Workshop 2000

Worldwide Workshop on Youth Involvement as a Strategy for Social, Economic and Democratic Development

youth service

The Ford Foundation

Worldwide Workshop on Youth Involvement as a Strategy for Social, Economic and Democratic Development

Held in San José, Costa Rica, January 4 – 7, 2000

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Acknowledgements

This report was written by Helene Perold.

Thanks go to the following people who contributed to its compilation:

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Foreword

This report attempts to summarize a set of rich discussions about the experience of national and community service in countries in every part of the world. The discussions took place at a worldwide meeting organized by the Ford Foundation in January 2000 in Costa Rica and included Ford Foundation staff and participants from fifteen countries. The purposes of the meeting were 1) to share information and experience regarding policy and practice, and 2) to examine questions that cut across the experience of national and community service in different countries.

Many challenging ideas and questions were raised by the five speakers, which I believe have been adequately described in this report. Prof. Robert Putnam and Prof. Michael Sherraden provided key ideas for the conference – Putnam in a presentation about the relationship between youth service and social capital formation; Sherraden on youth service as strong policy. Professors Duràn, Krauskopf and Espinoza challenged us in their presentations on youth service in relation to economic productivity, social development and civic participation, respectively. Participants from Brazil, South Africa, Mexico and Russia presented information about national and community service in their countries. In addition, papers were commissioned in advance of the meeting that describe the current programs and policies related to youth service in sixteen countries.

SUSAN STROUD

The contribution that this meeting makes to the discussion about national and community service globally is due to the high level of information, participation and discourse of the participants and the authors of the background papers. The most important idea to emerge from the meeting was the conceptualization of national and community service as an emerging social institution that can be expanded in many different political and cultural contexts. The institution of national service has multiple aspects, including generating social capital, serving as a mediating institution for young people in their transition to adulthood, and providing service through many activities that improve conditions in communities. Our hope is that this report will help to raise and advance these and other ideas, and contribute to a continuing examination of national and community service worldwide.

I especially want to acknowledge and thank Alison Bernstein and the Ford team of Michael Lipsky, Inca Mohamed and Joseph A. Aguerrebere for their guidance and support for the worldwide meeting. Michael Sherraden worked with the authors of the conference papers and contributed generously in many other ways to the content of the meeting. Helene Perold was a superb conference reporter and editor of this report.

Susan Stroud

Consultant

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Executive Summary

The Ford Foundation's Worldwide Workshop on Youth Involvement as a Strategy for Social, Economic and Democratic Development took place in Costa Rica in January 2000. It had three purposes: to acknowledge and explore the potential of youth service as a strategy for social, economic and democratic development; to identify new work that needs to be undertaken by program practitioners, researchers, policy makers and funders to build the field of youth service internationally; and to increase knowledge about youth service worldwide.

Attended by 55 participants from 15 countries, the workshop program comprised five issues papers, which examined different perspectives on youth service, one evening presentation, and four panel discussions on country experiences of youth service in South Africa, Mexico, Russia and Brazil. One morning participants visited community service projects undertaken by students from the University of Costa Rica.

In her opening remarks, Ford Vice President Alison Bernstein located the workshop within the Foundation's twenty-year involvement with service and its current interest in the global context of youth service. The Foundation wants to establish whether youth service can animate new forms of citizenship and political participation, strengthen democratic values and practices and provide pathways for the integration of excluded groups in the south and the north. How does youth service integrate those excluded groups through productive work and can it help overcome the atomization of modern life by providing the experience of collective work and collective productivity?

Six thematic presentations identified trends emerging in the field:

- Youth service as a component of social capital formation (Robert Putnam).

- Youth service and economic productivity (Clemente Ruiz Duràn).

- Youth service, participation and adolescent development (Dina Krauskopf).

- Youth service as a means of reintegrating marginalized youth (Sheila Sisulu).

- Youth service, civic engagement and the role of the state (Vicente Espinoza).

- Youth service as strong policy (Michael Sherraden).

Social capital and youth service

Robert D. Putnam looked at the relationship between social capital and youth service. He distinguished social capital from physical capital and human capital and argued that social networks have value because of the information they transmit and the culture of reciprocity they sustain.

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He asserted that social capital takes different forms; that not all social capital has positive effects for everyone; and that it is important to distinguish between different types of social capital e.g. "bonding capital" and "bridging capital". Bonding capital describes social networks that link like people to like people, while bridging capital links people to others *unlike* themselves. Both can have positive and negative effects. Bonding social capital is not necessarily better than bridging social capital, but it is easier to build because people are more comfortable with people like themselves.

Putnam argued that levels of social capital can be assessed through measures such as the average number of groups to which people belong, the frequency with which people volunteer and the frequency with which people see their friends. The positive effects of social capital can be seen in spheres such as neighborhood vitality and neighborhood safety, a high turn-out in elections and large numbers of nonprofit organizations. He also suggested that democracy, health and economic development are demonstratively improved through connectedness, since forms of social capital have been shown to raise levels of economic development, heighten tolerance of difference and improve government performance.

How can youth service play a role in reversing the decline in social capital and connect people more closely with one another? According to Putnam, the most important effect of youth service is generated through young people *serving* although the impact is more often measured in terms of those served (numbers of students tutored, numbers of children inoculated). In young people the experience of service creates the skills for building social capital; it generates the value of social capital; and it inculcates the habit of paying attention to and acting on what is going on in one's community.

Two critical issues need to be researched: First, what kinds of social capital have what kinds of effects? Second, what kinds of youth service produce different forms of social capital? This suggests the need to design youth service programs with positive social capital goals in mind. "All our societies need more social capital… and in my view the single most promising area of initiative is youth service," Putnam said.

Youth service and economic productivity

Clemente Ruiz Durán outlined how in the past solidarity was the basis for national youth service in many countries, characterized by an ethos of repaying the state through service for a benefit provided by the state, such as higher education. In the last decade, however, this approach has suffered a setback due to the prevalence of neoliberal thinking which argues that individuals need to solve problems of poverty on their own. How can the sense of solidarity be reinstated? And how can this help reverse the weaknesses experienced by developing countries owing to incomplete education systems, poor access to higher education and fragmented labor markets?

Ruiz Durán suggested four strategies: First, ensure that curricula include an examination of social problems to help people acknowledge the problems that exist in society. Solutions should be seen as lying in the hands of people as well as government. Second, refocus the traditional pattern of *Servicio Social* and get young people more involved in addressing social disparities.

Third, draw teenagers in poor communities and rural areas into social labor (such as literacy programs in rural areas, health programs and small business development and enterprise training) in exchange for training that will enhance their skills and their job prospects. Fourth, involve larger groups of the population in *Servicio Social* – high school graduates, university graduates, business trainees, professionals and retired people.

Youth service, participation and adolescent development

Dina Krauskopf focused her presentation on key factors in adolescent development and how these impact on youth participation and service. She pointed out that adolescence is the only period in life defined as a transition even though throughout adulthood there are a number of recognized transitions. Development policies do not concern themselves much with youth, and policies that do exist for young people tend to be fragmented and isolated.

Globalization and modernization have changed the development of youth in significant ways. New forms of participation and communication between the generations and between men and women are challenging adult-centeredness (the design of youth policies by adults) and adultism (the authoritarian relationship between adults and young people), and are causing generational blocks rather than promoting intergenerational communication.

There are different degrees to which young people participate in society and these form a continuum: *elementary participation* occurs when young people are consulted and asked for their opinions; *participation with commitment* means that they help develop the objectives of a program and give feedback to improve results; *participation with autonomy and power* means that they are given real power. However, a critical factor affecting youth participation is the refusal of many adults to recognize the intrinsic worth and value of young people.

There are three different ways in which youth can be involved in service, but each strategy has different consequences. Service for the development of youth (e.g. through education) could delay the attainment of autonomy and does not necessarily contribute to the integration of young people into society. Military and similar forms of service could be ways of forming national capital and helping young people develop certain skills, but they always pose serious problems in reintegrating young people into civil society. Service through the participation of young people helps to form human and social capital, encourages autonomy and self-esteem and supports the development of intergenerational relationships. It also helps build bridges between communities.

Youth service as a means of reintegrating marginalized youth

Sheila Sisulu spoke about the challenges faced in South Africa in reintegrating the young people who had sacrificed their education and employment opportunities in the struggle against apartheid.

A key need was to counter the notion of the "lost generation," which gained widespread currency in the late 1980s and early

1990s. This task was supported by a major research study in 1992 into the status of young South Africans. It disaggregated the condition of young people and showed that while a substantial number (one-quarter) were socially engaged, the majority were in fact "at risk", "marginalized" or "disengaged".

In 1994 the drive for a constructive and developmental approach to youth service was suddenly propelled by the need to counter militaristic and narrow notions that sought to straight-jacket young people rather than help develop them. Ultimately the lobby for service opportunities in which youth could develop skills, gain experience and make up their education deficits, won the day. Today the national youth service program is still in the development phase, but it is slowly taking shape as an initiative that appeals not only to the poor and marginalized, but also offers a variety of opportunities to higher education students, professionals and graduates to give through service.

South Africa took a leap forward with a youth-driven and youth-centred approach to its youth policy, but ageism continues to be a major challenge. Young people thus need to organize themselves and approach government with well-conceived proposals, plans and ideas so that those in power can take youth seriously.

Youth service, civic engagement and the role of the state

Vicente Espinoza argued that despite countless public policies on youth involvement, the level of youth involvement is actually decreasing. His research in Chile shows that there is a direct relationship between the design of public policies and the degree of civic engagement of youth.

Young people become alienated from national public policies they perceive as failing to defend their interests. For example, there has been functional integration of youth into the labor market, but labor market inequalities are increasing. Furthermore, while young people experience extended participation in schooling, achievement is contingent on socioeconomic status, thereby increasing inequalities within this sector as well. On the other hand, public policies that are oriented towards a local context of interaction (e.g. through community, associations, labor) are able to foster local citizenship. The advantage is that here youth learn solidarity, cooperation and civic spirit in practice. The drawback lies in restricting the civic experience to relationships between socially homogeneous individuals.

