Transnational Associations

The review of the Union of International Associations

1/99

The Emerging Sector Revisited

Les associations et Internet

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Associations transnationales

La revue de l'Union des associations internationales

Transnational Associations
Associations transnationales

Transnational Associations is a unique bilingual journal whose aim is to deal with major current problems within the perspective of international nongovernmental organizations. It is intended to provide a forum for authoritative information and iridependent reflection on the imcreasing role played by thèse organizations in the international System, and on its philosophical, political, économie or cultural implications.

M The approach is intrinsically interdisciplinary, and calls for both specialist expertise and practitioner expérience in transnational association matters. Transnational Associations provides background information about the actions and achievements of international associations, and insight into their interrelations with intergovernmental organizations. It covers a wide range of topics, among which social organization, humanitarian law, scientific coopération, language and culture, économie development, to cite just a few.

The programme of the review, in accordance with the principles of the UIA, clarifies general awareness concerning the association phenomenon within the framework of international relations and, in particular, informs associations about aspects of the problems which they tend to share or which are of commun interest to them. Contributors to the journal revieuw include association officers, research workers and specialists of association questions who engage only . themselves.

Founded in Brussels in 1907 as the Central Office of International Associations, the UIA became a federation under the present name in 1910 at the 1st World Congress of International Associations. Activities were closely associated with the Institut international de bibliographie; which later became the International Federation for Documentation. Its work contributed to the création of the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (the predecessor.of UNESCO). During the 1920s. the UIA created an International University, the first of its kind.

The UIA has consultative relations with UNESCO, UN/ECOSOC, and ILO. It collaborâtes with FAO, the Council of Europe, UNITAR, and the Commonwealth Science Council.

Associations transnationales est la seule revue traitant des grands problèmes contemporains dans la perspective des organisations internationales non gouvernementales. Elle se propose d'apporter des éléments d'information provenant des sources les plus autorisées, propres à susciter une réflexion indépendante sur l'affirmation du rôle joué par ces acteurs dans le système international et sur les aspects philosophiques, politiques, sociaux et culturels de cette évolution.

La visée adoptée est essentiellement interdisciplinaire et fait appel au savoir comme à la pratique des spécialistes du champ d'action des associations transnationales. Les documents, articles et études publiés par Associations transnationales traitent également des liens établis entre celles-ci et les organisations intergouvernementales. Les domaines couverts s'étendent aux problèmes de société, au droit humanitaire, à la coopération scientifique, aux questions linguistiques et culturelles, au développement économique ou à tout phénomène affectant la vie de ces associations.

Le programme de la revue, conformément aux buts de l'UAl, vise à éclairer l'opinion sur la signification de la dimension associative des relations internationales, notamment en informant les associations au sujet des questions qui relèvent de leurs domaines ou affectent leurs intérêts communs. Les textes des auteurs publiés par la revue (dirigeants d'associations, chercheurs et spécialistes des questions associatives) n'engagent que leur opinion.

L'UAl a été créée officiellement en 1910 à Bruxelles au cours du premier congrès mondial des associations internationales. Ses fondateurs, le Sénateur Henri La. Fontaine, prix Nobel de la Paix 1913 et Paul Ot/et, Secrétaire général de l'Institut international de bibliographie, avaient mis sur pied en 1907 l' "Office central des institutions internationales" auquel l'UAI succéda sous la forme de fédération. En 1914, elle regroupait 230 organisations, soit un peu plus de la moitié de celles qui existaient à l'époque. L'UAl devait incarner, dans l'esprit de ses fondateurs, les aspirations internationalistes et les idéaux de paix qui animaient les associations et qui allaient aboutir en 1920 à la création de la Société des Nations.

L'UAI a obtenu le statut consultatif auprès de l'ECOSOC, de /'UNESCO et de /'OIT. Elle collabore avec l'UNITAR, la FAO et le Conseil de l'Europe. Elle entretient des relations générales et ponctuelles avec les organisations régionales.

Contents 1/1999 Sommaire

Towards a new partnership for African development: the collective response of NGOs to TICAD II*

We the Citizens and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) coming from Africa, Canada and Japan and working for African development, welcome the opportunity to participate in TICAD II. In this respect we recognize the important role that Japanese NGOs have played in facilitating our participation in order to evolve the views and recommendations that follow. We also take this opportunity to thank the Government of Japan and the co-organizers of TICAD II for providing the resources that have made our participation possible.

We have met on several occasions as civil society organizations and communicated with one another since the beginning of the preparation for TICAD II. Our final deliberations were held in Osaka at the International NGO Symposium entitled, "NGOs' Visions and Proposals for African Development" on 16 October 1998 which was organized by Japanese NGOs and the private sector,

This final declaration contains the views and comments that evolved from our several deliberations. In the preparation of this document we have had the opportunity to review the draft of the Agenda for Action prepared by the Preparatory Committee of TICAD II. We are encouraged by the convergence of views in our document and in the draft of the Agenda for Action.

While taking note of this convergence, we emphasize the followings:

• We believe the key to Africa's recovery and development lies with its people. However, we observe that the vast energies and expertise of African people, particularly women, have not been fully tapped. Whereas African governments and the international community have, in numerous meeting and documents, recognized the importance of supporting and strengthening African civil society, this acknowledgment has however not yet been fully implemented.
• We consider poverty to be the primary challenge facing African people. Consequently, poverty eradication in Africa must be our primary goal.
• While poverty affects both rural and urban populations, we recognize that rural dwellers who constitute the majority of the population in African countries are the most affected. However, while African countries have posted marginal economic growth in recent years, the development of rural people is still neglected. Consequently, poverty eradication in rural areas remains a critical priority.

It is our view that there are enough resources both within and outside Africa to eradicate poverty. In this context we suggest the following measures:

1. There has to be an immediate solution to the debt problem facing African nations.
2. Immediate measures have to be taken to improve the management of national resources.
3. Immediate measures have to be initiated by African governments to create and maximize the opportunities, and to minimize the disadvantages and constraints of globalization in order to eradicate poverty.
4. Food self-sufficiency and security, personal security, education and health care delivery have to be improved.
5. African people have to be empowered to become effective partners with their governments in the governance of their affairs as stated in the "African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation, Atusha 1990."

We view the following factors as obstacles to achieving the above:

1. The problem of debt is exacerbated by the unfair terms of trade, the present Structural Adjustment Programs, the reductions in ODA to Africa and a lack of political will on the part of the creditors to solve the debt problem,
2. The proper management and equitable distribution of national resources are hampered by the poor management of these resources and the corruption of many African governments. In some cases these practices are encouraged directly and indirectly by certain international actors.
3. Undemocratic practices of governments coupled with a lack of capacity within civil society are a serious obstacle to popular participation.
4. The slow pace of regional economic integration in Africa coupled with the unfavourable international trade system.
5. Existing and recurring civil wars exacerbated by continuous military expenditures and the flow of arms coupled with the poor management of conflicts, threaten food security, personal security and diverts valuable resources from social spending hindering all aspects of development.

In this context we recommend the following:

1. Review of the debt problem between creditors and debtors with the full participation of civil society organizations. This includes debt research to

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establish shared loan responsibility, debt cancellation, debt swaps, management and monitoring of loan resources and delinking of HIPC from SAP.

2. African countries must establish appropriate and adequate governance institutions as well as pluralistic and inclusive democratic elections (i.e. the right of independent candidates to contest each election).
3- African Governments must create mechanisms to establish and improve regular consultations with authentic civil society organizations throughout the process of governance and to practice open, transparent and accountable government.
4. For Africa to reap the full benefits of integration into the global economy, African governments must demonstrate political will in accelerating the process of regional economic integration by the speedy implementation of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. Africa's development partners should take note that the integration of Africa's economies will be for the mutual benefit of Africa and its development partners and they should therefore, support these efforts.
5. Governments must respect and strengthen existing mechanisms for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa, and review and reduce their current military expenditures. Resources that are saved from reduction in military expenditures and through the improved management of conflicts, should be re-directed towards meeting other social needs especially food self-sufficiency, education and health care.
6. TICAD II should establish a mechanism for follow up in order to:
   i Organize five sub-regional meetings of African governments, civil society organizations and their international counterparts to review implementation of the African Charter for Popular Participation, towards strengthening dialogue among the development partners.
   ii Clearly identify, launch and implement projects based on the TICAD II principles of ownership and global partnership.
   iii Disseminate information with regard to the implementation of the Agenda for Action and review after 3 years.
   iv Support African NGOs' development initiatives.
7. The cooperation between African and Asian NGOs must be strengthened.

Our views and recommendations stated here arc further amplified in the attached supplementary.

Finally, we reiterate our thanks to the co-organizers of TICAD II, in particular the Government Japan, for this initiative. \Ve urge the Government of Japan, in collaboration with Japanese NGOs and the private sector, to continue to play the leading role in the implementation phase of TICAD II.

A. NGOS and government relations:

Sustainable social development heavily depends on how grassroots-based initiatives arc protected and continue to be empowered by the public administration. To make it possible, there should be an appropriate NPO/NGO bill established by civilian initiative, and negotiated and passed following a meaningful dialogue with their governments. This process should include the self-disciplinary component for NPOs/NGOs themselves to promote the sense of public accountability. It should be widely recognized that NGOs could play a most effective role in these processes, as coordinator for mutual learning (both North-South and South-South) as well as arbitrator in times of conflict.

Cross-cutting theme

B. Gender mainstreaming:

Empowerment and Health Status of Women

African civil society needs to be strengthened. In this context, we recognize that the empowerment of women is a cross-cutting theme with regard to the development of the African people. The empowerment of women, in particular their full participation and decision making within the social, economic and political sphere is required to bring about the development of the continent. However, for women to participate effectively, their personal health as well as the health of their families and the nation is vital.

While education, health and population are priority areas, it is crucial to study these issues from the aspect of gender equality and women's empowerment. The social empowerment of women and their economic security contribute to and depend on good health. We therefore urge the TICAD II conference to consider the following:

1. Research and documentation;
2. Formulation of national laws and policies;
3. The promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment;

i. Legal reforms
ii. Better enforcement of existing laws
iii. New procedures to document violations
iv. Education on human rights

4. Promotion of information, education, and advocacy on reproductive health:
Information, education, and advocacy activities for the promotion of reproductive and sexual health for all age groups, particularly adolescents, is important. Existing health education curricula should incorporate reproductive and sexual health including prevention of STDs/HIV/AIDS and harmful traditional practices, such as female genital mutilation (FGM), and safe motherhood and responsible parenthood.
5- Education on contraception:
Many lives could be saved if more women were given a full range of contraceptive choices in order to avoid pregnancy as teenagers or after 35, or soon after having given birth. Health services should focus on the reproductive and sexual health needs of patients, including under-served groups. NGOs can greatly help governments design, implement, and monitor programs at the grass roots levels.

A C T I O N P L A N

C. Social development and poverty eradication:

1. Poverty Eradication
Poverty eradication must be our primary goal. In this respect, we suggest the following:

i. Savings & Micro-credit:
We believe in the potential of micro-credit-based economic development, which will provide opportunities for income-generating activities and self-employment. However, we would like to stress that formation of a mutual assistance system with domestic savings (both money and products) is the basic foundation for credit-based economic development especially for rural subsistence farmers. International funds should be in line with and strengthen the domestic savings and credit deliver. When introducing saving and micro-credit, traditional values and actual improvement in living conditions must be taken into consideration. The role of CBOs and NGOs can be valuable here, too.

ii. Infrastructure: Implementation of development activity based on people's requests:
Bilateral and multilateral aid plays the most important role in the infrastructural development for the poor. However, if the decision-making, implementation and evaluation is left to the top-down bureaucracy, the primary objectives for poverty alleviation will not be met and will cause large-scale corruption and ineffective resource mobilization and diminish the people's faith in the public administration and the society as a whole. Appropriate bottom-up management approaches such as PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) should be aggressively applied throughout this sector. This requires the commitment of African governments to delegate power in public administration located closer to the grassroots, to effectively collaborate with people's initiatives, CBOs and NGOs.

2. Education: Development policy emphasizing "soft-
Africa seriously lacks infrastructure in this sector. However, conventional aid approach tends to be biased only to unsustainable infrastructure, such as buildings and heavy equipment. There should be more emphasis on:

i "Software," such as teacher training and curriculum development
ii Curriculum development focused on gender equity right from primary education, and the skills appropriate to the reality of domestic market and job opportunities especially in vocational education
iii Capacity building of universities and research institutes so that they can be involved in the research of African development
iv Heavily westernized curricula should be further reviewed
v Involvement of international printing industries should be minimized. External aid should concentrate on empowering domestic capacity to produce educational consumables, such as textbooks
vi Functional literacy and leadership programmes should primarily focus on the poor for capacity building to enable bottom-up management of domestic and external aid resources

3. Health: Cost recovery and respect for traditional culture

Affordable and sustainable infrastructure should be questioned in this sector, too. Various initiatives for "cost recovery" have to be openly shared in promotion of South-South cooperation:

i The flow of hazardous chemicals and medical supplies (including those expired and close-to-expiry products) must be watched.

ii Impartial watch-dog networks of NGOs should be established both in North-South and South-South cooperation.

iii Intervention of such traditional practices as FGM should be carried out in the name of empowering women and integrated with other sectors of education and economic development for women.

iv More funds need to be allocated to develop African traditional medicines, since 80% of the African population don't have access to modern medical facilities and depend on traditional medicines.

v Many women die and many more become sick or disabled every year from pregnancy-related causes. However, complications of research pregnancy can be reduced dramatically by prenatal examinations and wider availability of trained birth attendants.

4. Population: Use gender equity as indicator of family planning

We would like to restate that the key to the issues of spacing, STD, and family size is empowering women in Africa. This, as well as gender equity, can be achieved not only by creating political slogans but also incorporating women into every decision-making process in social development.

i Promotion of information, education and advocacy activities on reproductive health:

Information, education, and advocacy activities for the promotion of reproductive and sexual health for all age groups, particularly adolescents, are important. Existing health education curricula should incorporate reproductive and sexual health including prevention of STDs/HIV/AIDS and harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM), and safe motherhood and responsible parenthood.

ii Education on contraception:

Many lives could be saved if more women were given a full range of contraceptive choices in order to avoid pregnancy as teenagers, after 35 or soon after having given birth. Health services should focus on the reproductive and sexual health needs of patients, including undeserved groups. NGOs can greatly help governments design, implement and monitor programmes at the grassroots level.

D. Economic development:

1. Private Sector Development

There is no doubt that the private sector can play the crucial role in African development. The current manner in which privatization is practiced in Africa does not support the development of the domestic private sector. Emphasis should be placed on the promotion, encouragement, assistance and development of the domestic private sector to make it competitive in the global market. The concept of the private sector shall be defined in a broad sense. It includes not only profit-oriented enterprises but also non-profit organizations (NPOs). In this respect, the private sector organizations will act at all levels ranging from grassroots to the international. Also from the aspect of the long-term development of the continent, private sector activities shall cover all sectors including the industry/manufacturing. The public sector also has an important contribution to make to the social and economic development of Africa.

i. International economic environment:

It was declared at Denver Summit that increased prosperity ultimately depends upon creating an environment for domestic capital formation, private sector-led growth and the successful integration into global markets (Communiqué, June 22, 1997). We recognize that some of sub-Saharan countries made progress in this regard. However, it also means that African economies have been integrated into the world trading and investment system. We are concerned with negative impacts by which African national governments and its private sector will be affected under the WTO regime and an agreement like MAI. We once again emphasize the need for the creation of an enabling international economic environment to secure the sound development of the African private sector.

ii. Fostering domestic private sector and industrialization capacity-building.

We need to focus on the issue of strengthening the private sector and improving its capacity. In spite of the existence of viable ideas and entrepreneurship among African people, the performance of the domestic private sector has not been favorable in many countries. Institutional and legal arrangements shall be reconsidered to ensure a conducive environment for business. Industrial development, among other economic sectors, is central to the structural changes and transformation of African economies. In order to achieve a certain level of economic growth we should mobilize resource-based industries in which African societies have comparative advantages. In this regard, various arrangements shall be implemented by African countries and Africa's development partners to strengthen entrepreneurial capabilities.

We shall pay keen attention to the creativity and entrepreneurship of African women and their capacity to improve their skills and the productivity. It if required to secure their access to business resources (both human and financial), management and marketing skills and so on.

iii. Relations Between Governments and Business:
We stress the need for collaborative efforts between governments and civil society organisations, which includes business entities, in order to efficiently utilize the limited resources so as to strengthen the private sector in human rights and the environment bur to also contribute towards the socio-human developments as part of corporate philanthropy. We call on governments to create the necessary environment, through promulgating legislative measures like tax write-offs, so as to encourage corporate philanthropy.

2. Agricultural Development

From our experience in working with people at the grassroots level we propose the following:

i. Food self-sufficiency and security:
Our primary goal should be to produce food for domestic consumption rather than for export. The present food security system, which relies on imported food or imported agricultural input, should be reviewed and priority should be given to the conservation of the ecosystems that sustain life. In this context, assistance should be given to small scale domestic farmers to enable them to produce food for domestic consumption and to export surplus production

ii. Provision of access to land for the landless
Also needed are: urgent land reform to provide land to the landless; the recognition of indigenous people's right to land; and a participatory approach to land use and land management.

iii. Agriculture and the Environment:
We call for sustainable and ecological food production and distribution systems to protect the environment, contribute to the well-being of human and non-human inhabitants of the earth, and ensure that the human right to food, including access to land, for all women, men, youth, and children. In particular, vast areas in Africa will be confronted by the problem of soil erosion every year. In order protect the soil, traditional African agricultural methods of not relying too heavily on chemical pesticides/chemical input should be re-emphasized. Consideration of conservation/restoration of the environment should be stressed both in the preamble and the chapter of Environment and Agriculture of the Agenda for Action.

iv. Ratification and promotion of the Convention to Combat Desertification
The promotion of continued implementation and global ratification--particularly by developed/OECD countries--of the Convention to Combat Desertification in countries experiencing serious drought and/or Desertification, particularly in Africa.

3. Debt

Over the last six years, 38 million people in sub-Saharan Africa have sunk further into poverty due to their governments' international debt and the structural adjustment programmes imposed by international financial institutions. Africa spends four times as much on debt repayment as it docs on healthcare.

Structural Adjustment programs (SAPs) designed by the World Bank and IMF have now shifted the burden of economic adjustment to the poor and increased social inequities and political instability. In effect, the poor have been made to pay for servicing external debt, and this has been paid for by the lives, health and impoverishment of many millions of people.

To stop this vicious circle, we call on the international community to fulfil! its commitments to take immediate and decisive action on the debt crisis at the stage of TICADII. More information on debt should be opened to the public, both in debtor countries and creditor countries. TICADII should also encourage the international community to find a comprehensive solution to Africa's debt crisis, enabling the poorest countries to exit from the debt problem and reach a more acceptable level of debt by the year 2000. It is essential that these process should involve people -- the stakeholders, particularly NGOs who are working with people at grass roots level.

We therefore recommend the following:

i. More transparency:

- More transparency on debt record is required both in debtor countries and in creditor countries
- Evaluation of past loan's effectiveness: How was past loans made use of for development?
- Enhancement of discussion among governments of debtor countries and of creditor countries, with consultation by the citizens of each country
- Monitoring by citizen's groups both in debtor • countries and in creditor countries
- Solidarity of citizens through NGOs between debtor countries and creditor countries
- More transparency in the Paris Club is required in the negotiation process

ii. Immediate and decisive action by the end of this century:

- The HIPC initiative should be implemented more quickly
- Debt cancellation with following three conditions: transparency, Environmental SWAP, SWAP with NGO Support
- The Debt Sustainability Analysis should be participatory to involve the primary stakeholders such as producers, growers, traders and consumer representatives, in the countries affected
- Commitment of African Governments to liaise with African NGOs on debt issues

E. Foundations for development: from conflict to peace:

1. Good Governance

Democracy, respect for human rights and good governance are universally accepted principles. However, the current institutionalisation in Africa of these principles is inadequate as it does not take into account the socio-economic and cultural reality of the African people. Therefore NGOs realise the following:

- the need for inclusive political processes and institutions,
- the need to protect minority communities in Africa while respecting the mandate of the majority,
- the need to strengthen mechanisms that protect the rights of individuals and prevents abuse of power with impunity,
- the need to encourage Institutional Applied Research in the areas of governance, democracy, transparency, local governance as well as regional integration.

