to Combat HIV/AIDS*⁹²

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

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 15.

⁸⁹ 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.

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

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

⁹² 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 "Panafrican 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 submitted⁹³.

*c) Scouting and the World Bank: Learning to Work Together*⁹⁴

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 politics⁹⁵. 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.

⁹³ Bertrand, 2004.

⁹⁴ 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).

⁹⁵ 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"⁹⁶

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"⁹⁷.

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

⁹⁶ 'Strategy News: World Scouting and the World Bank (A2).

⁹⁷ '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"⁹⁸.

d) *Scouts of the World*⁹⁹

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) 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

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

⁹⁹ 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 past¹⁰⁰. A circular from Jacques Moreillon, the then Secretary General of WOSM presenting Scouts Australia's publication *Scouting: The Way to Success*¹⁰¹, 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* book¹⁰². 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

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

¹⁰¹ *Scouting: The Way to Success*, Scouts Australia, Victoria, 1997.

¹⁰² 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 1991¹⁰³. 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"¹⁰⁴.

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 countries¹⁰⁵.

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

¹⁰³ 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.

¹⁰⁴ 'WSPU, World Scout Parliamentary Union' (A2).

¹⁰⁵ 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"¹⁰⁶.

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 Union¹⁰⁷.

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 world¹⁰⁸. 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 earlier¹⁰⁹, 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".

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

¹⁰⁷ 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 4th General Assembly* (A2): p. 21).

¹⁰⁸ 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

¹⁰⁹ 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 scale¹¹⁰:

- [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 organizations¹¹¹.

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'¹¹². 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 community¹¹³.

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.

¹¹⁰ "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 2nd General Assembly (A2)*: p 31-37.

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

¹¹² Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1999.

¹¹³ *WSPU: 3rd 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 communities¹¹⁴.

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"¹¹⁵.

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"¹¹⁶.

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-free¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7-11 (the italics are mine).

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

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

¹¹⁷ WSPU: *Final report of the 2nd 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 responded¹¹⁸.

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 WSPU¹¹⁹.

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"¹²⁰.

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.

¹¹⁸ 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.

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

¹²⁰ WSPU: *Final report of the 2nd 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"¹²¹, 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".

¹²¹ 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 ..." ¹²²). 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

¹²² 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 positions¹²³.

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

¹²³ UNDP, 1995.

to all, thirteen years before the end of apartheid brought in by President De Klerk¹²⁴.

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 confirmed¹²⁵. 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 discrimination¹²⁶, 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

¹²⁴ WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, March 1992.

¹²⁵ "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 Aguafrèdda (5th August 2006), organizer of the talk, written for young Roverway participants.

¹²⁶ 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 system¹²⁷, 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"¹²⁸.

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 homosexuality¹²⁹. 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:

¹²⁷ INGLEHART and WELZEL 2005: 134.

¹²⁸ WOSM, 2006: 78-79.

¹²⁹ 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"¹³⁰.

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*¹³¹, 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 important¹³². 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"*¹³³.

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

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

¹³¹ TRA BACH, HUBERMAN and SULSER, 1995.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 209.

¹³³ *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*"¹³⁴.

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"¹³⁵.

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"¹³⁶.

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:

¹³⁴ TRA BACH, HUBERMAN and SULSER, 1995: 213-214.

¹³⁵ PARSONS, 2004: xiv, xii.

¹³⁶ 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*"¹³⁷.

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"¹³⁸.

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"¹³⁹.

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.

¹³⁷ BADEN-POWELL, 1912, 162 (the italics are mine).

¹³⁸ TRA BACH, HUBERMAN and SULSER, 1995, 215.

¹³⁹ 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 world¹⁴⁰.

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

¹⁴⁰ 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 fees¹⁴¹. 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 budget¹⁴².

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"¹⁴³.

So, male Scouting in the United States has always been an integral part of the institution that sponsors it in each case¹⁴⁴. 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,

¹⁴¹ '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.

¹⁴² 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].

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

¹⁴⁴ 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 1913¹⁴⁵ – 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 did¹⁴⁶. 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".¹⁴⁷

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"¹⁴⁸.

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 members¹⁴⁹. BSA's

¹⁴⁵ MECHLING, 2001: 36.

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

¹⁴⁷ "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].

¹⁴⁸ "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].

¹⁴⁹ 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 growth¹⁵⁰. 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 reason¹⁵¹. 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* case¹⁵². 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 law¹⁵³.

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 membership¹⁵⁴.

Despite the social pressure¹⁵⁵, 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

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], consulted on 1st July 2006].

¹⁵⁰ APPLEBONE, 2003: 310-311.

¹⁵¹ MECHLING, 2001: 35-36.

¹⁵² *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].

¹⁵³ '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], consulted on 1st July 2006].

¹⁵⁴ 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).

¹⁵⁵ "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"¹⁵⁶.

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 protection¹⁵⁷. 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 YMCA¹⁵⁸, 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 America¹⁵⁹. 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"¹⁶⁰.

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

¹⁵⁷ MECHLING, 2001: 213, 215-216.

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

¹⁵⁹ MACLEOD, 1983.

¹⁶⁰ *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 1950¹⁶¹.

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 countries¹⁶². 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

¹⁶¹ *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].

¹⁶² 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* association¹⁶³.

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"¹⁶⁴.

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.

¹⁶³ MANAHAN, 1997.

¹⁶⁴ 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 – decide¹⁶⁵. 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"¹⁶⁶.

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 criteria¹⁶⁷.

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-

¹⁶⁵ SUNDER, 2001: 529-531.

¹⁶⁶ SUNDER, 2001: 500-502.

¹⁶⁷ MECHLING, 2001: 214.

American, Latino and Asian communities, and 92% of these came from single-parent families¹⁶⁸. 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.

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

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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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CHAPTER 6. THESIS SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. THESIS SUMMARY

2. CONCLUSIONS

1. THESIS SUMMARY

This thesis shows, through an analysis of World Scouting, that citizenship education based on civic and inclusive values can combine the nurturing of loyalty to one's national community with the sense of global belonging. World Scouting, the subject of the case study, is an educational movement that was formalized into a world organization in 1920 and which, since then, has educated many generations in responsible and committed citizenship in 165 countries on six continents. The term "World Scouting" refers to a movement made up of two organizations: the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM), founded in 1920, and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), set up in 1928. With almost 30 million child and youth members, they represent the biggest worldwide non-formal education movement. Moreover, they are based on the same principles and were founded by the same person (the British Robert Baden-Powell) with the aim of educating in responsible citizenship, which they achieve with a combination of local-based activity, national identity and a sense of global belonging through living with diversity. The thesis shows that World Scouting was formalized on the basis of the principles and organizational system of the *League of Nations*, principles of international legitimacy and a commitment to peace to which the two organizations of World Scouting (WOSM and WAGGGS) have remained loyal since their formalization.

In the *Theoretical Framework and Earlier Studies* chapter, I have analysed the foundations of the concept of citizenship in its modern sense and the different meanings of the civic duties that citizens should have in a liberal democracy. I then deal with the civic values needed to establish a harmonious democratic existence and discuss the notion of citizenship education in greater detail. I subsequently show how the nation-state as a framework for citizenship has changed significantly with globalization and I deal with the '*demos*' to which citizenship refers, from the logic of national identity and the obligations we can derive from it to multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism and the concept of 'global citizenship'. In the second part, I reveal the scope and limitations of earlier studies and stress the virtual non-existence of research on World Scouting as a subject, whereas there is a great deal of research on the Scout Movement before its world formalization in 1920 or research on Scouting in the corresponding countries that consequently suffers from methodological nationalism. I explain why we cannot refer to World Scouting as a clearly demarcated subject before 1920 and make the point that many of the scholarly debates on Scouting in the first half of the century are essentially debates on early British Scouting. Lastly, I outline the main features of the only prior research on World Scouting (NAGY, 1967), and two sociological research works based on case studies of WOSM associations, which I have used as a basis to develop the different approaches of the thesis.

Origins and Historical Consistency

Scouting came about following a methodological idea for training citizens in the British Empire in 1908, as set out in the book *Scouting for Boys* written by the army officer, Robert Baden-Powell. As a result of its instant success, a British association was established for boys in 1909 and another was set up for girls in 1910. Initially, the idea aimed only to serve the ideal of the British Empire and was closely linked to the threat of war with Germany and the necessary preparations for this. However, the idea spread quickly and spontaneously to Western countries, their colonies, and to America and Asia, adapting to the different contexts as it spread. During World War I, under the moral authority of Baden-Powell, the movement came upon currents of educational renewal such as Maria Montessori's method and made an inseparable commitment to the ideas of peace culture, open access without discrimination on the grounds class, creed, or origins, and the understanding between countries and universal fraternity, deliberately linking itself with the principles of the League of Nations.

Although Scouting was an educational idea in 1907, and despite the fact that there were many associations using the name 'Scout' outside England before and after World War I, World Scouting as a subject did not exist until the Boy Scouts International Bureau was set up in 1920. We can talk of World Scouting after the creation of this democratic international organization under the moral leadership of Baden-Powell, the aim of which was to educate citizens both in national loyalty and with a sense of international belonging that emulated and constitutionalized the ideals and operation of the League of Nations. The same occurred with the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) for girls, which also began activities in 1920 and was formally constituted in 1928, under the guidance of Robert Baden-Powell and the leadership of his wife, Olave.

The institutionalization of World Scouting and its ability to recognize associations based on their principles also meant that the world organizations had to decide on relevant political aspects, such as the weighting of countries in the voting system, the management of Scout refugees, the integration of immigrants, or its stance on the excluding nationalist movements that emerged chiefly in the 1930s, all in a context without a tradition of multilateral cooperation. The communist regimes of the Soviet Union and China and the fascist regimes of Germany, Italy, and Spain all banned Scouting, and it is still banned today in communist countries.

After World War II and the death of Robert Baden-Powell in 1941, World Scouting entered a new phase, with the Cold War, decolonizing processes, and increasing awareness in developing countries, where Scouting played a very important social role. The true globalization of the movement, however, took place at the end of the 1960s. It was also around this time that the Boy Scouts International Bureau changed its name to the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) – a terminology used by WAGGGS since it was founded. During this period, a number of countries began to merge their WAGGGS and WOSM associations, while WOSM associations opened their doors to girls in others. Even so, the latter did not really take off until the end of the 1990s.

The legacy of decolonization required World Scouting to reformulate its concept of service to society and link it to the concept of development cooperation, a policy that it eagerly launched in the 1970s and which reinforced the international logic of the movement. World Scouting has formed numerous partnerships with diverse United Nations agencies on issues such as childhood, young people, women, education, peace, culture, development, the environment, human rights, health, work, agriculture, and AIDS. The first UNESCO *Prize for Peace Education* (1981) was awarded to WOSM.

The last entry of new countries came with the fall of the Berlin wall and the communist regimes in 1989, which brought twenty-three countries to World Scouting in just over a few years. However, this process led to intense competition between WOSM and WAGGGS while, ironically, their two European regions decided to merge into a single conference, with a single committee, and a single bureau. This set-up only lasted for three years, until 1998, when the decision was reversed and the two organizations began to mark out their own specific profiles, although they have continued to work together, particularly on public announcements and initiatives carried out since 1997 through the Alliance of CEOs of international organizations for youths or which support the conditions of young people.

World Scouting's education for citizenship emerged in the early twentieth century, in the context of a nationalism that combined state, nation and society, reinforced by sociological elements such as the emergence of 'youth' as a separate stage, the extension of the concept of leisure or free time and greater appreciation of nature and the countryside as opposed to life in the industrial city. The democratic context of Great Britain and the moralism of its Victorian society also imbued the origins of the Scout Movement. Between 1908 and 1920, the formulation of Scouting underwent an ideological evolution in four areas that underpin the constitution of World Scouting: the link to the discourse on active education; emphasis on openness and individual criteria; international vocation, and the commitment to peace.

Nonetheless, the concept of citizenship in World Scouting has constantly suffered from the tension between the interpretation that active citizenship defends the established values and institutions and the interpretation which holds that active citizenship must transform social reality when it is unjust. Within the movement's principles, which are opposed to any sort of discrimination on grounds of origin, race, class, culture or creed and are committed to the principles of the League of Nations, both tendencies have been witnessed in the Scouting of different countries in a way that has a great deal in common with the social circumstances of the country in question: whether or not there is a democratic regime, whether or not human rights are protected, etc. Hence, the concept of "responsible citizen" was added to the purpose of the Scout Movement, which goes a step beyond that of "active" citizen in assuming that responsible citizens have the ability to analyse, apply their own criteria and distinguish what is positive from what is negative.

The global dimension of citizenship in World Scouting takes on greater importance when we consider that the movement's idea of social involvement has four progressive lines that mark out a logic of service to the community as an

educational tool with actions from local to global level: community service, community development, development education and development cooperation. Although this logic forms part of the educational methodology of the movement, over the last twenty years, the world organizations have opted for greater involvement in the issues on the global agenda that affect it the most, notably through alliances with other youth organizations: non-formal education, youth policies, the promotion of women, the situation in Africa and AIDS or the participation of young people. More recently, there has also been a gradual commitment to advocacy by the world organizations on these topics.