The research in Chile has shown that in the everyday life of young people, social interaction has been reduced to local, family contexts. Consequently, young people often find it difficult to deal with people from diverse backgrounds. This results in an inability to form bridging social capital. With regard to power, there is the perception among young people that inequalities will never change and that youth have no rights. This results in a feeling that they are not citizens, that they are defenseless. With regard to citizenship and youth service, the research shows a mismatch between the public sector "supply" of social policies and the "demand" among young people for social policies. To many young people, social policies appear as an inadequate support to the social integration of young people into the larger society.

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Practical experience of civic engagement could help young people gain a greater sense of responsibility and power. This has four implications for youth service: First, youth empowerment takes place most effectively through civic involvement in public life. Second, it is necessary for policies and programs to fill the gap between the private and public spheres by helping young people experience a diversity of people, contexts and encounters. Third, participation in national development continues to be an important component of youth service. And fourth, youth service should aim to build trust across the socioeconomic and gender boundaries of social life.

In the discussion that followed there was considerable debate about the role of the state in fostering greater experience of civic engagement and service among young people. Espinoza argued that while the state has a responsibility, citizenship comprises both rights and duties and the enlargement of rights requires the work of social actors who are working outside of the state. Youth service could make a great contribution through changing a culture of confrontation between social actors and the state and replacing it with a culture of participation in national development. Youth service could function as a policy from the state but relate to social actors outside the state.

Youth service as strong policy

Michael Sherraden described "strong policy" as policy that has many positive impacts and provides an exceptional return on investment. If service is to be considered a major institution (such as education or employment), it is important to consider what service means in terms of strong policy.

The development of an intellectual framework for youth service requires examining a number of theoretical issues that have to do with policy, practice and research. Developing the intellectual framework in every youth service program involves a number of steps: specifying and defining "service" to tease out its different aspects and dimensions; examining which aspects are likely to have which kinds of effects; specifying theory and building knowledge around the concept of service; and identifying the intervening mechanisms (such as social capital, for instance) that are likely to foster the positive impacts of service.

This applied agenda could be taken forward through a number of processes. One is the creation of an Internet facility with multiple nodes in different parts of the world through which applied and academic content could interact in a flexible, growing, organic entity. Practice and expertise should be built via the strategic allocation and placement of resources. A group of academics and practitioners could be drawn into a structured interaction for the next few years with a view to developing policy, practice and research agendas. This would include case studies of individuals in youth service and of programs; theoretical work that is clarified through qualitative methods such as focus groups and in-depth interviews; survey research that aims to create good measures of youth service; and experimental research designs with randomly assigned service and control groups.

Service is a slowly emerging social institution that one day could be as commonplace as, for example, employment and education are today. For the first time ever there is a worldwide understanding that civil society and civic engagement are crucial

for democratic governance and that we may be living in a time when purposeful institution-building is needed. "We need to think about what we should create to put the institution into place," Sherraden said.

RICHARD FEHNEL

Youth service in action

During the workshop, four panel discussions were convened to give participants an opportunity to engage with some of the countries' experiences. Presentations were made by participants from South Africa, Mexico, Russia and Brazil. Youth service in Costa Rica was introduced by Lorena Clare de Rodríguez, the First Lady of Costa Rica, during an address to the workshop. Dr Leda M. Muñoz, Vice President for Social Action at the University of Costa Rica, then described the university's model of social service. Three students who have participated in the program provided an insight into their firsthand experience of the program.

VICTOR ARREDONDO, ELENA ZAKHAROVA AND LENA PANOVA

Workshop participants spent half a day visiting projects that were part of the University of Costa Rica's *Trabajo Comunal Universitario* (TCU) program. This provided delegates with an opportunity to reflect on the challenges that present themselves in efforts to work effectively with communities and the challenges inherent in designing high-quality programs.

As part of the workshop the Ford Foundation commissioned country profiles on youth service in Brazil, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, Hungary, Israel, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, the Philippines, Poland, Russia, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. A short summary of each of the country profiles is included in an appendix to this report.

The way forward

How can youth service be built as an institution that will have a major impact on people's lives? Six breakout groups concluded that youth service engages closely with social development, but that positive impact will depend on young people participating in setting priorities in all aspects of program design and implementation. Youth service can have a positive economic impact provided programs are sustained, outcomes are quantified and measured, funding is available, service programs are productive and efficient, and institution-building remains a key goal.

In examining the question of whether youth service can foster democratic development, one group argued that influential factors include the promotion of reciprocity, the involvement of people as young as possible (e.g. from the age of 15 or younger), working to bridge divides within society, and recognizing the efforts and contributions of young people to provide incentives for

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service. The second group, however, challenged the premise that youth service will lead to democratic development. They argued that this would only occur if service programs are designed intentionally with this outcome in mind, are themselves democratic, if civic engagement is defined and measured, and if service programs are context-appropriate – especially in relation to the role of the state *vis à vis* the role of civil society.

The recommendations made by the final plenary session included the following: Relate youth service to key areas of international policy discussion; support the sharing and distillation of best practice; make the field of youth service an academic discipline to measure success and examine the elements that contribute to sustainability; articulate the rationale for youth service and clearly articulate its ideals; establish relations with international organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations to facilitate funding and support research; build partnerships with the private sector to swell the resource base for youth service; share experiences of youth service from different parts of the world to sharpen strategic thinking in this field.

Conclusion

In closing the workshop, Ford Vice President Melvin Oliver cautioned against seeing service as the solution to many of the world's problems. He pointed out that there are many open research questions and that we need to develop the research apparatus that links closely with practice. He also cautioned that social capital is a necessary but not a sufficient variable for social, economic and democratic development. Programs take place in a political, social and economic context that could outweigh all the benefits of social capital. There is also the risk that the concept of developing social capital can be interpreted as doing something very cheaply, undercutting the need for social program delivery. Bridging networks don't necessarily lead to good outcomes. Social capital is not the only key to community service; it also involves skills development and other issues.

Ford Vice President Alison Bernstein pointed to the huge body of practice and experience on youth service outside the United States. At present the necessary research, evaluation and impact assessment is lacking, but the large number of Latin American institutions involved in social service is significant, as is the discussion of youth service taking place in countries in transition towards democracy, such as South Africa, Russia, Brazil and Chile. Much can be learned from such diverse experience. She supported Melvin Oliver's caution about viewing social capital as a key factor for change: in countries where youth service is taking place within a context of transition the state is a very important actor and the social capital argument must take account of it.

She concluded that while we all believe that youth service is a good worth pursuing. But we should be "loving critics" of our own work and find better models for youth service. This workshop is just a beginning in that process.

Introduction

The Ford Foundation has been a longstanding supporter of national and community service. So said Alison Bernstein, Ford Foundation Vice President of the Education, Media, Arts and Culture Program in her opening address in which she welcomed participants to the Foundation's first international workshop focused on youth service as a strategy for social, economic and democratic development.

Over the past twenty years the Foundation's support for service has evolved through three distinct stages:

- In the first phase youth service was seen as a component of community development, particularly in local contexts. This orientation was supported through grants made to programs such as YouthBuild.

- In the next phase the Foundation focused more closely on national model-building and several grants were made to U.S. programs such as Campus Compact, Youth Service America and others.

- Now, in the third phase, the Foundation is viewing youth service from a global perspective, as is evidenced by its work in countries such as Russia, South Africa, Mexico and Brazil.

ALISON BERNSTEIN

Although the work on youth service has proceeded in different ways throughout the Foundation's programs, Bernstein pointed to two potential difficulties that have emerged: First, because youth service has been supported in all of the program divisions of the Foundation, the grant making runs the risk of being ad hoc rather than a coherent strategy. Second, youth service as a concept has been misused and overloaded: This holds the risk that it could be meaningless as an analytic tool.

She summed up the current challenge in youth service as follows: "How can the concept of youth service be developed and taken forward? While we all think youth service can contribute to nation-building, strengthen civil society, integrate marginalized groups and reform education, we don't know much about how youth service works and what it accomplishes."

Bernstein argued that since many of the outcomes of youth service are "hoped-for" rather than documented, it is important to take a critical look at the field:

- Can youth service animate new forms of citizenship and political participation and, if so, how?

- Can youth service strengthen democratic values and practices and, if so, how?

- How does service provide pathways for the integration of excluded groups in the south and the north? How does youth service integrate those excluded groups through productive work?

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☐ Can youth service help overcome the atomization of modern life by providing the experience of collective work and collective productivity? If so, how?

"For us to understand youth service better, the topic deserves more loving critics and fewer uncritical lovers," she concluded.

Workshop goals

The following goals were articulated for the workshop:

1 To acknowledge and explore the potential of youth service as a strategy for social, economic and democratic development.

2 To identify new work that needs to be undertaken by program practitioners, researchers, policy makers and funders to build the field of youth service internationally.

3 To increase knowledge about youth service worldwide.

FRANCIS ENEMUO - NIGERIA

SIMON KOKOYO SIRAKO, BABATUNDE AHONSI AND SUSAN STROUD

A note on terminology

In the run-up to the workshop, the term "youth service" was used in different ways by participants from countries around the world. In the introductory session of the workshop it was noted that a distinction could be drawn between "youth service" and "youth services".

Youth service is broadly defined as a set of organized activities in which young people participate to benefit others. It contributes positively to the community and society in general, and provides opportunities for reflection (e.g. an organization where young people are recruited, offered leadership opportunities, participate in activities that improve the community, and are trained and mentored). Generally work is done for minimal or no compensation.

Youth services are an array of services (counseling, health, recreation, informal education, job preparation, etc) designed either to support young people during adolescence or to address specific problems faced by young people in particular contexts.