2. Conflict Prevention and Post-Conflict Development

The structural distortion in African politics, economies and society, which have developed over the centuries through colonialism, imperialism, and the Cold War, are the key factors impeding the resolution of conflicts in Africa . While we commend current African and international efforts at preventing, managing, and resolving Africa's numerous conflicts we recognize the urgent need for African governments to respect continental and sub-regional mechanisms that exist for dealing with these issues and we call on the international community to increase its assistance to Africa in this area. In addition, we propose the following :

i. Research on the Conflict Prevention System Adopting an African Point of View:

We propose a number of concrete methods and systems for conflict prevention in Africa by combining traditional resources, such as the Peace Keeping Operations (PKO) by the UN, and influential powers, with resources of emerging actors, such as regional organizations (OAU) and NGOs (both international and local), and peer efforts by the neighboring friendly nations.

ii. The Asian Approach:

We propose the sharing of African and Asian experiences and wisdom to compliment conflict resolution and the peace building in Africa, Consequently we strengthen the existing relationship between Africa and Asia.

iii. Promotion of Post Conflict Peace Building (PCPB):

We propose closer cooperation between African governments and NGOs towards the implementation of programs aimed at post conflict peace building. In this respect we suggest the following concrete initiatives:

a. Promotion of Regional Disarmament

- Collection and destruction of weapons, and the supervision of the trade and transfer of arms,
- De-mining and rehabilitation of victims of APM (Anti-Personnel Mines)
- Demobilization of soldiers, dissolution of guerrillas or militia, and provision of training for their re-integration to the society.

b. Support for National Reconciliation

- Rehabilitation and re-integration of refugees
- Reconstruction of rural communities and farmland
- Support and special assistance programmes for

- Support for legal and security systems
- Peace education
- Economic reconstruction (micro-finance, small enterprises, village industries, etc.)

iv. Cooperation with the Aid Agencies of Governments and International Organizations:

Alternative usage of conventional aid systems of government (e.g., ODA) and international financial institutions (IBRD, IMF, etc.) for conflict management and PCPB. For instance, providing pecuniary compensation to assist in demobilisation of conflicting groups and to provide financial support for de-mining can be useful for PCPB.

v. Construction of the Cooperative Network:

We propose the establishment of an effective mechanism to give all those stakeholders who are involved in finding solutions to African conflicts, a forum through which they can share their individual and collective experiences and expertise towards the better prevention, management and resolution of African conflicts.

(Tokyo, 19 to 21 October 1998)

The emerging sector revisited: a summary

by Lester M. Salamon, Helmut K. Anheier, and Associates*

Background

Recent years have witnessed a considerable surge of interest throughout the world in the broad range of social institutions that operate outside the confines of the marker and the stare. Known variously as the "nonprofit," the "voluntary," the "civil society," the "third," or the "independent" sector, this set of institutions includes within it a sometimes bewildering array of entities-hospitals, universities, social clubs, professional organizations, day care centers, environmental groups, family counseling agencies, sports clubs, job training centers, human rights organizations, and many more. Despite their diversity, however, these entities also share some common features.[1] In particular, they are:

- Organizations, i.e., they have an institutional presence and structure;
- Private, i.e., they are institutionally separate from the state;
- Not profit distributing, i.e., they do not return profits to their managers or to a set of "owners;"
- Self-governing, i.e., they are fundamentally in control of their own affairs;
- Voluntary, i.e., membership in them is not legally required and they attract some level of voluntary contribution of time or money.

The "global associational revolution"

That these organizations have attracted so much attention in recent years is due in large part to the widespread "crisis of the state" that has been underway for two decades or more in virtually every part of the world, a crisis that has manifested itself in a serious questioning of traditional social welfare policies in much of the developed North, in disappointments over the progress of state-led development in significant parts of the developing South, in the collapse of the experiment in state socialism in Central and Eastern Europe, and in continuing concerns about the environmental degradation that continues to threaten human health and safety everywhere. In addition to stimulating support for market-oriented economic policies, this questioning of the state has focused new attention, and new expectations, on the civil society organizations that also operate in societies throughout the world.

Also contributing to the attention these organizations are attracting is the sheer growth in their number and scale. Indeed, a veritable "global associational revolution" appears to be underway, a massive upsurge of organized private, voluntary activity in literally every corner of the world.[2] Prompted in part by growing doubts about the capability of the state to cope on its own with the social welfare, developmental, and environmental problems that face nations today, this growth of civil society organizations has been stimulated as well by the communications revolution of the past two decades and by the striking expansion of educated middle class elements who are frustrated by the lack of economic and political expression that has confronted them in many places.

Finally, a new element has surfaced more recently to increase further the attention that has been focused on nonprofit or civil society organizations. This is the growing questioning of the "neo-liberal consensus," sometimes called the "Washington consensus," that has guided global economic policy over the past two decades. This consensus essentially held that the problems facing both developed and developing societies at the present time could most effectively be approached through the simple expedient of unleashing and encouraging private markets. In the wake of the worldwide financial crisis and continuing social distress in many regions, however, this consensus has come under increasingly severe attack, even from some of its most ardent advocates. As World Bank Chief Economist Joseph Stiglitz recently put it,

"The policies advanced by the Washington consensus...are hardly complete and sometimes misguided...It is not just economic policies and human capital, but the quality of a country's institutions that determine economic outcomes.

Reflecting this, political leaders in many parts of the world have begun searching for alternative ways to combine the virtues of the market with the advantages of broader social protections, a search that is evident in Mr. Tony Blair's emphasis on a "Third Way" in the U.K., Gerhard Schröder's "New Middle" in Germany, and French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin's summary declaration: "Yes to a market economy, no to a market society."

Because of their unique position outside the market and the state, their generally smaller scale, their connections to citizens, their flexibility, their capacity to tap private initiative in support of public purposes, and their newly rediscovered contributions to building "social capital," civil society organizations have surfaced as strategically important participants in this search for a "middle way" between sole reliance on the market and sole reliance on the state that now seems to be increasingly underway.

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involved in the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector

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Responsibility for any errors of fact or interpretation that remain, however, is the authors' alone.
— L.M.S. and H.K.A.

The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project

The nonprofit sector's ability to participate in this search as a full-fledged partner has been seriously impeded, however, by a gross lack of basic information about this sector and how it operates. Despite some considerable improvement over the past five years, including the completion of the first phase of the present project and the launching of empirical studies by Eurostat in response to the Commission of the European Union, the nonprofit sector remains the "lost continent" on the social landscape of modern society, invisible to most policymakers, business leaders, and the press, and even to many people within the sector itself.

Table 1
Country Coverage of Phase II of the Johns Hopkins Comparative

- Western Europe		Central and Eastern Europe
Netherlands	Germany	Czech Republic
Ireland	Spain	Hungary
Belgium	Austria	Slovakia
France	Finland	Romania
United Kingdom		
Other Developed		Latin America
Australia		Argentina
United States		Peru
Israel		Brazil
Japan		Colombia

Objectives. It was to fill this gap in basic knowledge chat the present project was launched. More specifically, this project seeks to deepen our knowledge of the nonprofit sector in a variety of ways:

- By describing the sector more precisely than has yet been done to document its size, structure, revenues, and composition
- By explaining why the sector takes the form it does and what factors seem to encourage or retard its development;
- By evaluating the impact these organizations have and the contribution they make;
- By publicizing the resulting information so chat public awareness of the sector can be improved; and
- By indigenizing the capacity to carry on this work into the future.

Approach. To pursue these objectives, we have adopted an approach chat embodies six key features:

- Comparative,covering a wide assortment of countries. A first phase of the project, completed in 1994, focused in depth on eight countries (the U.S., the U.K., France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Hungary, and Japan).[4] The current phase is updating information on many of these original countries and has extended the analysis to 28 countries in all. Of these, 22 have completed the basic data-gathering and are covered in this report, including nine Western European countries, four other developed countries, four Central and Eastern European countries, and five Latin American countries (see Table 1);
- Collaborative, enlisting local analysts in each country to carry out the data gathering and analysis (sec inside front cover). Altogether approximately 150 researchers have been involved in the effort;
- Consultative, utilizing an International Advisory Committee of prominent nonprofit, philanthropic, and business leaders (see inside back cover) and relying on local advisory committees in each country to help interpret and publicize the results. Altogether, more than 300 nonprofit, philanthropy, government, and business leaders are taking part in the project through these committees;
- Use of a common definition worked out in collaboration with our country associates and focusing on the common features outlined above. Included, therefore, is a broad range of organizations spanning a wide assortment of fields, as outlined in Table 2;
- Use of a common approach, based on a set of collaborativcly developed field guides and a modular approach that relies heavily on existing national income data sources; and
- Quantitative, seeking not just general impressions but solid empirical data on this set of organizations, including data on employment, volunteers, expenditures, and revenues.

The present report summarizes the preliminary results of this second phase of project work, focusing on the major empirical findings of the descriptive portion of the effort in 22 countries. Unless otherwise noted, all data here relate to 1995 and monetary values are expressed in U.S. dollars. In addition, because data on religious congregations are not available on all countries, unless otherwise noted the data here do not cover religious congregations. Subsequent publi-

see: Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier, Defining the Nonprofit

(Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1997).

[2] Lester Salamon, "The Rise of the vol. 74, No. 3 (July/August 1994).

[3] Joseph Stiglicz. 1998 Wider Lecture, Helsinki (January 1998).

M. Salamon and Helmut K.

Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies, 1994). republished as The Emerging Nonprofit Sector. Vol. 1 in

Sector Series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996). More detailed results are available in a series of books published in the Johns Hopkins Nonprofit Sector Series by Manchester University Press. For a complete list of the

Project, write, fax, or e-mail Mr. Wendell Phipps at the addresses noted on the back cover of this report.

Table 2 .
Fields of Nonprofit Activity Covered by Phase II of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project

1. Culture
2. Education and Research
3. Health
4. SocialServices
5. Environment
6. Development
7. Civic andAdvocacy
8. Philanthropy
9. International
10. ReligiousCongregations
11. BusinessandProfessional,Unions
12. Other

cations will include data on the remaining countries and subsectors and go behind the basic descriptive statistics to explain the patterns that are apparent and to evaluate the contribution that nonprofit organizations are making.

Principal findings

The major findings emerging from this work on the scope, structure, financing, and role of the nonprofit sector internationally can be grouped under five major headings.

1. A major economic force

In the first place, aside from its social and political importance, the nonprofit sector turns out to be a significant economic force in most of the regions we have examined, accounting for significant shares of employment and of national expenditures.

More specifically:

•A $1.1 trillion industry. Even excluding religious congregations, the nonprofit sector in the 22 countries we examined is a $1.1 trillion industry that employs close to 19 million full-time equivalent paid workers. Nonprofit expenditures in these countries thus average 4.7 percent of the gross domestic product[5] and nonprofit employment is nearly 5 percent of all nonagricultural employment, over 9 percent of all service employment, and 29 percent of all public sector employment (see

contribution to "value added" and

nonprofit sector, "value added" in

the sum of wages and the imputed value of volunteer rime. On this basis, the nonprofit sector in our 22 countries account for $834.6 billion in value-added, which represents, on average, 3.4 percent of the gross domestic product. This still leaves the nonprofit sector, if it were a country, as the eighth largest economy

Table 3
The Nonprofit Sector in 22 Countries, 1995

$1.1trillioninexpendi tures

--4.7 percent of GDP

18.8millionpaidemployees

-- 5 percent of total nonagricultural employment
-- 9.2 percent of total service employment
-- 30 percent of public employment

• *The world's eighth largest economy.* To put these figures into context, if the nonprofit sector in these countries were a separate national economy, it would be the *eighth largest economy in the world*, ahead of Brazil, Russia, Canada, and Spain (see Table 4).

' *More employees than in largest private firms.* Put somewhat differently, nonprofit employment in

Table 4
If the Nonprofit Sector Were A Country...
Principal Findings

Country	GDP (trillions
U.S.	$7.2
Japan	5.1
China	2.8
Germany	2.2
France	1.5
U.K.	1.1
Italy	1.1
Nonprofit Expenditures (22 Countries)	1.1
Brazil	0.7
Russia	0.7
Spain	0.6
Canada	0.5

Figure 1
Employment in Nonprofits vs
Largest Firm (22 Countries)

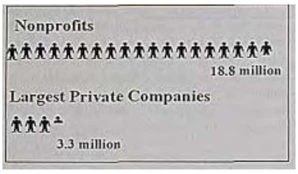
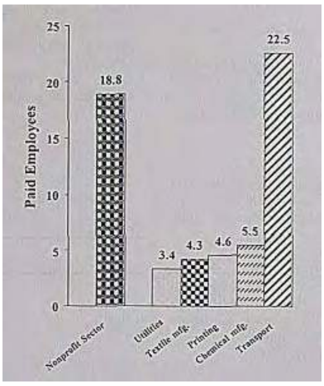


Figure 2
Nonprofit Employment in Context, 1995
(Millions)



these countries easily outdistances the combined employment in the largest private business in each country by a factor of 6:1 (18.8 million nonprofit employees vs. 3.3 million combined employees in the largest private enterprise in each of these 22 countries) (see Figure 1).

- Outdistances numerous industries. Indeed, more people work in the nonprofit sector in these 22 countries than in the utilities industry, the textile manufacturing industry, the paper and printing industry, or the chemical manufacturing industry in these countries, and almost as many work in the nonprofit sector as work in transport and communications (see Figure 2).
- Volunteer inputs. Even this does not capture the full scope of the nonprofit sector, for this sector also attracts a considerable amount of volunteer effort Indeed, an average of 28 percent of the population in these countries contribute their time to nonprofit organizations. This translates into another 10.4 million full-time equivalent employees, which boosts the total number of full-time equivalent employees of the nonprofit organizations to 293 million. With volunteers included, the nonprofit sector thus represents, on average, 7.1 percent of the total nonagricultural employment in these countries, 13 percent of the service employment, and a striking 43 percent of the public sector employment (see Figure 3).

Figure 3
Nonprofits with Volunteers, 1995, as a % of ....

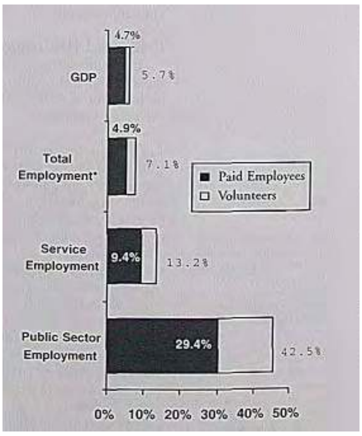
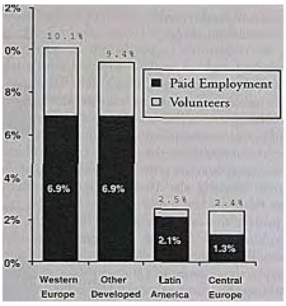


Figure 4
Nonprofit Share of Employment,
By Region, 1995



• Religion. The inclusion of religious congregations, moreover, would boost these totals by another 2 million employees, and another $77 billion in expenditures.

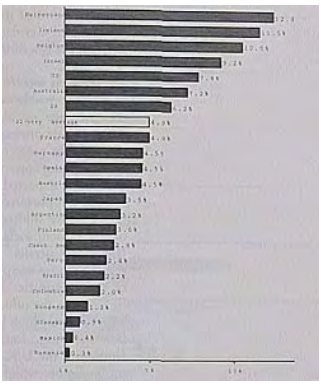
2. Great variations in size among countries and regions

While the nonprofit sector is a significant economic force, it nevertheless varies considerably in size from place to place.

• Larger in more developed countries. Generally speaking, the nonprofit sector is larger in the more developed countries and much less in evidence in Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe. Thus, compared to an average of 5 percent for all the countries, nonprofit organizations account for close to 7 percent of the nonagricultural labor force in Western Europe and in the other developed countries we examined, but only 2.1 percent in Latin America and 1.3 percent in Central and Eastern Europe (see Figure 4). Evidently, the scale of the nonprofit sector may have as much to do with the availability of resources as the presence of social or economic needs.

• Margins widen with volunteers. This picture does not change much, moreover, when we add volunteers. Indeed, to some extent the margin widens, at least between the developed countries and Latin America, and between Western Europe and other

Figure 5
Nonprofit Share of Total Employment,
By Country, 1995



developed countries. Thus, with volunteers included, nonprofit organizations account for 10.1 percent of total employment in Western Europe, 9.4 percent in other developed countries, 2.5 percent in Latin America, and 2.4 percent in Central Europe (see Figure 4). Viewed in perspective, therefore, with volunteers included, Western Europe emerges as the region with the most highly developed voluntary and nonprofit sector. Also striking is the relatively lower lever of formal volunteering our data reveal in Latin America.

• End of the myth of U.S. dominance. This point is even more apparent in Figure 5, which records the level of nonprofit employment as a share of total nonagricultural employment for each country. As this figure shows, several Western European countries (the Netherlands, Ireland, and Belgium), as well as one other developed country (Israel), have larger nonprofit sectors measured as a share of total employment than does the United States. In other words, the activity, does not have the worlds largest nonprofit sector after all, at least when measured as a share of total employment. At the same time, while a number of Western European countries exceed the United States and the all-country average in nonprofit employment as a share of total

6. Given the overall size of the U.S.

is still larger in absolute terms, of course. Thus, of the 18.8 million

employees we have identified in the 22 countries examined here, 8.6 million, or 45 percent, are in the

nine countries of Western Europe included in our data set account for

29 percent of the total; Japan accounts for 2.2 million, or 11 percent of the total; the five Latin American countries account for 1.9 million employees, or 10 percent of the total; the other developed countries (Australia and Israel) account

cent of the total; and (he four Central and Eastern European countries account for 0.2 million employees, or 1 percent of the total.

Appendix Table 1,

employment, several others (Finland, Austria, Spain, and Germany) and at least one other developed country (Japan) fall at or below the all-country average[7]

- Impact of volunteers. The inclusion of volunteers would lift two of the Western European countries (France and Germany) above the all-country average, but the rest of this pattern would remain largely the same.
- Government social welfare spending and nonprofit size. One possible explanation of these variations is the presence or absence of sizable government social welfare protections. According to one line of thought, the greater the scale of government social welfare protections, the smaller the nonprofit sector that can be expected. In fact, however, our data give limited support to this theory. Among the 10 countries we studied that have relatively low levels of government social welfare protections, only four (Ireland, Australia, Argentina, and the U.S.) had relatively large nonprofit sectors. By contrast, seven of these countries had relatively small nonprofit sectors. On the other hand, among the 9 countries with relatively high levels of government social welfare spending, four (the Netherlands, Belgium, Israel, and the U.K.) also had relatively large nonprofit sectors while five had relatively small ones (see Table 5). Evidently, something more complex than the relationship posited in this theory is determining the variation in nonprofit scale from place to place. [8]

3. Welfare services dominate

Despite differences in scale from place to place, the nonprofit sector has certain broad similarities in internal structure and composition, though these, too, differ somewhat from place to place.

Table 5
Relationship between Government Social Welfare Spending and Nonprofit Size

Government social welfare spending	Nonprofit share of employment	
	Low	Low
High	5	4
Low	7	7

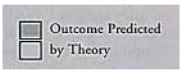
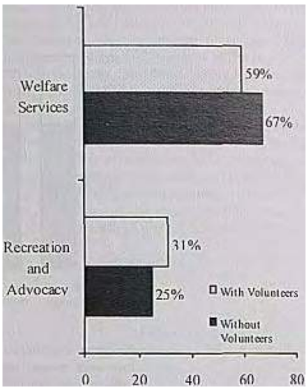


Figure 6
Share of Nonprofit Employment in Selected Fields, With and Without Volunteers, 1995 (22 Country Average)



- Two-thirds of employment in three fields. In the first place, it turns out that two- thirds of all nonprofit employment is concentrated in the three traditional fields of welfare services: education, with 29 percent of the total; health, with 20 percent; and social services, with 18 percent (see Figure 6). The field of recreation and culture, moreover, is not far behind with 15 percent of total nonprofit employment.
- Pattern shifts with volunteers. This pattern changes considerably when volunteer inputs are factored in. Three-fifths (60 percent) of volunteer time goes into two principal fields: recreation, including sports; and social services. In addition, environment, civic, and development organizations attract a disproportionate share of the rime of volunteers. With volunteers included, therefore, the proportion of all nonprofit employment in the three fields of health, education, and social services falls from 67 percent to under 60 percent while the share in culture and recreation, environment, development and advocacy increases from 25 percent to 31 percent (see Figure 6).
- Significant variations by region. Despite some general similarities, the composition of the nonprofit sector also seems to vary considerably by region-

come is very likely a result of the

the data. Without the former East

probably be close to 5.5 percent, or

8. For a more detailed analysis of nonprofit sector in different set- that emerge, see: Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier. 'Social Origins of Civil Society; Explaining the Nonprofit Sector Cross-Nationally,' Volunteers (September 1998).

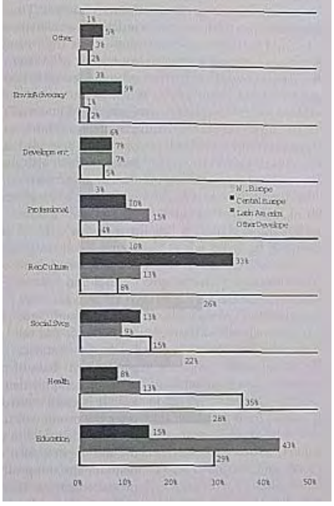
Thus, as shown in Figure 7:

In Western Europe, the dominance of welfare services in nonprofit employment is particularly marked. On average, three-fourths of alt nonprofit employees in the Western European countries we examined work in education, health, or social service organizations. This reflects the historic role that the Catholic and Protestant churches have long played in the played in the education and social service fields in Western Europe. In Ireland for example, where Catholic influence is particularly strong, employment in nonprofit schools alone accounts for 6 percent of the nonagricultural employment in the country. Elsewhere the Catholic Church-inspired doctrine of "subsidiarity," coupled-with strong worker pressures for expanded social welfare protections, helped shape the evolution of social policy. Under this concept, which is especially influential in Germany, the Netherlands Belgium, and, to a lesser extent, Austria and Spain nonprofit associations are assumed to be the first line of defense for coping with social welfare problems, and state involvement, when it occurs, is: expected to take place with and through such-groups to the extent possible. Significant nonprofit organizations have consequently grown up in these fields, many of them affiliated with religious groups, and, in some places, the workers movement. While nonprofit organizations operate in other fields as well, such as culture and recreation environment, development, advocacy, and business and professions, theit share of total nonprofit employment in these fields in this region is considerably smaller (for further detail, see Appendix Table 1).