Ideological Consistency

World Scouting is a movement aimed at educating young people to become citizens based on a series of defining characteristics, shared principles, and a unique method. It is formalized into two international organizations: the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS). The ideological consistency of World Scouting is based on a series of essential characteristics established democratically on an international scale, which have been revised over time and apply to all of its members and components. The essential characteristics include the definition of association, the purpose and principles, and the method. Although these components have been traditionally established separately, it is the sum of the parts that fully defines the identity of World Scouting in all its diversity. The characteristics are established in the constitutions of the two organizations of World Scouting, WOSM and WAGGGS, though with the difference that WOSM focuses on the education of boys and girls, while WAGGGS specifically addresses the education of girls.

World Scouting is defined as an independent and self-governed movement, institutionally organized into global, national, and local levels; it is addressed to the young, non-partisan, voluntary, open to all, and carries out non-formal education. The elements of this definition set World Scouting apart from other civic organizations but are not free from controversy in themselves. Firstly, the movement's independence is undermined when a government or religious institution sponsors the movement and tries to impose its principles over those of the Scout Movement. 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. Questions have also been raised about the influence of professionals in decision-making, which can condition unpaid volunteers. And last but not least, the aspect of being open to everybody without distinction has been undermined and is undermined in some societies, both when this discrimination is legally established and when the Scout organization gets caught up in moral and cultural considerations and maintains a discriminatory policy.

The purpose, principles, and method of World Scouting, known together as the '*fundamentals*' establish *a*) why it exists (purpose); *b*) what the ethical rules are that govern its existence (principles), and *c*) how it will achieve its purpose

(method). The purpose of World Scouting is the education of young people so that they can reach their full potential as responsible citizens of their community, country, and the world. There is, however, a difference in gender approach between the two world organizations, shown most clearly by the formulation of their purposes: while WOSM talks of “young people”, WAGGGS refers to “girls and young women”.

The principles of World Scouting, which have always been based on the Scout *Promise* and *Law*, can be divided into three areas: the spiritual dimension, which involves seeking out one’s own spirituality; the social dimension, which is a combination of national loyalty and global cooperation, and includes participation in society; and the personal dimension, which is the self-educational element. This triple focus forms the code of conduct that characterizes members of the movement, although its constitutional text leaves room for interpretation. The main policy with spirituality has been to identify it with religion, which has created problems because of the existence of lay associations or the emergence of new associations that want to be lay (although no new lay associations have been recognized for years), and because of the often excessive role of religious confessions in the functioning of Scouting. In the social dimension, the problem lies with the interpretation of the concept of responsible citizenship, particularly in non-democratic countries, and its inconsistency with the concept of being “apolitical”, which is also subject to interpretation. Lastly, the personal dimension is a thorny issue for the Anglo-Saxon and francophone visions because of their interpretations of the Scout educational proposal; while the former focus more on the transfer of skills and abilities, the latest focuses on the construction of a moral universe and the social commitment.

The Scout method is a system of progressive self-education that sets Scouting apart from other non-formal educational movements. With the concept of self-education, each member of the movement is seen to be a unique individual who has a potential to develop and the ability to take on responsibility for his/her own development right from the start. The Scout method consists of an interdependent group of seven educational elements that form an integrated and unified whole; each element has an educational function that complements the effect of the others: learning by doing; interaction between young people and educators; working in small groups; outdoor activities; symbolism; progressive self-development; and shared principles and commitment to oneself.

One of the most distinctive aspects of World Scouting is that its local action is carried out on the basis of a set of global principles, purposes, operation, and organizational system. It operates as a movement through a network of local groups – Scout groups – in the charge of unpaid volunteers who also believe in the principles and purpose of the movement; the volunteers are supported by national associations and there is no channel for the immediate application of national or international guidelines at local level. Since the idea of Scouting as a *movement* is greater than that of Scouting as an *organization*, it can avoid a hierarchical system of ideological control both nationally and internationally. Scouting uses a network model that promotes general shared aims by carrying out joint projects based on the principles. Structurally, it makes decisions at world level (including geographical

macro-regions), national level (which almost always means independent-state level) and, within the latter, local level.

The democratic nature of World Scouting can be seen in its educational method, which is based on the idea of citizenship: it encourages individuals to take on responsibility and promotes life in small groups, like its world organizations. Although democracy is not explicitly constitutionally required in national member organizations (only independence is), the world organizations have recently taken a clear stance on the matter to ensure that democratic practices are applied everywhere, both in its educational action and in the local and national organizational structure.

The Scout group is the basic unit of the World Scouting structure and is where the educational programme is implemented. Scoutmasters or leaders are not paid for their work and the professionalization of support structures is a delicate topic since private interests must be kept from conditioning the educational action of Scouting. Scout groups are often supported by organizations that host or sponsor them, but this support must be disinterested and promote the principles of Scouting – and not use Scouting as a tool to promote the principles of the sponsor organization. With the issue of payment as with that of sponsor organizations, the main point of concern is to guarantee the independence of the movement.

National Scout organizations are the legal subjects of World Scouting. In Scout jurisprudence, the term 'national' is used to refer to independent and internationally recognized states. In some countries, for religious or cultural reasons, a state federation is set up as an umbrella group for the diverse associations that exist in a single state. Only one organization is allowed per state, regardless of whether it is an association or federation. These independent state organizations, run by volunteers, guarantee the standards of the World Scouting principles and methodology. Traditionally relations between national organizations and the world organization went through a figure called the "International Commissioner". However, the exponential growth of direct contact between Scout groups in different countries through the Internet means that the protocols of relations are being reworked. Moreover, the world organizations, besides being bound by their duties to their member organizations, are increasingly seeing individual members as *stakeholders*.

World Scouting is structured in two organisations: WOSM and WAGGGS, and a quarter of their national associations belong to both. Each world organization has its own Conference, Committee, and Bureau. The Conference, which is the supreme governing body, is attended by representatives of all member countries, which all have the same voting rights, and sets down the guidelines of the organization, accepts new members, and selects the committee. The Committee is an executive body that deals with Scout legal issues and applies the lines adopted by the Conference. It is composed of a small number of individual members. Lastly, the Bureau is the permanent secretariat that implements programmes and initiatives on a worldwide and regional scale. One of the main aims of the world structure is to ensure the unity of the movement, in view of its geographical, cultural, and religious diversity.

“Recognition policy” is the name given to the system established by World Scouting to determine who forms part of the movement and who does not. This system allows it to prevent the irregular use of its name and symbols by other organizations, whether by carrying out activities that go against Scout principles or by using Scouting’s prestige in initiatives that do not meet its standard of educational quality or ideological openness. The creation of the two organizations of World Scouting, WOSM and WAGGGS, in the 1920s made it possible for Scout associations to voluntarily submit to a single democratic world authority on Scouting matters, i.e. international legislation that they themselves legislate.

The recognition of World Scouting is an intrinsic part of the Scout identity given that Scouting, apart from its principles and method, needs to be integrated into the world organization, which gives meaning to the combination of citizen education, national loyalty, and global belonging and commitment. The historical development in individual countries, however, has led to confusion between Scouting and movements that call themselves ‘Scout’ movements without actually being so, because the World Scouting recognition procedure is not generally well-known and, hence, not taken into account.

The three main axes allowing us to distinguish between what is and is not Scouting are: (i) the essential characteristics of Scouting; (ii) the promotion of unity, and (iii) the defence of the brand and intellectual property. Firstly, the essential characteristics have given the movement its ideological and organizational basis and established the limits that associations must not ignore if they want to be members of the Scout Movement. Secondly, the promotion of unity is designed to prevent the fragmentation and destabilization of the movement by promoting a single organization in each country. And finally, Scouting’s legal action to prevent the fraudulent use of its identity has focused on the defence of its brand and intellectual property.

The ability to grant or withdraw the recognition of Scout association allows WOSM and WAGGGS to ensure the unity and homogeneity of World Scouting within its diversity. Their respective constitutions establish the corresponding procedures, but the organizations have come up against difficulties over the years both with its definition and implementation. There are three main factors in the generation of associations that call themselves Scouts but do not have recognition. Firstly, the two reasons for which a country is constitutionally justified in having more than one Scout association: culture and religion. And secondly, conflict over the vision of association, based on formal and methodological elements.

The primary factor in divisions is religion and this is due to the decision of various religious confessions to create their own Scout associations, in contrast to the model of open, pluriconfessional associations that now represent 90% of WOSM and WAGGGS member organizations. Associations of a single religion are mainly linked to the Catholic Church, while in other countries there are pastoral committees that have links with their respective confessions. However, Scouting must always be open to everybody regardless of their religious beliefs. Catholic Scout associations and committees have been organized with the recognition of the

Vatican since 1948, with consultative status granted by World Scouting. However, towards the end of the 1950s, the Catholic non-recognized association Scouts d'Europe was founded as a conservative association in Germany and then in France that broke away from recognized Catholic Scouting. *Scouts d'Europe* does not belong to WOSM or WAGGGS and has an international structure, though with few members (55,000 members around the world, mainly in France and Italy, while Catholic Scouting in Italy alone has 177,000). In 2003, the Vatican made Scouts d'Europe subject to canon law, which triggered a crisis with recognized Catholic Scouting, since the latter saw the Church as supporting a movement that used the 'Scout' name without meeting the requirements of Scouting. The Statutes of Scouts d'Europe clearly indicate that, unlike recognized Scouting, they are not an open or independent association; they are a tool of the Catholic Church open only to young Catholic Christians.

The second factor in separations, culture, covers two different types. Firstly, cultural or national groups without their own state or without official recognition, including displaced persons. And secondly, associations with a nationalist vision that does not have any international legitimacy or influence from other countries. In the second case, that of excluding nationalism, countries such as Great Britain, France, and the United States have all had associations that went against the international dimension of Scouting over the years, and in some cases, they stopped using the name 'Scout'. In the first case (groups without a state), World Scouting recognized associations for groups of exiles from Armenia and Russia in the 1920s. After World War II, however, this policy changed and no other exiled group was recognized. There are exceptions, however: associations that represent a territory or cultural group – Belgium, with its Flemish and Walloon communities, Bosnia Herzegovina, Canada and the French-speaking community, Denmark and the Faeroe Islands and Greenland, Spain with the Catalan federation, and Israel. There are also three territorial exceptions: Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Palestine, of which only the latter is a clear case of the "exceptional" recognition of a non-state national community.

The third factor in separations, the conflict over the vision of association, is caused by discrepancies in Scout associations between the argument that associative cultures change, sometimes for the better, and the argument that denies an organization legitimacy to change any of what it considers its founding elements. Generally, the divisions caused by this factor are from the sector that rejects change, as in the case of Great Britain. In 1996, a number of splinter associations that sought "loyalty" to "Baden-Powell's Scouting" set up the World Federation of Independent Scouts so that associations calling themselves Scouts without belonging to World Scouting could have an international federation to carry out exchange activities. The only requirements for membership are "not belonging to any other world organization" and "to follow and use Baden-Powell's original programme, and the traditions, uniforms, morality, ethics, and structure established in his *Scouting for Boys*". It is estimated that the federation has 30,000 members worldwide, mainly in Great Britain, while the British WOSM association alone has 500,000 members. Another case is that of the United States, where groups that oppose the discriminatory policy towards homosexuals and atheists of the Boy Scouts of America – a WOSM member – have opted to set up pressure

groups due to the legal impossibility in the US of creating another association using the 'Scout' name.

The recognition policy of WOSM and WAGGGS does not contemplate a classification of associations that call themselves Scouts without belonging to World Scouting; instead it groups them all into the same category of "unrecognized Scouting". However, this expression implies that, in a sense, associations that call themselves Scouts without belonging to World Scouting are also Scouting associations, albeit not "recognized". To solve this problem, I suggest classifying associations that call themselves Scouts without belonging to World Scouting into three groups: "competitor parascouting", "provisional parascouting", and "false scouting". "Competitor parascouting" would cover associations that meet the essential characteristics of Scouting but which are in a country that already has recognized Scouting, and they do not want to form part of it. "Provisional parascouting" would cover associations that meet the essential characteristics of Scouting but which are in a country without recognized Scouting, though for some reason, usually their embryonic state, they cannot yet form part of World Scouting. And finally, "false Scouting" would cover associations that consciously reject or breach the essential characteristics of Scouting, including those required to form part of World Scouting, and are thus refused membership. There are three false Scouting subtypes. Firstly, when the principles of the sponsoring association are placed above the principles of World Scouting, as occurs with the *Scouts d'Europe*. The second, where loyalty to "original Scouting" (with a rather subjective interpretation) generates a model that opposes the principles of inclusiveness, openness, and the sense of global belonging, which are characteristic of World Scouting. And the third, when the Scouting image is used to justify the development of youth movements by governments or political parties.

World Dimension

The statistical analysis of the current world Scouting censuses (2003) uses a database created from the sum of the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses of all countries for 2003 and data from the United Nations Population Fund for three age ranges (5 to 19 years of age), also for all countries. Although the database deals with the countries individually for each year, this study only deals with the results for continental regions. The list of member countries is reliable because it is checked at the world conferences, which are held every three years. Conversely, the censuses are the only existing proof of the number of Scouts in the world but we cannot confirm their reliability since they are linked to the payment of fees. This leads us to believe that the real censuses could actually be greater.

The definition of individual "member" is also not always the same: countries with a very high census, such as Indonesia and the United States have "associate members" or children that take part in extracurricular activities organized by Scouting. By including these, Indonesia's count swells to 8 million members. With the analysis of age ranges (child, adolescent and youth), the division of ages into groups is far from uniform across the diverse Scout associations, so the categories are only approximate. Lastly, the gender analysis has the added difficulty that it

constitutes extra information in the WOSM census, so not all countries answer and, in all events, the data on gender is not broken down by age group.