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Perspectives on Youth Service

Social captial and youth service

Robert D. Putnam

robert d putnam

What is social capital?

Robert Putnam began his presentation by distinguishing between physical, human and social capital.

Physical capital is an object that makes one more productive than one would be without it. For example, a screwdriver enables one to repair bicycles more effectively than one could without it. Human capital is what, 25 years ago, educationists argued can make individuals more productive through education and training. Social capital is developed through social networks that have value because of the information they transmit and the culture of reciprocity they sustain. For example, a high level of reciprocity in an organization or community can do a great deal to enhance productivity and raise levels of efficiency.

The value of social networks can be measured. For example, there is evidence in the United States that most people get their jobs because of their networks – whom they know. Most educational institutions are more effective in providing a setting for making connections than in the training they provide. Furthermore, social capital networks affect people who are not in the networks themselves. The research shows, for example, that the more people know each other's first name, the lower the crime rate in that neighborhood. In other words, even if one does not take part in the network, the network can have an effect on people outside it.
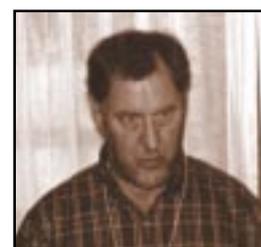
ROBERT PUTNAM

Robert D. Putnam

is the Peter and Isabel Malkin
Professor of Public Policy at
Harvard University. He is the
author of *Bowling Alone: The
Collapse and Revival of
American Community* (2000)
and *Making Democracy
Work: Civic Traditions in
Modern Italy* (1993).

Social capital has three key features:

☐ It takes many different forms: a choral society, a political party, the Ford Foundation, a group of people who meet at a bar every day, college friends. Not all have the same consequences. This is also true of physical capital. For example, an egg beater and an aircraft carrier are both physical objects that can enhance productivity, but have different functions: One can't make an omelette with an aircraft carrier. So physical capital is not one single thing. In the same way, social capital theory posits that one should think about a card party and a political party as being similar in some respects.

☐ Not all social capital has positive effects for everyone. For example, the Mafia is an example of social capital that has negative external effects. One should not deny that social capital can have negative effects. Rather, we ought to think of how different networks and social forms contribute to community life.

☐ The literature on social capital is developing different typologies: Bonding capital describes social networks that link like people to like people – people of the same nationality, race, ethnicity; bridging capital links people to people unlike themselves. Both can have positive and negative effects. Bonding social capital is not necessarily better than bridging social capital, but it is easier to build because birds of a feather flock together. Bridging social capital is much harder to achieve.

The effects of social capital

There are many important ways in which social capital has demonstratively positive effects on issues such as neighborhood vitality and neighborhood safety. Putnam gave the following example:

"A journalist in Costa Rica recently looked into what made one neighborhood safer than another, and was told about the 'law of the greeting' in that local community – people agreed to greet four other people each morning and, in the process, got to know them better. This led to the development of a community organization which, in time, got a grant and installed a large pole with a siren in the neighborhood. They

MICHAEL SHERRADEN, ROBERT PUTNAM, MELVIN OLIVER
AND ALISON BERNSTEIN

also bought whistles for each member of community and developed a way of using them to alert community members to security problems.

By instituting the law of the greeting, the community had built new forms of social capital, had found ways of cooperating more closely, and then found the physical tools they needed to solve the security problem."

Evidence of the effects of social capital

In the United States there are major differences in the rates of social capital. These are measured according to the average number of groups to which people belong, the frequency with which people volunteer, the frequency with which people see their friends, etc. Putnam's research shows that some states have high levels of social capital (evidenced by a high turnout in elections, large numbers of nonprofit organizations, etc.) while others have low levels.

He argued that the strongest predictor of crime rates is social capital and that crime is lower in communities in which there is a high level of connectedness. For example, in some instances a relationship was found between social capital and the murder rate: the more social capital, the lower the murder rate.

Similarly, he said, the welfare of children (measured in terms of dropout rates from school or teenage pregnancy rates or rates of infant mortality, for example) is likely to be related to the level of social capital at the local level. So if the quality of education is to be improved, the options are to spend more money on paying teachers well and/or to get parents more engaged in their children's education. The latter has been shown to be a major factor in getting U.S. schools to work better.

According to Putnam, democracy, health and economic development are demonstratively improved through connectedness. He says that social capital has been shown to have an effect on a number of factors:

- Levels of economic development: Forms of social capital are some of the most important assets a country can have in raising levels of economic development.

- Tolerance of difference is likely to be heightened when high levels of social capital are present.

- A relationship exists between levels of social capital and government performance.

- Social capital is also important for people's health. According to Putnam, "social capital embodies one's social safety network because connecting with lots of people is associated with high levels of good chemicals in one's blood. Social isolation is correlated closely with higher levels of mental ill health. So one's chances of dying in the year are cut by 50 percent by joining one group, and are cut by a further 25 percent if one joins two groups!"

Youth service

Youth service in North America has been trying to find strategies for improving social capital. How can one reverse the decline in social capital and bring people into closer connection with one another?

According to Putnam, there is strong evidence that youth involved in extracurricular activities are more likely to be involved in social and community life as adults. Sometimes people think about youth service more in terms of its effects on those served – for example, how many students are tutored, how many children receive innoculations – than the effects on the young people

rendering the service. In his view the most important effect is generated *through serving.* This creates the skills for building social capital; it generates the value of social capital; and it inculcates the habit of paying attention to what is going on in one's community.

More research is required to establish what kinds of social capital have what kinds of effects and what kinds of youth service produce different forms of social capital. Research in the United States shows that some forms of youth service do not have these positive consequences. This suggests the need to design youth service programs with positive social capital goals in mind.

"I have been researching trends in the United States and found that social capital in all its forms has declined in this country," said Putnam. "The USA was successful as a society because of high levels of social capital. For the first two-thirds of this century, more Americans were connecting with one another than before. But in 1965 the graph began to plunge and since then there has been a decline of 30 percent to 40 percent. The change takes political and nonpolitical forms and even extends to the frequency with which we have dinner with our own families."

He went on: "The USA has been hit by the impact of television, two-career families, urban sprawl and suburbanization, among other things, and over the course of the last three decades a variety of technological, social and economic changes have rendered obsolete a stock of social capital. So the ways in which our parents connected with their communities no longer fit with the way we live. The present generation of Americans needs to be as creative as people were at the end of the 19th century and in later years, to reinvent organizations such as the NAACP and invent new social institutions in order to reinvest in social capital."

Putnam concluded his presentation by referring to the fear that the present situation in the United States is the future of many other countries, especially advanced industrial societies. "All societies need more social capital," he said, "and they will require intense creativity to generate it in new forms. In my view the single most promising area of initiative is youth service."

ROBERT PUTNAM, BERLIAN IDRIS AND RUDI FEBRIANTO

"All our societies need more social capital ... and in my view the single most promising area of initiative is youth service."

– Robert D. Putnam

Discussion

|	
Don Eberley (USA):	Can the idealism of youth in youth service assist in the development of social capital?
Robert Putnam:	The Boy Scouts have a clear, value-laden mission statement. The values are timely: to be trustworthy, helpful, courteous, kind, obedient, thrifty. What they did, however, was to combine idealism with fun. Similarly, one needs to avoid the notion that youth service is good for you, but no fun.
Reuven Gal (Israel):	The last decade has seen a new mode of networking through the Internet. Young people and others are spending many hours surfing and chatting on the Internet, but they don't greet each other. Does this build social capital?
Robert Putnam:	It is too early to be sure. Look at the work done on the predictions made on the probable social effects of the telephone; most were completely wrong. For the first 50 years the telephone company tried to stop people making social calls because they thought this was an inappropriate use of the telephone. These are early days for the Internet. It does reinforce social networks, and in this sense it is a tool of social capital, but there are four obstacles:

REUVEN GAL

1 The digital divide: Not everyone has equal access to the Internet. This could deepen the divide in society, although conceptually it is easy to fix: It just takes money.

2 Connecting with other people via text is not the same as connecting face-to-face. Most communication among people on issues of social trust is nonverbal. As organisms we are well adapted to picking up face-to-face communication. When people communicate via e-mail or the Internet, they trust one another more. Seeing another person's face makes it less likely that you will cheat him or her. Although people talk about video-conferencing, we are unlikely to have sufficiently high-fidelity quality television required to convey all the information necessary for building face-to-face trust.

3 The Internet distinctively builds non-bridging social capital – it generates cyber-balkanization. You can connect with people around the world who have precisely your interests – for example, people who like red BMWs can talk to each other. But if you want to talk about blue BMWs in this group, you are rejected. So the Internet allows us to form groups with people just like us who don't live near us, but it is not good at putting us together with groups who are *not* like us.

4 Most of the attention now being invested in Internet development is focused on entertainment, not on communication. Ideally the Internet should be used as a tool for reinforcing connections between people, but some information is emerging that, through its focus on entertainment, the Internet is contributing to people becoming passive and detached. It is being used less as a means of people communicating with each other.

Michael Lipsky (USA):	Youth service has government sponsorship as part of its structure. This has different meanings in different countries.

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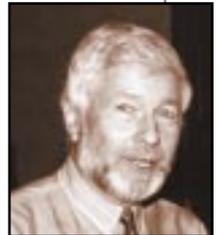
Robert Putnam: Government sponsorship can be quite harmful to social capital. Sometimes it imposes vertical structuring rather than the horizontal structuring necessary for social capital. But there are some examples of government-sponsored social-capital-building. At the end of the 19th century, the US Department of Agriculture created a system of county agents (government bureaucrats) for purposes of agricultural extension. However, their real task was to create connections between isolated people; they were community organizers. The 4H Club is another example of an active youth group in rural communities in the United States; this is a government program with an office in the Department of Agriculture.

Lucy Mathai (Kenya): In the process of trying to build human capital among young people, we are finding social disintegration taking place because these young people are distinguishing themselves from other groups in the community. How can one build human capital and simultaneously facilitate the development of social capital?