With volunteers factored in, however, the welfare services dominance declines somewhat in Western Europe. This reflects the substantial involvement of volunteers in sports and recreation, as well as in civic and advocacy, activities in this region. Thus, with volunteers included, the welfare services share of total nonprofit employment declines from 76 percent to 62 percent, while the culture and recreation share nearly doubles from 10 percent to 19 percent and the environment/civic advocacy share goes from 3.2 percent to 6.1 percent.

- In Central Europe, a quite different dynamic seems to be at work. In this region, recreation and culture play a much more important part in the employment base of the nonprofit sector. As shown in Figure 7, a third of the full-time equivalent workers in the nonprofit sector in these countries is employed in culture and recreation associations. This very likely reflects the heavy subsidization of

Figure 7
Profile of the Nonprofit Sector, By Region, 1995



such associations during the Communist era. The resulting organizations thus had a comparative advantage in making the transition to the post-Communist era. Indeed, they have often managed to retain their prior state assets. Also notable is the sizable 10 percent of all nonprofit employment in Central and Eastern Europe in business and professional associations, again partly a reflection of the Communist past, which encouraged the formation of writers' unions, engineers' associations, and many other professional groups. Finally, Central Europe is also notable for the significant scale of employment in nonprofit environmental and advocacy organizations. These seem to be newer organizations that emerged as part of the transition to democracy and attracted Western funding. Many of the earliest nonprofit organizations in this region, in fact, were environmental groups mobilizing mass support to deal with the deteriorating environmental conditions in the region. By contrast, the traditional welfare services-health, education, and social services-still engage much smaller shares of the nonprofit workforce in Central and Eastern Europe. This is because the state remains a much more favored vehicle for social welfare provision in this region and the tradition of subsidiarity so evident in Western Europe retains only a faint echo in Central Europe.

When volunteers are factored into the equation, this Central and Eastern European pattern changes only marginally. This is so because most of the volunteer input goes into culture and recreation organizations, which also absorb the largest single part of the employed workers. The one major deviation is in the area of social services, which absorbs 27 percent of the volunteer time in the region as compared with only 13 percent of the paid employment. With volunteers included, therefore, the social services share of nonprofit employment in Central and Eastern Europe rises from 13 percent to 19 percent, close to what it is, as a share of the total, though not in absolute scale, in the Netherlands and the U.K.

• In Latin America, education dominates the employment base of the nonprofit sector whereas nonprofit employment in the other fields of social welfare is more limited (see Figure 7). This reflects again the prominent role of the Catholic Church in the education field in this region, but also the middle and upper-class tilt to the more formal components of the nonprofit sector in the region, since private education has tended to be heavily financed . by fees and therefore available mostly to the upper and middle classes. The unusually large share of nonprofit employment in professional, business, and labor organizations also supports this interpretation.

At the same time, an above-average component of development organizations is also evident in the Latin American data. What is more, with volunteering included, this component turns out to be even larger. Thus, on average over 40 percent of all volunteer time in the Latin American countries we examined goes for social service activities, some of it through religiously affiliated assistance agencies, but increasingly through community-based development organizations. Another almost 15 percent of volunteer time goes into development organizations per se. With volunteer time included, therefore, the social service share of total nonprofit employment increases from 9 percent to 16 percent, and the development share increases from 7 percent to 8.4 percent. What this suggests is a dualistic nonprofit sector in this region, with a more formal component oriented to middle class professionals, and a smaller, more informal segment oriented toward the poor.

Finally, in the other developed countries covered by our project (the United States, Japan, Australia, and Israel), the major area of nonprofit employment is in the health field, which accounts, on average, for 35 percent of the total, followed closely by education with 29 percent. This result is largely a reflection of the situation in the U.S. and Japan, in both of which nonprofit activity is heavily concentrated in health and higher education. Thus in both of these countries, health alone accounts for nearly half (46 percent) of alt nonprofit employment and education, mostly at the higher education level, for another 22 percent. By contrast, the social service field, which accounts for 26 percent of nonprofit employment in Western Europe, absorbs only 14-16 percent in the U.S. and Japan. This suggests a fairly strong amenities and middle-class orientation to the nonprofit sector in these two countries. The situation in the other two countries included in this grouping-Israel and

Table 6
Patterns of Nonprofit Structure,
By Country

Pattern	Countries
	Argentina Belgium Brazil Ireland Mexico
Health-Dominant	U.S. Japan Netherlands
Social Services-Dominant	Austria France Germany Spain
Culture/Recreation-Dominant	Czech Republic Hungary Romania Slovakia
Balanced	Australia Colombia Finland

Australia-differs somewhat from this U.S. and Japanese pattern. In Israel, the relative positions of education and health in the employment base of the nonprofit sector are reversed, with educa-tion-mostly elementary and secondary-accounting for 50 percent and health for 27 percent. In Australia, the social welfare complex also dominates the nonprofit scene, but here the three main com-ponents-health, education, and social services-are closely balanced, with 22-28 percent of the total employment embraced within each.

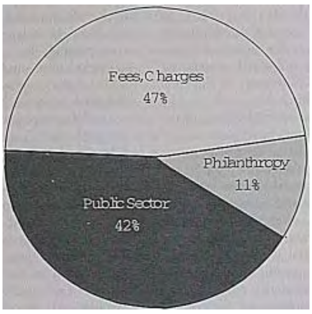
With volunteers included, the amenities focus of the nonprofit sector, particularly in the U.S., is moder-ated considerably. Nearly 40 percent of the con-siderable volunteer activity that takes place in the United States flows to the social services area, and another 10 percent to civic and advocacy activity. With volunteers included, therefore, the health dominance of the American nonprofit sector declines somewhat and social services emerges as the second largest type of nonprofit activity as mea-sured by full-time equivalent employment. Australia, too, exhibits a substantial amount of social service volunteering, but here sports and recreation absorbs the largest share of volunteer time.

- Five patterns. More generally, it is possible to dis-cern five more or less distinct patterns of nonprofit structure among the 22 countries we examined, as reflected in Table 6. To some extent, these patterns follow regional lines. But they also reflect special national particularities that go beyond regional norms. In particular:
- Education-dominant model. Perhaps the most common pattern of nonprofit activity is that embodied in the "education dominant" model. Eight of our 22 countries adhered to this model, including 4 of the 5 Latin American countries as well as Belgium, Ireland, Israel, and the U.K. The distinctive feature of this model is the heavy con-centration of nonprofit employment in the educa-tion sphere. An average of 47 percent of all non-profit employment is in this field among these countries. For the Latin American countries as well as Belgium and Ireland, this reflects the prominent presence of the Catholic Church and its involve-ment in elementary and secondary education. Religiously affiliated education also explains the substantial nonprofit presence in the education field in Israel, though here it is Judaism rather than Catholicism that is responsible. In the U.K., by contrast, the concentration of nonprofit employ-ment in the education field occurs at the higher education level and reflects the recent transforma-tion of significant segments of the U.K. higher edu-cation system from public into private, nonprofit status during the Thatcher era.

While the countries that adhere to this pattern share a common concentration of nonprofit employment in the education field, however, they differ in terms of where the balance of nonprofit employment is concentrated. For Argentina and the U.K., for example, culture and recreation absorbs a quarter or more of the employment. For Ireland, Israel, and Belgium, however, health accounts for 25-30 per-cent of the employment. And for Mexico, business and professional organizations arc the second largest field of nonprofit action. In short, while these coun-tries have some key features in common, they also diverge along other dimensions.

- Health-dominant model. A second distinguishable model of nonprofit structure is that evident in the United States, Japan, and the Netherlands. What distinguishes this model is the extent of nonprofit employment in the health field. On average, 45 percent of nonprofit employment is concentrated in this field in these countries. This reflects the unusu-al private character of health care in these countries. In addition, these three countries also share a sizable nonprofit presence in the field of education, though this is largely in higher education in the U.S. and Japan, and in elementary and secondary education in the case of the Netherlands.
- Social-services dominant model. A third pattern of nonprofit activity finds expression in the four Western European countries of Austria, France, Germany, and Spain. These countries, too, share a common background of extensive Catholic influ-ence. However, for a variety of reasons, religious influence has been weakened in the education sphere and remains strong chiefly in the field of per-sonal social services. On average, over 40 percent of all nonprofit employment is thus in the social ser-vices field in these countries, though in two of the countries (France and Spain) a sizable nonprofit presence is also evident in education, and in a third (Germany) health almost equals social services as a focus of nonprofit employment.
- Culture/recreation-dominant model. Much differ-ent yet is the model of nonprofit structure evident in the four Central European countries we have examined. As noted above, the largest portion of nonprofit employment in these countries is concen-trated in culture and recreation. This reflects the heritage of the Communist era in these countries, during which sport and recreational associations were actively encouraged. In addition, this pattern also grows out of the transformation of cultural

Figure 8
Sources of Nonprofit Revenue, 1995
(19 Country Average)



Rinds into foundations in the immediate aftermath of Communist control in several of those countries. The largest and most established nonprofit organizations in many of those countries, therefore, are traditional organizations with roots in the old order.

* Balanced model. Finally, three countries exhibit a more "balanced" pattern of nonprofit employment, with no subsector clearly in the ascendance. In each of these countries (Australia, Colombia, and Finland), anywhere from 16 to 25 percent of total nonprofit employment is dedicated to the three fields of education, health, and social services; but no one of the fields claims more than 25 percent of the total.

In short, the nonprofit sector is not a single thing. Rather, it takes different forms in different places reflecting the particular constellation of cultural, historical, political, and economic forces that are at work. At the same time, these patterns are not wholly random. Rather, they take definable shapes where circumstances are similar.[9]

4. Most revenue from fees and public sector, not philanthropy

Not only does the nonprofit sector take similar forms in different places, it also has a distinctive revenue structure. However, this structure differs from what conventional thinking often assumes. In parricular:

• Limited support from philanthropy. Private philanthropy is hardly the major source of nonprofit sector income. To the contrary, as Figure 8 shows, private philanthropy-from individuals, corporations, and foundations combined- accounts for only 11 percent of nonprofit income on average.

• Fees and public support. By contrast, the major sources of nonprofit income arc fees and public support. Fees and other commercial income alone account for nearly half (47 percent) of all nonprofit revenue, while public sector payments account for 42 percent (see Figure 8).

• Variation among countries. This general pattern holds up across most of the countries we examined, though some significant variations are also apparent. In particular, as shown in Figure 9:

• Fee-dominant countries. Fee income is the dominantsourceof income for l0 of the 19 countries on which we were able to assemble detailed revenue data. The fee share of total revenue in these countries ranged from a high of 85 percent in Mexico to 49 percent in Spain. Generally speaking, fee income was especially important in Latin America, in Central and Eastern Europe, and in the developed countries outside of Western Europe (i.e., Australia, Japan, and the U.S.). This reflects, in part, the composition of the nonprofit sector, as will be noted more fully below. In addition, reliance on fee income is naturally most pronounced where private giving is limited and government support is unavailable for political or other reasons. Under these circumstances, the scale of the nonprofit sector comes to depend on the scope of a private market for the services that nonptofits can provide. A fee-dominant revenue structure is thus consistent with both relatively large and relatively small nonprofit sectors. Where the market is small, as in Central Europe and Latin America, dependence on fees translates into a small nonprofit sector. Where the market is large, as in Australia and the U.S., the nonprofit sector can be relatively large even though fees are the major source of income. To the extent that this model prevails, however, it puts serious limitations on the scope and nature of the nonprofit sector, pushing it in the direction of market forces.

• Public sector-dominant countries. A significantly different pattern of nonprofit finance is apparent in the remaining nine of the 19 countries on which we were able to assemble revenue data (see Figure 9). In these countries the major source of nonprofit revenue is not fees and payments but public sector grants and contracts. Included here are third-party payments from public sector social security and health programs. Every one of the Western

9. For further eleboration of the

Figure 9
Sources of Nonprofit Revenue
By Country, 1995
(19 Countries)

European countries except for Spain and Finland exhibits this pattern. As noted earlier, this reflects the tradition of subsidiarity built into European social policy, a tradition that acknowledges the important role of the state in financing social welfare services, but turns extensively to private, nonprofit organizations to deliver many of the services that result. A similar pattern is also evident in Israel, where publicly enforced health benefits are channeled to essentially private health care providers. While similar relationships are evident in other countries (e.g., in the federally operated health insurance program for the elderly in the United States), the relative scope is far more extensive in these countries, where the public sector share of nonprofit revenues exceeds 50 percent, and often 60 percent, of the total. Significantly, moreover, the countries that have the largest nonprofit sectors seem to adhere universally to this pattern. This is true, for example, of Ireland, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Israel, the four countries that surpass the United States in the relative scope of nonprofit activity. Evidently, public sector support is a critical factor in the growth of nonprofit action.

- Private philanthropy. Significantly, in no country is the nonprofit sector supported chiefly by private philanthropy. At the same time, private giving is quite important in a number of settings. Interestingly, this is particularly true in Central and Eastern Europe, where private giving generally accounts for about a quarter of nonprofit revenue, considerably higher than for other regions. This paradoxical result likely reflects the residue of a long tradition of enterprise financing of key services for employees under the Communist era and the relatively limited scale of other support for nonprofit action in this region. Also at work in all likelihood is a significant level of outside philanthropic support to the incipient Central European nonprofit sector. Among the more developed countries, private giving is higher in the U.S. and.Israel than in most of the other countries, but even here it does not exceed 13 percent of total income.
- Variations among fields. That the pattern of nonprofit finance varies among countries is at least partly a result of the fact that revenue sources vary considerably among different fields of nonprofit action, and these different fields are more or less prominent in different places. In particular:
- Fee-dominant fields. In five of the 10 fields we examined in depth, fees and service charges are the dominant source of nonprofit income (see Figure 10). This is understandable enough in the cases of business and professional organizations and recreation and culture. In the case of the development organizations, the explanation lies in the substantial number of housing organizations that are included within this category. So far as foundations arc con-

Figure 10
Sources of Nonprofit Revenue, 1995
By Field

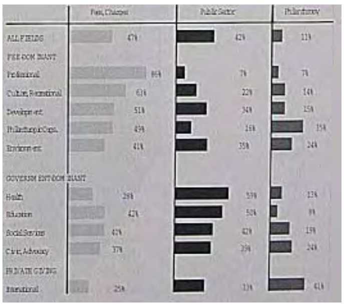
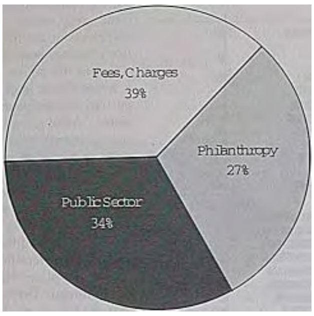


Figure 11
Sources of Nonprofit Revenue
With Volunteers, 1995
(19 Countries)



cerned, the chief source of revenue is earnings on endowments, which are treated here as earnings. Finally, the significant fee income for environmental organizations likely reflects the membership fees often collected by such organizations.

- Public sector-dominant fields. In four of the 10 major fields of nonprofit action we have examined, by contrast, the major source of nonprofit income is not fees and charges but public sector support. This is especially true of the major fields of social welfare-health, education, and social services-where public sector support ranges anywhere from 42 percent to almost 60 percent of the total. Interestingly, however, public sector support also turns out to be quite important to civic and advocacy organizations, which also receive nearly 40 percent of their funding, on average, from public sources. This practice is particularly striking in the welfare states of Western Europe, where a tradition of public funding of political organizations has long existed, but a similar pattern is evident as well in Peru, where foreign assistance in support of democracy-building seems to be at work.
- Private philanthropy-dominant fields. In at least one field-international assistance-private philanthropy is the dominant source of income, though it is a close second in one other-foundations. What is more, private giving is also the principal source of income of religious congregations, which arc not covered in depth here.
- Revenue structure with volunteers. The pattern of nonprofit revenue portrayed here changes significantly when volunteers are factored into the picture. Although the relative ranks of the three major sources of income do not change with volunteers included, the philanthropy proportion increases substantially, from 11 percent to 27 percent, and the fee and public sector proportions decline proportionally, to 39 percent and 34 percent, respectively, as shown in Figure 11. Because much of the volunteer input flows to essentially sports and recreation organizations, the relative rankings of funding sources do not change significantly among the different fields. At the same time, the fee dominance of the culture and recreation field declines significantly, from 63 percent to 44 percent, while the private giving share grows from 14 percent to 40 percent. In addition, four additional fields become philanthropy-dominant once volunteers are included: environment, civic and advocacy, philanthropic intermediaries, and social services.

5- A major employment generator

Not only is the nonprofit a larger economic force than commonly recognized, but also it has been an

Figure 12
Growth in Nonprofit Employment
vs Total Employment, 1990 - 1995
(9 Countries)

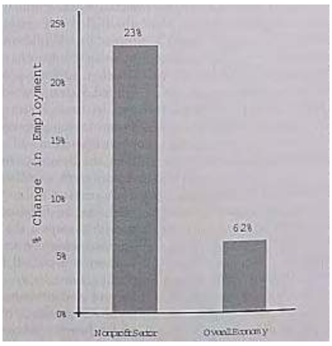
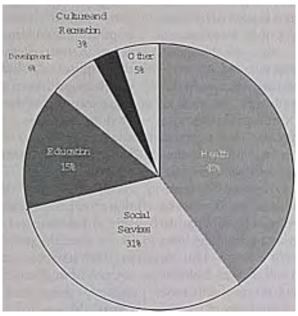


Figure 13
Areas of Nonprofit Job Growth,
By Field, 1990 - 1995



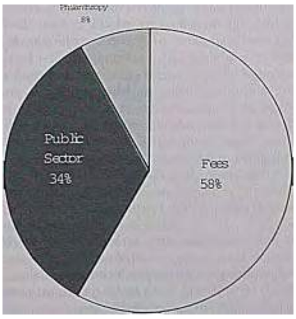
unusually dynamic one in recent years, outdistancing the general economies in most project countries in generating employment growth.

- Nonprofit vs. overall employment growth. Nonprofit employment in the nine countries for which we were able to assemble time-series data grew by an average of 23 percent, or more than 4 percent a year, between 1990 and 1995 (sec Figure 12). By comparison, overall employment in these same countries grew during this same period by a considerably slower 6 percent, or barely 1 percent a year. The nonprofit sector therefore outpaced the overall growth of employment in these countries by nearly 4:1.[10]
- Nonprofit employment growth especially robust in Western Europe. The growth of nonprofit employment was especially strong in Western Europe, where it expanded by an average of 24 percent in the four countries for which we have longitudinal data (Belgium, France, Germany, and the U.K.). By contrast, in the three other developed countries for which we have data (Japan, Israel, and the United States), the increase averaged 13 percent.
- Health and social services the dominant sources of nonprofit growth. The overwhelming majority of nonprofit job growth between 1990 and 1995 took place in two fields: health and social services. The former of these absorbed 40 percent of the job growth and the latter 31 percent (see Figure 13).

This exceeded substantially the shares of total employment with which these fields started the period. Nonprofit education organizations also absorbed a considerable share of employment growth, though here the share was smaller than the one with which these organizations began the period. Finally, development organizations accounted for a substantial 6 percent of the nonprofit job growth.

- Social services the dominant source of growth in Western Europe. The composition of nonprofit job growth in Western Europe deviated significantly from the overall average. Instead of health, social services accounted for the largest share of nonprofit job growth in Western Europe (40 percent vs. 18 percent). In addition, development organizations in Western Europe experienced a 40 percent increase in employment and accounted for 13 percent of the nonprofit job growth. In all likelihood, these figures reflect the investment that the European Commission, as well as national governments, have been putting into job training and development programs in the European region.
- "Marketization." [11] More generally, the growth in nonprofit employment evident in these figures has been made possible not chiefly by a surge in private philanthropy or public-sector support, but by a substantial increase in fee income. As shown in Figure 14, in the seven countries for which we have

Figure 14
Sources of Nonprofit Revenue Growth,
1990- 1995



10. These data do not include the shift in the structure of the U.K. higher education field that occurred during this period, since this did

employment.

11. For a diseusion of this concept in the context of the United States. see: Lester M. Salamon. "The Marketization of Welfare: Nonprofit and For-Profit Roles in America's Welfate State," Social Service Review, Vol. 67, No. 1 (March 1993), pp. 16-39.

revenue data going back to 1990, fees accounted for 58 percent of the real growth in nonprofit income between 1990 and 1995. By comparison, the public sector accounted for 34 percent and private giving 8 percent. This means that the fee share of the total increased over what it was earlier whereas both the philanthropic and public sector shares declined.

To be sure, this general trend was not evident everywhere. In Israel, Hungary, and the U.K., for example, substantial increases took place in the levels of public sector support to nonprofit organizations. In the four other countries, however, such support, while growing in absolute terms, nevertheless declined as a share of total nonprofit revenue, forcing nonprofit organizations to turn more extensively to fees and other commercial income. Moreover, this marketization trend was not only apparent in the United States and Japan, where it has long been in evidence, but also in Western Europe. Thus in both France and Germany as well, fees and service charges grew faster than overall nonprofit income and thus boosted their share of total income.

• Tepid growth of private giving. The record of private giving during this period was varied. Some growth in private giving occurred in every country, and in at least three (Japan, Hungary, and France) the growth was substantial, exceeding 25 percent. In the case of Japan, this was probably due to the Kobe earthquake, which stimulated an outpouring of charitable activity; whereas in France the general increase in awareness of the nonprofit sector may have played a role. Because of the small base from which such growth is measured, however, it still did not add very much to overall nonprofit revenue, even in Japan where the percentage change exceeded 200 percent. Indeed, in five of the seven countries for which we have time-series data, the philanthropy share of total nonprofit income actually declined during this period, and even in the two where it gained ground (Japan and France) the absolute growth in fee income outpaced the absolute growth in philanthropic support by 7:1 and 4:1, respectively.