World Scouting is officially present in 83% of existing independent states and this percentage does not fall lower than 73% on any continent, with the single exception of Oceania, where, because of the number of micro-states, it is only present in 38.5% of all independent states. WOSM has a greater geographical presence than WAGGGS on all continents but the two organizations complement each other. World Scouting is present in 13 of the 15 countries of the world with the highest population counts and in 63 of the 80 with over ten million inhabitants. Of the 165 national member associations of World Scouting, Africa is the leading region with 28% of member countries. It is followed by Europe and Asia with 24.2% and 23%, respectively, and North America with 13.9%. South America and Oceania represent 7.3% and 3.6% of the total. These percentages, which do not vary substantially between WOSM and WAGGGS, are significant because of their consequences for decision-making: the national associations vote at the World Conference, so countries in Africa and Asia account for more than half of the total.

If we do not count leaders and adults, World Scouting has 26.7 million members, of whom just 6.6 million are WAGGGS members, and 7.2 of the 20 million WOSM members are from Indonesia. Regardless of whether we include Indonesia, Asia is the region with most World Scouting members, followed by North America, Europe and Africa – in WAGGGS, North America is the leader. South America and Oceania have fewer than 200,000 members in total. Although WOSM generally has considerably more members than WAGGGS, the two are almost level in North America and Europe. When we compare the census data to the youth population of each country to find out the density, we see that 151 out of every 10,000 children/young people around the world are World Scouting members; this same ratio is 520 out of every 10,000 in North America, 161 in Oceania, 149 in Europe and 127 in Asia (excluding the census of Indonesia and the population of China). Africa and South America bring up the rear with 39 and 19. There are differences, then, between the number of countries, the total number of membership and density: Oceania has few members and represents few countries, but its density is higher than Europe. Africa has the most countries but a fairly low density.

If we analyse the data by age range, the members of World Scouting are aged mainly between 10 and 14 years (12.1 million), followed by children aged 5 to 9 years (10.7 million), and just 3.8 million members are between the ages of 15 and 19 years. In all continental regions, the biggest age group is that of adolescents aged 10 to 14, except for North America and Europe, where there are more children. On all continents, the youth age range (15-19) is the smallest, although this figure is very close to the child age group in Africa. If we compare the census to the 5-19 years age group of the United Nations, the densities in the adolescent and child age ranges are higher on aggregate (worldwide, 200 adolescents out of every 10,000, 177 children out of every 10,000). In North America, these figures increase to 688 children and 669 adolescents, while in Europe and Oceania, 262 and 241 children out of every 10,000 are Scouts. Adolescents register a density of 197 in Asia, 175 in Oceania and 143 in Europe. The youth age range is low throughout the world, though led by North America with 83 and Europe with 62.

In terms of gender, the joint analysis of the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses unexpectedly shows that, despite the numerical difference between the two organizations, the percentage of boys and girls is close to 50% each on three continents: North America, Oceania and Europe; in another two, Africa and South America, the percentages are very close – boys make up 53.8% and 57.2%, respectively. Only in Asia do we find very disproportionate percentages, 70% to 30% in favour of boys, excluding Indonesia, which asserts that it does not have girl members – although it may well have.

In short, these figures show that World Scouting as a whole reaches the majority of countries in the world, on six continents, and that Africa and Asia are majority in its democratic decision-making processes. They also show that WOSM has substantially more members than WAGGGS, although they are level in Europe and North America, and that the world ratio of boy and girl members of World Scouting in the 5 to 19 age group is 151 out of every 10,000. The adolescent age range (10-14 years) is the biggest overall, though Europe and North America have more child members. In gender terms, World Scouting has a balanced impact on girls and boys around the world, with a gap in Asia that has yet to be confirmed.

For the statistical analysis of WOSM's evolution (1920-2004), we must take into account the fact that the analysis of the global evolution of World Scouting was not possible because of the difficulty in obtaining the censuses of WAGGGS. As a result, it only includes the evolution of WOSM. The processed censuses were officially published or are kept in the archives of the World Scout Bureau, sometimes with corrections to the published versions, or – for the 1930s – published by the Scout Association (UK). The only significant gap is between 1939 and 1946, for which no data is available. The processing of this data led to the creation of the 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004'. Although the database deals with the countries individually for each year, this study only deals with the results for continental regions.

The censuses were also broken down by age range from 1968 onwards, omitting figures on leaders and adults, and the sections were organized into the three population ranges of the United Nations. This generated a second database: 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004'. The data was not compared to population data because the latter was not available for all countries but the database does allow for this possibility in the future for the majority. The evolution in country participation in world Scout conferences has also been analysed using data taken from reports submitted by the World Bureau at the respective conferences that has been processed in a third database: 'Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002'. Lastly, the evolution of the participation of youths in world Jamborees was also analysed using a database created by the World Scout Bureau.

For the analysis of the evolution in member countries, when we contrasted this information with independent states (Correlates of War), we saw a parallel evolution between the emergence of new states and the increase in the number of WOSM member states: while in 1922 there were 63 independent states around the

world, of which 36 (50.7%) had recognized Scout associations, in 1937 this later figure had risen to 67% (52 countries). Following a gap during World War II, there was a constant increase from 1959 onwards, initially because of decolonization and subsequently because of the fall of the communist regimes, with this figure reaching 78% in 2004: in 82 years, the number of independent states increased from 63 to 192 and the number of WOSM national Scout associations rose from 36 to 154. This steady growth rate has been experienced by all continental regions.

If we compare this growth with the number of members, we see a constant increase up until the mid-1970s, when membership figures level off. The problem with the analysis is that it uses raw data that has not been contrasted with the evolution of the world population, so it is difficult to tell whether this increase runs parallel to a population increase. This constant evolution increases from 1.3 million in 1924 to almost 14 million in 1974. From this time on, the figure oscillates between 14 and 18 million, with substantial variations in the 1990s caused by Indonesia, the Philippines and the United States: it reaches 22.7 million in 2004 after a spontaneous peak of 28 million in 1999, for which the censuses of Indonesia and the United States were mainly responsible. If we break the information down by continental region, we see that the increase in the world census is brought about mainly by Asia and North America, with insignificant increases in other regions and with Europe in particular dropping towards the end of the 1990s, though Africa records a slight increase that has remained constant since the 1970s. The census development indicates that, while Europe and North America initially represented the majority of the WOSM census, Asia took over from Europe after the 1960s and joined North America as one of the two regions with the highest proportion of the total census.

When we break down the evolution of the census after 1968 into the three age ranges (child, 5-9; adolescent, 10-14; youth, 15-19), we see that the current distribution has not varied significantly. For 36 years, the adolescent and child age ranges remain very level; in fact, the child age range was slightly ahead until the late 1990s, when the adolescent age range became the biggest one. Youths have always been the minority age group. An analysis by continental regions shows that this is also true of Asia, South America and Oceania. In Africa, where the adolescent range is by far the biggest age group – and growing – the child and youth ranges have always been very much head to head. In Europe, however, the child age range has always been the biggest and has become even stronger since the 1980s. In North America, the child range was also the main age group until 1999, when the adolescent range took over as leader.

The analysis of national associations that have taken part in world Scout conferences shows, firstly, that the number of countries attending increases in parallel with the increase in member countries and that, secondly, an important change has taken place in the proportions of continental regions. Country participation in conferences has been very irregular and we cannot detect any uniform behaviour; one possible factor in this could be the geographical location of the conferences, allowing for increased participation of countries from the region in which it was organized. The analysis of percentages shows that European countries were clearly in the majority at world Scout conferences until the 1950s. In the

1950s, Asia caught up to Europe, and Africa followed its example in the 1970s. Since then, Scout associations from these three continental regions have had the biggest say at world Scout conferences.

Lastly, the study of participation in the adolescent international camps or World Scout *Jamborees* has only taken into account countries and not the numbers of participants, since these figures were not available for every year. As with the conferences, the venue of Jamborees has allowed for greater participation from associations in the region in question, which has produced mixed results in the regional breakdowns. Nonetheless, the number of countries attending has increased in parallel with the increase in the number of WOSM member countries, both on aggregate and broken down by region. In terms of percentages, most of the countries attending up until the mid-1950s were from Europe; it shared this leadership with Asia until the 1970s and then with African countries from the 1970s to date, with North and South America hot on their heels. When we analyse the figures available on adolescent participants, we see that a handful of countries contributed the majority of individuals for the period overall: the United States and United Kingdom (which together account for 25% of all participants of all Jamborees), followed by France, Canada and Japan. Of the other countries with the most participants, eight of the nine with over 3% of the total percentage were, at some point, the organizers of a world Scout Jamboree, with the single exception of Germany.

To sum up, the data on WOSM's historical evolution show that the World Organization of the Scout Movement has witnessed an increase in its national member associations parallel to the increase in the number of independent states around the world, with similar growth rates for all continental regions. The increase in individual members was also constant from its origins up until the 1970s, when it levelled off. This growth took place mainly in Asia and North America. Given that we cannot contrast the data with the real population census, it was analysed as raw data, without taking into account the development of the population. Analysis of the age ranges after 1968 shows that adolescents make up the biggest age group and the youth category has always been weak, except in Europe, where the child range has always been the biggest, and North America, where this was the case until 1999. If we look at participation in world conferences, we see that associations in Europe led the way until the 1950s, when they were joined by Asia, which became the joint leader with Africa from the 1970s onwards. We see a similar development in the participation of countries in world Jamborees, though the majority of adolescents who attended came from a handful of countries.

Global Citizenship Education

The shared elements of World Scouting are 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 national 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, state

interest, religious identity and beliefs, gender identity, civil rights and social progress. All those elements are on the grounds of the main causes of conflict in the twentieth century are: imperialism, self-determination, xenophobia and racism, the separation of church and state, religious conflict and fundamentalism, the founding of pluralist societies with no single definition of good and bad, mass migration, discrimination on grounds of gender or sexual orientation and the struggle against social inequalities.

Although World Scouting's citizenship education values have seemingly defended sociopolitical stability in the past – support for the established political order in each country, alliances with the legitimate institutions of authority, ensuring that social values and norms prevail and not overstepping limits – Scouting's citizenship education has also been a source of civil resistance against a social order deemed to be unfair: standing up to discrimination under colonization, opposing racial segregation, resisting dictatorships, overcoming armed conflict between countries, campaigning against the discrimination of women and even challenging homophobia.

World Scouting promotes global citizenship, a concept that is descriptive and aspirational rather than normative: on the one hand, it describes how citizens all over the world are affected by issues that extend 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. The values of global citizenship promoted by World Scouting are implemented in practices carried out locally by Scout groups, although the lack of sufficient comparative literature on these actions means that it is difficult to detect case studies that have already taken place. We can confirm the coherence between values and practices using the three main aspects of global citizenship: peace culture and human rights, sustainable development, and the legitimization of international institutions.

The *peace culture and human rights* aspect goes further than the idea of peace as the absence of war: World Scouting understands peace to be a dynamic process of collaboration between states and peoples, based on respect for freedom, independence, sovereignty, equality, the law and human rights, and a fair and equitable distribution of resources to cover peoples' needs. World Scouting's contribution to peace extends to an understanding between individuals, communities and cultures, a commitment to social justice and development and to interreligious dialogue, as shown in the five case studies described: peace in the African Great Lakes; social harmony between the British and the Irish in Northern Ireland; the project with the Gypsy minority in Slovakia; the project for integration of juvenile delinquents in Hong Kong, and the post-war exchange between Serbians, Croatians and Muslims in Bosnia.

The *community development* aspect centres on the vocation to serve the community, the main citizenship education tool used by Scouting. This logic of serving the community has been scaled from local to global level in four areas: community service, community development, development education and development cooperation. The idea slots in alongside World Scouting's commitment to the environment and, hence, to sustainable development. The benefits for the

countries involved lie in the long-term educational effect, rather than in the development of the community itself. The description of five case studies allows us to compare and contrast values and practices in this area: the Scout extension project in Kenya with British and Canadian Scouts; the joint programme on disabilities by Scout associations in Pakistan and Nepal; a list of cooperation activities carried out by associations in the Arab region with international institutions; the solidarity project with children from Chernobyl in 1990 and 1991, and the initiative to break internal barriers to halt the increase of gangs in El Salvador.

The third of these aspects, the *legitimation of international institutions*, surfaces with the formalization of World Scouting. Committed as it was to the *League of Nations*, Scouting imitated the League's organizational model and also had close ties with it. When the United Nations Organization was founded, WOSM and WAGGGS were given consultative status with ECOSOC (the United Nations Economic and Social Council), followed by the new general consultative status in 1998. World Scouting is also present on the consultative committees of diverse United Nations organizations and agencies, and regularly cooperates with a dozen agencies, including UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO, FAO and UNHCR. World Scouting's collaboration with the United Nations system has three challenges: firstly, that these relations are only meaningful insofar as they enhance the quality of Scouting's educational work, its *raison d'être*; secondly, that these relations must allow young people to participate in national and world decision-making processes, and thirdly, that it must have a potential influence as a civil organization on the evolution of the policies and structures of world governance. Both world organizations also form part of networks of international associations through which they channel joint actions and methods in order to influence the world's political agenda on issues affecting young people. There are four cases illustrating Scouting practices in this area: the mutual recognition of World Scouting and the *League of Nations* in the 1920s; coordinated action against AIDS in Africa; the joint project with the World Bank, and lastly, the *Scouts of the World* project in the framework of the UN Millennium Development Goals.