Robert Putnam : Does building human capital undermine the building of social capital? This is a domain in which the ethical component of youth service is essential insofar as one can link the provision of human capital training with a sense of obligation for connecting with others. This is highly desirable.

LUCY MATHAI

Elisabeth Hoodless (UK): Which forms of youth service did not achieve the positive outcomes described?

Robert Putnam: This is the single most important research question: What features of youth service minimize the bad effects of social capital. Too often this element of reflection is missing from practical programs. Often we merely encourage our privileged college youth to engage in a day of service and reinforce the idea that they are unlike the people they are helping, but this is a lesson in paternalism. They will see the social problems as problems of "those people", not the problems of "us." Periods of reflection or service learning in a larger social setting will be very important here.

Frank Newman (USA): The idea of youth service is growing and social capital ideas will have a powerful effect. But youth service is not reversing the cynicism about the political apparatus itself. For example, it does not translate into voting patterns. This is a crucial problem to solve if we are to reinvigorate the nature of government.

Robert Putnam: It is true that political involvement in the United States continues to decline, but youth service is associated with political involvement and is helping to stem the tide of political disengagement. Youth service is not an alternative to political engagement. Although it brings people into political engagement, it is not enough to stem the larger tide of political disengagement. But this does not mean that it leads people into a non-political attitude.

Dina Krauskopf (Costa Rica): Your comments about the Internet causing cyber-balkanization (separation): Does this not reflect the fragmentation of our societies nowadays? Even your examples about building social capital in neighborhoods are isolated. How do the examples from small neighborhoods in Italy and San José relate to broader processes of fragmentation?

Robert Putnam:	One reason why national programs are important lies in the concept of a mosaic or a quilt of social engagement. The idea of simply having a national program of youth service that does not connect people with their own neighbors is likely to fail. One needs to start by building real face-to-face ties with local communities, conscious of the risk that one is only building bonding social capital and that it is therefore necessary also to build bridging social capital. It would be wrong to overlook the fact that the period in which Americans were building more connections was the same period in which racism increased and Jim Crow was legitimized. Social-capital-building did not cause the lynching, but it incurred the risk since it is so much easier to build bonding social capital than bridging social capital. We constantly need to ask what programs are doing to build bridging social capital.
Melina Grillo (Costa Rica):	What is the effect on the formation of social capital when participation in service is not voluntary? Students from the University of Costa Rica must do community service to graduate and a great deal of orientation is needed to convey the spirit and sense of community participation. This is a problem when community service is required rather than voluntary.
Robert Putnam:	On the dilemma of voluntary versus required service, U.S. evidence is still preliminary. There is only one good study on the effects of the two strategies and it found that it didn't matter whether the program was voluntary or not. What mattered was that service was a sustained, deep, recurring experience; once every month for an hour has little effect. One needs to have enduring ties with the people concerned, not surfing connectedness (as is the case with the Internet). This requires more research. I am sceptical about required service because in the long run it could prove not to be sustainable. If we are creative, we may be able to conceive of forms of youth service that are not merely something you should do, but something you want to do. The Boy Scouts combined the do-good part with the fun part.
Inca Mohamed (USA):	Who do we mean by "youth?" What age group are we talking about? Also, there is the issue of young people owning the community service project. In relation to political activity, there are many young people who don't see themselves under the service rubric; they see themselves engaged in social change rather than service. The question of who gets to do service is also a question of class: How can more young people become engaged in service activity?
Berlian Idris (Indonesia):	Indonesia is in a period of transition in which differences are causing conflicts in some areas. How relevant is it to make social capital in this context? Young people are working philanthropically, but without clear goals of service.
Robert Putnam:	The case of Indonesia illustrates the ways in which some forms of bonding social capital can have very negative effects.

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Youth service and economic productivity

Clemente Ruiz Durán

Clemente Ruiz Durán

is Professor of Economics at the National Autonomous University of Mexico and author of two recent books: *Macroeconomía Global* (1999) and *Dinámica Regional y Competitividad Industrial* (1999).

Clemente Ruiz Durán posed the central socioeconomic challenge as follows: How will social welfare be achieved when poverty and inequality have increased throughout the world economy? His thesis is that neither the market nor the state will be able to solve the problems of inequity and disaffiliation. Rather, reciprocity among different groups in society – the economics of solidarity – is likely to be the cornerstone of a long-term solution. Young people could be the force that propels the economics of solidarity, but it is doubtful that in developing countries the youth will have the strength required to engage in social change.

By the year 2010 the different regions around the world, especially the developing countries, will have large youth populations between the ages of 12 and 25. However, the labor markets and educational systems in developing countries are unable to capitalize on the resourcefulness of young people because, despite their aim to upgrade and train people, they share a number of weaknesses:

- Educational systems in developing economies are often incomplete. Many young people in developing countries have only six or seven years of education as compared with their counterparts in developed countries who enjoy 14 years of education. There are also still high levels of illiteracy in different parts of the world such as in southern Mexico, in South America and in African countries.

- There are low levels of access to higher education: One-fifth of the population in developing countries is in the 20- to 29-year age bracket and yet only one-sixth of this group enters higher education.

- Developing economies are characterized by fragmented labor markets: Poverty results in teenagers being willing to accept any type of wage so as to feed their families and, although higher education training enables young people to command higher wages, a lack of access to higher education means that the majority of young people are caught in a vicious cycle of poverty.

Thus it is essential that young people be assisted to develop their potential.

In the past, the concept of national youth service rested strongly on the notion of solidarity through reciprocity: "I have been trained and so I am going to give up something for the rest of the people in our country." Over the last decade, however, the

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concept of solidarity has been eroded by neoliberal thinking, resulting in increased levels of inequality in countries around the world. Neoliberal thinking argues that individuals have to solve problems of poverty on their own. Social security systems are being privatized and instead of young people being helped to become more productive in the long term, they are being told go to out to the market and fend for themselves.

In most developing economies the labor markets are divided into two tiers: In the upper tier workers enjoy high wages, high fringe benefits, high employment security and often the protection of unions. In the lower tier there is no social security; wages do not include fringe benefits; there is no compensation for unemployed people; and the organization of workers is nonexistent. Within this fragmented labor market, youngsters looking for job opportunities have few options. Without the necessary educational qualifications they remain unemployed or get into the informal labor market.

CLEMENTE RUIZ DURÁN

In the 21st century we need to bring back the sense of solidarity and it is likely that training will be one of the main pathways toward developing the economy of solidarity. How can this be done?

The first strategy would be to help people acknowledge the problems existing in society. One way of doing this would be for curricula to engage students with social problems. Solidarity can only be inculcated if social problems are acknowledged and if solutions are seen as being in the hands of the people as well as the government.

Second, it is necessary to refocus the traditional pattern of *Servicio Social* and to get young people more involved in addressing social disparities. Over the years the impact of social service rendered by graduates has been weakened due to bureaucratic processes. Most young university graduates in Mexico don't appreciate the reciprocity implied in participation in *Servicio Social*; they see it largely as a prerequisite for getting their degrees. Reforms of *Servicio Social* will be required; otherwise the effects of the program will remain marginal in making a significant difference in reducing social disparities. Quality has to be maintained and the social orientation of the program must be stressed. Furthermore, it is important to avoid bureaucrats driving the initiative.

Third, teenagers in poor communities and rural areas could be drawn into social labor in exchange for training that will enhance their skills and their job prospects. Social labor could take place in literacy programs in rural areas, health programs, and small business development and enterprise training. This would provide a diversity of options to help people get involved.

Fourth, it is important to involve larger groups of the population in *Servicio Social* – high school graduates, university graduates, business trainees and professionals. One could also involve retired people to advise small businesses on their development and to participate in other social service programs.

Reform of *Servicio Social* could have a major economic impact through multiplier effects. This would help increase the impact of national budgets that are used to support young people involved in the programs.
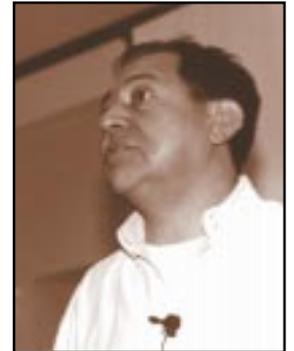
Ruiz Durán concluded his presentation by sketching out two likely scenarios for *Servicio Social* in the 21st century:

- In a conservative scenario there is no reform. Neoclassical thinking extends the idea of the market's solving all problems and this is likely to deepen poverty.

- An optimistic scenario sees solidarity being recovered and social attitudes changing: In this case *Servicio Social* becomes a central tool for solving lags in social development.

An agenda for *Servicio Social* reform should thus include a change in the attitude of society toward inequalities, changes in school curricula, the reorganization of service programs to include a wider diversity of participants and an increased budget for *Servicio Social*.

Discussion

ELIZABETH HOODLESS

Elisabeth Hoodless (UK): In the 1960s and 1970s professionals in the UK were hostile to the idea of volunteers because they threatened the position of professionals. Today professionals don't want to be seen as being against voluntarism, so they sanction the idea of volunteers doing marginal or peripheral jobs. Under these circumstances, young people will not regard volunteering or required service as a way of bringing about change. Rather, the tasks they do will be seen as being irrelevant. Robert Gerl wrote about how professionals are excluding volunteers and this seems to be happening across the world.

Clemente Ruiz Durán: The difference between developed and developing economies is that the former have the welfare state, and the conditions to survive: There are more institutions that focus on the interests of the people. In developing countries there is much less institutional development. Many children are not able to attend school because they need to help their parents generate income. Institutional reform is essential, but service could help to improve things a little. Furthermore, in developed countries some professionals are employed by the welfare state; not so in developing countries where professionals are going for the market. This makes youth service an important resource for development, for example in rural areas.