Conclusions and implications

The nonprofit sector thus emerges from the evidence presented here as a sizable and highly dynamic component of a wide assortment of societies throughout the world. Not only does this set of institutions serve important human needs, it also constitutes a major, and growing, economic force and a significant contributor to economic as well as social life.

At the same time, this sector is hardly equally developed everywhere. While It has taken its place as a full-fledged partner with government and the business sector in many countries, in far more it remains a highly fragile organism whose future is very insecure. Under these circumstances, no single set of implications will apply equally in all places. Under these circumstances, it may be appropriate to outline the implications that seem to flow from the discussion here, and from the broader evidence this project is generating, for the different regions we have examined.

Central and Eastern Europe: an ambiguous sector

Ambiguity is perhaps the principal characteristic that emerges from the picture of the nonprofit sector that our data reveal in Central and Eastern Europe. To be sure, the period since the fall of Communism in 1989 has been aptly termed the "rebirth of civil society," but this rebirth has not been without its delivery pains and the offspring, despite some remarkable energy, has hardly attained full maturity. Indeed, one of the more striking features of the post-Communist nonprofit sector as it appears in the data we have assembled is how fully it still reflects the Communist legacy, as evidenced by the comparatively strong position of culture and recreation and professional organizations and unions, the two main types of activities that were tolerated and even supported by the Communist regimes. This coexistence of the old and the new creates a pervasive tension that has hardly been addressed, let alone overcome. At the same time, and in striking contrast to the developed world, nonprofit activities in the core welfare state areas of social services, health and education are still limited. This reflects the expectation that Central and Eastern Europe citizens still have about the state's obligation to provide for citizen welfare, an expectation that is all the more paradoxical in view of the abuses of state power under the Communist regimes.

This persisting ambiguity suggests the need for continued concerted effort to nurture a truly effective private, nonprofit sector in Central and Eastern Europe. Among the tasks that must be addressed, moreover, three seem especially important:

• Fostering legitimacy. The persistent ambiguity of the Central and Eastern European nonprofit sector is due in important part to the legitimacy problems that the sector continues to face. For better or worse, the early evolution of the sector in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Communism produced a limited, but highly publicized, number of scams and scandals in many countries. These were due, in many instances, to early loopholes and uncertainties in the law, which enabled unscrupulous operators to utilize the nonprofit form for personal financial gain. Fortunately, many countries across the region have since passed new legal frameworks that spell out the functions and purposes of various types of nonprofit organizations more clearly; and some have also improved the tax treatment of both organizations and donations. Indeed, in many ways, the new legal frameworks emerging in the region appear to be superior to those in the West, which developed in far more haphazard fashion. Nevertheless, public attitudes still lag behind this legal development and the public at large seems disillusioned with the promise of the sector. To overcome this, a signficant investment in public education will be needed along with the development of effective codes of conduct among nonprofit organizations themselves.

- Capacity building. A second key conclusion that emerges from the data presented here concerns the time frame required to build a truly viable and self-sustaining nonprofit sector. As we have seen, despite considerable growth, the nonprofit sector in Central and Eastern Europe, five years after the fall of Communism, remains a pale reflection of its counterparts elsewhere in the world, including Latin America as well as Western Europe. To grow and nurture a sustainable nonprofit sector and civil society obviously takes more than just a few years of investment Accordingly, it seems crucially important to continue the training and capacity building efforts that marked the first years of Western assistance at significant levels in the foreseeable future. So, too, with the efforts to build an institutional infrastructure for this sector in the region to facilitate training efforts and information-sharing and provide a unified voice vis-à-vis the government, especially at the national level. Such efforts have made important headway, but they regularly run into resistance on the part of nonprofit leaders fearful of "umbrella organizations" that seem to resemble what existed under the previous regime.
- Resource development. Finally, as elsewhere, there remains a significant need to create a sustainable financial base for the sector in this region. In part, this will require nurturing a culture of philanthropy and giving. Fortunately, there is a long tradition of enterprise giving, but this has yet to translate into sizable individual donations capable of freeing these organizations from dependence on fees and corporate support. In addition, however, progress is also needed in allowing nonprofit organizations to tap into public funding, which has been a significant engine of nonprofit growth elsewhere in Europe.

Latin America: the problem of duality

If ambiguity is the central reality of the nonprofit sector in Central and Eastern Europe, "duality" is the central feature in Latin America. In a sense, two separate nonprofit sectors exist in this region-one of them composed of more traditional charitable organizations and other agencies linked to the social and economic elite and the other associated with the relatively newer forms of grassroots organizations and so-called "non-governmental organizations" (NGOs) that support them. As we have seen, the former of these remains quite prominent so far as the formal picture of the sector is concerned, but the latter is clearly gaining ground and comprises an increasingly prominent "informal" or less formal component.

Given this situation, the challenges facing the Latin American nonprofit sector therefore take the following forms:

- Making "sector" a reality. In the first place, serious steps are needed to bridge this divide between the

profit sector and foster a common understanding of a "sector" sharing common interests and needs. The emergence of the concept of "civil society" has been useful in this regard, but much more dialogue and interaction will be required.
- Capacity building. One way to foster a sense of a distinctive nonprofit sector in Latin America is to invest in the capacity of this sector through improved training and infrastructure organizations. Although considerable effort has been put into training nonprofit personnel in this region, indigenous capacity to provide such training, and indigenous infrastructure organizations, have been lacking until recently. Building these capabilities thus seems a high priority for the region. Equally important is encouraging indigenous philanthropic institutions to buttress the financial foundation of the sector. In short, with the significant base that has now been built, Latin America is ripe for a major nonprofit sector capacity-building campaign to bring the less formal parr of the region's civil society sector more fully into a position to operate on a par with the more traditional part, and with partners in government and the business sector.
- Building partnerships with government and business. Government has emerged in recent years as an important source of support for nonprofit organizations in many parts of Latin America. At the same time, the relationships between the nonprofit sector

and the state remain strained. In part, this reflects the lack of transparent procedures for regularizing contacts between these two sectors and the long tradition of clientilistic politics under which the funding and operation of nonprofit organizations are subjected to the whims of local or national political elites. A significant priority for the future, therefore, is to build a firmer foundation for cooperation between these two sectors to ensure a reasonable degree of autonomy for the nonprofit partners. Similarly, the nonprofit sector must find ways to build cooperative ties with the business sector in the region if for no other reason than as a counterpoise to excessive dependence on the state.

• Making room in the public space. One way to foster a greater partnership between nonprofit organizations and the state is to ensure nonprofit organizations a more secure place at the table in the so-called "public space" that is opening in most countries in the region, in which dialogue among social and political actors should occur. Clearly, advances have been made in many countries in bringing nonprofit organizations into the process of public policy formulation and implementation, but much has yet to be done.

Developed countries: the challenge of renewal

If basic capacity building and resourcing are the central challenges facing the nonprofit sectors in Central Europe and Latin America, in the more developed regions of the world the central challenge is one of "renewal." The 1990s, as we have seen, was a period of considerable growth for the nonprofit sector. A heightened demand for social services of all kinds and a generally reduced role for governments, among other factors, increased the importance of the nonprofit sector. At the same time, however, this growth has not been without its challenges, though the challenges have been as much to the heart of the sector as to its stomach. Long accustomed to significant levels of public support, and enticed by the promise of greater fee income, nonprofit agencies in the developed world are in heightened danger of losing touch with their citizen base. On the one hand, many of these organizations have long since been transformed into large bureaucracies seemingly indistinguishable from the government bureaus with which they interact; on the other hand, they face a growing danger of becoming evermore like the business firms with which they frequently compete. Negotiating the dual dangers of over-bureaucratization and over-commercialization becomes thus the true challenge for nonprofit managers and policymakers in these areas.

• A renewal strategy. To help preserve and regain the sectors true identity and core values, serious effort needs to be made to reinvigorate the nonprofit sector on a regular basis. This can be done through regular strategic planning, through improved training and management models that reflect the central values this set of institutions is supposed to promote, and through a critical dialog that engages a wide range of societal actors in a discussion of the sectors appropriate social role. Clearly, citizens cannot be expected to defend this sector's worth if the sector does not make itself worthy of their support.

• Accountability and effectiveness. In order to ensure their claims on citizen loyalties, nonprofits also need to be able to demonstrate the worth of what they do, and to operate both efficiently and effectively in the public interest. This will require something more than traditional management training, or the wholesale adoption of management techniques imported from the business or government sector. Rather, continued effort must be made to forge a distinctive mode of nonprofit management training that takes account of the distinctive values and ethos of this sector while ensuring the effectiveness of what it does. Important progress has been made along these lines in a number of countries, but significant steps remain to be made in building up the training capability in numerous places, especially in Western Europe.

• Expanding philanthropy. Important as the development of organizational and leadership capacities are for the future of the nonprofit sector, the expansion of private philanthropy continues to be vital to ensure a meaningful level of independence from both government and business. Yet, as we have seen, such support is marginal in many countries. What is more, it has not kept pace with the overall growth even in the countries where it has historically been more substantial. Over the long run, therefore, serious efforts are needed to encourage private philanthropy. The recent increases in the number of grantmaking foundations in many developed countries suggest a positive trend toward greater philanthropic input into the nonprofit sector—a trend that needs the active encouragement of policymakers and nonprofit leaders. Moreover, changes in demographics and the labor force suggest that in many countries large reservoirs of potential volunteers remain "untapped" for the expansion of the philanthropic share of nonprofit operations. However, this will require public education efforts on behalf of the sectors leadership, and creative models for combining paid and unpaid work, particularly in countries with high levels of unemployment.

• International integration and globalization. For the European countries, greater efforts toward integration and harmonization are under way that will certainly increase the role transnational governments play in nonprofit sector affairs. Yet institutions like the European Union have been hesitant in their approach towards the nonprofit sector and civil society. The recent publication of an official Communication, which benefitted much from the work done in the initial Phase of this Project, is a step in the right direction. Yet much more remains to be done—for the European Commission as well as on the part of nonprofit leaders—to make sure that that this set of institutions can develop its full potential in and for the New Europe. More generally, the world-wide trend towards globalization hardly excludes the nonprofit sector. Policymakers and nonprofit leaders thus face the challenge to build adequate legal environments for cross-national nonprofit action while protecting legitimate national interests at the same time.

Conclusion

More generally, the discussion here points up the vital need to improve the general awareness of this set of institutions in virtually every part of the world, and to monitor the trends affecting it on a more pervasive, and more sustained, basis. The existence of a vibrant nonprofit sector is increasingly being viewed not as a luxury, but as a necessity, for peoples throughout the world. Such institutions can give expression to citizen concerns, hold governments accountable, promote community, address unmet needs, and generally improve the quality of life. Putting this sector firmly on the mental map of the world is therefore a matter of some urgency. However incomplete, if the work reported here has contributed to this goal, it will have served its purpose well.

Appendix Table 1: Nonprofit Sector FTE Employment, by Country and Field of Activity, 1995

		Field of Activity (ICNPO)												
Region	Country	Culture	Education		Social	Environment	Development	Civic/Advocacy	Foundations	International	Professional	Other	Total Nonprofit Employment	Nonprofit Shared of Total ** Employment
European Union	Austria	8.4%	8.9%	11.6%	64.0%	0.4%		4.5%		0.8%	1.4%		143.637	4.46%
	Belgium	4.9%	38.8%	30.4%	13.8%	0.5%	9.9%	0.4%	0.2%.	0.2%	0.9%		357.802	10.48%
	Finland	14.2%	25.0%	23.0%	17.8%	1.0%	2.4%	8.7%	0.0%	0.3%	7.2%	0.3%	62.848	2.96%
	France	12.1%	20.7%	15.5%	39.7%	1%	5.5%	1.9%	0%	1.8%	1.8%		959.821	4.9%
	Germany	5.8%	12.6%	33.2%	33.8%	1%	6.6%	1.8%	0.4%	0.7%	4.2%		1.330.350	4.55%
	Ireland	6%	53.7%	27.6%	4.5%	0.9%	4.3%	1.9%	0%	0.3%	2.2%		118.664	11.54%
	Netherlands	3.4%	28.3%	42.5%	19.4%	0.9%	2.6%	0%	0.4%	0.6%	2%		642.323	12.4%
	Spain	11.8%	25.1%	12.2%	31.8%	0.9%	11.2%	3.4%	0.1%	2%	1.8%	0.3%	475.179	4.51%
	UK	24.5%	41.5%	4.3%	13.1%	1.3%	7.6%	0.7%	0.7%	3.8%	2.6%		1.415.743	6.2%
European Union Average*/Total		10.1%	28.3%	22.3%	26.4%	0.8%	6.3%	2.4%	0.2%	1.2%	2.7%	0.3%	5.506.367	6.89%
Other Developed Countries	Australia	16.8%	23.3%	18.7%	20,2%	0.6%	10.9%	3.2%	0.1%	0.2%	4.3%	1.7%	400.362	7.20%
	Israel	5.7%	50.3%	27.0%	10.9%	0.8%	1.0%	0.4%	2.0%	0.1%	1.8%		145.181	9.19%
	Japan	3.1%	22.2%	46.6%	16.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0,2%	0.2%	0.4%	6.3%	4%	2.164.533	3.54%
	US	7.3%	21.5%	46.3%	13.5%		6.3%	1.8%	0.3%		2.9%		8.554.900	7.83%
Other Developed	Average/Total	8.2%	29.3%	34.7%	15.2%	0.6%	4.6%	1.4%	0.6%	0.2%	3.8%	2.9%	11.264.875	6.94%
All Developed Average*/Total		9.5%	28.6%	26.1%	23%	0.7%	5.7%	2.1%	0.4%	0.9%	3%	1.6%	16.771.242	6.91%
Central Europe	Czech Rep.	22.1%	8.5%	12.8%	12.5%	14.7%	10.4%	4.0%	2.2%	1.2%	11.5%		120.708	2.85%
	Hungary	38.1%	10%	4.5%	11.1%	2%	13.2%	1%	3.3%	0.8%	16.1%		44.938	1.33%
	Romania	35.5%	14.3%	14%	21.4%	0.7%	3.6%	4.7%	0.8%	1.4%	3.6%		17.463	0.28%
	Slovakia	36.7%	28.5%	1,9%	5.2%	6.8%	1.1%	2.9%	4.9%	0.9%	10.4%	0.8%	16.196	0.87%
Central European Average*/Total		33.1%	15.3%	8.3%	12.5%	6.1%	7.1%	3.2%	2.8%	1.0%	10.4%	0.8%	199.305	1.33%
Latin America	Argentina	24.1%	40.6%	17.0%	3.3%	0.2%	5.5%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	4.6%	4.5%	353.409	3.24%
	Brazil	17%	36.9%	17.8%	16.4%	0.2%	1.1%	0.6%		0.4%	9.6%		1.034.330	2.25%
	Colombia	0.9%	21.5%	18.6%	15.5%	0.8%	13.9%	1.4%	1%	0.1%	16%	1.2%	270.023	
	Mexico	7.7%	43.2%	8.1%	8.7%	0.7%	0.5%	0.3%	0.3%		30.5%		93.809	0.44%
	Peru	4.0%	74.5%	4.2%	1.2%	0.6%	14.5%	0.8%	0.1%	0.0%			126.988	2.38%
Latin American Average*/Total		12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	1.878.780	2.08%
Grand Average/Total		14.5%	29.5%	19.9%	17.9%	1.7%	6.3%	2.0%	0.9%	0.8%	6.8%	1.8%	18.849.327	4.95%

• Unweighted averages
•• Nonagricultural FTE Employment Source: Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project. Phase II

Appendix Table 2: Nonprofit Sector FTE Employment with Volunteers, by Country and Field of Activity. 1995

Region	Country	Field of Activity (ICNPO)	Education		Social		DEVELOPMENT	Civic Advocacy	Foundations	International	Professional	Other	Total Nonprofit Employment	Nonprofit Share of Total** Employment
European Union	Austria	6.5%	6.9%	9.1%	49.9%	0.3%		3.5%		0.6%	1.1%	22.1%	184,323	5.65%
	Belgium	11.1%	30.5%	23.9%	22,9%	0,5%	8,3%	0.5%	0.3%	0,4%	1,5%		456,901	13,00%
	Finland	32,6%	12,4%	13.1%	15.5%	0,7%	1,6%	16,8%	0.2%	0,4%	6,2%	0,4%	137,599	6,27%
	France	30.0%	14.6%	9,2%	27,45%	5%	4.7%	1.9%	0.6%	2,4%	4,3%		1,981,476	9,61%
	Germany	20,7%	7,9%	22.8%	23,7%	2.9%	4,7%	3,4%	1,1%	0,4%	4,4%	6,7%	2,308,424	7,64%
	Ireland	10,5%	43,0%	23,3%	13%	0,9%	5,7%	0,5%	0,7%	0,4%	1,7%	0,3%	150,314	14,19%
	Netherlands	14,8%	24.1%	30.8%	20.5%	1,3%	l.8%	3.3%	0,3%	1.1%	1.9%		963.492	17.51%
	Spain	15,2%	20.6%	10,5%	30,8%	3,0%	9,2%	5,9%	0,1%	2,6%	1,8%	0,2%	728,778	6,76%
	UK	27.5%	25.4%	8,0%	16.0%	2,4%	12,5%	1,8%	1,3%	2,4%	1,5%	1,2%	2,536,026	10,58%
European Union Average*/Total		18.8%	20,6%	16,7%	24.4%	1.9%	6.1%	4.2%	0.6%	1,3%	2.7%	5.1%	9,447,333	10,13%
Other Developed Countries	Australia	23.0%	17,9%	14,9%	23.7%	1.5%	10.4%	2.91%	0.2%	0.4%	3.3%	1.8%	577.410	10.07%
	Israel	7.7%	41.3%	27,2%	16.0%	0.6%	0.8%	2.0%	1.6%	0.1%	1,6%	1.1%	177.097	10.99%
	Japan	5.5%	18.3%	37%	17.2%	0.7%	1.8%	0.5%	1.0%	1.6%	6.0%	10.4%	2,859,630	4.62%
	US	9.0%	18.5%	34.2%	22.1%	1.0%	4.0%	4.9%	1,0%	0.3%	3,9%	1,1%	13.549,062	11,87%
Other Developed Average*/Total		11.3%	24,0%	28.3%	19.7%	0,9%	4.3%	2.6%	0,9%	0,6%	3.7%	3.6%	17,163.199	9.39%
All Developed Averaged*/ Total		16.5%	21,7%	20.3%	23.0%	1,6%	5.5%	3,7%	0,7%	1.1%	3.0%	4.5%	26,610.531	9.90%
Central	Czech Rep.	40.1%	6.2%	8.8%	9.4%	15,3%	6.3%	3.0%	2.0%	1.0%	7.5%	0.4%	214.611	4.95%
	Hungary	36,8%	8,9%	4,7%	15.1%	2,2%	11.3%	2.3%	3,7%	1,0%	14.0%		54.816	1.62%
	Romania	27,7%	12,6%	5,6%	39.8%	3,1%	1.7%	3.8%	1,0%	2,8%	1.8%		108,396	1.72%
	Slovakia	36.6%	20.1%	1,9%	11.9%	8,9%	1.2%	3.7%	5.5%	0.9%	8,3%	1.1%	23.379	1.25%
Central European Average*/Total		35.3%	12.0%	5.3%	19.0%	7.4%	5.1%	3,2%	3.1%	1.4%	7.9%	0.7%	401.203	2.38%
Latin America	Argentina	28.8%	35.3%	15.3%	4,8%	0,6%	6,5%	0,5%	0,1%	0,0%	4,1%	4,0%	417,666	3,80%
	Brazil	15,1%	35,1%	17,5%	19,2%	0,2%	3,0%	0,7%		0,4%	8,6%	0,3%	1.173.766	2.54%
	Colombia	7.9%	16.5%	16%	19.6%	0.8%	19.4%	1.6%	1.6%	0,1%	15,6%	1,0%	360,779	
	Mexico	6,4%	30,7%	8,4%	16,3%	1,8%	1.2%	0,8%	0.8%		33.6%		141,024	0.66%
	Peru	3.4%.	62.0%	3.5%	17.7%	0.6%	12.1%	0.7%	0.1%	0.0%			153.374	2,86%
Latin American Average*/Total		12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12,5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	2.246.610	2.47%
Grand Average/Total		18,9%	23,1%	15,7%	20,6%	2,5%	6,1%	3,0%	1,2%	1,0%	6,3%	3,5%	29,258,344	7,1%

• Unweighted averages
• • Nonagricultural FTE Employment

Appendix Table 3: Nonprofit Revenues (with and without Volunteer Input), by Revenue Source nnd Country, 1995

Region	Country	Excluding Volunteer Input Public Sector	Private Giving	Fees Charges	Total Cash millions US $	Including Volunteer Input— Total Cash Revenue and Share of Revenue from:		Volunteer Input	
Union		50.4%	6,1%	43.5%	6.262	41,3%	23,1%	35.6	7.643
	Belgium	77,4%	4,5%	18,1%	26,505	66.7%	17,5%	15,6	30.770
	Finland	36,2%	5,9%	57,9%	6.064	24.9%	35.3%	39,8	8.817
	France	57,8%	7,5%	34,6%	57.304	33.4%	46.6%	2,0	99.234
	Germany	64.3%	3.4%	32.3%	94.454	42.5%	36.2%	21.3%	142,887
	Ireland	77,8%	7,0%	15.2%	4,982	68%	18.7%	13.3%	5.698
	Netherlands	60,4%	1,5%	35,8%	56.291	48,1%	21,6%	28,5	70.691
	Spain	32.1%	18.8%	49,0%	25.778	25.2%	36.3%	38,5	33.833
	UK	46.7%	8,8%	44.6%	78,220	36.4%	28.8%	34.8%	100.196
European Union Average*/Total		55.9%	7.1%	36.8%	355.860	42.9%	29 3%	27,5%	498.767
Developed Countries	Australia	31,3%	6,4%	62.4%	20.096	25,6%	23,4%	51%	24.581
	Israel	63.9%	10.2%	25,8%	10.947	59.1%	17.0%	23,9	11,833
	Japan	34,4%	3,3%	62.3%	264,366	31,1%	12.7%	56.2%	292.935
	US	30.5%	12.9%	56.6%	566.960	25.6%	26,9%	47,4	675,973
Other Developed Average*/ Total		40.0%	8.2%	51.8%	862.370	35,3%	20.0%	44.6%	1.005.321
All Developed Average/ Total*		51.0%	7.4%	41.4%	1.218.230	40.6%	26.5%	32.8%	1.504.088

Europe	Czech Rep.	42,8%	17,5%	59,7%	900	34,5%	33.5%	32.0%	1.116
	Hungary	27.1%	18.4%	54.6%	1.433	26.2%	24.9%	48,9	1.598
	ROMANIA	10,8%	35,5%	53,7%	1,040	9,0%	47,6%	43.4%	1.289
	Slovakia	20.7%	23.2%	56.1%	309	17.9%	33.6%	49,4	357
Central European Average*/Total		25.4%	23.6%	51.0%	3.682	21.9%	34.9%	43.2%	4360
Latin America	Mexico	8,5%	6,3%	85,2%	229	7.5%	17,93%	74,7	261
	Peru	19.3%	12.9%	67.8%	1,190	26.7%	12.7%	60.6%	1.331
Latin American Average*/Total		13.9%	9.6%	76.5%	*1.418*	17.1%	15.3%	67.6%	1.592
Grand Average*/Total		41.7%	11.1%	47.1%	*1.223.330*	34.2%	27.1%	78.6%	1.510.041

• Unweighted average

•• Volunteer input has been included in the private Giving column, public sector and private giving shares may include other forms of in-kind contributions.