Yet another contribution to the concept of global citizenship is that made by ex-Scout parliamentarians through the World Scout Parliamentary Union (WSPU), founded by WOSM in 1991. WSPU is the international umbrella organization for National Scout Parliamentary Associations, which are inter-party in nature. Its aims are: to establish ties and cooperation between Scout Parliamentary Associations and help create new ones; to promote friendship among Scout parliamentarians around the world; to work with WOSM on areas of mutual interest, including relationships with government institutions, and to foster the development of Scout associations in their countries. The structure of WSPU, which has set up Scout Parliamentary Associations in eighty countries, is similar to that of the world Scout organizations. (Boy Scouts of America does not want USA parliamentarians to participate on it). The evolution in the attitudes of the successive WSPU Assemblies is interesting in that they increasingly favour global governance over national sovereignty, as in the need to recognize non-formal education in education policies, the promotion of national youth policies and the boost given to national and international legislative initiatives to support and reinforce the Scout movement.

Over the last eighty years, the inclusive nature of world Scouting has come to blows in the diverse societies where the Scout Movement has taken root with changing mainstream social opinions on issues such as sexual equality, racial discrimination, religious authority or sexual orientation. The institutional characteristics of Scouting have not been exempt from controversy either, extending to the movement's independence when a government or private institution attempts to impose its own principles on the movement. Its non-partisan nature clearly fits the context of democratic societies, where competition between parties at elections is regulated, but this is a very grey area in non-democratic societies and countries with theocratic regimes or dictatorships. The reason for this conflict of values is, first of all, that Scouting cannot disassociate itself from its sociocultural environment; moreover, its 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. Highlighting this contrast, one sociological study on the educational impact of Scouting maintains that young Scouts filter the coherence of the values both from the example of the leader and from their official formulation by the association.

The values are not therefore internalized by inculcation or direct transmission: the most influential element in the construction of the values of young Scouts is personal experience and the meaning that the youth gives to his/her experiences, many of which come from within the group. So, if Scouting does not want to become an institution limited to perpetuating predominant social values with a tendency to exclude instead of shifting them towards a more inclusive vision, it must first educate to promote the capacity for autonomous choice and generate personal criteria (essential for educating responsible citizens); secondly, it must do away with the idea that identity is given and accept that cultures and ways of thinking evolve, and that these changes can be positive. Recognizing the plurality within cultures also gives individuals more freedom to build their idea of the world. The case of Boy Scouts of America (USA), which explicitly excludes homosexuals, is clearly influenced by its professional-running system and its sponsorship model, which has allowed religious and ideological groups to impose an inflexible associative cultural vision that has been upheld in court, with as yet unpredictable consequences for the image and social support of the movement in this country.

2. CONCLUSIONS

2.1. Conclusions that can be derived from the hypotheses

Analysis of the case of World Scouting shows that fomenting the sense of global belonging and the ethical and political consequences that derive from this does not conflict with the sense of belonging to one's own national community nor with being rooted in one's local community. On the contrary, local roots and national identity can be tools that contribute to generating a sense of global belonging, in the same way that global citizenship education can contribute to enriching both local action and national belonging with inclusive values of solidarity and peace.

This generic conclusion leads to three specific conclusions on global citizenship education in World Scouting, which I will describe below.

- *World Scouting encourages the connection between individuals and their national communities and between individuals and their conscious and committed global belonging.*

The citizenship promoted by Scouting is based on educational action, which is carried out locally, with a national identity that creates ties of loyalty and with a sense of global belonging that generates moral duties. None of the three levels can stand alone and they all add to a construction of identity that is both enriching and nuanced in the sense that the individual sets the limits of the loyalties and commitments at each level. The educational action takes place at local level, in the Scout group, which is also where service to the community is formulated. The national level, which can also be sub-state (in pluri-national states) or supra-state (e.g. the European Union), provides points of reference on the community with which values and projects are shared, besides symbologies that reinforce the sense of belonging. Lastly, global belonging represents the moral commitment to humanity as a whole, and basically takes the form of active solidarity, the defence of human rights and the promotion of peace. It is the sum of the three levels that constitutes the global citizenship education promoted by World Scouting.

The lack of studies on the real influence of Scouting on social elites (political leaders, entrepreneurs, academics, journalists, association leaders, etc.) makes it hard to know what effect Scouting's education for citizenship has had on the behaviour and ways of thinking of people who have been members of Scouting and who have subsequently become decision-makers or opinion leaders. The existence of a network of Scout parliamentarians that acts as an umbrella for networks in some eighty countries suggests that Scouting has formed part of the educational experience of decision-makers in very diverse societies, though we cannot evaluate its incidence without a more systematic analysis.

World Scouting's interaction at local, national and global level, and its broad-ranging plurality, make it substantially different from other movements and institutions. This interaction distinguishes it from religious confessions which, though cross-border by definition, do not have an inclusive response for society as a whole when it comes to establishing common principles of education for citizenship that respect both the diversity of beliefs and opinions and cultural diversity itself. And it distinguishes Scouting from the big international NGOs because of the force of its local action, which allows Scouting to be seen in many societies on different continents as a local and close-to-home institution, rather than an external and alien organization.

- *World Scouting promotes active citizenship over the view that individuals are passive subjects of their political community.*

The concept of passivity is wholly absent from World Scouting's notion of citizenship education. Since its origins and throughout its history, the fundamental aim of Scouting has been to educate citizens with a vocation for service and a commitment

to improving their environment, which, in a political context, is rendered as a commitment to peace and human rights. This educational action is based on the fact that citizens must be active and responsible for the good of society, which reflects the republican idea of a society in which citizens must have a set of minimum virtues to ensure the smooth running of their common lives. The idea of "active citizenship", however, can have diverse consequences in extreme cases, particularly wars and political conflicts. This is why World Scouting tends to refer to "responsible citizenship", which includes the idea of active citizenship but qualifies it by focusing on the need to be responsible for one's own actions. Given the vast plurality of cultures and religions at the very core of World Scouting, these extreme – and exceptional – cases have produced paradoxical examples, such as the existence of Scouting in relation to Zionism (in the Israeli federation) and Scouting in relation to Hezbollah (in the large Lebanese federation).

World Scouting has traditionally taken liberal-democratic values as read in its understanding of citizenship, even though it has developed in countries with regimes that lack freedoms. This has created a situation whereby, formally, the values of education for citizenship in World Scouting have traditionally defended sociopolitical stability (support for the established political order in each country and alliances with legitimate institutions of authority, ensuring that social values and norms prevail and not overstepping limits). At the same time, however, Scouting's citizenship education action has also been a source of civil resistance or change against social orders deemed to be unjust (standing up to discrimination under colonization, opposing racial segregation, resisting dictatorships or cooperating despite armed conflict between countries). This reaction may be related to the voluntary and unpaid nature of the Scout Movement and to some of its values.

- *World Scouting educates in democratic and inclusive citizenship as opposed to ideological indoctrination, dogmatism and discrimination.*

The citizenship education action of World Scouting is based on the democratic assumption that every citizen is individually responsible for his/her actions and that the interaction between citizens and their own criteria generates better-governed societies. World Scouting is also based on the idea of non-discrimination on the grounds of origin, class, race or creed. Although this democratic approach has been constant throughout its history, its application in non-democratic societies has led to the development of less explicit forms. Nonetheless, the idea of forming character and educating individuals with their own criteria has always prevailed over indoctrinating movements, such as the military, that do not take into account the individual. In recent years, World Scouting's unequivocal commitment to democracy has increased in parallel to the emergence of liberal democracy as the standard model of political organization around the world.

Although Scouting has always fought against discrimination on grounds of origin, class, race or creed, controversies have arisen in two areas of non-discrimination. The first, which is minor, is agnosticism and atheism; the second, related to matters of sexuality, is more significant. In the first area, agnosticism and atheism, the official position of Scouting has been that Scouts are required to have a belief.

However, there is a growing tendency to see the spiritual dimension as something more than mere religious belief, as has already happened with Buddhism in Scouting. Moreover, there have been lay associations in Scouting since the early years that do not require their Scout members to express a belief and, despite this fact, no studies have concluded that their educational action is inferior to that of confessional associations. We must also remember that Scouting is present in societies where it is not possible to abandon one's religion, as in some Islamist regimes. However, the potential conflict in Scout associations linked to religious confessions has been suggested, in the sense that the principles of the confession can be imposed over those of Scouting. The second area, sexuality, is not so far removed from the first: homosexuality, contraception, divorce and abortion are all controversial issues that question the traditional family structure and, while many societies have established them as rights, others still use moral and religious arguments to heavily penalize them. The position adopted by Scouting on these issues is that they depend on the situation of each national society.

Gender inequality, whereby women are discriminated against to the benefit of men, is a constant in most world societies according to UN studies and it is a source of controversy in World Scouting. Although the two world organizations (WAGGGS and WOSM) formally share the diagnosis of and commitment to a world society without gender inequality, their separate existence came about due to gender difference and this is still the case today. Traditionally, WOSM was been predominantly male but over the last twenty years or so, it has encouraged its associations to become mixed and has adopted coeducation as the focus for eradicating inequality. The main mission of WAGGGS, on the other hand, is the *empowerment* of its girls so that they can play a decisive role in society. The majority of its associations opt to do this by educating only girls – not boys – while other associations develop the mission through coeducation in mixed groups. The debate on which is the best educational option for progressing towards societies free from gender discrimination is still open.

2.2. Conclusions on the Thesis Contributions

- *World Scouting is a clearly defined subject through its constitutionally established characteristics – definition, purpose, principles, method – which are the basis of the procedure for determining who can form part of it because they meet the conditions for membership and who cannot.*

World Scouting was formalized in 1920 as the Boy Scouts International Bureau (WOSM) and in 1928 as WAGGGS; before then, World Scouting did not exist as a differentiated subject. The organizational model adopted by World Scouting at its formalization was the same as that of the League of Nations: legitimate global principles of peace and governance through dialogue and collective debate among countries.

Since its formalization with the creation of an international organization, World Scouting has been a defined subject with democratic governing bodies that establish its principles and operation. This defining of World Scouting as a subject has ensured the movement's past coherence.

World Scouting is a movement that operates as a network of local groups which are organized into national associations belonging to two world organizations. The components of this network are both autonomous of and dependent on the Scout network, the strength of which lies in the consistency of the common values and the voluntary acceptance of the democratic authority of the world organizations in applying these values. Its main characteristics are the voluntary and unpaid participation of Scoutmasters, the voluntary participation of children and youths, ideological consistency and the absence of hierarchical channels of ideological transmission.

World Scouting's recognition policy is essential for preventing the illegitimate use of the idea of Scouting for aims contrary to its principles: indoctrinating, excluding, etc. Religion, culture and vision of association have been the three main sources of divisions, though these have not been particularly relevant.

One important function of the world organizations is to detect when a Scout association transgresses the limits of its organic or ideological independence and puts the freedom of its members at risk. The support of governments, public institutions and religious confessions has helped the Scout movement to grow, but it has also generated points of friction between the principles of Scouting and those of the institutions that have supported it.

➤ *The international character of World Scouting is reinforced by its extensive global presence, ever since its formalization. This international dimension makes World Scouting one of the main non-governmental agents of global citizenship education with a local focus.*

World Scouting is now present on six continents, in 83% of the world's independent states, and it is still banned in communist regimes. It has over 26 million young members and, while adolescents (aged 10-14 years) constitute the largest age group in Asia, Africa and South America, in Europe, North America and Oceania, this position is occupied by children (aged 5-9 years).

The evolution of WOSM between 1920 and 2004 indicates that the number of national Scout associations has grown in parallel to the number of independent countries, though Scouting has always maintained a true world dimension with a significant presence on six continents. This growth has gone hand in hand with an increase in the number of individual members until the current figures were reached.

The geographical representativeness of World Scouting, with a presence on six continents, is also reflected in its global decision-making processes and youth rallies. In decision-making, each country has had in the official level the same weight on World Scouting since its formalization, so regions such as Asia and Africa were important from the outset and decisive after their decolonization. Another thing is what is the real weight of each country in decision-making processes.

The educational impact of Scouting lies in the strength of its principles and the formation of individuals. In this respect, the Scoutmasters carry out the role of companions of the children during their learning process, in which personal experience and the exchange of opinions is what counts. Sociological studies show that the young Scouts put both the example of the Scoutmasters and the official formulation of the values through their personal critical filter to ensure their coherence. The strength of the Scout method allows this process of active education to be carried out in a context of harmonious existence that generates affection, friendship and empathy, in which respect for one's peers and for nature is encouraged through play, group adventures and fun, with happiness as a main goal for success.

- *World Scouting has principles of global citizenship that are accurately established and documented and have implications on its understanding of peace, human rights, development, the environment and the legitimacy of international institutions. These principles are also coherent with the practices carried out around the world.*

World Scouting's principles of global citizenship are established in the constitutions of WOSM and WAGGGS and developed in documents and the resolutions that have been passed over the years. These principles are implemented locally by the Scout groups. The practices of World Scouting and its local networks in peace culture and human rights, development and the legitimation of international institutions are coherent with its principles of global citizenship.

Throughout the twentieth century, World Scouting has fended off attacks from excluding nationalism, totalitarianism and violent and ultra-religious fundamentalism, and it has maintained the historical coherence of its global and inclusive ideals, which promote peace and are based on respect for plurality. In recent years, World Scouting has evolved with globalization and increased ease of communication in order to adopt a greater world commitment.