Sheila Sisulu: In South Africa the first point of resistance to youth service was organized labor. These are not professionals
(South Africa) – the reason was high unemployment. Young people worked for a stipend and were viewed as doing work that workers should be doing. Is it the unemployed young person who gets the opportunity to do national service or is it the parent who gets the job?

Clemente Ruiz Durán: We have these fragmented labor markets and large informal sectors. One needs to differentiate who gets into that informal labor market. People are no longer getting permanent jobs so the unions are under threat. They have become a very conservative force in developing countries and are not pushing for a new social contract. What role will unions pay in national youth service?

Minor Mora Salas: *(Costa Rica)*:	What factors will facilitate the move from these conditions to a new dispensation? And how can one get to young people who are not engaged in the school system and who are not workers?
Clemente Ruiz Durán:	The change from liberal to neoliberal thinking involved developing countries accepting the idea of reducing the revenues from government and matching expenditure to this revenue. Consequently governments now have very little flexibility. They are no longer saying "what are the needs of our people? Where do we want to be 25 years from now? How do we raise the revenue, and how do we structure the budget to get there?" They are tied up. Following the reform of developing economies in the 1980s and 1990s, institutions are no longer working; they are very inefficient. Korea and Mexico spend the same percentage of their budgets on education, but in Korea there are no illiterate people. In Mexico the number of people going through higher education is much lower than in Korea. The institutions are not adapted to do the job. This impacts on youth service and makes it difficult to use it as a way to help people.
Goodenough Kodwa *(South Africa)*:	Unemployed youth constitute a large component of the youth sector and they need to form a major part of any national youth service strategy. It is not enough to introduce the idea of service into the school curriculum.
Clemente Ruiz Durán:	One needs training programs for the unemployed so that their skills can be upgraded with a view to improving their chances of getting a better way of life.
Maria Holzer (Poland):	Do you mean that youth service should replace direct financial transfer from rich to poor or should it be in addition? International corporations use community service as an excuse not to give money to poor organizations.
Clemente Ruiz Durán:	Solidarity does not only relate to young people. The tax system can help to redistribute income to the poor. NGOs and youth service will complement this strategy. Solidarity means that everyone needs to get involved.

MARIA HOLZER

"Teenagers in poor communities and rural areas could be drawn into social labor in exchange for training that will enhance their skills and their job prospects."

– Clemente Ruiz Durán

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Youth service, participation and adolescent development

Dina Krauskopf

The definition of "youth" can be very problematic, even among international agencies: Some define young people as being between 12 and 25 years of age; the World Health Organization defines young people as being between 10 and 25 years; one talks of someone of 18 as an "adolescent"; and developed countries cite 30 as the age limit for youth – either for political reasons or because they have prolonged the period prior to entering the workplace.

"Sometimes I feel that when we talk about young people, we are talking about aliens," said Dina Krauskopf. "They are idealized, judged, discriminated against, fragmented. When we talk about adults, no one ever asks what age we are talking about. But when we talk about young people we talk about the transitional period. It is the only period of life defined as a transition."

Krauskopf argued that in poor countries, development policies do not concern themselves much with youth. Rather, policies for young people tend to be fragmented and often isolated. "Young people will never be important unless they are seen as part of the development of our societies. To do this, we need to talk about the characteristics of youth participation. We need to see youth participation from the point of view of young people."

Research findings indicate that positive developmental outcomes are fostered when adolescents develop a sense of industry and competency, a sense of connectedness to others and society, a belief in their control over their fate, a stable identity, a sense of usefulness, a sense of belonging and a sense of power.

According to Krauskopf, people who are concerned with youth policies and programs must become aware how forces such as globalization, modernization and the boom of national markets have changed the development of youth.

Firstly, preparation and the formation of identity is no longer an exclusive characteristic of adolescence: Training and continuous learning have become a feature of life for all. Secondly, globalization has introduced divisions within countries to the extent that in some cases young people (especially those who are more affluent) have more in common with their peers in other countries than they do with their peers who are excluded in their own countries. "So we need to talk about youth in a

differentiated way," said Krauskopf. "For example, young people in poor communities are expected to start contributing to households at an early stage, but they don't control their own money – they have to hand it over to their parents."

Thirdly, there are new forms of participation and communication between generations and between men and women. Young people prefer flexibility to certainty; their sense of time is different; their concentration is different – they focus on things that are short, cut and clipped rather than the long term. Also, there are different codes between generations; young people find it easier than adults to learn about new technologies. This is a big change and is generating a crisis for adults.

These developments are creating communication difficulties and are fostering adult-centeredness, adultism and generational blocks.

- *Adult-centeredness* refers to the design of youth policies by adults. "We see ourselves as the model that knows what young people need to understand and do," said Krauskopf.

- *Adultism* refers to the interaction between adults and young people in which adults become rigid when they discover that their way of managing young people doesn't work. "They become authoritarian because they don't know what to do. Margaret Mead said that traditions were good when the grandparents' past is the future of the children, but this is no longer the case. Young people of a decade ago no longer have the same future as young people today."

- Rigidity between adults and young people perpetuates *generational blocks* and does not foster the intergenerational communication so desperately needed.

A typology of youth participation

Programs and policies for young people tend to be based on the idea that youth is a preparatory phase – that young people lack expertise and thus need to be prepared for adulthood. However, what used to constitute "preparation" is no longer useful today. According to Krauskopf, "When we say young people are transitional, we say they are "no one", "nobody", just people who need to be prepared. The only time we recognize them as 'someone' is when there are problems. Then we deal with the problems so they will stop disturbing society. These are assistance-based policies, narrowly focused, that are trying to keep young people under control."

What needs to be considered is that there are different degrees of participation and to some extent they form a continuum: Are young people merely to be informed? Are they to be informed, but given no decision-making power? Or are they fully involved?

- Elementary participation occurs when young people are consulted and asked for their opinions.

Dina Krauskopf is a psychologist and a Professor Emeritus at the University of Costa Rica. She is a member of the Network of Experts on Youth Policy of the Iberoamerican Youth Organization.

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- **Participation with commitment** means that they help develop the objectives of a program and give feedback so as to improve results.

- **Participation with autonomy and power** means that they are given real power. "We need to recognize that young people are not waiting for us; they take initiative," argued Krauskopf.

Youth and service

Youth service may provide opportunities through which the impact of change can be constructively channeled. Although the education system and the family are important institutions, neither is strong enough to absorb the massive changes presently taking place; in fact they tend to be the last to change. Although work is an innovative process, the reality is that work is a rare commodity for young people.

Dina Krauskopf concluded by citing three different ways in which youth can be involved in service. In her view, each strategy has different consequences:

- **Service for the development of youth**, for example through education, could delay the attainment of autonomy and does not necessarily contribute to the integration of young people into society.

- **Military and similar forms of service** could be a way of forming national capital and helping young people develop certain skills. However, wherever there has been high recruitment of young people into armed activities, there are serious problems afterwards with reintegrating young people into civil society.

- **Service through the participation of young people:** This helps to form human and social capital, encourages autonomy and self-esteem, supports the development of intergenerational relationships, and helps build bridges between communities.

"Young people have to learn about the political machinery, but don't want to participate in it. They aren't interested in that any more. They want tangible projects. They want to be in organizations where they participate individually and where no one speaks for them."

– Dina Krauskopf

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Discussion

Sheila Sisulu: *(South Africa)* In South Africa the National Youth Commission is youth-led: All the commissioners are in the 18-25 year age bracket. Yet adults in the line ministries are not concerned so much with what the young people are saying; rather, they question their right to say it at all. The adults also query the salaries the young people are drawing. Ageism is a major problem and a youth-centered approach to development can delay things because the young people need to prove themselves. How can service assist this process? We don't have time to bring the adults along.

Dina Krauskopf: This is one of the biggest problems we have. For a long time I have suspected that the moratorium on adulthood is a way that adults deceive young people: "Try it out and you will understand when you are older." When we let young people think and act, they do it just as well as any adult who goes to some place for the first time. So there is competition and a terrible loss of power which adults aren't really aware of; it is unconscious. My own experience shows that the way to hold on to power is to work with youth. And one needs to say to the young people: Don't see the adult as the enemy. Adults can learn to develop new tools, but people don't abandon their old tools until they have new ones.

Inca Mohamed (USA): There is a real power relationship that is changing. In the culture in which I grew up, everything was about the power of being an adult. One needs to work with adults to help them understand that the world has changed absolutely. So how do we renegotiate? In the United States it relates to changes in gender and ethnic groups.

INCA MOHAMED

Dina Krauskopf: Political parties have lost their power with young people. They see them as the next shift, the relief generation. So young people have to learn about the political machinery, but don't want to participate in it; and they aren't interested in that any more. They want tangible projects. It isn't about a few young people who want to achieve political power some time in the future. They want to be in organizations where they can participate individually and where no one speaks for them.

Victor Arredondo: *(Mexico)* I enjoyed the typology on youth participation – from no participation at all to autonomy. But should one not think of it as a sequence? If I were to send young people to the brigades and tell them to do whatever they want, would they not be out of control?

Dina Krauskopf: In Guatemala, people developed an index of different degrees of participation. Initially the role of the adult is very important and then it gradually changes and fades out. This is exactly what happens in life. The problem is that adults need to know this is their role. If they start by organizing the youth and they never recognize that autonomy needs to emerge, one will have only pseudo-participation. Adults should withdraw and remain in the role of advisors. Young people want ongoing support and clear guidance, but they don't want to make the adults disappear.

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MELINA GRILLO

Melina Grillo (Costa Rica): In our organization we believe that participation has to start at the local level and build on the potential of the young person. There can't be one national model. We need to open different avenues for youth participation so that we can go from participation in bettering individual conditions all the way to political participation. Last year we had to review whether what we are doing really amounts to "participation?" We had to create a model that clarifies the role of adults in fostering participation among young people. Now adults and young people are both learning to participate and to share. Through a mutual learning process we can move from authoritarianism to authority; we do not always need to agree – we can discuss – but we have a special responsibility in the process.