Source- Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project Phase II

Représentations et usages d'Internet
Enquête sur l'usage des technologies de la communication et de l'information par les associations*

A la demande de la Fondation de France, VECAM veille europlenne et citoyenne sur les autoroutes je l'information et le multimédia a réalisé une enquête sur les associations et Internet. Valérie Peugeot, déléguée générale d'Europe 99, et Luc Arasse, sociologue ont interrogé de nombreuses associations pour mieux comprendre leurs représentations de ce nouvel outil et pour mieux connaitre leurs usages. On trouver a ci-après les conclusions essentielles de cette enquête.

Introduction : Contexte, questions et méthode de travail

A/ Contexte : la demande d'un état des lieux, avant la définition d'un programme de la Fondation de France De plus en plus d'associations demandent le soutien de la Fondation de France pour des projets mettant en oeuvre des nouvelles technologies, en particulier Internet. De ce fait, il paraît utile de positionner la Fondation vis-à-vis des nouvelles technologies, de leur usage, pour préciser la place qu'elle peut y prendre, conformément à ses missions.

Deux constats et deux principes d'action ont été posés par la Fondation de France qui serviront de "fil rouge" pour la définition d'un programme d'action, après l'examen des initiatives de terrain.

- Deux constats :

1-d'abord le fait que "la révolution technologique" - ses traductions dans le monde du travail, la dérégulation qu'elle produit - renforce le processus d'exclusion : il y a moins de travail, et l'accès au travail existant se trouve de plus en plus conditionné par la maîtrise d'outils (informatiques, de connaissance)... qu'on apprend à maîtriser surtout dans un cadre professionnel. Dans le même temps, l'outil nouveau (les nouvelles technologies de la communication) est, potentiellement, vecteur d'un projet social collectif: parce qu'il est mobilisateur (les gens s'y intéressent, ont le désir de s'en servir), et parce qu'il multiplie les connexions (accès à l'information, à d'autres personnes, etc.). Ce premier constat fait naître une question : les nouvelles technologies de la communication, outils de la dérégulation du travail, sont-elles aussi un outil pour contrarier les effets de cette dérégulation - en multipliant les liens sociaux, en renforçant l'autonomie des personnes, etc.?

* 2- Second constat, les associations, qui paraissent les plus à même de porter un tel usage "compensateur", sont encore marginales dans la sphère des politiques publiques, et sont faiblement structurées : les institutions les soutiennent peu - l'Etat, les collectivités locales, l'Union européenne -, et leur propre organisation - l'autonomie, la dispersion - les rend peu efficaces sur le plan général. D'où ces questions, posées dans la note d'intention de la Fondation de France : quels sont les modes d'organisation utiles à l'émergence d'un usage " solidaire " des nouvelles technologies? Les associations participent-elle de ces modes? A quelles conditions peuvent-elles être les médiateurs d'un usage solidaire des nouvelles technologies?

* Deux principes d'action posés par la Fondation de France :

* d'abord "aider ceux qui veulent aider", c'est-à-dire soutenir les projets visant à faire accéder aux nouvelles technologies les personnes défavorisées pour qui cet accès est difficile.
* Ensuite, "agir ensemble", c'est-à-dire relier les initiatives, faire prendre conscience de l'existence d'une communauté de sens (de signification, de direction) entre une diversité d'acteurs, soutenir les projets unissant les initiatives... puis passer d'une communauté de sens à une communauté d'action.

Sur ces bases, la Fondation de France a confié à l'association VECAM une mission en deux volets :
* Une enquête pour dresser un état des lieux des initiatives reliant nouvelles technologies et "insertion
* L'organisation d'une réflexion, sous forme de séminaire, pour préciser ce que pourrait être un programme de la Fondation.

Trois groupes de questions ont été posées :

1/ Quels sont les besoins en matière de nouvelles technologies ? Pour quels publics, sur quels types de projets intervenir en priorité?

La note d'intentions communiquée par VECAM à la Fondation de France constate la diversité des besoins et fait l'hypothèse d'un soutien utile dans deux directions : les micro-projets, qui demandent le moins de moyens pour être réalisés, mais aussi certains projets plus larges, qui peuvent avoir une force d'entrainement.

2/ Sur quels critères peut-on apprécier les projets liés aux nouvelles technologies - quels sont les "bons" projets, compte tenu des spécificités de l'outil "nouvelles technologies", et des objectifs de la Fondation de France?

Ici, la note d'intentions avance plusieurs critères : l'innovation, la reproductibilité, l'implication d'un public défavorisé, des effets visibles à court terme, directement utiles aux publics... ces critères pouvant nous servir de grille d'analyse des projets.

3/ Quel soutien la Fondation de France peut-elle apporter, selon quelles modalités, et avec quelles conséquences pour sa propre organisation?

Ici, la note d'intentions, - passé le préalable de ne pas saupoudrer ses moyens, et d'ancrer le soutien sur la réalité du terrain -, est très ouverte à l'examen : est-il préférable de faire des appels à projet? des concours d'idées? de développer une compétence d'observatoire? de constituer un groupe d'experts, mis à la disposition des projets? d'agir d'abord par les têtes de réseau (ou surtout vers les micro-projets)? Pour chacune de ces options, quelles sont les conséquences matérielles pour la Fondation de France (nombre de postes, enveloppe budgétaire, répartition des moyens interne/externe)? Comment les autres institutions - Etat, collectivités locales, Union européenne, Fondations, etc.- répondent-elles à ces questions?

B/ Présentation de l'enquête auprès des associations : deux niveaux d'investigation:

L'enquête auprès des associations vise à dresser un état des lieux des initiatives, à connaître les usages des nouvelles technologies (par les publics " en insertion ", par les associations elles-mêmes), ainsi que les soutiens utiles apportés (ou défaillants) par les institutions.

Nous avons interrogé les opérateurs sur quatre axes :

1/ les matériels informatiques et connectiques : de quel équipement disposent les associations? Quelle est la satisfaction, quels sont les projets?

2/ la décision de se connecter à Internet (pour les associations non connectées, la connaissance d'opérateurs connectés) : quand et comment a été décidée la connexion? Avec quels soutiens pratiques? Quels ont été les catalyseurs de la connexion?

3/ les usages d'Internet (pour les associations non connectées, la perception des usages) : qui utilise Internet au sein de l'association? Pour faire quoi?

4/ les besoins et les pistes pour le soutien aux projets : quelle est la place d'Internet dans les projets de l'association pour l'année 1998? Quel besoin serait utile à l'association?L'exhaustivité ou l'enquête représentative (au sens de l'échantillonnage statistique) ayant peu de chances d'être atteintes dans les délais impartis (deux mois), VECAM a conduit son enquête par deux moyens :

* • Une enquête par questionnaire, auprès d'environ 200 associations travaillant notamment dans le domaine de l'insertion (voir questionnaire et liste des associations en annexe). L'objectif est de repérer des projets, et des fréquences dans les réponses à quelques questions génériques : nature de l'équipement informatique, usage de cet équipement, idem pour Internet, perception de l'environnement institutionnel pertinent pour la réalisation de projets utilisant des nouvelles technologies, satisfaction d'ensemble vis-à-vis de ces équipements, nature des besoins et des demandes de soutien.

* • Une enquête par entretiens auprès d'une vingtaine de structures - et autant de projets. L'objectif est ici de décrire plus finement l'usage et le positionnement vis-à-vis des nouvelles technologies et en particulier d'Internet. L'entretien permet de saisir ta genèse du projet, d'expliciter les intentions, les étapes de la réalisation, et de faire décrire certains usages. Cette perception concerne autant les machines, les nouvelles technologies en elles-mêmes, que l'évolution des "métiers de l'insertion" et de l'insertion eux-mêmes avec l'introduction de ces technologies. Ajoutons que, pour certaines structures, des observations ont pu être faites sur place.

A défaut de pouvoir construire, avec une vingtaine d'expériences, un échantillon représentatif du champ des usages des nouvelles technologies par les associations travaillant dans le domaine de l'insertion, nous avons tâché de constituer un échantillon " significatif'.

Une première typologie "significative" du champ de l'insertion aurait pu envisager trois entrées : 1/ une entrée thématique (alphabétisation, soutien scolaire, insertion économique, accès à l'emploi, santé, logement, etc.), 2/ une entrée par publics (jeunes, chômeurs longue durée, RMIstes, etc.), et 3/ une entrée par territoire (quartier, ville, bassin, région, France entière).

A la réflexion, il est apparu qu'une telle typologie, pour être classique, soulèverait plus de problèmes qu'elle n'en résoudrait. Aussi avons-nous choisi d'explorer quatre " positions " des associations, réparties sur deux axes : un axe de la relation au public et au territoire (plus ou moins proche), un axe de la relation aux nouvelles technologies (engagement/retrait):

* Position 1 : des associations de proximité, travaillant à l'échelle du quartier, connaissant principalement des situations de face-à-face avec le public, et coïncidant le plus souvent avec des micro-structures (quoique certaines puissent être affiliées à des réseaux d'envergure nationale). Par exemple, les régies de quartier, les réseaux d'échange de savoirs, les centres d'accueil femmes. Cette position nous a paru intéressante pour examiner l'accès et l'usage des nouvelles technologies par les publics en insertion, mais aussi la structuration des associations qui sont en position de "porter le terrain".

* Position 2 : des associations en position de "tête de réseau", qui ne connaissent pas principalement les situations de face-à-face avec un public en insertion, et dont le territoire d'intervention est toujours plus large que le quartier. Par exemple, les fédérations nationales - FNARS, CNLRQ, etc. Cette seconde position nous a paru intéressante pour examiner les politiques des "têtes de réseau" vis-à-vis... des nouveaux réseaux, en particulier les mesures visant l'équipement, le rôle d'Internet dans l'information, la décision, et les fonctions de "veille", de promotion des initiatives, de mutualïsation des besoins communs, etc.

* Position 3 : des associations éloignées des nouvelles technologies, qui ne disposent pas ou peu d'équipement informatique, et qui n'envisagent pas un usage d'Internet. Cette position nous a paru intéressante, pour décrypter l'éloignement aux nouvelles technologies : question de moyens? de culture? de distance professionnelle? d'absence d'expérience? autant de critère qu'on imagine combinés, et dont l'analyse doit permettre de situer des facteurs d'engagement dans le champ des nouvelles technologies. Cette troisième position donne aussi un contrepoint, notamment professionnel, aux zélateurs des nouvelles technologies.

* Position 4 : des associations fortement impliquées dans les nouvelles technologies, soit qu'elles aient inscrit cet axe en complément de leur activité antérieure (par exemple des régies de quartier, des Centres sociaux, des pôles emploi-formation poursuivant un projet Internet), soit qu'elles se soient constituées principalement sur cet objet (des associations " cyber-quelque chose ", créées pour promouvoir le développement d'Internet). Cette position nous a paru intéressante pour l'examen des réalisations, des accélérateurs et des freins, des usages, et pour recueillir "le fruit de l'expérience" du montage de projets liés aux nouvelles technologies.

Précisons qu'à travers ces quatre positions, nous cherchons des figures significatives de l'engagement, et non des "étapes" sur une ligne qui conduirait inéluctablement à la connexion.

l/ LES ASSOCIATIONS ET LEUR EQUIPEMENT INFORMATIQUE : une satisfaction d'ensemble, un accès relativement bien maîtrisé

1.1. Diversité de l'équipement, non corrélée à la taille ni au secteur de l'association

La lecture des tableaux de l'enquête par questionnaire illustre que la disparité de l'équipement informatique des associations interrogées n'est pas corrélée à leur taille. Certaines "grandes associations" (ex la Fonda) sont faiblement équipées, leurs ordinateurs ne sont pas en réseau, les logiciels utilisés paraissent peu nombreux; d'autres, de taille bien plus modeste (ex la régie de quartier Réservoir), sont bien équipées, leuts ordinateurs sont en réseau, des logiciels de mise en page sont utilisés, etc.

Par les entretiens avec des responsables associatifs, on se rend compte de l'extrême diversité des moyens utilisés pour s'équiper en informatique... et aussi d'un phénomène qu'on retrouvera pour toute l'enquête : dans le secteur associatif de l'insertion, l'acquisition des machines n'est pas le principal problème, sauf dans deux cas : lorsqu'il s'agit de toutes petites structures, lorsque les opérateurs sont dénués de toute compétence et de toute source d'information. En effet, les opérateurs les mieux informés arrivent avec un peu de " débrouille " à " récupérer " des machines à très bas prix, voire gratuites, vendues (déjà amorties) ou données par des fabricants, ou par des entreprises locales.

Le Centre social de Belleville s'est ainsi équipé de 7 ordinateurs... pour 3000 francs. Le directeur souligne que l'équipement informatique n'est pas véritablement un problème, qu'avec un peu de patience on trouve la solution gratuite ou très économique, et que les machines ainsi acquises remplissent parfaitement leurs fonctions, même si elles ne sont pas de la dernière génération. Le Centre social a d'abord acheté sur ses propres fonds 2 ordinateurs avec imprimante, pour 3000 francs, à une entreprise qui renouvelait sont matériel; ces deux machines ont permis d'initier l'atelier Internet, crédibilisant le projet Internet et facilitant la dévolution de 5 nouvelles machines par le réseau des Centres sociaux...

Toujours à Paris, un atelier de graphisme, créé par un chômeur, s'est fait une spécialité de récupérer et d'installer des matériels informatiques, service qui est proposé <> des prix hors marché.

1.2. La satisfaction généralement affichée tient moins aux caractéristiques techniques des machines, qu'au sentiment d'en maîtriser l'usage

La lecture des tableaux de l'enquête par questionnaire révèle que la satisfaction vis-à-vis de l'équipement informatique est quasi-générale.

Un paradoxe, cependant : la satisfaction vis-à-vis de l'équipement informatique paraît peu liée au nombre et aux caractéristiques techniques des machines... dans certaines limites cependant (obsolescence des ordinateurs, insuffisance numérique évidente). Des associations avec peu de machines se déclarent satisfaites, même si "rien n'est jamais parfait"; d'autres, apparemment bien équipées, semblent moins satisfaites, et envisagent de s'équiper davantage.

En fait, l'enquête par entretiens et certaines réponses au questionnaire indiquent que la satisfaction déclarée vis-à-vis du matériel informatique tient essentiellement au sentiment qu'on en maîtrise l'usage, et cette maîtrise en interne est assez largement diffusée. En quelques années, les associations se sont (très variablement) équipé en matériel informatique, et les responsables ont intégré cet outil devenu nécessaire à la gestion quotidienne de la structure.

Plusieurs réponses au questionnaire illustrent cette position :

Satisfaction vis-à-vis du matériel informatique (3 ordinateurs) car "ceux qui se servent des machines savent le faire", et "il y a peu de bêtises" (Maison de quartier, Brest) : on devine que des errements passés ont été supprimés avec l'apprentissage, qu'il y a désormais des personnes dans l'équipe sachant se servir des machines, et qu'on peut toujours compter sur elles pour débloquer des situations.

Autre satisfaction d'une entreprise d'insertion pour un petit matériel informatique (1 ordinateur), du fait que celui-ci "suffit à faire ce qu'on lui demande" (traitement de texte, comptabilité) : cette position ("mon verre est petit mais je bois dans mon verre") illustre une certaine relation à l'informatique, où l'on est content d'en maîtriser le minimum, sans chercher plus loin, au-delà du nécessaire à son métier... qui, finalement, paraît n'avoir pas grand chose à apprendre de l'outil informatique.

Exemple inverse confirmant le propos, l'insatisfaction de telle Maison de quartier brestoise tient visiblement à l'insuffisante maîtrise des logiciels, et non au manque de machines ou de logiciels. La réponse indique un "manque de temps", la formation à l'informatique étant interne.

Les associations et leur équipement informatique : l'idée générale est donc bien la maîtrise de l'outil informatique de base, sauf exceptions; l'ordinateur est devenu l'outil incontournable de la gestion courante d'une association, qui n'a pas besoin d'être de la dernière génération pour suffire à cette gestion; ce qui distingue les associations, c'est en fait l'accès à l'information en matière d'équipement : une minorité d'associations savent dépenser très peu pour s'équiper (de 0 à 2-3000 francs par machine), la majorité se contentant de dépenser peu (prix du marché) pour des machines qui n'ont pas besoin d'être très performantes.

Notons aussi que les décisions d'équipement sont décentralisées, les têtes de réseau n'ayant pas ou très peu d'incidence sur la nature et le rythme de l'équipement informatique.

2l LA CONNEXION A INTERNET : UN PAS SUPPLEMENTAIRE, PARAISSANT OBLIGÉ MAIS DIFFICILE A FAIRE

L'examen des motivations et des résistances face à "l'événement-connexion" met en avant une généralité, et singularise deux positions bien tranchées. La généralité, c'est que la connexion à Internet se diffuse très rapidement, depuis peu : 1998 est situé " au printemps de la connexion ". Les deux positions singulières se distinguent, quant à elles, sur l'axe de l'expérience (qui n'a pas grande relation avec celui de l'équipement informatique) : d'un côté, les néophytes, où tout paraît très compliqué, voire insurmontable; d'un autre côté, pour les initiés, l'utilité de la connexion paraît aller de soi, et les problèmes viennent alors de l'environnement (nombre trop réduit de connectés, problèmes techniques de connexion, faible soutien institutionnel à la diffusion du nouveau réseau). Cette polarité nous a conduit à interroger les néophytes plutôt sur leurs appréhensions et leurs demandes de soutien, et les initiés sur l'expérience de la connexion; précisons aussi que nous avons interrogé davantage d'initiés que de néophytes.

Nous examinons d'abord la généralité (1) et les deux positions (2), avant de dégager certains des freins et des facteurs facilitateurs à la connexion (3).

2.1 " Le printemps de la connexion

L'enquête met en avant une certaine " décrispation " vis-à-vis d'Internet, augurant, sinon un mouvement généralisé de connexion, du moins l'arrêt d'une certaine " guerre culturelle " telle qu'elle a pu être vécue ces trois dernières années. Précisons : les zélateurs de la connexion soulignent le plus souvent qu'il faudrait qu'une " révolution culturelle " se produise pour lever les réticences (centralisées, hiérarchiques) à une diffusion généralisée de l'outil nouveau; des opposants continuent d'invectiver le " virtuel ", l'accusant de n'avoir rien à apporter, de déformer la représentation du réel, etc.. Mais, de plus en plus, une voie relativement pragmatique met en avant les qualités de l'outil, son potentiel - en termes d'accès à l'information, d'échange de données, de gratuité et de rapidité. Sans entrer dans le détail des motivations à la connexion, signalons donc que le mouvement est à la connexion. De plus en plus, celle-ci apparaît comme un pas obligé - d'une manière un peu comparable à l'outil informatique ou au fax, il y a quelques années. L'intérêt pour Internet se diffuse à l'ensemble du champ.

Notons, cependant, que les motifs mis en avant pour refuser la connexion peuvent varier selon la distance au terrain :

Pour les tètes de réseau, c'est surtout le sentiment d'une insuffisante maturité (lié au manque d'organisation interne) justifie le report de la connexion. Pour les associations de proximité, on trouve en revanche des justifications d'ordre professionnel, de la part des néophytes.