Incoherencies with respect to the inclusive nature of World Scouting are predominantly due to the potential contradiction between global social values and the prevailing social values in individual countries, particularly those that come up against moral considerations defended by religions. Nonetheless, the historical evolution of these social values indicates that these contradictions can be resolved.

The case of male USA Scouting and its policy of discriminating against homosexuals cannot be considered part of this category since many people both in USA society and in BSA itself are in favour of ending this discrimination, which has not taken place in the female USA association.

2.3. Limitations and Future Research

This research has had the advantage that it was pioneering in several aspects and the disadvantage of having to deal with topics concerning history, principles, statistics and case studies, so its first limitation has been the impossibility of

conducting a more in-depth analysis of each area. However, this plural approach has added to the research and allowed it to be put into context.

The main limitation of the *academic literature* was that no systematic bibliography existed on Scouting. I have focused particularly on literature written in English, mainly because Scouting originated in England, which has produced a lot of research on its origins, but also because of the vitality with which it has been implemented in the United States, where a number of scholarly articles from as early as 1917 deal in detail with the socio-educational aspect of the Scout Movement. Future research could complete this bibliography and study whether the evolution of the principles and foundations of Scouting has led to a loss of the elements held as most important at the turn of the century or whether these have been maintained. My hypothesis is that the most important elements (an open, inclusive and committed education for citizenship) have been maintained.

One particularly interesting research possibility would be to extend the study "The Educational Impact of Scouting" (TRA BACH *et al.*, 1995) to countries outside Europe: for example, to one Arab country, one North-American country, one in Central Africa and one in South-East Asia. This would demonstrate whether the conclusions on the impact of the educational action of Scouting can be extrapolated to the rest of the world. Again, referring to Laszlo Nagy's 'Report on World Scouting' (1967), it would be interesting to see research repeating the surveys originally sent out and comparing the results, and to discuss Nagy's considerations that did not appear in the report on issues such as the need to open up Scouting.

This research was limited in its *historical analysis* by the lack of complete studies on the history of World Scouting that took into account its existence as a subject with the capacity to make decisions and adopt positions, and which covered the last two or three decades. This is a task for the future that could raise many questions: Do the Scout associations of the major powers emulate in Scouting the *realpolitik* practices and the hegemony of their countries on the international stage? Has there been a substantial change in World Scouting's positions after the incorporation of decolonized countries? Have governments put any direct or indirect pressure on World Scouting to influence its public stance on topics on the international agenda or towards other countries?

There are also many possible qualitative research studies, particularly those touching on sociopolitical issues. First of all, there needs to be a systematic comparison of the tensions between values of transformation and values maintaining the status quo, disproving or confirming Timothy Parsons' arguments (2004) that the latter have always been imposed over the former. It would also be very interesting to learn of cases of "*successful Scouts*" – entrepreneurs, journalists, politicians, association leaders – to determine the Movement's social impact and ascertain whether the professional conduct of the latter has been affected by the values in which they were educated: Active or passive citizenship? Inclusive or excluding society? Integration or xenophobia?

A convenient research topic in this same area would be the comparative analyses of associations of Scout parliamentarians, based on the existence of a network such as

the World Scout Parliamentary Union. I had planned to conduct a qualitative survey of all Scout parliamentarians in the British House of Commons and Scout parliamentarians in the Parliament of Catalonia, and to compare the results afterwards. However, I have been unable to do so because of a lack of time and resources. The same survey could be conducted with Scout parliamentarians in non-European legislative chambers to find out what they have in common and where they differ.

The issues of identity, national loyalty and immigration also form a vast field of potential research within the subject of Scouting. Scheidlinger's evocative 1948 article in the *American Sociological Review* describing the confusion of US Scouting when faced with Scout groups formed by Polish exiles, with their own symbols and language, could be repeated in today's multicultural societies with similar questions: Who decides on the vehicular language of Scout groups in multicultural societies? Which national symbols are promoted? Is there a conflict of loyalty between identities?

There is also room for research in the interaction between Scouting and hosting institutions, particularly religious confessions, to observe the conflict of values in increasingly plural societies and to find out which is more influential in educational action: the idea of having one's own criteria or the idea of obeying a religious doctrine. For example, what is the view of Scouts from Catholic groups on issues such as homosexuality or contraception? What happens to Muslim Girl Scouts if they do not agree with the readings of the Koran on the role of women in society? How can we promote individual criteria in societies that do not allow freedom of religious belief? What is the relationship between these contradictions and those that arise when a country wishes to include education for citizenship in its public education syllabus?

On this topic, one of the main limitations of this research has been gender. The difference between the documentation available in WOSM and that available in WAGGGS, including historical, statistical and academic articles, has meant that the issue of gender has been underdeveloped. Although Nielsen (2003) has carried out research on gender in WOSM, there is no in-depth study comparing the different educational approaches to gender equality in World Scouting (WAGGGS and WOSM) and their results, both in education and in organizational models. This is, in fact, the main reason why World Scouting is still divided into two organizations. It would also be very interesting to determine whether there are differentiating consequences for democratic practices and decision-making between an organization run solely by women and an organization run mainly by men, even though they are based on the same model.

Economic analysis was another of the limitations of this research. As I have said, the influence of some countries (mainly the United States) on World Scouting funding – WOSM and WAGGGS – whether in the form of fees or of funds contributed by external support organizations like the World Scout Foundation, is much greater than that of the vast majority. This could have direct or indirect consequences for internal decision-making processes. It would be interesting to analyse the consequences of this influence, the evolution of the budgets in detail

(together with the dependence on this income), similar situations (such as that of the United Nations) and whether organizations of World Scouting have taken or are taking steps to become more independent.

Lastly, the main limitation of the quantitative section of this research has been the absence of past WAGGGS censuses, which would have allowed us to observe its parallel evolution. Nonetheless, the possibility is there for future research. Conversely, the four new databases generated through the collection, processing and validation of WOSM censuses have a great potential use. Due to space limitations and the absence of previous studies, this research only analysed regional blocks. However, the databases break the data down into countries, so other researchers should be able to analyse individual cases or make comparisons in the range of years available and cross reference them with the available population census data in order to determine the real relative evolution. What is more, the fact that the matrix of countries is taken from the Correlates of War Project allows for analyses that compare whether changes in the Scouting census of the various countries have been conditioned by contexts of war or peace (Correlates of War Project database¹) or by whether the regimes of the respective societies were democratic or not (BOIX and ROSATO, 2001²).

To summarize, World Scouting has a vast research potential as an academic subject and only needs academics who can see its quantitative and qualitative relevance and interest.

2.4. Final Considerations

The World Scout movement has a great potential as a research subject in social sciences but this potential has been largely overlooked. Its delimitation through the world organizations WOSM and WAGGGS, its world dimension throughout history and today, and its vast cultural and religious diversity with the common aim of citizenship education make it a unique case among global civil society organizations.

As well as being an excellent subject of study, World Scouting has a great potential in the development of global networks that require the local-global dialogue with points of reference in areas of identity. Scouting is global in its approach and as a whole. It promotes rich and nuanced identities that allow its members to face the world with their values while remaining open to change. It encourages a form of citizenship committed to the immediate environment, as an agent of change that also acts with a global conscience in the common direction of all points of the network.

World Scouting's network operation has been affected by a phenomenon that has not existed for most of its history: the globalization of communications. Since Scouting was founded in 1908 as a result of the reactions of British adolescents to a

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

² Carlos BOIX and Sebastian ROSATO: 'A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes, 1800-1999'. Department of Political Science, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 2001.

publication that conveyed a motivating project, relations between the local points of the Scout network of all countries have been filtered through its national associations. However, the emergence and development of the Internet has given the Scout network its first means of global communication between individual members, which opens up new scenarios.

Nonetheless, because of the wonderful simplicity of its educational procedures, World Scouting is always at risk of confusing the means with the ends, as the educational expert at Columbia, James Russell (1917), pointed out ninety years ago. For while Scouting is at the same time outdoor life, sport, the Internet, serving the community, commitment and games, it is essentially educational action to form the character of young people. And precisely because of this and because the major challenge in our increasingly multicultural and complex societies is education, World Scouting has a very important role to play.

In this context, the difference between the diverse educational options will not be dictated by the services offered or the capacity to answer the obsession for security in Western countries, but by the values learnt. An educational project that is clear on its values, the foundations of its educational action, will give the necessary impetus to youths to learn how to become individuals, to do, to live alongside others and to know. That is to say, to form boys and girls with personal quality, a critical outlook and the capacity to interpret situations. In short, to form citizens. If the educational proposal is solid, the importance will lie in honesty, coherence and the perception of the educational action.

From the outset, Scouting has considered the unpaid participation of its educators and the voluntary membership of its children and youths to be fundamental and non-negotiable. This, together with its principles, has had a source of legitimacy and great potential for educational action. Some scholars (Skocpol, 2003) point to an increase in the decline of civil-society organizations based on permanent members and a local presence, to the benefit of institutions with scarce participation run by professionals and which only request financial support. Such a circumstance could seriously affect the model of World Scouting.

Hence, it is coherent to affirm Scouting's validity as a space for citizenship education that complements and is different to schooling if we believe in the importance of civil society as a means of reinforcing democracy – as opposed to markets or governments. However, if Scouting is to avert this waning trend affecting associations based on stable members in many countries, it must be able to see beyond its practices, to confirm the potential of its educational action and to adapt it to new realities and needs, as it has done throughout its history. It must be careful with discriminatory tendencies and, more importantly, prevent the institutions that support it – either directly or indirectly – from imposing a view of society that replaces Scouting's commitment to an inclusive co-existence and freedom of criteria that define it. If it can do this, it will be able to continue playing an important role in the future of many societies, just as it has done throughout the twentieth century.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 5: DATA SETS (CD-ROM)

- 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004'
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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEWS

This document lists the interviews or meetings held with heads of World Scouting for the preparation of this thesis and which have proved relevant to the latter. They are listed in alphabetical order and indicate the date and venue. Nonetheless, the statements made in this thesis are the sole responsibility of its author.

- Raül Adroher, member of the ad-hoc working group of the European Guide and Scout regions (WAGGGS and WOSM) on Spiritual Development in Scouting and Guiding (1986-89).

Barcelona, 21st December 2004 and 24th February 2005; Florence, 12th August 2006.

- Atif Abdelmageed, Director of the Arab Scout Region, WOSM.

Florence, 12th August 2006.

- Richard Amalvy, Director of Image and Communication of the World Scout Bureau (WOSM).

Geneva, 9th, 10th and 11th of April 2006, and 14th February 2006.

- Jean-Luc Bertrand former Director of Development of the World Scout Bureau (WOSM).

Geneva, 9th April 2005.

- Dominique Bénard, Deputy Secretary General of WOSM (Youth Programme).

Geneva, 14th March 2005 and 13th February 2006.

- Lesley Bulman, Executive Director of WAGGGS (1997-2006).

London, 5th April 2005.

- Barbara Calvi, former Vice-President of the Europe Region WAGGGS.

Florence, 12th August 2006.

- Jean Cassaigneau, Deputy Secretary General of WOSM (events).

Geneva, 9th April 2005 and 1st June 2005.

- Mark Clayton, former Director for Communication of the World Scout Bureau (WOSM) and ex-staff of Boy Scouts of America.

Geneva, 13th February 2006 and 15th September 2006.

- Malek Gabr, former Deputy Secretary General of WOSM (Educational Method and Constitutions).

Geneva, 1st June 2005.

- Marina Gay, President of the Catalan Federation of Scouting and Guiding.

Tunisia, May 2005; Jordan, June 2005, and Barcelona, 2nd July 2005.

- Nicky Gooderson, Project Manager 2007 Centenary, World Scout Bureau (WOSM).

Geneva, 1st June 2005 and 14th February 2006.

- Elena Jiménez, former Vice-President of the European Youth Forum for WAGGGS.

Barcelona, 21st December 2004, 24th February 2005, 2nd July 2005, and Jordan, June 2005.

- Mateo Jover, former Deputy Secretary General of WOSM (Prospective Studies)

Geneva, 1st June 2005, 13th and 14th February 2006, and 15th September 2006.

- Eduardo Missoni, Secretary General of WOSM.

Geneva, 14th March 2005, 14th February 2006 and 15th September 2006.

- Jacques Moreillon, Secretary General of WOSM (1988-2004).

Geneva, 14th March 2005, 11th April 2005 and 13th February 2006.

- Paul Moynihan, Head of Archives of the Scout Association (UK).

Gilwell Park (England), 5th December 2005.

- Lydia Mutare, Head of Strategies for Growth of the World Bureau, WAGGGS.

London, 9th February 2006.

- Laszlo Nagy, Secretary General of WOSM (1968-1988).

Geneva, 14th February 2006.

- Luc Panissod, Deputy Secretary General of WOSM (General Affairs).

Geneva, 9th April 2005 and 13th February 2006.

- Jacqueline Paschoud, Assistant at the Statistical Service of the World Scout Bureau (WOSM).

Geneva, 9th April 2005 and 13th and 14th February 2006.

- Lidija Pozaic, Chairperson of the European Scout Region.

Tunisia, May 2005.