Dina Krauskopf: Give young people opportunities, but also make their contributions visible. From early on children and young people make contributions, but they are invisible, unrecognized. If we want to encourage participation in service, we need to have a campaign that makes visible the abilities and contributions of young people.

Christina Kwak (USA): We have now touched on the question of readying the context. Starting young is one way. Adults need to get used to seeing young people making a contribution. But there are other ways too, such as giving young people the money, the purse strings, and developing youth philanthropy – putting young people in charge of giving grants for community projects, for example.

CHRISTINA KWAK

FLORENCE MBURU, LUCY MATHAI AND SHEILA SISULU

Youth service as a means of reintegrating marginalized youth

Sheila Sisulu

SHEILA SISULU

Sheila Sisulu
is South Africa's
Ambassador to the
United States.

I had the privilege of working with young black people who were disaffected from the apartheid education system in South Africa. I taught the class of '76 and in the years that followed worked with waves of students who ultimately rejected education in accordance with the slogan "liberation before education." We, the adults in the struggle, mounted one back-to-school campaign after another because we could not deal with this notion that young people would give up their education to liberate the country first. Some of us worked hard to get them back into the schooling system, but the more we tried, the more we realized that with every wave of school boycott and return to school, students and teachers were increasingly unable to work in the apartheid schooling system.

I then raised this question: What will happen to these young people once we have a normal society with a normal education system? By 1988 the term "the lost generation" was gaining currency in South Africa. The attitude behind the term was that one could just discard these young people – forget them and move forward with those who were not "lost." In trying to work out what was meant by this notion of "lost," it occurred to me that we as adults were expressing our own sense of losing control over the young people – control that we think it is our right to have. Because we have no control over them, we label them "lost"; and because they won't let us control them, we discard them.

In the early 1990s the South African Council of Churches was looking at the question of youth in South Africa – especially those who had been in the struggle, had been thrown out of school, had gone to jail, and who would have much less of a role as the political situation moved toward negotiation. Many were not doing anything: They were not working, they were not at school, they were not in the defense units that organized in the early 1990s in the midst of the violence raging in black townships. And yet they were a very large and visible group of young people. Unlike those who had been in the liberation wing of the African National Congress (ANC) and the other political parties, who were more or less assured of being absorbed or demobilized in a new, democratic dispensation, these young people faced a bleak future.

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Through the Joint Enrichment Project, the Council of Churches engaged young people in conferences and workshops to articulate issues of concern to them. This culminated in a research program being commissioned to generate scientific information on the status of young people in South Africa.

In 1992 the research revealed significant statistics. Twenty-five percent of the young people were "fine"; the majority of young South Africans – 43 percent – were "at risk"; and 27 percent were "marginalized." In trying to counter the prevailing notion of "lost youth," we struggled with what to call the small group of the young people (5 percent) who were on their way through the criminal justice system, on their way into jail, or already in jail. In the end we settled on the term "disengaged." We concluded that unless the right programs are put in place, the number that are "fine" could easily slip into the "at risk" category, and then into the category of those who are "marginalized," because the line between those "at risk" and those who are "marginalized" is not a rigid one.

In 1994, a few weeks before his death, ANC leader Chris Hani, talked about the possibility of demilitarizing young people by enrolling them into a youth corps or service corps. Shortly afterwards he was assassinated and, in the wake of the ensuing anger from young black South Africans, panic struck the adults, the politicians and business people. Suddenly they were looking for an instant solution that would deal with these angry young people. Proposals ranged from disciplining young people by putting them in military camps, to more benevolent approaches that argued for teaching young people skills and responsibility "because they have a problem of violence." Essentially, however, the support which the notion of a peace corps or service corps gained from the extreme right to the extreme left of the political spectrum was driven by the idea that young people were a problem and should be put into a quasi-military camp.

These developments meant that very quickly we had to conceptualize a policy on youth service that would counter the idea that young people should be straightjacketed. Many young South Africans had given up their education while others had never had the opportunity to attend school. The research showed that the young men and women wanted skills, followed by a job and education. So we tried to craft a system that would meet these needs through service. It wasn't about service for its own sake, and it wasn't about disciplining them – it was about giving the young people an identity. Many hadn't worked, hadn't been at school for more than five years, and they were called "unemployable." The research showed that young people going for jobs were required to demonstrate experience, but never got the opportunity to acquire experience or build up a curriculum vitae.

So our approach was, on the one hand, to provide young people with an opportunity to get training, education, counseling and skills, and at the same time to change the attitude of adults in their own communities towards their "lostness." The drive was to get young people doing development work in their own communities – repairing schools, taking care of children in nursery schools, doing gardening. In the process they would develop a better sense of themselves and achieve a new profile in their community.

Ultimately we succeeded in delaying the introduction of a militaristic approach to youth development. Nevertheless, part of the delay to the development of a national service structure in South Africa had to do with the fact that there were many powerful forces – including the military – that were advocating for a service corps that would control young people, rather than develop them and involve them in the reconstruction and development of South African society. We were also concerned that by focusing solely on the marginalized youth, we would deepen the notion of youth development being only for young people who were poor and disengaged. So I am very excited that various service initiatives are now taking root for higher education students, professionals and graduates, and that youth service is not only seen as being for the poor. There needs to be some prestige in doing service – in giving – and young people who are "fine" as well as those "at risk" should all feel that they can give.

Today valuable experience has been gained by the Joint Enrichment Project and other NGOs in the challenges of running service projects. Many young people are coming out of the JEP pilot projects feeling great about themselves. They see a future, they feel respected and they have a gained a great deal of self-respect. Consequently, the varied nature of youth service work in South Africa is becoming something that young people want to do. Unfortunately, the programs with marginalized youth are still very limited in reach and scope, and they need assistance to have greater impact. The challenge is so great that no single source, even government, can meet the need. The high level of unemployment among young Africans (69 percent) poses a particular challenge, which service cannot solve on its own.

The bigger challenge is to convince government and the South African public about the issue of youth at risk and marginalized youth in particular. Many organizations are drawn by glamorous, easy-to-do projects, but we will not break the back of the issues concerning youth in South Africa unless organizations acknowledge and engage the condition of marginalized youth. It is important to raise the awareness and consciousness of people about this. We are a very youthful society and this provides opportunities because young people are idealistic, energetic, enthusiastic – they want to do things. But sometimes I wonder whether we truly understand how much of our future depends on how much we invest in young people today.

What can we do to ensure that our youth participate actively and how can we get over the tension between adults and young people? It is important for adults to engage young people, to accept them as an important sector in society, but at the same time young people need to organize themselves to have a voice. When young people are organized, adults will listen – particularly if young people are organized in ways that engage government and adults. One of the challenges is the issue of ageism in Africa: "Children are children, adults are adults, and never the twain shall meet" is a view that prevails strongly in our countries. We in South Africa took a leap forward when we said we want development that is youth-driven and youth-centred. So young people need to organize, be informed and bring forward to government, and other organs of society, well-conceived proposals, plans and ideas so that those in power can take youth seriously.

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Youth service, civic engagement and the role of the state

Vicente Espinoza

How can public policy help promote the involvement of young people in public affairs? According to Vicente Espinoza, the central problem is that in spite of countless public policies on youth involvement, the level of youth involvement is actually decreasing.

Espinoza's research in Chile shows that young people in that country are increasingly more individualistic and less involved in public affairs than older people. For example, in Chile voter registration has increased over the last 10 years to the extent that 72 percent of 25 to 29-year-olds are registered to vote. However, only 4 percent of those under 24 are registered to vote. It could be argued that these young people will register when they are older, but the evidence does not support such increased interest.

The research also shows that there is a direct relationship between the design of public policies and the degree of civic engagement of youth. Policies that are designed *for* youth tend to be top-down – they feature a vertical relationship between the provider (the state) and the users (the young people). On the other hand, policies designed *with* the youth provide opportunities for institutional mediation between everyday life and larger social processes while simultaneously opening up civic spaces in which young people can encounter people from diverse communities.

Three factors shape the concept of youth as social actors:

- Individual experiences at school, at work, in the family, etc., out of which collective meanings are built.

- Collective experiences that generate trust and solidarity across social inequalities; the ability to recognize and form social capital; and young people participating as agents in public spaces.

- Young people moving between local and global contexts.

In dissecting the involvement of young people in public life today, it is important to take into account their life experience. For example, people between 12 and 30 years old were born between 1970 and 1988. In the global context, this period saw young people passing through large-scale processes of political and economic change, from dictatorship and military rule during the

VICENTE ESPINOZA

Vicente Espinoza

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1970s to restricted democracies in the 1980s and 1990s. They went from poverty and other deprivations to social mobility in the 1980s to an increased satisfaction of basic needs; and they witnessed the large-scale expansion of audio-visual mass media in the 1990s.

Seen from a public policy perspective, this period also witnessed a number of formative phenomena. The global changes ruled by the Washington Consensus in the 1980s and 1990s led to cutbacks in public spending, which were intended to produce economic stability and a trickle-down effect. At the same time strategies were required for reducing increased poverty and this was offset by a quest for target efficiency against universal policies. However, there were unexpected consequences: Along with traditional policies on education, health and housing, there are many small innovative projects – such as job training programs – that demand community implementation.

Consequently, there has been a functional integration of youth into the labor market despite growing youth unemployment. However, there are increasing inequalities in the labor market. In addition, while young people experience extended participation in schooling, achievement is contingent on socioeconomic status, thereby increasing inequalities within this sector as well.

Social integration is defined as participation in the labor market and individual social mobility. In the case of young people, the state diagnoses the disadvantaged labor conditions of youth to be the result of their lack of qualification and may launch training programs designed to help them integrate into the labor market. The problem is that when young people make labor demands, as in Chile, the public sector offers them no adequate help. Even where favorable legislation is in place (regulating minimum hours of work, for example), young workers get fired when they try to implement it. Consequently, the experience of many young people is that contracts have no effectiveness in regulating labor relations, workplaces are dehumanizing, and they are unable to gain any clear perspective on their long-term career paths. So young people experience the situation as being exploitative. One 22-year-old said "Why should we vote when we can't get laws that favor us?"