Des associations (non connectées) répondent qu'Internet est inutile à leur activité, notamment parce que leur travail est "relationnel"; elles sont peu nombreuses, et coïncident très souvent avec des structures faiblement équipées en informatique (à ce niveau, il y a une certaine corrélation).

D'autres associations (non connectées) répondent qu'Internet n'est pas dans leurs priorités, indiquant parfois des éléments faisant penser que la connexion n'est pas projetée à court terme parce qu'elle paraît compliquée et coûteuse.

D'autres associations (non connectées) répondent qu'Internet les intéresserait (voire, pour des associations connectées, qu'un site WEB les intéresserait), mais qu'elles n'en ont pas les moyens... sans qu'elles semblent connaître en fait les moyens nécessaires à la connexion.

2.2. Appréhensions des néopljytes, modestie des initiés

* Le "monde d'Internet", "l'univers virtuel", apparaissent très complexes aux néophytes, paraissant demander de forces compétences pour la maîtrise de l'outil informatique lui-même, voire des langages utilisés sur la Toile, voire encore des facultés pour se repérer dans l'espace virtuel. De fait, le premier abord d'Internet n'est pas simple, et les expériences réussies sont toutes liées à l'engagement d'individus connaissant déjà l'outil - qui ont su montrer que cet outil n'était pas si compliqué que cela.

II est intéressant de pousser les entretiens avec les néophytes en leur faisant exprimer leurs appréhensions sur l'espace virtuel. On s'aperçoit alors qu'il existe bien une "résistance méthodologique", qui tend à "refuser avant de connaître", et qui s'accompagne souvent d'une appréhension engageant toute l'identité professionnelle, ou la position dans la société. Beaucoup de stéréotypes circulent : internet pour les privilégiés, qui n'a jamais permis de trouver un emploi, qui détache de la réalité, qui n'est pas relationnel, qui ne sert qu'à dériver ou à se débaucher, etc. En fait, la plupart du temps, c'est plutôt une déclaration d'incompétence face à la machine : on ne s'assoit pas à la table dont on ne connaît rien du menu, et l'on préfère continuer son chemin avec des méthodes éprouvées.

* A un autre pôle, celui des expériences déjà réalisées, on constate le caractère essentiel de l'engagement d'un individu déjà initié, qui a su prendre sur lui de démontrer la facilité d'accès au réseau. Tel responsable de régie de quartier (Réservoir, Nevers) était déjà connecté et utilisait déjà régulièrement le WEB quand il a initié le projet d'ouvrir des lieux multimédia dans deux quartiers difficiles. Idem pour le Centre social de Belleville. Les personnes "déclencheurs" ne sont pas toujours, loin s'en faut, les responsables de structures, mais bien souvent des membres de l'association, ou tel salarié, ou encore très fréquemment tel stagiaire, tel jeune sous contrat précaire.

2.3. Freins et facilitateurs de la connexion

Tout en gardant à l'esprit les deux points précédents, nous voulons isoler certains des freins et des facteurs facilitateurs dans les expériences analysées,

a/ Deux freins méritent qu'on s'y attarde :

* Méconnaissance de l'outil et configuration institutionnelle peuvent se combiner pour rendre difficile la connexion.

Dans plusieurs cas, une certaine résistance des hiérarchies institutionnelles est présentée comme une source de difficultés - qu'il s'agisse de projets réalisés ou non. Dans ces cas, les hiérarchies sont présentées comme éloignées des réalisations qui peuvent se faire avec Internet... selon le schéma assez classique de "l'éloignement au terrain". En fait, les hiérarchies sont, soit dans une position de "promoteur" des nouvelles technologies, ce qui semble assez rare, soit dans une position de résistance : ce n'est pas une priorité, parce qu'Internet n'est qu'un outil, qui paraît très coûteux et dont on ne perçoit pas l'utilité directe dans le contexte professionnel.

L'enquête auprès des structures en position de tête de réseau confirme les difficultés de certaines hiérarchies à promouvoir la connexion. Ces difficultés sont, cette fois-ci, " culturelles ", liées au rapport au pouvoir. Sur le fond, il faut que la tête de réseau soit suffisamment assurée de son réseau, pour encourager la connexion; le réseau technique d'Internet sera plus facilement accepté qu'il vient servir un réseau humain préexistant.

La FNARS illustre parfaitement ce point : alors que la Fédération nationale est tout à fait une cible " pour Internet, la connexion c'est pas vécue comme une priorité, du fait du manque d'organisation au siège : à quoi servirait un réseau dernier cri, si les éléments qui le composent ne se connaissent pas - en particulier si la tête n'entretient pas, au préalable, des relations suivies avec les structures locales?

Le CNLRQ confirme ce point, par un exemple inverse : c'est parce que le Comité de liaison est suffisamment conforté dans sa mission d'animation de structures autonomes, que l'utilité d'Internet apparaît clairement. LE CNLRQ, comme tête de réseau, n'est pas en position hiérarchique, mais bien en position d'animation de réseau. C'est pourquoi le Comité national est très favorable aussi au développement des liens entre régies de quartier elles-mêmes.

* La connexion à Internet oblige les structures à s'interroger sur leur environnement physique et social.

Formulé comme tel, on ne voit pas où est le frein. Pourtant, c'est bien la nature ouverte d'Internet qui pose un problème aux institutions, et ce, jusqu'aux associations. La comparaison avec l'outil informatique est utile : si l'ordinateur est très généralement perçu comme un outil intérieur des structures (on s'en sert pour la gestion, plus occasionnellement le met-on à disposition des habitants pour les aider dans leurs démarches), la connexion à Internet, et plus encore le site WEB, conduisent à poser le problème de l'ouverture des structures sur leur environnement. Le problème est généralement posé dans une double dimension : 1/ le contenu -> sur quoi s'informe-t-on et informe-t-on via le Net? que met-on sur le WEB?, et 2/ l'accès, la mise à disposition du matériel : dans quelle mesure doit-on mettre à disposition cette ressource rare et riche?

Ces interrogations prennent un sens différents selon la proximité au terrain : si, pour les têtes de réseau, Internet oblige à s'interroger sur l'organisation du réseau (en particulier, e partage des information et du pouvoir), pour les associations de proximité, c'est la relation au quartier qui est en jeu.

b/ Parmi les facilitateurs à la connexion, signalons :

* L'engagement préalable de membres de l'association. La quasi-totalité des expériences analysées sont parties d'un engagement personnel d'un membre de l'association, qui a montré aux autres que la connexion n'était pas complexe, et que le réseau avant des avantages. Les opérateurs soulignent très généralement qu'il faut montrer Internet pour dépassionner le débat, et dés inhiber les personnes, et qu'il est très utile de "vulgariser" les nouvelles technologies, qui sont, malgré les apparences, d'un accès facile.
* L'encouragement financier, en particulier pour l'équipement initial. Matériellement, la plupart des expériences dont nous avons eu connaissance sont parties d'un premier investissement sur des fonds propres, par autofinancement. Cette volonté de faire, qui l'a emporté, ne doit pas faire perdre de vue que certaines associations butent sur la question de l'investissement initial, incluant les machines mais aussi la formation de base.

2.4/ Des demandes de soutien inversement proportionnelles aux réalisations.

Nous exagérons un peu le trait pour se faire comprendre : la méconnaissance d'Internet, faisant croire au caractère très compliqué et très coûteux de la connexion et de l'usage, conduit à formuler des besoins très importants - les néophytes demandent tout à la fois des matériels, de la formation, de la maintenance, des postes de fonctionnement, d'informaticiens. Inversement, ceux qui ont monté un projet insistent sur le faible investissement initial, et, en fait, sur le caractère incontournable de la "débrouille", du tâtonnement, de la pratique. L'apprentissage d'Internet fonctionnerait comme celui d'une danse : il n'est pas nécessaire de prendre beaucoup de cours, avant de pratiquer, mais il faut pratiquer au plus vite, pour s'enrichir des cours.

Dans les propos des responsables d'associations non connectées, sauf désintérêt affiché pour la connexion, on trouve donc surtout une gêne, du fait de la méconnaissance : la connexion coûtera-t-elle cher ? Faut-il renouveler le matériel informatique? Faut-il maîtriser très bien des logiciels nouveaux? Faudra-t-il former toute l'équipe, régulièrement?... autant de questions auxquelles les néophytes s effraient de répondre positivement.

Les initiés ont tendance, pour leur part, à mieux cibler leurs demandes de soutien, tout en connaissant le faible engagement des institutions. Trois types de demandes se présentent, dont nous verrons plus bas les contenus :

* une demande d'aide à l'équipement, certes, mais ciblée sur des éléments peu négociables par les associations, en particulier les serveurs locaux (un responsable associatif lance le mot d'ordre : "offrez-nous un serveur local, nous vous offrons un contenu d'utilité publique").

* une demande "d'événementiel" (type Fête de l'Internet), et plus généralement d'une politique plus large de promotion d'Internet. Les "événements" permettent en effet de mobiliser, et de montrer en pratique l'utilité de la Toile.

* une demande de soutien au fonctionnement des projets, par la mutualisation de fonctions telles que les postes techniques d'informaticien-réseau, et ceux de "médiateur".

3/ DES USAGES SOLIDAIRES ET COOPERATIFS DES NOUVELLES ASSOCIATIONS PAR LES ASSOCIATIONS

L'analyse des usages des nouvelles technologies, et singulièrement d'Internet par les associations sous l'angle de l'insertion est un exercice difficile, non seulement parce que l'insertion est un concept ouvert (où commence et où s'arrête l'insertion?), qu'Internet est un outil très malléable, mais encore parce que les actions sont souvent très récentes, en ces années de "printemps de la connexion". Pour autant, nous avons observé des usages solidaires et coopératifs d'Internet et des nouvelles technologies, usages encore peu établis, et marqués par la force du discours des pratiques "pionnières".

Usage solidaire : des lieux pour l'accès gratuit au réseau s'ouvrent en direction des populations pauvres, faisant d'Internet un outil pour des projets d'insertion (1). Usage coopératif : des réseaux associatifs, plus ou moins formalisés, s'organisent, davantage pour partager de l'information et pour promouvoir des liens, que pour transformer encore leur mode de décision, et faisant des Intranets et d'Internet des outils pour la "structuration du monde associatif" (2).

3. l/ Libre accès et projet d'insertion : des lieux "animés" pour un usage solidaire d'Internet

Cyber-cafés ou espace multimédia de proximité ? Manifestation ponctuelle (type Bus multimédia) ou installation pérenne ? Alors que, dans la plupart des agglomérations se multiplient les cyber-cafés qui remplissent avant tout une fonction de guichet d'accès au Net, des associations de proximité intègrent des espaces multimédias dans leur projet, donnant à ces outils une destination qui tente de dépasser la simple " consommation de technologies ".

Quelques expériences nous permettent de voir à quelles conditions l'usage solidaire d'Internet est rendu possible.

* Du côté des motivations, il est certain que "l'effet mode" d'Internet intervient : la Toile intéresse, en particulier les jeunes, par son image moderne, parce que des mouvements musicaux s'y expriment, parce qu'on parle de "révolution", qu'on peut entrer en contact avec toutes sortes de gens, etc. Internet est de ce fait un levier de travail social, beaucoup plus porteur que des activités "occupation nelles". Cet effet "mode" s'inscrit sur une toile de fond d'un intérêt plus large pout la technologie, notamment pour l'informatique. Les acteurs institutionnels (au sens large) ont aussi une carte à jouer, l'équipement informatique personnel étant encore, au moins pour quelques années, un bien rare. Des responsables associatifs parlent ainsi du " créneau "historique : un peu comme les journaux au XVIIIème siècle, l'outil multimédia, loin de maintenir l'individu derrière son écran, peut stimuler la rencontre et devenir ainsi le vecteur d'une sociabilité. A la création du téléphone, nombreux sont ceux qui ont cru que les gens se contenteraient de s'appeler, sans se rendre visite. Le phénomène inverse s'est produit : le téléphone a multiplié les rencontres. Le recul manque aujourd'hui pour avoir une analyse de l'effet quantitatif d'Internet en termes de rencontres, mais il semble d'or et déjà que le parallèle avec le téléphone puisse être fait.

* Les modalités d'ouverture de lieux multimédia soulignent que l'usage solidaire d'Internet est à l'opposé du modèle consumériste en vigueur dans les cyber-cafés. Le cyber-café loue du matériel, une adresse e-mail, à des consommateurs solitaires, qui peuvent recourir en cas de besoin aux service d'un technicien (la plupart du temps un jeune, formé sur le tas, et mal rémunéré); le projet est individuel, et la sociabilité fonctionne sur le mode de l'anonymat qui prévaut dans les relations en public. A l'inverse, les espaces multimédia de proximité (appelons-les ainsi) sont investis par des groupes, c'est la dimension collective qui est mise en avant : le réseau mis

à disposition gratuitement est l'outil d'un projet individuel et collectif.

Chacune des expériences analysées illustre ce travail du collectif :

La régie de quartier Réservoir (Nevers) projetait initialement d'ouvrir deux cyber-cafés, dans les deux quartiers d'habitat social où elle est implantée - un peu sur le modèle des cafés à thème (cafés-musique) qui ont eu cours dans les années 80. Le projet avait été validé par la ville, qui elle-même (service de la communication) projetait d'ouvrir un lieu de consultation au point accueil-jeune du centre-ville. La discussion avec Neronnexion, dans le cadre d'une formation dispensée par cette association, a infléchi le projet : dans le contexte des quartiers d'habitat social de Nevers, la dimension collective devait être valorisée; l'outil multimédia pouvait servir, en plus des projets individuels (recherche d'information, d'emploi, rédaction de C.V., etc.), des projets collectifs : élaboration d'un site collectif, présentant le quartier, les activités qui s'y développent, dialogues avec d'autres quartiers, d'autres pays, etc. Cette perspective a modifié la préparation du projet elle-même : les responsables de la régie ont recherché à associer le plus grand nombre d'habitants à l'outil multimédia, en passant par les réseaux existants, pour éviter qu'il ne soit utilisé par une seule frange de la population (jeunes, chômeurs). Un ordinateur, par exemple, est prêté au réseau d'échange de savoirs, composé principalement de femmes, mères de familles qui échangent des savoirs ménagers, le prêt étant justifié par la volonté que ces mères de familles utilisent elles aussi l'informatique. Les nouvelles technologies permettent ainsi de monter des projets ouverts sur l'extérieur, dépassant les limites étroites du quartier, tout en valorisant l'identité de celui-ci - et c'est cette interaction entre l'intérieur et l'extérieur qui renouvelle la relation d'insertion.

Le Centre social de Belleville (Paris) fait de l'ouverture au quartier le maitre-mot de sont projet Internet : il y a une demande locale pour la mise à disposition des nouvelles technologies; mais cette demande est à travailler : il faut initier à l'utilisation des machines, conforter les projets individuels, favoriser l'échange avec d'autres groupes, et valoriser les liens entre habitants; cette ouverture au quartier se vérifie par les horaires d'ouverture (notamment le soir, avec un atelier Internet ouvert le mardi à partir de 20 heures), par l'intégration d'Internet dans les activités régulières du Centre (notamment, des jeux de type "jeux de pistes" sont organisés avec des jeunes), et, d'une manière plus forte, par le site "Belleville" en cours de constitution. A travers quelques mois d'activité, l'équipe du Centre social souligne que l'outil multimédia est propice à l'échange, par son interactivité, et qu'il facilite la relation coopérative : très vite, chacun apporte quelque chose aux autres, très vite "la débrouille" est collective, les informations peuvent être rnutualisées - et c'est finalement un collectif humain qui se sert de la machine. Cet usage coopératif est propice à la relation d'insertion, que ce soit pour conforter des projets individuels, ou pour expérimenter des échanges sociaux.

L'expérience des Bus multimédia de l'association Coup de Puces illustre encore - sans Internet cette fois - les apports et l'intérêt de l'outil multimédia vis-à-vis de la relation d'insertion. Une fois par semaine, le bus propose à des groupes scolaires un parc de 8 PC équipés de logiciels ludo-éducatifs; l'usage est toujours partagé (deux enfants par ordi--nateur), et la fréquentation régulière permet un travail collectif. Les responsables, issus de l'Education nationale, soulignent que l'ordinateur modifie la relation éducative : non seulement maître et élèves font face à la machine, au lieu d'être face-à-face comme dans la salle de classe (avec le tableau noir comme médiateur asymétrique), mais encore l'adulte sait que l'élève pourra peut-être très vite lui apprendre quelque chose sur l'usage de la machine - la "débrouille" distribuant les armes sans distinction hiérarchique. Sans tomber dans l'angélisme ni dans un relativisme radical, les responsables de l'association soulignent l'ampleur des changements dans la relation éducative, l'adaptation que tels changements demandent au corps enseignant, et la nature "valorisante" de l'outil multimédia dans l'apprentissage. Ils soulignent aussi l'ampleur de la demande sociale, et le fait que c'est l'étroitesse de l'offre qui dissuade de faire une promotion plus large du service offert dans les bus.

L'expérience d'Ars Longa (Paris) illustre la promotion d'un usage solidaire et ponctuel des nouvelles technologies. L'association Ars Longa, implantée à Belleville depuis un an pour promouvoir le spectacle vivant et les artistes de l'Est parisien, a profité de la Fête de l'Internet pour monter un projet multimédia - l'espace d'un week-end seulement maïs articulant les différents volets de son travail de terrain (avec les artistes, les écoles, et plus généralement les habitants du quartier). Pendant trois jours, la Global Galery du Moulin Joly (du nom de la salle où l'association est implantée) a mis à disposition gratuite du public ordinateurs, scanners, logiciels de graphisme et connexions Internet; les enfants ont mis en ligne leurs dessins, à côté de ceux d'artistes établis; des contacts ont été pris avec des groupes d'autres écoles, d'autres quartiers et pays; finalement, un vernissage commun a été organisé, virtuel et réel - la Global Gallery continuant son existence sur le Net. Pour être ponctuelle, l'expérience est intéressante sous l'angle de l'usage solidaire d'Internet assorti d'un projet : les initiateurs soulignent que la Global Gallery a bien fonctionné parce que l'accès était gratuit, mais surtout parce que le projet était suffisamment mobilisateur, mettant en valeur des ressources existant dans l'environnement. Et c'est de cette expérience qu'est né le projet d'un espace multimédia pérenne.

Libre accès et projet d'insertion : les initiateurs "d'espaces multimédia de proximité" soulignent donc les relations étroites de l'insertion et du multimédia, ainsi que la nécessité d'une animation de ces lieux sur la base d'un projet - au lieu d'une simple mise à disposition technique comme dans les cyber-cafés. Les nouvelles technologies - au premier chef Internet, puisque c'est l'outil le plus connu - sont un levier de valorisation individuelle et collective; encore faut-il que la plate-forme ait un projet, et des médiateuts pour promouvoir ce projet. Se dessine ainsi la fonction "d'animateur -médiateur-nouvelles technologies", où l'on demande une forte compétence technique (faire marcher et montrer comment marchent les machines) et relationnelle (développer et gérer le projet, en face-à-face avec les usagers). Cette fonction, assurée dans un premier temps par les membres de l'association, doit assez vite être assurée par un salarié à temps plein - pour des raisons budgétaires, les projets vont actuellement à des contrats emploi-jeune.

3.2./ Structuration du monde associatif par l'usage coopératif d'Internet et d'Intranet : des expériences limitée et prometteuses de liens transversaux plus forts

Par un usage coopératif d'Internet et des Intranets, des associations se structurent par affinités thématiques et/ou proximité territoriale, de manière balbutiante mais prometteuse de liens transversaux plus forts, et justifiant certainement un appui par les institutions.

* Nous avons souligné parmi les freins à la connexion, une certaine réticence des têtes de réseau à promouvoir une politique de connexion, signe d'une certaine faiblesse... des relations de réseau elles-mêmes. Au mieux, certaines fédérations envisagent, pas pour l'immédiat, d'installer un Intranet, d'abord pour de l'échange d'information, et parfois avec une perspective plus forte allant jusqu'à la préparation des décisions. Sans pouvoir être précis sur ce point - faute d'avoir rencontré d'exemple suffisamment abouti -, signalons que les têtes de réseau, outre l'obstacle "culturel", "politique", déjà mentionné, butent sur une contrainte matérielle : l'installation de la "tuyauterie" suppose un équipement suffisant des membres du réseau, et une tête de réseau proposant un Intranet se verrait assez vite retourné des demandes d'équipement informatique... Vu de la "tête", l'équipement du réseau paraît une opération lourde, un investissement trop important, et la "débrouille" si utile n'a plus cours - d'autant qu'il y a des néophytes dans le réseau, qui eux-mêmes tendent à charger la barque. Dans ce contexte, la tendance est plutôt... d'attendre que les membres du réseau s'équipent, de consulter des experts sur le coût d'un réseau, d'équiper la tête de réseau elle-même, en particulier d'un WEB (vitrine dont on espère qu'elle sera un jour une plate-forme), et de continuer de travailler avec des méthodes éprouvées (téléphone, fax, courrier, réunions...). Le plus souvent, le réseau Internet et Intranet apparaît encore comme un système très coûteux d'échange d'informations.