- Arturo Romboli, Head of External Relations of the World Scout Bureau (WOSM).
Geneva, 14th February 2006; Barcelona, 13th April 2007.
- Heather Roy, Executive, European Bureau, Europe Region WAGGGS.
Jordan, May 2005; London, 9th February 2006.
- Mario Sica, former leader of Italian Scouting and compiler of Robert Baden-Powell's writings.
Florence, 12th August 2006.
- Patricia Styles, Archivist of the British Scout Association.
Gilwell Park (England), 5th December 2005 and 10th May 2006.
- Derek Twine, Chief Executive of the Scout Association (UK).
Gilwell Park (England), 5th December 2005.

APPENDIX 2: REFERENCE DOCUMENTS OF WOSM AND WAGGGS FOR CHAPTER 5

Peace and Human Rights

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- 'Promising Practices. Scouts Combating Conflict in El Salvador', World Scout Bureau, WOSM: Geneva, 2003.
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- 'The Bottom Line. Never again! "We do not remember - but we were told"' (Balkans War), World Scout Foundation: Geneva, 2002.

'The Bottom Line. Peace takes time... but it can be achieved' (Northern Ireland conflict), World Scout Foundation: Geneva, 2002.

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'Youth for Rights: Young people respond to the Convention on the Rights of the Child', World Scout Bureau, WOSM and UNICEF: Geneva, 1990.

Community Development

A report on the achievements of cooperation activities with related world organizations 1989-2004, Arab Regional Scout Office (WOSM): Egypt, 2005.

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'Promising Practices. POETS- Promotion of Environmental Education and Friendly Practices through Scouts', in *Strategy. Achieving our mission*, World Scout Bureau, WOSM: Geneva, 2002.

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- 'Promising Practices. Scouts Combatting Conflict in El Salvador', in *Strategy. Achieving our Mission*, World Scout Bureau, WOSM: Geneva, 2002.
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- 'Promising Practices. The Essex Experience', in *Strategy. Achieving our mission*, World Scout Bureau, WOSM: Geneva, 2002.
- 'Promising Practices. The Extension Scout Programme in Kenya', in *Strategy. Achieving our mission*, World Scout Bureau, WOSM: Geneva, 2002.
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- 'The Bottom Line. 10 Years on - the Scouts were the only ones to stay with me...', World Scout Foundation: Geneva, 2002.
- 'The Bottom Line. Environment: "We just wanted to have fun – now we care"', World Scout Foundation: Geneva, 2002.
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Legitimation of International Institutions

Building World Citizenship. 1996-2002 Summary, World Bureau, WAGGGS: London, 2003.

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'Circular N. 33/2004, November 2004. Scouts of the World / Youth of the World', World Scout Bureau, WOSM: Geneva, 2004.

'Circular N. 33/2004 bis, December 2004. Report on the cooperation between WOSM, Youth Organisations and the World Bank & Suggestions for action at national level', World Scout Bureau, WOSM: Geneva, 2004.

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Scout Parliamentarians (WSPU)

'Promising Practices. World Scout Parliamentary Union', World Scout Bureau, WOSM: Geneva, 2003.

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APPENDIX 3: LIST OF NATIONAL SCOUT PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATIONS ATTENDING WSPU GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

WOSM member countries	<i>Constit.</i> 1991 Seoul	1st 1994 S. Chile	2nd 1997 Manila	3rd 2000 Warsaw	4th 2003 Cairo
Afrique du Sud			X		
Albanie *					X
Algérie					X
Allemagne					
Angola			X		
Arabie Saoudite		X		X	
Argentine		X		X	
Arménie			X	X	X
Australie	X			X	X
Autriche					
Azerbaïdjan				X	
Bahamas					
Bahreïn		X			X
Bangladesh		X	X		X
Barbade					
Bélarus			X	X	
Belgique	X				
Belize					
Bénin					X
Bhoutan					
Bolivie		X	X	X	
Bosnie-Herzégovine					
Botswana					
Brésil		X			
Brunei		X	X		
Bulgarie				X	
Burkina Faso		X			
Burundi					
Cameroun					
Canada	X	X		X	
Cap-Vert					
Chili	X	X			
Chine, Scouts de	X	X			X
Chypre					
Colombie					
Comores					
Congo, Rép. Dem. du	X				
Coree, Rep. de	X	X	X	X	X

Costa Rica	X		X		
Côte d'Ivoire					
Croatie		X		X	
Danemark				X	
Rép. Dominicaine		X			
Dominique					
Egypte	X	X	X	X	X
El Salvador					
Emirats Arabes Unis					
Equateur		X	X		
Espagne		X	X	X	X
Estonie					
Etats-Unis d'Amérique					
Ethiopie					X
Fidji					
Finlande				X	
France		X	X	X	
Gabon					
Gambie					X
Géorgie				X	
Ghana			X		
Grèce		X	X	X	X
Grenade		X			
Guatemala		X			
Guyane		X			
Haïti					
Honduras	X	X			X
Hong Kong					
Hongrie				X	X
Inde					
Indonesie			X		
Irlande		X			
Islande					
Israel			X	X	X
Italie		X	X	X	X
Jamaïque					
Japon	X	X	X	X	X
Jordanie			X		X
Kenya	X	X			X
Kiribati					
Koweït		X	X	X	X
Lesotho					
Lettonie					
Liban			X		X
Libéria					
Libye			X		X
Liechtenstein				X	X
Lituanie				X	X
Luxembourg					

Macédoine, l'ex-Rép. yougoslave de				X	
Madagascar					
Malaisie				X	X
Maldives					
Malte					
Maroc	X			X	X
Maurice					
Mauritanie					
Mexique			X	X	X
Moldova					
Mongolie			X	X	X
Monaco					
Mozambique				X	
Namibie					
Népal					
Nicaragua					
Niger					
Nigeria					
Norvège					
Nouvelle-Zelande					
Oman					X
Ouganda	X	X	X	X	X
Pakistan		X	X		
Autorité Palestinienne					X
Panama					
Papouasie-Nouvelle Guinée					
Paraguay		X		X	
Pays-Bas	X	X			
Pérou		X	X		
Philippines	X	X	X	X	X
Pologne			X	X	X
Portugal					
Qatar					X
Roumanie			X	X	
Royaume-Uni	X	X	X	X	X
Russie		X		X	
Rwanda					
Saint-Marin					
Saint-Vincent-et-les-Grenadines					
Sainte-Lucie		X			
Sénégal		X			X
Serbie et Monténégro (ex-Yougoslavie)					
Seychelles					
Sierra Leone					
Singapour					
Slovaquie					

Slovénie					
Soudan		X	X	X	X
Sri Lanka					
Suède				X	X
Suisse			X	X	
Suriname					
Swaziland	X			X	
Tadjikistan			X		
Tanzanie, Rép.-Unie de	X	X	X	X	
Tchad				X	
République Tchèque				X	
Thaïlande		X	X	X	X
Togo			X		
Trinité et Tobago		X			
Tunisie	X	X	X	X	X
Turquie		X		X	X
Uruguay		X			
Venezuela		X	X		
Yémen					X
Zambie					X
Zimbabwe					

Source: World Scout Bureau, 27th May 2005.

APPENDIX 4. TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE DATABASES

SECTION 4.1. PROCESSING OF THE STUDY DATA

The data were processed by creating a number of tables for conducting the necessary analyses to obtain the results described in this study:

- i. 'World Scouting 2003 Data Set'.
- ii. 'World Organisation of the Scout Movement (WOSM) Census Data Set, 1924-2004'
- iii. 'World Organisation of the Scout Movement (WOSM) Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004'
- iv. 'Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002'
- v. 'World Scout Jamboree Data Set', version 1.4

The following data-handling procedure was carried out to create these tables:

a) Identification of changes in names and countries during the period 1924-2004. (Source: Correlates of War Project, 2004: "State System Membership List, version 2004.1". University of Illinois and The Pennsylvania State University. February 2, 2005).

b) Manual entry of WOSM census data (totals and age groups) from 1924 to 1990 (sources cited in Appendix 1.2).

c) Homogenizing of WOSM data files (totals and by age groups) from 1990 to 2004, available in electronic format (sources cited in Appendix 1.2).

d) Homogenizing of the WAGGGS data file for 2003 (source cited in Section 1.2 of this appendix).

e) Creation of the variable required to identify a country's membership of WOSM from 1924 to 2004, and of WAGGGS in 2003, based on information supplied by the two associations, and manual entry of the information for this variable (sources cited in Section 1.2 of this appendix).

f) Creation of the variable required to establish whether a country is independent or not, from 1924 to 2004, and manual entry of the information for this variable (source: Correlates of War Project, 2004: "State System Membership List, version 2004.1". University of Illinois and The Pennsylvania State University. February 2, 2005).

g) Creation of the 'region' variable from the United Nations source, and manual entry of the information for this variable (source: United Nations: "Demographic Yearbook, Historical supplement (1948-1997)", reproduced in Section 1.4 of this appendix).

h) Creation of the 'population' variable from the data sources indicated in Section 1.5 of this appendix and manual entry of the information for this variable.

i) Standardizing of the Excel file data on the World Scout Jamborees youth rallies (source: 'World Scout Jamboree Data Set', Version 1.4, World Scout Bureau).

j) Creation of the variable required to identify whether or not a country has attended a world/international Scout conference in a given year, using hard-copy data from the Conference Reports (source: WSCRC, cited in Appendix 1.2), and manual entry of the information for this variable.

After creating the databases and variables described above, quality control was carried out on the data entry. Section 1.6 of this appendix includes a brief summary of the most relevant problems encountered during data processing.

The study data were processed using an Excel spreadsheet, specifically the Office 2003 version. The quality control and analysis of the data entered were carried out using the spreadsheet and the SPSS statistics package, version 10.

SECTION 4.2. Source of data on individual WOSM members for the 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004' and the 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004'

Years	Source	Characteristics	Abbreviation
1924, 1926, 1937, 1939, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985	Censuses from the Reports on International/World Scout Conferences	Published data from the hard-copy reports	WSCRC
1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984	Censuses from the World Scout Bureau archives	Tabulated typed and handwritten data, with subsequent manual corrections	ACWSB
1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004	Computer-processed censuses from the World Scout Bureau	Excel spreadsheet	CCWSB
1932, 1936, 1937	Annual Report of The Boy Scouts Association (UK)	Published data from the hard-copy reports	TSA

SECTION 4.3. Source of data on individual WAGGGS and WOSM members for the 'World Scouting 2003 Data Set'

Year	Source	Characteristics	Abbreviation
2003	World Bureau, WAGGGS	Paper	WAGGGS
2003	World Scout Bureau (WOSM)	Excel spreadsheet	CCWSB

SECTION 4.4. Classification of countries into regions (used in the four data sets)

Source: United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical Supplement (1948-1997).

Africa	Asia	Europe	North America	Oceania	South America
Algeria	Afghanistan	Albania	Antigua & Barbuda	Australia	Argentina
Angola	Armenia	Andorra	Bahamas	Federated States of Micronesia	Bolivia
Benin	Armenian Scouts	Austria	Barbados	Fiji	Brazil
Botswana	Azerbaijan	Belarus	Belize	Kiribati	Chile
Burkina Faso	Bahrain	Belgium	Canada	Marshall Islands	Colombia
Burundi	Bangladesh	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Costa Rica	Nauru	Ecuador
Cameroon	Bhutan	Bulgaria	Cuba	New Zealand	Guyana
Cape Verde	Brunei	Croatia	Dominica	Papua New Guinea	Paraguay
Central African Republic	Cambodia	Czech Republic	Dominican Republic	Samoa	Peru
Chad	China	Czechoslovakia	El Salvador	Solomon Islands	Suriname
Comoros	China, Boy Scouts of	Denmark	Grenada	Tonga	Uruguay
Congo	Cyprus	Estonia	Guatemala	Tuvalu	Venezuela
Democratic Republic of the Congo	East Timor	Finland	Haiti	Vanuatu	
Djibouti	Georgia	France	Honduras		
Egypt	Hong Kong	German Democratic Republic	Jamaica		
Equatorial Guinea	India	German Federal Republic	Mexico		

Eritrea	Indonesia	Germany	Nicaragua		
Ethiopia	Iran	Greece	Panama		
Gabon	Iraq	Hungary	St. Kitts and Nevis		
Gambia	Israel	Iceland	St. Lucia		
Ghana	Japan	Ireland	St. Vincent and the Grenadines		
Guinea	Jordan	Italy	Trinidad and Tobago		
Guinea-Bissau	Kazakhstan	Latvia	United States of America		
Ivory Coast	Kuwait	Liechtenstein			
Kenya	Kyrgyzstan	Lithuania			
Lesotho	Laos	Luxembourg			
Liberia	Lebanon	Macedonia			
Libya	Malaysia	Malta			
Madagascar	Maldives	Moldova			
Malawi	Mongolia	Monaco			
Mali	Myanmar	Netherlands			
Mauritania	Nepal	Norway			
Mauritius	North Korea	Poland			
Morocco	Oman	Portugal			
Mozambique	Pakistan	Romania			
Namibia	Palau	Russia			
Niger	Palestinian Authority	<i>Russian Scouts</i>			
Nigeria	Philippines	San Marino			
Rwanda	Qatar	Slovakia			
Sao Tome and	Republic of Vietnam	Slovenia			

Principe						
Senegal	Saudi Arabia		Spain			
Seychelles	Singapore		Sweden			
Sierra Leone	South Korea		Switzerland			
Somalia	Sri Lanka		Ukraine			
South Africa	Syria		United Kingdom			
Sudan	Taiwan		Yugoslavia			
Swaziland	Tajikistan					
Tanzania	Thailand					
Togo	Turkey					
Tunisia	Turkmenistan					
Uganda	United Arab Emirates					
Zambia	Uzbekistan					
Zimbabwe	Vietnam					
	Yemen					
	Yemen Arab Republic					
	Yemen People's Republic					