In the case of programs that seek to foster local youth development, however, the public sector becomes a companion in two senses: First, local activities can foster local citizenship, which becomes the first step to national public participation; second, the programs provide an opportunity to counter top-down policy design by fostering the dynamics of the young people themselves, rather than representing them or mediating between the youth and the public sector. In this case public policies are oriented toward a local context of interaction (through community, associations, labor) and are able to foster local citizenship. The advantage is that young people learn solidarity, cooperation and civic spirit in practice. The drawback lies in restricting the civic experience to relationships between socially homogeneous individuals.

The research undertaken in Chile throws light on a number of features about the condition and orientation of young people:

- In the everyday life of young people, social interaction has been reduced to local contexts and is limited to family, friends and, to a minor extent, work and school. Furthermore, young people often have a traumatic experience of diversity. Outside of their small circles they feel that "nobody treats us as persons." This results in an inability to form social capital.

- With regard to youth and power there is the perception that inequalities will never change and that people are retreating from public contexts to private life. The research suggests that young people feel they have no rights in facing the inequalities of social life. This results in a feeling that they are not citizens, that they are defenseless.

- With regard to citizenship and youth service, the research shows that there is a mismatch between the public sector "supply" of social policies and the "demand" among young people for social policies. The public sector focuses on the local context while young people demand protection from global powers. To many young people, social policies appear as an incomplete support to their social integration.

Consequently, the demands of the youth are far from the current orientation. Young people are asking for help in a situation of social domination where they seem to have no rights. How then can youth take responsibility for the conditions that shape their daily life?

Civic involvement and youth service

One way would be to foster practical experience of civic engagement. This will involve designing policies and programs that:

- help young people experience a diversity of encounters as opposed to being limited to small circles of strong ties – in other words, facilitate the development of "bridging capital";

- foster connections between the market, civil society, family, social capital and public services;

- provide collective meaning to otherwise unconnected individual experiences; and

- foster public participation as one of many ways to coordinate their efforts.

"Youth service could make a great contribution through changing a culture of confrontation between social actors and the state, and replacing it with a culture of participation in national development."

– Vicente Espinoza

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This has four implications for youth service:

- Youth empowerment takes place most effectively through civic involvement in public life.

- It is necessary for policies and programs to fill the gap between the private and public spheres by helping young people experience a diversity of people, contexts and encounters.

- Participation in national development continues to be an important component of youth service.

- Youth service should aim to build trust across the socioeconomic and gender boundaries of social life.

In the 1980s new channels for political participation were opened for youth who had suffered a long period of exclusion and frustration in their hopes for integration. Signs of openness and integration marked the social policies of the 1990s. Looking ahead, the policies of the 21st century should be focused on eliminating barriers that encourage exclusion by expanding opportunities for participation. The concept of youth service can be an excellent contribution in this direction in that it combines conditions to create local, public opportunities involving a variety of participants, and it allows for social participation within a different framework from that of conflict.

Discussion

Alison Bernstein (USA):	You suggested that youth service could not be done through the agency of the state. Is this because the Chilean experience of state is very different from the South African context? In South Africa the Youth Commission made proposals in which the state could be involved.
Vicente Espinoza:	The problem is that the young people are working in "self-reference" activities, which make linkages between people who are socially equal. They also need relationships with people who are socially different. When I say that youth service should remain a concept of civil society, I use a perspective in which individual actors (women, youth, etc.) have no dependency on the public sector. My experience of the public sector is that it means the death of the social actor – for example civil society initiatives such as a neighborhood movement, the women's movement, etc. So it is possible to shift the state to twist the public policies in terms of youth service, but there is a need to keep youth service autonomous from the state – otherwise youth service develops relations of dependency.
Goodenough Kodwa (South Africa):	You conclude that for youth service to achieve its goals, it must divorce itself from the state. This will not necessarily help us achieve the kind of youth service we want. I would argue that you need a strongly interventionist state. I agree that many governments have made concessions: Government sets policy, and

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communities and local governments take charge. Youth service could fall into this category, but it will need some government support or it will be short-lived.

Vicente Espinoza: There is a strong body of evidence that institutional participation of social actors usually coincides with the end of that group as a social actor. Youth service could be an orientation for policy design and in this sense could get financial support as well as other resources from the state. However, civic participation does not occur only with reference to the state and much less *within* the state. What I mean by civic participation is citizenship, which is a public and private encounter. In this space, all citizens are recognized as equal and there are no differences. And yet there are many differences between young people, just as we adults are different from each other. There are gender differences among youth, differences in integration into the labor force, differences in recreation, the age at which they will marry, etc. There are also social differences: Upper and middle-class young people say they are different from poor young people. So you can't speak of youth as a social actor. We only have youth as an age group.

Clemente Ruiz Durán: At the World Trade Organization the big challenge was how labor standards are going to prevail and how
(Mexico)   this will affect youth participation.

Vicente Espinoza: One of the problems with job-training programs is they don't ensure that the young person will get a job at the end of the training. The practical stage of training almost never occurs. If you focus job training around community service, this could help ease the frustration of young people who are supposed to end their training with improved access to the labor market, but who don't. Secondly, I think there are no labor standards outside of history. The length of time you work in a week does not depend on a law. In Chile young people don't talk about contracts, but about how they are treated by employers. They may be contracted to work eight hours a day, but will be fired if they don't work ten hours a day. That is what has to change – the creation of the space of citizenship, moving politics from the organizational stage to the institutional stage. Then you can fix and enforce the standards.

Edna Co (Philippines):   In the Philippines we have had the experience of authoritarianism for about 20 years. But in the mid-1980s we were trying to move towards a bigger space in terms of democracy. The intersection between state and the actions of other social actors with regard to youth service has something to do with how much space has been allowed by the state – or asserted by the citizens – so as to facilitate cooperation between civil society and other players. Civil society activists have been very suspicious about collaborating with the state, especially when the state has been repressive and does not provide much space for cooperation. We have recently passed a decentralization law that is being vigorously applied, and this has generated a lot of pilot projects at local government level.

At the national level the government has tried to keep an open mind. There is an openness to allowing citizens to play their role. I think it is good that at the national level the government has adopted some principles and policies that have been advanced by NGOs and other parts of civil society. Some NGOs

would say "That is our policy. Why is it now becoming a government policy?" and they aren't happy about it. But I think it shows that government is open to institutionalizing these policies within a more sustainable approach. A binary approach may not be helpful for the youth or for youth service policy and programs. The amount of democracy and the public space between governmental and nongovernmental players is very important in terms of the autonomy with which we can implement youth service.

Minor Mora Salas (Costa Rica): You use the concept of citizenship, but people have rights and the state has the responsibility to do whatever is necessary to fulfil these rights. How does one promote a rights approach without the states playing a key role in this area?

Elisabeth Hoodless (UK): You also described how alienated young people felt. My impression is that, worldwide, football is the key to involving young people. What is the position in Chile?

Vicente Espinoza: From a social viewpoint you can analyze football as I am analyzing the everyday life of young people. There are small groups or cliques which join to cheer their team, but there are no activities linking them; they are still isolated. There are also lots of local leagues that have no relation with each other. So football is not an easy answer for this problem.

Regarding citizenship: The state has a responsibility, but so do citizens. Citizenship comprises both rights and duties. The enlargement of rights requires the work of social actors who are working outside of the state. We need the space that allows the growth of social actors. Youth service could make a great contribution through changing a culture of confrontation between social actors and the state and replacing it with a culture of participation in national development. Youth service could function as a policy from the state, but relating to social actors outside the state.

MICHAEL LIPSKY, ALISON BERNSTEIN AND JACKIE COCK

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Youth service as strong policy

Michael Sherraden

The major social institutions within which young people become involved are employment, education, the military and incarceration. As a concept, "service" is coming up in various forms, but it is not quite clear what service is. Is service a new, emerging institution? This lack of clarity is inevitable when something new is trying to define itself. What is clear is that service will never be unidimensional. In the same way that employment is a wide-ranging set of activities with many dimensions, service is very complex.

"Strong policy" is policy that has many positive impacts and provides an exceptional return on investment. If service is to be considered a major institution, it is important to consider what service means in terms of strong policy.

MICHAEL SHERRADEN

Policy innovation should incorporate the following features:

- While economics focuses on action by individuals (agency) and while sociology focuses on structure (society), the most interesting questions refer to the interaction of structure and action. Governmental action should restore opportunities for action at all levels – individuals, families, associations, organizations, communities and society as a whole.

- Theory matters. There is a misconception that applied policy work can be or should be "a-theoretical". In the absence of specific ideas that are being tested, data tend not to add up to anything.

- Policy ideas should be simple, clear, logically constructed, thoughtful and intuitively sensible. Most important, they should capture the imagination of the public.

- Some ideas have greater potential for application than others.

Four basic theoretical approaches can be identified in the applied social sciences:

- What causes a particular social problem? Half of all research focuses on this question. The assumption is that if we understand this question better, it will enable us to fix the problem. This is not necessarily the case. A lot of these causal variables may be permanent conditions that cannot be changed. The solution to the problem may be to do something completely different.

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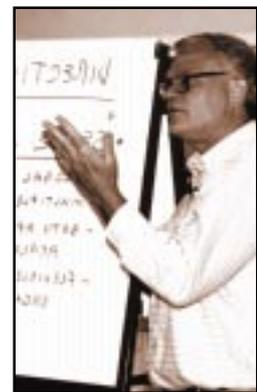
- The next type of work focuses on the impact of a problem that has other negative consequences, e.g. using drugs is bad for people; unemployment is bad for people. This approach is helpful in terms of assessing the total cost of a social problem, but doesn't say much about what to do about it.