* Dans ce contexte, les expériences coopératives d'Internet et d'Intranet existent plutôt sur le plan local, par affinités thématiques et/ou proximité territoriale, hors relation hiérarchique et avec le concours (souvent militant) d'acteurs et d'associations "pro-multimédia". C'est en effet dans ces relations non hiérarchiques que s'exprime la dimension coopérative d'Internet : gratuité des relations, mise à disposition réciproque des informations, notamment par des bases de données, échange de compétences et d'outils (logiciels, solutions techniques, etc.). En fait, la dimension coopérative et "bricoleuse" intervient dès l'amont, au moment de l'équipement et du montage opérationnel; mais c'est la réalité, la teneur du réseau humain - préexistant et conforté par le réseau technique - qui semble le critère de l'effet de "structuration".

La régie de quartier Réservoir illustre la volonté de coopération "tous azimuts" avec les associations locales, et avec des régies de quartiers et autres structures d'insertion implantées ailleurs. Internaute, le directeur de la régie entretient des relations régulières, notamment par une liste de diffusion, avec d autres régies et structures d'insertion; le Net permet l'échange et la capitalisation d'information sur des thèmes très opérationnels - usage des emplois jeunes, types de contrats passés avec les bailleurs sociaux, services de proximité émergents... autant de sujets que le CNLRQ souhaiterait lui-même capitaliser et diffuser dans le réseau des régies de quartier. En plus de ces échanges thématiques, la régie vise à diffuser l'usage du multimédia par les associations et les habitants do quartier.

Le projet Cybelleville articule étroitement usage coopératif d'Interner, développement social et développemenr territorial. L'objectif est de mettre sur le réseau Internet... le réseau des acteurs sociaux du territoire (Belleville, puis l'Est parisien), de relier les lieux multimédia, pour démocratiser l'accès aux nouvelles technologies et développer "l'intelligence collective" (P. Lévy) sur le territoire. Concrètement, sur les bases de lignes d'action communes - accès gratuit à Internet, mise en réseau des acteurs locaux, constitution de "pépinières multimédia" -, il s'agit de créer une association, finançant elle-même un poste de "médiateur-coordinateur-technicien" utile à chacun dans ses démarches, et utile à tous dans l'interface avec l'extérieur (notamment institutionnel); il s'agit aussi de faire vivre un site commun au territoire, carrefour des sites déjà existants, mais aussi plate-forme apportant sa propre valeur ajoutée (notamment, par une base de données socio-économique sur le territoire, réalisée sous logiciels Gingo et Espace X). L'association est en cours de constitution, rencontrant un écho favorable auprès des élus locaux (qui ont toujours tendance à demander un "interlocuteur unique"), et une certaine adhésion des associations du territoire. Très vite, cependant, va se poser la question d'un serveur local et des connexion, qu'il serait utile de mutualiser.

Structtiration du monde associatif par l'usage coopératif d'Internet et d'intranet : des expériences existent, hors relation hiérarchique et prometteuses de liens interassociatifs plus forts. L'initiative ne revient pas aux têtes de réseau, mais bien au terrain lui-même, des associations multipliant leurs liens par affinités thématiques et/ou proximité géographiques, avec la complicité d'associations et d'acteurs "pro-Internet" Les sites WEB reflètent la réalité et la vigueur du réseau humain qui porte le réseau technique : souvent coquille vide, parfois espace de rencontre et de promotion collective. Les initiateurs des quelques expériences analysées soulignent ainsi l'importance du réseau humain, condition nécessaire à toute "structuration", mais aussi l'utilité d'un soutien technique fort aux projets coopératifs. "Offrez-nous un serveur local, nous vous offrons un contenu d'utilité publique fort" : cette réponse au questionnaire (à la question : "quel soutien attendriez-vous d'une institution?") illustre bien la position d'acteurs de terrain dont le projet est déjà bien établi, qui demandent un soutien technique. La fonction technique d'informaticien réseau manque elle aussi, étant inabordable par une seule structure, et encore difficile à mutualiser. Des serveurs locaux, des informaticiens, des formations pour le personnel : les demandes pour aider la structuration des associations vont ainsi au volet technique. Pour le moment, les associations "pro-Internet", à l'exemple de Globenet et de Neuronnexion, sont en position d'aider les associations à structurer leur projet "nouvelles technologies".

Activists beyond borders - and theorists within them

by Peter Waterman

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998. 227pp.

Introduction

Keck and Sikkink (henceforth K&S) have written a very good book. No, an excellent one. It is going to be both academically and politically influential. My guess is that it will become a standard teaching text on what they call transnational advocacy networks (even if I call them international solidarity ones). One reason for this expecation is that they work on this novel subject matter within new, but not-unfamiliar, theoretical paradigms. A second is that they do so within politically established ones. A third is that this is a highly professional work, even a technical one, and that these things are sorely needed in the world of international non-governmenral organisations (NGOs), still largely becalmed in a sea of global-civil-sociery babble. Theirs is, finally, a confidently and tightly argued work with a nice combination of theory, literature discussion and case study.

Argument

K&S has a sophisticated theoretical introduction. It has a chapter on history, or pre-history. Three case study chapters deal with transnational networks on human rights in Latin America, on the environment, and on violence against women. The conclusion summarises usefully.

Theory. K&S trawl international relations, social movement, network and other theory to come up with their major model. This is of local NGO initiative surpassing recalcitrant local states, reaching foreign and international NGOs, foreign states and international organisations, so as to 'boomerang' back on local ones (13, fig.l)- But this major model is not as central as first appears. The theory chapter itself, and the succeeding ones, offer us an expanding battery of concepts and typologies to aid analysis, evaluation and strategy.

Crucial is the combination of concepts in the book's subtitle (8-10, 32-34). Advocacy is the promotion of causes, principles and norms that go beyond a conventional understanding of 'interest'. A network is a horizontal, voluntary, reciprocal pattern of exchange and communication. Conventional contemporary understandings of international politics or relations are criticised, as are those that would subsume transnational advocacy networks (henceforth TANs) 'under notions of transnational social movements or global civil society' (33). K&S prefer to see a global civil society more as a fragmented and contested arena of struggle in which TANs dispute with(in) states and inter-state organisations, press on these, find each other, form and transform themselves. Sub-sections of Chapter 1 explain the origins and rise of the TANs, how they work, and the conditions for influence. In each case the specification is original and insightful. Repeated conceptualisations offer us a toolchest where we previously had only steamhammers. Three examples:

> Our typology of tactics...includes 1) information politics...; 2) symbolic politics... 3) leverage politics... 4) accountability politics... (16)
> To assess the influence of advocacy networks...[w]e identify the following types or stages of network influence: 1) issue creation and agenda setting; 2) influence on discursive positions of states and international organisations; 3) influence on institutional procedures; 4) influence on policy change in ' target actors'...and; 5) influence on state behaviour. (25)
> [F]ocusing on international interactions involving nonstate actors...we distinguish three different categories based on their motivations: 1) those with essentially instrumental goals, especially transnational corporations; 2) those motivated primarily by shared causal ideas, such as scientific groups or episternic communities and 3) those motivated primarily by shared principled ideas or values (transnational advocacy networks). (30)

History. K&S recognise three different historical traditions behind contemporary TAN activity: the religious, the labour/socialist, and the individual rights one. Their history chapter however, deals only with those coming out of the religious and rights traditions: with the international 19th or early 20th century campaigns 1) against slavery in the US, 2) for women's suffrage worldwide, and 3) against footbinding and female circumcision in the then (semi-) colonial world. More concepts are developed, including the distinction and dialectic between a solidarity model which assumes a community of interest or fate and an individual rights one that does not.

Cases. The three case studies are chosen by K&S because of their international significance. Using data from the International Union of Associations' invaluable Yearbook of International Associations, they argue that these represent about half of the international TAN community. But it is only somewhere in the

" Insitute of Social Studies. The Hague

middle of the book that they comment on what has already become apparent,'that they are also sttessing North-South networking, or the North-South aspects of networking (132). No reason is given for this, so we have to assume it as being due to both authors being Latin Americanists, or to them considering the North-South axis the dominant one internationally. Chapter 3, on human rights networks in Latin America is thus, primarily, about human rights networks on Latin America, though the point is firmly established that the on and in are not only interlinked but mutually influencing. This last point is ctucial to the chapter on TANs working on violence against women, in so far as this issue is seen as having allowed for a surpassing of a North-to-South model with its built-in conflicts of intetest and values.

Conclusions. This chapter is useful as a summary of the book as a whole but does not really add to the argument. The conclusion does, however, raise directly the question of sovereignty. K&S seem to be concerned with nation state sovereignty not only because of their political view of the global mentioned above but also because of their recognition of the continued attachment of Southern activists to at least 'the idea of the state' (215) as a symbol of self-determination. K&S here value networks as a space within which the sovereignty-sceptical attitudes of the Northern activists can be balanced against sovereignty-positive ones of the South.

Commentary

Although this is nowhere made explicit, my assumption is that K&S ate from the left (with 'from' suggesting either political origin or current position). This is suggested by their familiarity with, and even sympathy for, the labour and socialist tradition, particularly in Latin America. They are certainly working on the front edge of both conventional international politics and social science. I think, however, they are doing this from within certain parameters of both the academy and activism. I think they are also doing it within certain social and geographic ones. And there seems to me to be a certain paradox in dealing with this transformatory, emancipatory and internationalist subject mattet within such borders.

Let us consider the K&S view of the international/global; their attitude toward the labour/solidarity tradition; the class and geographic bias in their approach; the problematic lexicon that reveals this; and the liberal-pluralist orientation of the work as a whole.

Despite its conceptual sophistication and sensitivity, there is in this work no explicit theoretical world-view (either Weltanschauung or view-of-the-global), Indeed, there is no reference to globalisation in general or the internationalisation of capital in particular. The theoretically critical and socially committed literature on globalisation is ignored, along with the related ones on the globalisation of culture, of citizenship and of social movements. Capital itself makes its rate appearance in the guise of transnational corporations (and even here mostly in reference to one campaign). The blind eye to globalisation means that K&S are working, inevitably, within traditional liberal (or leftist) political and academic paradigms that their own subject matter and arguments actually put in question. This includes a division of the world into North and South, along develop men talist/dependency lines, at a time in which a more complex view is increasingly required and recognised. In so far as they have some view of the global, it is, as I have suggested, a political one. It is, they say, the 'world political system' that is the 'appropriate level of analysis' (212). Although they obviously reject the notion that nation states are the only actors here, they believe that in

> the world political system today, states remain the predominant actors...The cosmopolitan community can bring pressure to bear at stages of the domestic process, but the state is still in charge, (ibid)

Despite all the evidence they give of TANs questioning, subverting or reducing the relative power of the nation state, of TANs as operating within globalised institutions, or on/in globalised communicational and cultural terrain, K&S see them as essentially political and as operating essentially on/in the nation state. This helps us understand why they object to TANs being subsumed under either a global civil society or global social movement discourse. But their state-centred approach also means that TANs are cannot even be seriously considered in relationship to the latter.

The significance of the restriction becomes evident when we consider the K&S treatment of labour and socialism. These are recognised as representing one historical tradition, but this is done in passing, and, whilst K&S recognise the contemporary significance of the dialectic between communal-solidarity and individual-rights orientations to TNA activity, labours present significance is dismissed in the following terms:

> Although labour internationalism has survived the decline of the left, it is based mainly on large membership organisations representing (however imperfectly) bounded constitutences. Where advocacy networks have formed around labor issues, they have been transitory, responding to repression of domestic labour movements (as in labour support networks formed around Brazil, South Africa, and Central America in the early 1980s). (15)

The first sentence is true and important. The second is not and this is just as important A number of significant labour rights networks have survived or even developed in the 1990s, in both the UK and the USA, as well as in, for example, South Korea. In so far, moreover, as: 1) national and global power is moving from states to corporations, 2) labour protest is reviving internationally, 3) international labour organisations are beginning to fight back against global neo-liberalism, 4) that they are applying themselves to rights issues in particular (including those of women and children on the periphery of the wage relationship), 5) that they are even recognising the significance of the network form (Danish General Workers Union 1997), then one has to either rule unions out definitionally or have a broader definition of the TAN. K&S have taken the first option. There are implications, not least being the failure to recognise that TANs might (and do) reproduce the historical shortcomings of labour and socialist internationalism! These include hierarchisation, bureaucratisation, ritualisation, incorporation into hegemonic forms and norms, subordination to state and interstate institutions, substitution for the membership/community in question, and financial dependency (to which I will return).

More grave is the class bias of such an exclusion. The historical and contemporary cases considered by K&S are all middle-class - indeed Western, or even US middle-class - in origin and appeal, all 'progressive' in aim, all 'nice' in behaviour. The Western and middle-class origins or appeal of the TANs does not at all disqualify them, or even reduce their significance, but it is problematic and could lead to a 'globalisation from the middle'. This could then be limited to completing the unfinished business of capitalist modernity: the universalisation of the liberal democratic nation state. TANs, secondly, are not limited to 'progressive' causes. In writing on internationalism, over 70 years ago, the Peruvian Marxist, Jose Carlos Mariategui (1973), noted the paradox that even the racist, militaristic and statist fascists were 'internationalist'. This was actually no paradox at all but an expression of the globalisation avant la lettre of social life in the early 20th century. Today we still have TANs of fascists, and of militaristic socialists, to which must be added the large and growing ones of racists, and of religious conservatives and fundamentalists.

It is, moreover, not only the rightwing social movements that network and advocate internationally. This behaviour could well be seen as characteristic of capitalism as such under informatisation/globalisation! To thus see the matter is to remove the aura of virtue that surrounds 'networking' in the K&S lexicon. And, in so far as a globalised networked capitalism is increasingly a cultural one (cultural commodities and experiences, creation of meanings and feelings), it is concerned with 'advocacy' in both the most general sense and in the more legal one. I do not think the K&S distinction between interest and values is adequate here, since there can be reactionary/conservative values and progressive/transformatory interests (the values/interests distinction is, in any case, dialectical rather than oppositional). Finally, I think that the essentially political term 'transnational' is too narrow a word for both what capitalism is doing and the new terrain of democratic pluralist struggle. Even 'globalisation' is inadequate, it occurs to me, since capitalist activity is increasingly in the ether. This means that it actually surrounds the globe. This sphere is as little national as is the ecosphere, although - as with the ecosphere - capital and (inter-)state organisations here predominate. If this is a domain of politics, it is of a globalised, cultural and communicational politics (of Castells 1996, 1997, 1998, discussed Waterman Forthcoming A), supranational, and in need of similarly supranational forms of oversight, access and control.

Back to earth. And money. K&S consider as major possible actors within TANs not only the national and international NGOs themselves hut also, and equally,

> 2} local social movements; 3) foundations; 4) the media; 5) churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, and intellectuals; 6) pans of regional and international intergovernment organizations; and 7) parts of the executive and, or parliamentary branches of governments. (9)

Indeed, when talking of human rights networking they even say that 'foundations may be the most autonomous of all the actors in the network, (97). This is due to what /would consider their most capitalist/statist characteristics - independent incomes and self-perpetuating boards of trustees! The argument is followed up by praise for a Dutch funding agency and policy makers, the first for involving "partners' (a nice PR term for financially-dependent clients) in decision-making, the second for being simultaneously or indiscriminality in governmental, academic, NGO and other networks (which could blur or even obscure what should be a public, creative and socially-mobilising tension between such).

What K&S are offering us, it turns out, is a liberal-democratic pluralist model of the national and international, in which everything is penetrated or penetrable by enlighted middle-class citizen networking. K&S here appear as successors rather than originators, since they were preceded by the equally sophisticated work of Willets (1982) - to whom they grant only a bibliographical reference (129, fn. 24). Accepting such a model is to ignore or conceal deepening problems and contradictions. These are signified by the current neo-liberalisation of NGOs, the crisis of North-to-South funding, and the "NGOisation" of social movements and civil society, North and South, East and West. This is now coming to the critical attention of, for example, feminist scholars (Alvarez 1998. Alvarez has worked in the movement, the NGOs and the foundations, but is evidently more than aware of the tensions). Enormous power, wealth and cultural influence is increasingly concentrated in the hands of capital globally (which is to say globalised capital, in increasingly intangible forms); nation-states are still able to 'discipline and punish'; foundations and other powerful funders, finally, have their own interests, agendas, criteria and procedures.

I must now recall Gandhi's response to the British journalist who asked him what he thought of Western civilisation: it would, he said, be a wonderful idea. The democratisation of the world would also be so, particularly if it implied the democratisation of those parts of national and international power presently concealed from public view and controlled by capital or the executive branches of state (or inter-state) bodies. This applies, however, not only to the recalcitrant states on the capitalist periphery, forefronted in the K&S boomerang model, but to the liberal-democratic capitalist states that dominate international politics! But, one should not, even in this much-to-be-desired case, forget that liberal-democratic, or social-democratic, capitalism also reproduces competition, inequality, patriarchy, environmental destruction, crime (from which it is always demarcated by the finest of constantly shifting lines). Capitalism - of every variety - also means corn-modification - the reduction of humans and their relations to that which can be bought, sold - and acculmated. To surpass this, or even to effectively modify it in a manner both K&S and 1 desire, requires a vision of a possible, desirable and attractive alternative to it, based on more social (not to say socialist) principles. This is what is customarily called a Utopia - something also absent from this work. Yet such a realistic global Utopia (Giddens 1990, Sousa Santos 1995: Ch.8) - a global alternative to a neo-liberal globalisation - is being either articulated, or is tendentially present, in the work of many TANs. And, indeed, it is difficult to know how one could meaningfully evaluate their singular or collective success now, without extending our social imaginary beyond the limits of what is dominantly present or represented. One cannot move the world without having a fulcrum and a lever outside it.

Conclusion

As far as 1 am concerned, K&S are more than fellow travellers. They are pioneers in what is likely to become a growing community. Which is why 1 want to repeat my original endorsement. But, in view of the criticism above, does this not all amount to praising with faint damns? I think nor, and this for the following reasons. Firstly, I do not believe that there is only one way to a global civil society, or even the civilising of global society. This road will be made by walking - and talking. Secondly, and more specifically, I do not see "reform from within' in opposition to 'radicalism from without' but rather as conditions for each others existence. Thirdly, I consider that any sustained and sensitive analysis of our new international subjects cannot but raise academic and public awareness and interest. Fourthly, I do not believe that macro-theoretical or ideological claims or assumptions necessarily determine the value of a work (at least I hope note, given the macro-theoretical/ideological claims/assumptions in mine). I may have concentrated on criticism on these, but I want to repeat my feeling that the meso- or microtneoretical, the analytical and even strategy implications in K&S are going to be of great value to those working either in or on this field. I am, finally, concerned that I have not dealt with other challenging issues and arguments in K&S. My review has only indicated the part of the iceberg above the water level. In any serious further work I might do on activists beyond borders I will have to deal with the other nine-tenths.

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IL Y A CINQUANTE ANS

Les premieres ONG qui ont bénéficie du statut consultatif auprès des Nations Unies (1946 - 1948)

	Lieu actuel du siege	Date de fondation
All India Women's Conference	New Delhi	1926
Associated Country Women of the World (Union mondiale des femmes rurales)	London	1930
Catholic Intetnational Union for Social Service (Union catholique internationale de service social)	Louvain-la-Neuve	1925
Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (Commission des églises pour les affaires Internationales)	Genève	1946
Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations (Conseil consultatif d' organisations juives)	New York	1946
Howard League for Penal Reform	London	1921
Inter Parliamentary Union (Union Interparlementaire)	Genève	1889
International Abolitionist Federation (Fédération abolitioniste internationale)	Genève	1875
International Alliance of Women (Alliance internationale des femmes)	Melbourne	1902
International Association of Lions Clubs (Association internationale des Lions Clubs)	Oak Brook	1917
International Automobile Federation (Federation internationale de 1'automobile)	Paris	1904
International Bar Association (Association internationale du barreau)	London	1947
International Chamber of Commerce (Chambre internationale de commerce)	Paris	1919
International Council of Women	Paris	1888
International Federation for Housing and Planning (Fédération internationale pour 1'habitation, 1'urbanisme et 1 'aménagement des territoires	Den Haag	1913
International Federation of Agricultural producers (Fédération internationale des producteurs agricoles	Paris	1946

International Fédération of University Women (Fédération internationale des femmes diplômées des universités)	Geneve	1919
International Institute of Administrative Sciences (Institut international des sciences administratives)	Bruxelles	1930
International Law Association (Association internationale de droit international)	London	1873
International Organization for Standard ization (Organisation internationale de normalisation)	Genève	1947
International Organization of Journalists (Organisation internationale des journalistes)	Prague	1946
International Social Service (Service social international)	Genève	1921
International Statistical Institute (Organisation internationale de statistique)	Voorburg	1885
International Transport Workers Fédération (Fédération internationale des ouvriers du transport)	London	1896
International Union of Local Authorities (Union internationale des villes et pouvoirs locaux)	Den Haag	1913
Rotary International	Evanston	1905
Salvation Army (Armée du salut)	London	1865
Women's International Démocratie Fédération (Fédération démocratique internationale des femmes)	Paris	1945
World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations		
World Fédération of Démocratie Youth (Fédération mondiale de la jeunesse démocratique)	Budapest	1945
World Jewish congress (Congrès juif mondial)	New York	1936
World Women's Christian Tempérance Union (Union mondiale des femmes chrétiennes - abstinentes)	Littleton	1883
World Young Women's Christian Association	Genève	1894

La Conférence des organisations non gouvernementales ayant des relations consultatives avec les Nations Unies (CONGO) cèlebrait cette année le 50e anniversaire de sa fondation. Comme le soulignait un de ses pionniers, le Dr Gerhart Riegner, la Conférence avait, et conserve encote aujourd' hui, pour objectif essentiel la défense et l'extension du statut consultatif.