SECTION 4.5. Source of population data for the 'World Scouting 2003 Data Set'

Country	Population source (2000)
Andorra	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Antigua & Barbuda	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Aruba	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Cook Islands	United Nations Statistics Division - Demographic and Social Statistics http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/dyb/default.htm
Dominica	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Grenada	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Kiribati	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Liechtenstein	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Marshall Islands	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Monaco	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Nauru	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
North Korea	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Palau	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Republic of Vietnam	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Saint Kitts and Nevis	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
San Marino	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Seychelles	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Taiwan	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Tuvalu	U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idbpyr.html
Other countries	World Population Projects: The 2006 Revision Population Database. United Nations. Population Division. http://esa.un.org/unpp/

SECTION 4.6. Incidents affecting processing of the data for the 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004' and the 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004'

Sources:

WSCRC (World Scout Conference Reports Censuses)

ACWSB (Archive Census, World Scout Bureau)

CCWSB (Computer-based Census, World Scout Bureau)

TSA (Annual Report, The Boy Scouts Association, United Kingdom)

Year	Source	Country	Category	Observations
1924	WSCRC	Total	Officers	After checking several times, we confirm that there is a mistake in the sum total of Officers. Therefore, it is left as 183,951 instead of 183,933. (Difference +18).
1924	WSCRC	Total	Scouts	After checking several times, we confirm that there is a mistake in the sum total of Scouts. Therefore, it is left as 1,061,920 instead of 1,021,310. (Difference +40,610).
1924	WSCRC	Total	Wolf Scouts	After checking several times, we confirm that there is a mistake in the sum total of Wolf Scouts. Therefore, it is left as 124,084 instead of 123,749. (Difference +335).
1924	WSCRC	Total	Total	After checking several times, we confirm that there is a mistake in the sum total of Wolf Scouts. Therefore, it is left as 1,385,323 instead of 1,344,360. (Difference +40,963).
1924	WSCRC	Yugoslavia		Broken down as 'Yugoslavia'.
1925	WSCRC			When the data are not updated, they are repeated from the last census.
1926	WSCRC			When the data are not updated, they are repeated from the last census.
1926	WSCRC / CWSB	Bulgaria	Total	There is a manual correction to the original data indicating a total of 5,000. Given the previous and subsequent evolution, the number is more likely to be the 753 than the handwritten note.
1926	WSCRC / CWSB	Total	Scouts	The published total of all countries is 1,235,724 when the actual sum of the data is 1,235,721. (Difference +3).
1926	WSCRC / CWSB			The 1924 data are repeated because they were not received. There are no data on Albania for either 1924 or 1926, so 0 is entered for both years.
1932	TSA	Deep Sea Scouts		The total for each country is understood to include the Overseas total, but there is another line at the end (similar to the "Country" category) called "Deep Sea Scouts". No data are recorded.
1932	TSA			When there are no data, those of the previous year are repeated.

1933	TSA	Deep Sea Scouts		The total for each country is understood to include the Overseas total, but there is another line at the end (similar to the "Country" category) called "Deep Sea Scouts". No data are recorded.
1933	TSA			Before the data on British colonies in the information sheets, there is a list of countries and the words "Boy Scouts of the world". We add the data to 1933, since the report is from 1934 and we know that the data are from 1933.
1933	TSA	Armenian Scouts		There is a note indicating that they were in France this year.
1933	TSA			When there are no data, those of the previous year are repeated.
1934	TSA	Deep Sea Scouts		The total for each country is understood to include the Overseas total, but there is another line at the end (similar to the "Country" category) called "Deep Sea Scouts". No data are recorded.
1934	TSA			Before the data on British colonies in the information sheets, there is a list of countries and the words "Boy Scouts of the world". We add the data to 1934, since the report is from 1935 and we know that the data are from 1934.
1934	TSA			When there are no data, those of the previous year are repeated.
1935	TSA	Deep Sea Scouts		The total for each country is understood to include the Overseas total, but there is another line at the end (similar to the "Country" category) called "Deep Sea Scouts". No data are recorded.
1935	TSA			Before the data on British colonies in the information sheets, there is a list of countries and the words "Boy Scouts of the world". We add the data to 1935, since the report is from 1936 and we know that the data are from 1935
1935	TSA			When there are no data, those of the previous year are repeated.
1936	TSA	Deep Sea Scouts		The total for each country is understood to include the Overseas total, but there is another line at the end (similar to the "Country" category) called "Deep Sea Scouts". No data are recorded.
1936	TSA			Before the data on British colonies in the information sheets, there is a list of countries and the words "Boy Scouts of the world". We add the data to 1936, since the report is from 1937 and we know that the data are from 1936.
1936	TSA			After all the data, there is a list entitled "British group in foreign countries". The countries listed are: Argentine, Baluchistan, Brazil, Belgium, China, Egypt, France, Greece, Japan, Portugal and Uruguay. The sum total of all the groups is: 2,787.
				This data were ignored and that of the previous years was copied, because 2,787 from all these countries was unrealistic.
1936	TSA			When there are no data, those of the previous year are repeated.

1937	TSA			Before the data on British colonies in the information sheets, there is a list of countries and the words "Boy Scouts of the world". We add the data to 1937, since the report is from 1938 and we know that the data are from 1937.
1937	TSA / WSCRC			Data from both WOSM and the British association were available for this year. The data were unified, but they matched for all countries except for the USA, UK and Belgium, for which we used the WSCRC data.
1937	WSCRC	USA	Total	1,107,588 – We accepted this data.
1937	TSA	USA	Total	1,025,963 – We did not accept this data.
1937	WSCRC	UK-GREAT BRITAIN	Total	1,011,936 – We accepted this data.
1937	TSA	UK-GREAT BRITAIN	Total	1,055,551 – We did not accept this data.
1937	WSCRC	Belgium	Total	14,572 – We accepted this data.
1937	TSA	Belgium	Total	14,672 – We did not accept this data.
1937	WSCRC	Total	Total	Difference: 37,532 fewer people
1937	TSA			When there are no data, those of the previous year are repeated.
1933- 1937	TSA / WSCRC			There are data on the British colonies between 1933 and 1937, as well as the data from Great Britain.
1939	WSCRC	BOHEMIA- MORAVIA	All	This country is not recorded before or after, either in WOSM members or in conferences. The association is called Junak and the Czechoslovakia association is called the same in 1946. It was dealt with as Czechoslovakia.
1939	WSCRC			The data on 1937 were copied when the data for 1939 were not received.
1946	WSCRC	Total	All categories	The equivalent to the data on Venezuela are missing in each category. We presumed that there was a mistake when adding up the totals and we added the data for Venezuela to the totals.
1946	WSCRC			A '0' was entered if the data for 1946 were not received. We observed that a 0 was sometimes entered for countries that were no longer WOSM members.
1948	WSCRC			A '0' was entered if the data for 1948 were not received, except in the case of India, for which the 1946 data was repeated. We observed that a 0 was sometimes entered for countries that were no longer WOSM members.
1950	WSCRC			A '0' was entered if the data for 1950 were not received. Some countries did send in the data

				for 1950 but only totals, not breakdowns, and they are all entered in the "Scouts" category.
1952	WSCRC	China	All	Taiwan is considered as Boys Scouts of China.
1952	WSCRC			The 1950 data are repeated if the data for 1952 were not received.
1954	WSCRC	Japan	Scouts	We presume that there has been a printing error because there is a difference of 10 people between the totals. It is therefore changed to 19,930 instead of 19,920. (Difference +10).
1954	WSCRC	China	All	Taiwan is considered as Boys Scouts of China.
1954	WSCRC			The 1952 data are repeated if the data for 1954 were not received, but they are all classified as Scouts; they are not separated by category even though they were in 1952.
				For the countries that sent in data but did not specify categories, they are all counted as Scouts.
1956	WSCRC	China	All	Formosa is not separate so it was considered as Boys Scouts of China.
1956	WSCRC			The 1954 data were repeated if no data were available. There were only 4 countries. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Egypt, which only had the Scouts category in 1954 and it was repeated. - Korea, which had broken down its data in 1954, but the total was copied to the Scouts category in 1956. - Luxembourg, which had two associations; there were new data for the first, but the data are copied for the other (F.N.E.L) without separating it according to category. We need to go back to 1950 to find data broken down by category. After this, the total data are copied into the Scouts category.
1958	WSCRC	China	All	Formosa is not separate so it was considered as Boys Scouts of China.
1958	WSCRC			The data from the 1956 register were copied category by category if no data had been received.
1960	WSCRC	Australia	Rovers	We presume that there is a printing error because there is a difference of 100 between the sum of the categories and the total. There is also a difference of 100 in the sum total of all Rovers. It is therefore changed from 1,775 to 1,675. (Difference -100).
1960	WSCRC	Austria	Scouters	We presume that there is a printing error because there is a difference of 5 between the sum of the categories and the total. There is also a difference of 5 in the sum total of all Scouters. It is therefore changed from 1,799 to 1,794. (Difference -5).
1960	WSCRC	Iceland	Cubs	We presume that there is a printing error because there is a difference of 30 between the sum of the categories and the total. There is also a difference of 30 in the sum total of all Cubs. It is therefore changed from 458 to 428. (Difference +30).
1960	WSCRC	Jordan	Total	The sum total of the categories is 6,323 but the printed total reads 6,313. We leave it as the real sum. (Difference +10).

1960	WSCRC	Uruguay	Total	The sum total of the categories is 1,379 but the printed total reads 1,389. We leave it as the real sum. (Difference -10).
1960	WSCRC	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. It is separated as a country later on. We separate it from the first year in which it appears as Monaco.
1960	WSCRC	China		There is no mention as to whether it forms part of Taiwan (Formosa); it simply says China. It is taken as Boys Scout of China.
1960	WSCRC			Some countries sent in updated data for 1960, but it was not broken down into categories and was entered in the SCOUTS category. These countries were Argentine, Ecuador, Honduras, Madagascar and Panama.
1960	WSCRC			When there are no new data, those of 1958 are copied, separated by category.
1962	WSCRC	Egypt		It appeared as U.A.R., but we have kept it as Egypt.
1962	WSCRC	Congo		The name appeared as Congo (Leo).
1962	WSCRC	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1962	WSCRC			Some countries sent in updated data for 1962, but it was not broken down into categories and was entered in the SCOUTS category. These countries were Honduras, Iraq and Morocco.
				The data from 1960 on Honduras is repeated but, since this data were not broken down in 1960, they are not broken down for this year either.
1962	WSCRC			When there are no new data, those of 1960 are copied, separated by category.
1964	WSCRC	Congo		The name appeared as Congo (Leo).
1964	WSCRC	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1964	WSCRC	Luxembourg g-C.E.C.A		It appeared as Luxembourg-CECA in the "World bureau" list. That year, Luxembourg also appeared as a country; we have looked at the associations for other years in Luxembourg and this one is not there. We ignore it.
1964	WSCRC			Some countries sent in updated data for 1964, but it was not broken down into categories and was entered in the SCOUTS category. These countries were Argentine, Cyprus, Iran, Liechtenstein and Senegal.
1964	WSCRC			When there are no new data, those of 1962 are copied, separated by category.
1966	WSCRC	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1966	WSCRC	Indonesia		No data are available, but they were WOSM members. We copy the data from the previous year.
1966	WSCRC			Some countries sent in updated data for 1966, but it was not broken down into categories and

				was entered in the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bolivia, Senegal, Sudan and Zambia. The data from 1964 were repeated for Senegal, but they were not broken down either.
1966	WSCRC			When there are no new data, those of 1964 are copied, separated by category.
1968	WSCRC	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1968	WSCRC			Some countries sent in updated data for 1968, but it was not broken down into categories and was entered in the SCOUTS category. These countries were Argentine, Cyprus, Iran, Liechtenstein and Senegal.
1968	WSCRC			When there are no new data, those of 1966 are copied, separated by category.
1970	WSCRC	U.A.R. = EGYPT		We consider the data on the United Arab Republic (UAR) as Egypt. The table contains no data on Egypt for this year.
1970	WSCRC	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1970	WSCRC			Some countries sent in updated data for 1970, but it was not broken down into categories and was entered in the SCOUTS category. These countries were Argentine, Cyprus, Iran, Liechtenstein and Senegal.
1970	WSCRC			When there are no new data, those of 1968 are copied, separated by category, except for Tunisia, the total of which is in the SCOUTS category because the data were not broken down into categories in 1968.
1972	WSCRC	Zaire		The data is added to that of Congo, RD-Zaire.
1972	WSCRC	Cameroon		It appeared as a new WOSM member and the data were not broken down into categories. The total was in the SCOUTS category.
1972	WSCRC	Mauritius		It appeared as a new WOSM member and the data is not broken down into categories. The total was in the SCOUTS category.
1972	WSCRC	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1972	WSCRC			Some countries sent in updated data for 1972, but it was not broken down into categories and was entered in the SCOUTS category. These countries were Argentine, Barbados, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guyana, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Surinam, Trinidad and Uruguay.
1972	WSCRC			When there are no new data, those of 1970 are copied, separated by category. There is a significant lack of data received in this year compared with previous ones. We observe that countries such as Bahrain, Belgium, Ghana, Greece, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Nigeria, Syria and Zambia are marked as not having sent in data in 1972 and the data are repeated. However, the