Cest l' occasion de rappeler qu'en 1948, quarante organisations non gouvernementales bénéficiaient du statut consultatif. Trente trois existent encore aujourd'hul. On en trouvera la liste ci-dessus,

Au 31 juillet 1997, quelgue cinquante ans plus tard, c'est 1356 organisations non gouvernementales qui sont inscrites aux différentes catégories de statut consultatif auprès des Nations Unies (ECOSOC), dont une proportion -qui va croissant- d'ONG nationales.

Civil Society and Public Spaces

I recognize the fashionable status of the tetm "civil society," its role in the discourse of the international financial and development institutions and, it should be added, that of a significant number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have benefited from the "discovery" of civil society and governance. Nevertheless, the term has a certain vagueness of content, and not just because of its varied meanings or of its status as a slogan-phrase into which meanings can be poured. Rather, "civil society" has, I think, come to acquire a status as emblem of the uniqueness of the "West" and of the "Western" route to modernity-most evident in Ernest Gellner's Conditions of Liberty : Civil Society,'and Its Rivals (1994) - even as a concerted attempt is being made to universalize it. "Civil society" has been deployed to great effect buttressing what is otherwise old-fashioned modernization theory. It would appear that what was seemingly applauded in the World Bank's East Asian Economic Miracle document was simultaneously discounted by promotion of the twin notions of "civil society" and "governance"-something made evident by how they have been called upon to do double duty in what might be said to be the most widespread explanation of the Asian economic crisis, i.e., that it is a consequence of "statism."

Given this, it is perhaps inevitable that despite the attempt to problematize "civil society" and "public intellectuals," there appears to be irresistible slippage toward the broad standard view of "civil society" (an arena independent of and usually standing in opposition to the state). From this, it is but a slight elision to a consideration of "public intellectuals" as independent persons articulating alternative visions and options, where "alternative" dissolves into alternative to the visions and options of those holding state power. (That said, it nevertheless appears that we cannot do without some notion of "civil society" as a space in which non-state and non-corporate in the narrow sense-institutions, organizations or individuals can operate and function with considerable latitude. Of course it must be recognized that the state and corporate institutions, local and global, are ever co-present in that same "civil society.")

There is continual danger that the territory the state encompasses comes to define the territory of society, abetted by the tendency of intellectuals who conceive of themselves as at the spatial/social/religious/ethnic/political "center" to view "civil society," in whatever form they variously understand it, as socio-spatially coextensive with the "national society:' (The exception might he intellectuals who conceive of themselves in strictly regional, ethnic or religious terms pursuing a project of autonomy or separation.) In addition, the ever-present global dimension risks being lost to view. In the case of "local" (sub-national) intellectuals, the situation is further compounded by the disjunctures and linkages between the local and the national, especially if that local is self-viewed as backward and undeveloped.

All this has always been problematic, and not only in Southeast Asia. But it might be especially problematic in instances of relatively new states (comprising not only diverse ethnicities but also diverse populations of effectively distinct social formations) whose unitary founding myths have not quite gained a sufficiently amnesic hold on all pares of the "nation," even as the coherence of the "nation" is continually destabilized by current global economic forces. Malaysia might be seen as one such instance.

However, to the extent that the space for "civil society" is delimited by the state or by what the state is made to accept, then the conceptions actualized at the "center" do affect the resources available to those in the margins. This is particularly so with respect to space for independent mobilization and action. Even then, the limits for those at the margins, irrespective of the conceptions holding sway at the "center," are generally much mote restricted-except through subterfuge and indirection than for those in the "mainstream."

Three concrete issues draw together some of the themes set out for the workshop. The first is that of domestic violence, an instance in which what was apparently private has been made public and placed within the purview of the state. It represents one of the most successful campaigns by women's NGOs in Malaysia, a success significantly deriving from the alliance forged between these NGOs and at least a few of the holders of state power. It was also an instance in which some religious views were effectively marginalized.

It is a signal fact of campaigns pertaining to some women's issues that at least some dimensions of the public-private divide are called into question, thus redefining what is public. Seen in this fight, it may not provide much insight to inquire whether women have control of specific public spheres; rather it may be a question of whether they are able to redefine what properly falls within the public sphere. The latter may more properly reflect the power that women actually have. In contrast one may take the instance of electoral campaigning, which is very much a public sphere in which UMNO women have a very prominent role, or of voluntary charitable organizations in which prominent women have prominent roles.

At the same time insofar as the issues amount to a redefinition of the public and the private they inevitably must draw in the state, the major institution that gives recognition to what is properly public. It is not so much a question of an ambivalent relationship to power as one of getting power to respond and to act in ways consonant with the objectives and views of non-state, non-corporate organizations. But it was never just a question of the public-private. As noted, the issue of domestic violence had a religious dimension. This religious dimension was equally public, specifically an interpretation of a specific injunction apparently permitting legitimate force to be used against "recalcitrant" wives. Thus, there were two views of what was properly public.

In contrast, a recent issue, while generating much debate largely in Muslim circles, has resulted in making public (as in state public) what was previously a religious public concern. I refer to the proposed anti-apostasy bill. While some segments of Muslim opinion would apparently prefer that the question of apostasy be privatized, it is instead going to be taken fully into the public spheres at least insofar as Muslims are concerned. While the proposed bill obviously has no application to non-Muslims, it has implications for all to the extent that it reshapes the tenor of national society.

The second is that of international campaigns, whether over United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the World Trade Organization or more recently the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) deals. Here there is indeed an ambivalent and ambiguous relationship to power insofar as the state has a shared nationalist agenda with the NGOs and their intellectuals. It is multiply ambivalent because the NGOs are (a) cognizant of the role of economic power in getting a voice in international forums, (b) simultaneously concerned with the nature and direction of national development and (c) cognizant of the power of governmental voices in the North, while (d) concerned over domination by the North, whether government or corporate.

Thus, in the Asian economic crisis and the consequent IMF deals, more careful NGOs and their intellectual representatives have found themselves walking a tightrope, joining with the government in criticism of international financial flows and seeking their regulation, critical of the government for policies which they see as having led to the crisis-culminating in some of them providing testimony to the US Congress and allying with some of the most outspoken voices of the "Washington Consensus" in an attempt to deny the IMF the $18 billion being requested from the US. Associated with this has been the NGO campaign against the MAI which, reportedly, represents the first successful use of the internet. A Malaysia-based NGO, the Third World Network, has been credited with a primary role in the successful conduct of this campaign.

Insofar as locally-based NGOs have spoken with a broadly similar voice as the government of the day with respect to global economic and environmental issues, they have not only been tolerated but indeed given some measure of prominence in consultations and even in the media. Simultaneously, those views which are somewhat at odds with officialdom are sidelined.

Finally, where there has been no such ambivalent relationship to power, the ability of movements to make their voices heard within the national, as contrasted to the international, arena has been greatly circumscribed. We can see this in relation to environmental campaigns, especially where such campaigns have involved local marginal populations. In such instances, it is more often than not the case that by virtue of linguistic and other divides, the "public intellectuals" who may emerge have largely been those at the "center." Without wishing to devalue the efforts that have been put into such campaigns, it is doubtful to what extent this represents an imaginative remapping of the nation and to what extent an "exoticization" of those at the margins, whereby those who stand in an ambiguous relationship to the blandishments of "modernity" as opposed to their own histories and identities are often dropped from consideration.

I would be the first to acknowledge that such a bald characterization is an exaggeration and, most important, pays insufficient attention to the restrictions of the state. Still, it serves to bring out the face chat society (whether civil or uncivil) is not unitary, even less so history, compounded by the fact that some live in marginal social formations. In such a context, the linkage of a common cause of opposition often belies the differences in objectives.

by Kizon Khay Jin
(From Items, December 1998)

GLOBAL INTERNET LIBERTY CAMPAIGN
Cinquantenaire de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme

Motion des membres de GILC
9 décembre 1998
(Version française : Iris)

Il y a cinquante ans, les nations du monde ont affirmé, dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme, leur engagement à protéger et à promouvoir les droits de l'homme. Considérant que « la reconnaissance de la dignité inhérente à tous les membres de la famille humaine et de leurs droits égaux et inaliénables constitue le fondement de la liberté, de la justice et de la paix dans le monde », les nations du monde se sont engagées à protéger le droit à la vie privée, l'égalité, la dignité humaine et la liberté d'expression. Alors que s'approche le cinquantième anniversaire de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme, il est essentiel que la communauté internationale réaffirme son engagement à respecter et à promouvoir les droits de l'homme, par delà les frontières physiques.

Les droits qui ont trouvés leur fondation dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme demeurent tout aussi essentiels et tout aussi menacés aujourd'hui qu'il y a cinquante ans. Les organisations signataires du pré-Campagne Internationale pour les Libertés sur Internet (GILC, Global Internet Liberty Campaign), souhaitent rappeler aux nations citoyennes les garanties de liberté d'expression et de droit à la vie privée inscrites dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de

L'article 19 de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme stipule : « Tout individu a droit à la liberté d'opinion et d'expression [...] sans considération de frontières [...] et par quelque moyen d'expression que ce soit. » Cependant, des gouvernements continuent de restreindre la liberté d'expression sur Internet. En Chine, le revendeur de logiciels Lin Hai est en attente de jugement pour avoir délivré 30.000 adresses de courrier électronique à un groupe de dissidents basé aux États-Unis. Aux États-Unis, des groupes de défense des droits civils luttent dans une procédure judiciaire contre une loi nommée « Loi sur la Décence dans les Communication II » (Communication Decency Act II) qui restreindrait l'accès de personnes adultes à des contenus en-ligne.

Alors que l'article 12 de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme stipule que : « Nul ne sera l'objet d'immixtions arbitraires dans sa vie privée [...] », des gouvernements un peu partout dans le monde cherchent à contrôler et intercepter les communications sur Internet et ailleurs. Récemment, sous la pression des États-Unis, 33 pays d'Europe, d'Amérique du Nord, d'Asie et d'Amérique du Sud se sont mis d'accord pour limiter l'exportation de logiciels grand public qui protégeraient la vie privée des utilisateurs d'Internet. Ces logiciels, qui cryptent les données de sorte qu'elles ne peuvent être lues que par leur destinataire, sont largement utilisés par des groupes de défense des droits de l'homme, y compris par des membres de GILC, afin d'assurer la sécurité et l'intégrité d'informations sensibles. À Singapour, tous les fournisseurs d'accès à Internet (FAI) sont contrôlés directement ou indirectement par le gouvernement, et en Russie, une proposition portant sur la possibilité de connecter tous les FAI, via une boîte noire, au Service Fédéral de Sécurité et d'intercepter ainsi toutes les communications sur Internet est actuellement débattue.

Internet tient sa promesse d'outil de communication et de liberté d'expression le plus puissant au monde. Les membres de GILC signataires du présent document encouragent les gouvernements du monde à reconnaître et à promouvoir ce potentiel en accord avec les principes énoncés dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme. Les membres signataires de GILC encouragent également les gouvernements à éviter toute restriction sur des logiciels qui protègent le secret

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)
http://www.aclu.org/
Bulgarian Institute for Legal Development

Center for Democracy and Technology

http://www.derechos.org/
Digital Freedom Network (DFN)

http://www.efr.org/
Electronic Frontiers Australia

FrEE (Electronic Frontiers Spain)
http://www.arnal.es/free/
Electronic Frontiers Texas

Electronic Privacy Information Center
http://www.epic.org/
Equipo Nizkor
http://www.derechos.org/nizkor/
Forderverein Informationstechnik und Gesellschaft (FITUG)

Human Rights Watch

Imaginons un Réseau Internet Solidaire (IRIS)
http://www.iris.sgdg.org/
Index on Censorship

Liberty (National Council of Civil Litanies)
NetAction

Privacy International
http://www.privacy.org/pi/
quintessenz e-zine
http://www.quintessenz.at/entrance/index.htm

Consultations informelles sur l'investissement international

Des consultations informelles entre hauts responsables de la politique de l'investissement se sont tenues le 3 décembre 1998 au matin, au siège de l'OCDE à Paris.

Cette réunion faisait suite aux consultations du 20 octobre et à une discussion des questions relatives à l'investissement au Comité Exécutif en Session Spéciale (CESS) réuni le 22 octobre.

Les négociations sur l'AMI n'ont plus lieu. Toutefois, les responsables sont convenus de l'importance d'un travail multidisciplinaire sur l'investissement dans le cadre de l'OCDE. Il existe en effet un certain nombre de dossiers importants qui nécessitent de nouvelles analyses et une coopération intergouvernementale. Les responsables sont convenus que ces travaux devaient se dérouler de façon transparente et devaient faire appel à tous les pays Membres de l'OCDE ainsi qu'aux pays non membres intéressés, notamment ceux qui avaient participé à titre d'observateurs aux négociations. Les responsables ont réaffirmé qu'il était souhaitable de se doter de règles internationales pour l'investissement.

La réunion du 3 décembre a été précédée d'un séminaire informe! avec le Comité consultatif économique et industriel, la Commission syndicale consultative et d'autres organisations non gouvernementales. Les responsables ont jugé ce séminaire utile et ont exprimé le souhait de voir ce type de dialogue se poursuivre.

Communiqué de presse 3 .12.98

Le Projet Phoenix

Le projet Phoenix est une initiative de Trans Europe Halles, réseau européen de vingt-six centres culturels indépendants répartis dans seize pays.

Ce processus est un pari sur la capacité de toutes les formes d'art à provoquer de nouveaux dialogues entre les peuples, les cultures et les différents secteurs de la société afin de développer un échange d'idées sur des questions fondamentales pour les jeunes générations à l'aube du XXIe siècle.

A Copenhague, des jeunes et des artistes venus du Brésil, du Cameroun, de Chine, du Rwanda échangeront leur regard autour d'une question: quel avenir pour les jeunes dans une société qui compte de moins en moins d'emplois ?

Cette rencontre sera la première d'une série, dans d'autres continents. Le projet Phoenix, inscrit dans la durée et dans une dimension intercontinentale, est ainsi une contribution à la construction d'une alliance

Une série de contributions sur le thème « temps et travail » peuvent être lues sur le site internet du projet :

http://www.echo.org/Phoenix.html ml

Pour plus de renseignement, contacter Fazette Bordage, coordinatrice de Trans Europe Halles :

fax : 33-(0) 1-42.29.84.73

ou e-mail : fazette@imaginet.fr

Orstom - IMT - Université de Gand

Le deuxième Cours International de Surveillance Nutritionnelle (CISN 1998) s'est tenu à Montpellier du 19 octobre au 6 novembre 1998. Ce cours, co-organisé par le Laboratoire de Nutrition de l'Orstom, Centre de Montpellier, l'Unité de Nutrition de l'Institut de Médecine Tropicale d'Anvers (Belgique) et le Cours de Nutrition (CISNA) de l'Université de Gand (Belgique), faisait suite àcelui organisé, également à Montpellier, en 1995 sur le même thème.

Le cours a réuni, pendant ces trois semaines, 19 participants ressortissants de ou travaillant dans 13 pays (Angola, Cambodge, Cameroun, Congo, France, Guinée, Haiti, Madagascar, Mali, Rwanda, Sénégal, Tunisie, Vietnam). Ils ont été sélectionnés parmi une centaine de candidats, en fonction de leur niveau académique et de responsabilités dans des programmes de surveillance nutritionnelle ou d'intervention dans leurs structures (ministères de la santé, directions régionales de la santé, organismes internationaux tels que Pnud, Pam). Le financement de la participation des candidats était assuré pour certains par leurs structures de rattachement (ministère de la Santé du Sénégal, ministère de la Santé du Rwanda - projet FIDA -, CNSA Haiti) et pour d'autres par des bailleurs de fonds tels que les Missions françaises de Coopération et d'Action culturelle, l'Unicef, le Pnud, le Pam, Aèdes.

Volet important des plans d'actions mis en oeuvre par plus de 108 pays a ce jour; suite à la Conférence internationale sur la Nutrition (Rome 4992), et des systèmes d'information sur l'insécurité et la vulnérabilité alimentaire, suite au Sommet mondial de l'alimentation (Rome 1996), la surveillance nutritionnelle est un processus continu qui a pour objet de fournir de l'information pertinente et au meilleur coût à des utilisateurs clairement identifiés (responsables politiques, gestionnaires de programmes d'intervention) en vue d'éclairer la prise de décision.

Elle a été abordée au travers de différents modules centrés sur les concepts fondamentaux qui la sous-tendent. D'autres modules ont permis de réactualiser les connaissances sur un certain nombre de points en nutrition de santé publique utiles à la surveillance (malnutrition, sécurité alimentaire, problèmes posés par les maladies non transmissibles dans les pays du Sud, carences en micro-nutriments).

Enfin, des modules plus techniques ont porté sur les outils pour la collecte, la gestion et la communication de l'information (conception d'enquêtes, bases de données,

analyse de données quantitatives, Systèmes d'Information Géographique, Internet, techniques de communication, données qualitatives). En sus de l'équipe d'animation des trois institutions participantes (Orstom, IMT et Université de Gand), différents intervenants de l'IAMM, de la FAO, de l'OMS ainsi que des consultants indépendants ont apporté leurs contributions sur certains points particuliers.

La méthode pédagogique participative a privilégié le travail personnel et les travaux de groupe (analyse causale, études de cas, exercices épidémiologiques, séminaires pays, pratique informatique de l'analyse de données, utilisation d'un didacticiel sur la surveillance) et a permis un large échange d'expériences entre les participants et les intervenants.

Une importante documentation ainsi que cous les logiciels utilisés ont été remis aux participants pendant le cours.

Au-delà de l'évaluation participative qui a clôturé le cours, les perspectives àcourt terme sont l'établissement d'un forum de messagerie électronique afin de permettre à tous les participants et intervenants de rester en contact, de continuer d'échanger leurs expériences/difficultés pour la mise en place ou le suivi de systèmes de surveillance déjà existants dans leurs pays et de favoriser les collaborations Nord-Sud et Sud-Sud. A moyen terme, l'organisation d'une troisième édition du cours par !a même équipe, est prévue à l'IMT a Anvers en l'an 2000.

Lettre IRD, 10l.janv. 1999

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Within the framework of the establishment of the WTO in Geneva, the Swiss government decided to finance a programme to strengthen the capacity of less-advantaged country missions in Geneva (least-developed and other low income countries including some economies in transition)* to lead a more effective trade diplomacy. To this end, it established the Agency for International Trade Information and Cooperation (AITIC). This Agency will assist the less-advantaged countries (LACs) to benefit from the multilateral trading system through a more active participation in the activities and negotiations of the WTO and other trade-related international organisations. The Director of the Agency is Ms. Esperanza Durán.

The Agency will seek to respond to specific demands concerning the work and activities of the trade-related international organisations from the less-advantaged country Missions in Geneva. The Agency will assist in providing information and briefings on international trade issues and will inform LACs on current (or future) negotiations, meetings, notification deadlines, or on current technical assistance programmes.

Examples of assistance the Agency will provide:

- a delegation may have only one person specialising on trade matters. This person has a large number of meetings to cover in several different organisations. The Agency could help define priorities;
- in a similar situation, the Agency would be able to provide summaries and analysis of lengthy documents on issues on which a LAC may have an interest, but has not been able to follow in the past;

* the Agency would also be provide information to countries which do not have a mission in Geneva, and to facilitate interaction with the staff of the different traderelated organisations;
* through a personalised service, the Agency will seek to assist Geneva-based diplomats in becoming familiarised with trade-related issues.

* Annual income per capita of less that US$1,000 and not having traditionally been active participants in international trade.

Aitic

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Fax: 4122 910 31 51

On 18 June 1998, the city of Tampere gave birth to a new international Convention on the Provision of Telecommunication Resources for Disaster Mitigation and Relief Operations.

From 16 to 18 June 1998, Tampere Hall was the focal point of the Intergovernmental Conference on Emergency Telecommunications (ICET-98). At other times, the Hall is the city's focal point for congresses, exhibitions, concerts, festivals, and other forms of entertainment. It is in this very Hall that the first Declaration on Disaster Communications was adopted back in 1991 (see JTU News, No. 4/98, pages 1-15), forming a solid basis for the extensive consultations and deliberations which have resulted in the Tampere Convention.

The Tampere Convention was signed by 33 countries on 1 8 June 1 998, in the English, French, and Spanish languages (the Arabic, Chinese and Russian versions will be made available in due course). As the depositary of the Convention, the Secretary-General of the United Nations has been encouraged by ICET98 to schedule a signing ceremony in New York in connection with the 53rd session of the UN General Assembly.

The Convention was opened for signature in New York on 22 June 1998 and will remain open until 21 June 2003. Under international law, the Convention will officially come into force 30 days after an official ratification or "consent to be bound" has been received from 30 countries.

The Tampere Convention is the result of seven years of hard work by governments, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, facilitated by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the International Telecommunication Union (ITU).

The Convention is not a technical, legal document, that seeks to create detailed and binding rights. Rather, it is, according to the Final Act of ICET-98, a targeted effort that establishes an international framework to facilitate the provision and use of telecommunication resources and to foster cooperation for disaster mitigation and relief. It reflects the recognition by the Conference of the extraordinary impact of disasters on societies and the environment and of the need to provide timely, effective telecommunication assistance and resources for disaster mitigation and relief.

The Convention comprises 17 articles which provide for the unhindered use of telecommunications in the service of humanitarian assistance and should serve as a model for improving the legal and regulatory environment in which assistance is delivered.

Transnational Associations 51st year
Associations transnationales 51c année

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