			total for 1972 is different to 1970. When the data are compared category by category, they are found to be different. We think that a mistake was made with these countries and the data are updated using those of 1972.
1973	WSCRC	Zaire	The data is added to Congo, RD-Zaire.
1973	WSCRC		ONLY TOTALS. The data were not broken down by category.
1973	WSCRC	Monaco	Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1974	WSCRC		ONLY TOTALS. The data were not broken down by category.
1975	WSCRC / ACWSB		There are two tables with data. We accept the changes to the typed data because they generally provide more information than the handwritten data. It would appear that the changes have been made in the typed version, not the handwritten additions.
1975	WSCRC / ACWSB	Canada	There are two sheets containing data. The typed text contains data with a note dated 31/08/1976. Given that the census is from 31/12/1975, we opt for the breakdown dated 1976
1975	WSCRC / ACWSB	Philippines	There is a correction to the typed data indicating that the total is not 1,770,944. The whole line has been crossed out and the handwritten total is: 1,457,944 (June 1976). We leave this total in the SCOUTS category
1975	WSCRC / ACWSB	Portugal	Total
1975	WSCRC / ACWSB	Tanzania	The data are those of the previous year, but broken down. They have been written over and the difference is 1. Typed total: 6,753. Handwritten total: 6,752. The sum of all the categories gives 6,752, so this is the one we use.
1975	WSCRC / ACWSB	Monaco	Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1975	WSCRC / ACWSB		Some countries sent in updated data for 1975, but it was not broken down into categories and was entered in the SCOUTS category. These countries were Ecuador, Gabon, Haiti, Rwanda and Zambia.
1975	WSCRC / ACWSB		Where there are no data, those of the last updated census received were used, whether from 1974 or earlier years. The data were repeated for many countries and grouped into the Scouts category. These countries were Botswana, Cameroon, Central African Rep., Chad, Congo, RD-Zaire, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Honduras, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Morocco, Nicaragua, Senegal, Surinam, Swaziland, Uganda and Vietnam. As a result, the SCOUTS

			category is completely distorted.
1976	WSCRC / ACWSB	Monaco	Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1976	WSCRC / ACWSB		Where there are no data, those of the last updated census received were used, whether from 1975 or earlier years. The data were repeated for many countries and grouped into the Scouts category. These countries were Barbados, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Cameroon, Central African Rep., Chad, Cyprus, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Greece, Israel, Côte d'Ivoire, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Madagascar, Malta, Morocco, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Senegal, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Uganda, Burkina Faso-Upper Volta, Vietnam and Congo, RD-Zaire. Updated information is missing for many countries. The SCOUTS category is completely distorted here too.
1977	WSCRC / ACWSB	United Arab Emirates	Appeared for the first time.
1977	WSCRC / ACWSB	Bolivia	We know that the data of the last census are used again. Thus, because the data do not tally, we copy those of the last year, broken down by category.
1977	WSCRC / ACWSB	Norway	We know that the data of the last census are used again, but there is a difference of 7 Scouters. There are actually 4,762 and not 4,769 as indicated in the handwritten data.
1977	WSCRC / ACWSB	Monaco	Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1977	WSCRC / ACWSB		Where there are no data, those of the last updated census received were used, whether from 1976 or earlier years. The data were repeated for many countries and grouped into the Scouts category. These countries were Barbados, Central African Rep., Ethiopia, Gabon, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Madagascar, Nicaragua, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Syria, Uganda and Zambia. Much of the data were repeated from other years, whether broken down by category or concentrated in the Scouts category.
1978	ACWSB		ONLY TOTALS. The data were not broken down by category.
1978	ACWSB	Monaco	Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1978	ACWSB		Where there are no data, those of the last updated census received were used, whether from 1977 or earlier years.
1979	WSCRC / ACWSB	Indonesia	As there is a note indicating that the data from the previous census were repeated, and the data do not match, I copied the data from the last census broken down by category.

1979	WSCRC / ACWSB	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1979	WSCRC / ACWSB			Where there are no data, those of the last updated census received were used, whether from 1978 or earlier years. The data were repeated for many countries and grouped into the Scouts category. These countries were Barbados, Benin-Dahomey, Bolivia, Cameroon, Central African Rep., Chad, Cyprus, Dominican Rep., Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Haiti, Iceland, Iraq, Côte d'Ivoire, Lesotho, El Salvador, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Syria, Uganda, United Arab E. and Zaire.
1980	ACWSB	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1980	ACWSB			Where there are no data, those of the last updated census received were used, whether from 1979 or earlier years. The data were repeated for some countries and grouped into the Scouts category. These countries were Algeria, Benin-Dahomey, Central African Rep., Chad, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Haiti, Iceland, Iraq, Côte d'Ivoire, Lesotho, Nicaragua, Oman, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Surinam, Syria, Turkey, Uganda, Unit.Arab E. and Burkina Faso--Upper Volta.
1981	WSCRC / ACWSB	Pakistan	All	There was no information in the printed data but there were in the handwritten data. We use this data.
1981	WSCRC / ACWSB	Papua New Guinea	All	There was no information in the printed data but there were in the handwritten data. We use this data.
1981	WSCRC / ACWSB	Spain	All	Spain had 3 associations but only the data on the Catalan association were included. The handwritten data include data on the other two groups. We add these to the total.
1981	WSCRC / ACWSB	Sri Lanka-Ceylon	All	There was no information in the printed data but there were in the handwritten data. We use this data.
1981	WSCRC / ACWSB	Togo	All	There was no information in the printed data but there were in the handwritten data. We use this data.
1981	WSCRC / ACWSB	Monaco		Monaco was included in the International Bureau List. We separate it and treat it as a country.
1981	WSCRC / ACWSB			Where there are no data, those of the last updated census received were used, whether from 1980 or earlier years. The data were repeated for some countries and grouped into the Scouts category. These countries were Algeria, Argentine, Bahrain, Benin-Dahomey, Botswana, Burundi, Central African Rep., Chad, Colombia, Dominican Rep., Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana,

			Grenada, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Côte d'Ivoire, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Nicaragua, Oman, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Surinam, Syria, , Trinidad, Tunisia, Congo, RD-Zaire, Uganda, Unit.Arab E. and Congo, RD-Zaire.
			When data were repeated, they were not copied; they were simply marked as repeated from previous years. We incorporate the data from previous years in the SCOUTS variable and to the totals.
1982	ACWSB	Others	Until now, when the data were not broken down, the totals for previous years were added to the Scouts category. In 1982, there was a special category called OTHERS, which included OTHERS such as those from 1981, i.e. members who were not classified into any of the other categories. The years that repeated data from other years that were previously put into the SCOUTS category were not added to this one. Some countries also had further data for other categories, though not for all. For some countries, the data were repeated but separated for each category. The countries with data repeated and grouped into the OTHERS category were Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Central African Rep., Chad, Colombia, Dominican Rep., Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, Iceland, Iraq, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Oman, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Surinam, Syria, Trinidad, Uganda and Congo, RD-Zaire.
1983	WSCRC / ACWSB		The years that repeated data from other years that were previously put into the SCOUTS category were not added to this one. Some countries also had further data for other categories, though not for all. For some countries, the data were repeated but separated for each category. The countries with data repeated and grouped into the OTHERS category were Algeria, Bahrain, Botswana, Central African Rep., Chad, Colombia, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Iceland, Iraq, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Oman, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Surinam, Syria, Uganda and Congo, RD-Zaire.
1984	ACWSB		The years that repeated data from other years that were previously put into the SCOUTS category were not added to this one. Some countries also had further data for other categories, though not for all. For some countries, the data were repeated but separated for each category. The countries with data repeated and grouped into the OTHERS category were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Chad, Ethiopia, Gabon, Iraq, Côte d'Ivoire, Lesotho, Oman, Senegal, Sudan, Surinam, Syria, Uganda and Congo, RD-Zaire.
1985	WSCRC		When the updated data were not available, there was sometimes data for all categories; other times, the data from previous years were repeated in the OTHERS category (occasionally, some data were added to another category). The countries with data repeated and grouped into the

			OTHERS category were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Chad, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Iceland, Iraq, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Oman, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Syria, Uganda and Congo, RD-Zaire.
1986	WSCRC		When the updated data were not available, there was sometimes data for all categories; other times, the data from previous years were repeated in the OTHERS category (occasionally, some data were put in another category). The countries with data repeated and grouped into the OTHERS category were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Chad, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Iceland, Iraq, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Oman, Senegal, Sudan, Syria, Uganda and Congo, RD-Zaire.
1987	WSCRC	Norway	All
			Corrections have been made to the handwritten document, but the sum of the categories does not tally with the total. The real sum is 11,342 and the total, 18,289. We leave the data and the sum total of the data as 11,342.
1987	WSCRC	Qatar	Cubs
			There is a difference of 540 people in the total. The data were repeated from the previous year and, after consulting the latter, a mistake is found in the Cubs category, which has 1,930 instead of 1,390. Thus, the Cubs are left as 1,390 and the totals tally.
1987	WSCRC		When data were repeated, they were not copied; they were simply marked as repeated from previous years. We add the data from previous years in the OTHERS variable and to the totals. The countries with data repeated and grouped into the OTHERS category were Algeria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Benin-Dahomey, Botswana, Upper Volta-Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Rep., Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gambia, Gabon, Ghana, Grenada, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Côte d'Ivoire, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Syria, Tanzania-Tanganyka, Trinidad, Turkey, Uganda, Yemen, Congo, RD-Zaire and Zambia.
1988	WSCRC		Changes are made again here. The countries without updated data were either broken down by category or concentrated into the SCOUTS category. The countries with data repeated and grouped into the SCOUTS category were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Chad, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Senegal, Sudan and Syria.
1989	WSCRC		When there were no updated data for 1989, the last updated census was repeated. The procedure of copying by separate categories is used, but the data for some countries date back to 1981, when they were not broken down, so they were put into the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Sudan and Syria.

1990	CCWSB			When there were no updated data for 1990, the last updated census was repeated. The procedure of copying by separate categories is used, but the data for some countries date back to 1981, when they were not broken down, so they were put into the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Sudan and Syria.
1991	CCWSB			When there were no updated data for 1990, the last updated census was repeated. The procedure of copying by separate categories was used, but the data for some countries date back to 1981, when they were not broken down, so they were put into the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Ethiopia, Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Sudan and Syria.
1992	CCWSB			When there were no updated data for 1992, the last updated census was repeated. The procedure of copying by separate categories was used, but the data for some countries date back to 1981, when they were not broken down, so they were put into the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Sudan and Syria.
1993	CCWSB			When there were no updated data for 1993, the last updated census was repeated. The procedure of copying by separate categories was used, but the data for some countries date back to 1981, when they were not broken down, so they were put into the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Sudan and Syria.
1994	CCWSB			When there were no updated data for 1994, the last updated census was repeated. The procedure of copying by separate categories was used, but the data for some countries date back to 1981, when they were not broken down, so they were put into the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Sudan and Syria.
1995	CCWSB			When there were no updated data for 1995, the last updated census was repeated. The procedure of copying by separate categories was used, but the data for some countries date back to 1981, when they were not broken down, so they were put into the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Lesotho, Sudan and Syria. For Estonia and Nigeria, we only have the Scouts category, but they are not from 1981.
1996	CCWSB			When there were no updated data for 1996, the last updated census was repeated. The procedure of copying by separate categories was used, but the data for some countries date

				back to 1981, when they were not broken down, so they were put into the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Sudan and Syria.
1997	CCWSB			When there were no updated data for 1997, the last updated census was repeated. The procedure of copying by separate categories was used, but the data for some countries date back to 1981, when they were not broken down, so they were put into the SCOUTS category. These countries were Bahrain, Central African Rep., Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Liberia, Sudan and Syria. Estonia, Nigeria and Kiribati also use data repeated from other years, which are grouped into the Scouts category.
1998	CCWSB			Armenia-Armenian Scouts, Bahrain, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Lebanon, Sudan (data repeated from 1981). Other data repeated from other years were for Georgia, Liberia, Lithuania, Moldova and Tajikistan. Data were grouped into the SCOUTS category.
1999	CCWSB			Armenia-Armenian Scouts, Bahrain, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Lebanon, Sudan (data repeated from 1981). Other data repeated from other years were for Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kiribati, Liberia, Lithuania and Moldova. Data were grouped into the SCOUTS category.
2000	CCWSB			Bahrain, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Sudan (data repeated since 1981). Other data repeated from other years were for Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kiribati, Liberia, Lithuania, Moldova. Data were grouped into the SCOUTS category.
2001	CCWSB			Bahrain, Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Sudan (data repeated since 1981). Other data repeated from other years were for Kiribati, Liberia, Lithuania and Moldova. Data were grouped into the SCOUTS category.
2002	CCWSB			Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Sudan (data repeated since 1981). Other data repeated from other years were for Comoro Is., Kiribati, Liberia, Lithuania, Moldova and Russian Scouts. Data were grouped into the SCOUTS category.
2003	CCWSB			Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Sudan (data repeated since 1981). Other data repeated from other years were for Cabo Verde, Comoro Is., Kiribati, Liberia, Moldova and Russian Scouts. Data were grouped into the SCOUTS category.
2004	CCWSB			Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, Sudan (data repeated since 1981). Other data repeated from other years were for Comoro Is., Kiribati, Liberia, Moldova and Russian Scouts. Data were grouped into the SCOUTS category.