- The third approach looks at what might cause something more positive. For example, what might lead to youth service? What leads to savings behavior or asset accumulation? This focuses on how you introduce a strategy or policy into the world, and document whether it has been successful.

- Finally, strong policy: The effects of an intervention may not be all positive, but most may be positive. This provides a rationale for the investment. For example, education is worth investing in, as is employment. Youth service is also likely to be worth investing in.

  In their 1990 study, Eberly and Sherraden undertook a comparative study of youth service in nine countries. The study looked at what impact youth service was having and identified five different categories:

- impact on the commonweal;

- productivity;

- benefits to participants, e.g. psychological benefits, human capital development;

- state interests and the positive and negative effects of applications (on the negative side, for example, youth in Nazi Germany and the Red Guard in China);

- peace (the avoidance of war or the promotion of understanding, e.g. cutting across boundaries in the Middle East).

> **Michael Sherradren** is the Benjamin E. Youngdahl Professor of Social Development and Director, Center for Social Development, Washington University and author of *Assets and the Poor: A New American Welfare Policy* (1991) and *Alternatives to Social Security: An International Enquiry* (1997).

The research showed that "commonweal" and "productivity" rank highest; "peace" and "state interests" rank lowest; and "benefits to participants" rank in the middle. Youth service may be doing other things as well – for example, Robert Putnam says health issues should be added to the list.

Developing an intellectual framework for youth service

In looking at the question of whether youth service constitutes strong policy, Sherraden suggested a number of steps:

- Specify and define "service" so as to tease out its different aspects and dimensions. For example, service is likely to include aspects of task, skills development, team work, supervision or mentoring, reflection and learning. These aspects will be emphasized to a greater or lesser degree in different contexts.

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- Which aspects are likely to have what kinds of effects?

- Specify theory and build knowledge. For example, Putnam argues that youth service assists in the formation of social capital and that this in turn has certain effects.

- Intervening mechanisms – these are critical for knowledge development. Youth service could lead to the formation of social capital and human capital, in which case the actual service tasks will have certain effects in their own right.

These theoretical issues have to do with policy, practice and research and this agenda belongs in every youth service program. It is about clear thinking. How might this intellectual/applied agenda be taken forward?

New directions

- An Internet facility should operate globally with multiple nodes in different parts of the world; applied and academic content should interact and the whole entity should be flexible, growing, organic.

- Build practice and expertise via strategic resources. For example, the International Association of National Youth Service has had several meetings over the last decade, but working together globally will require an investment of strategic resources that can leverage other expertise and capital.

- Structure a process that specifies service and its expected effects. It may be best to create a group of academics and practitioners so as to generate structured interaction with a view to developing policy, practice and research agendas for the next few years.

- Research of all kinds is needed because we don't have enough knowledge about youth service and what it is. Research could include:

  - Case studies about what happens to individuals in youth service; case studies of programs, how they evolve and what they do.

  - More theoretical work is needed, clarified through qualitative methods such as focus groups and in-depth interviews so as to contextualize strategies and theory: how participants see this work.

  - There is also a large role for survey research so as to create good measures of youth service and build them into the major longitudinal surveys currently in process. None of the U.S. surveys presently include a measure of youth service.

  - We also need experimental research designs, with randomly assigned service and control groups. Although these are not easy to do, they can yield valuable information.

It seems that service is a slowly emerging social institution that one day could be as common and accepted as, for example, employment and education are today. Service is now being discussed not only for youth, but also for elders and across the life span. For the first time ever there is a worldwide understanding that civil society and civic engagement are crucial for democratic governance and that we may be living in a time when purposeful institution-building is needed. A small group of committed people can do a great deal at particular times in history and we need to think about what we should create to put the institution into place.

> "For the first time ever there is a worldwide understanding that civil society and civic engagement are crucial for democratic governance and that we may be living in a time when purposeful institution-building is needed."

– Michael Sherraden

Discussion

FRANK NEWMAN

Frank Newman (USA): You talk about carefully done research and the spread of knowledge and ideas. A recent example of this is in the field of early childhood development in the United States.

Michael Sherraden: That is a very good example. It is likely that the researchers were closely connected to the applied world so that this was happening simultaneously.

Nazeema Mohamed (South Africa): On the one hand we are saying that service can facilitate democracy; on the other there is an assumed neutrality about how we define service. But the nature of the state impacts severely on how service is defined and operationalized. It determines partnerships and resource allocation – both human and financial. Service can amount to reformism rather than dealing with a corrupt and bankrupt state that does not deliver for the people. So service must be contextualized.

Michael Sherraden: That is true, but it is also true for employment and education. Although I have used the word "policy", I don't only mean state action. I mean also NGO and private-sector action. Policies should happen in all areas in all countries.

Michael Lipsky (USA): How would you incorporate Nazeema's thoughts into your research agenda?

Michael Sherraden: In 1990 we had a category looking at state interests and how youth served these interests.

Simon Kokoyo Sirako: (Kenya) The nature of the state is critical to the future of youth service. In Kenya the service program was designed to promote national integration, but in the last 15 years the state has lost legitimacy. The critical thing is

whether service is used as a mechanism for incorporation. In Kenya it has killed zeal. The young people are no longer committed; everyone is for himself or herself. Those not employed are plundering in the street. It is difficult to sell service for social change.

Michael Sherraden: The fact that young people don't trust the state does not mean that young people will not be willing to get involved at a local community level.

Don Eberly (USA):   In the 1960s Ethiopia introduced mandatory service for university students. At the end of the year the students felt it was a good idea, but suggested it should be mandatory because most people won't want to do it. A few years later Haille Selassie was out of office because of what the students saw in the countryside. Today the program in Brazil bears some resemblance to the military program of some years ago. Globalization could develop through academic research.

Maria Holzer (Poland):   Reflecting on the relationship between youth service and government, in many countries there is an issue of finance and scale of operation. Often it is only government that has the money to support a national youth service. Can NGOs sustain or scale up their operations without government support? The programs in Russia are a good example. They provide particular opportunities for foundations and organizations to provide support that protects service programs from being used by governments for political purposes.

Kamal Fahmi (Egypt):   The notion of service implies implicitly or explicitly that there are some actors who are giving and some who are receiving. The latter is missing from this debate. As a social worker I feel confused or frustrated by how we still hang on to the concept of social service rather than a concept in which those who are receiving the service are playing an active role.
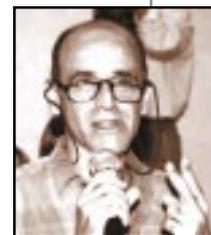
KAMAL FAHMI

Michael Sherraden: In some arenas we have learned how to "work with" rather than "doing for" people in the community. The service means to serve, not to "do for"; often it should mean to "do with". There are professions such as social work which have struggled with these issues and we can learn from these examples.

Richard Fehnel (South Africa):   You mentioned building expertise via strategic resources. This suggests that in the areas in which the Ford Foundation is working, many cases are at stage one, others at stage two and others at stage three. If this is the reality, how does one work with the notion of building expertise via strategic resources in an action agenda?

Michael Sherraden: In some cases a strategic investment of a small amount of resources to demonstrate what is happening in a local community can pay off enormously. It becomes the energy for a policy proposal that expands resources for that type of work in other areas. I don't know how to make these types of investments in terms of service. It is important to identify where relatively small investments can generate large payoffs in terms of creating more expertise and impact.

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Pablo Farias (Mexico):	Service is a concept developed in many sectors of society. We need to define more specifically why we talk of youth in service and the specific effects of this.
Reuven Gal (Israel):	In the list of consequences flowing from the impact of youth service, you put peace last and almost used it as a metaphor. I would like to bring it closer to the top of the list. Is it because we are shy of talking about peace or because William James' article was too long ago? We underplay the role of youth service as an alternative to military service. We have heard of the situation in Russia. We know of a situation in Germany where more than 50 percent of young people conscripted into the military prefer to undertake alternative service. Costa Rica abolished military service and developed an effective youth service. I think we should put peace on the agenda as a good reason and not be shy about it. It not only has good moral and ethical reasoning, but also shows how state budgets can be shifted from military and defense expenditures to other areas in which youth service could be a major player.
Michael Sherraden:	This suggests that more work is needed on what type of youth service should be out there and what it should be trying to achieve.
Christine Kwak (USA):	There seems to be a huge gulf between practice and policy. In the United States there is silent (albeit major) support for service-learning and youth service. What can be done to strengthen this?
Michael Sherraden:	Mostly policies emerge at the national level because they have been tried at the local level and bubble up – in the United States this happens more often than the other way round. Once policies are institutionalized, it is difficult to remove them from practice. Sometimes they get carried out in ways that the policy makers never intended. For example, the college work-study program was intended to provide service in communities, but this was captured by higher education institutions and is being used by the institutions as a subsidy. The *Trabajo Comunal Universitario* (TCU) policy in Costa Rica is also uneven. Many students fulfil a requirement rather than rendering service – which is what the policy intended. Policies need to be reenvisioned and reinvigorated with each generation. If no one takes that responsibility, we run the risk of having policies that were once very good, no longer being so good.

SIMON KOKOYO SIRAKO

"Service is a slowly emerging social institution that one day could be as common and accepted as employment and education are today."

– Michael Sherraden

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Youth Service in Action

During the workshop, four panel discussions were convened to give participants an opportunity to engage with some of the country experiences. What follows is a summary of the presentations by participants from South Africa, Mexico, Russia and Brazil.

Also included in this section is an overview of social service in Costa Rica. It comprises an edited version of the address given by Lorena Clare de Rodríguez, the First Lady of Costa Rica; an edited version of the address by Dr. Leda M. Munoz, Vice President for Social Action at the University of Costa Rica, who described the university's model of social service; and extracts from the testimonies of three students who have participated in the program.

Country profiles of youth service

As part of the workshop the Ford Foundation commissioned a wide range of country profiles on youth service. The documents describe youth service in Brazil, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, Hungary, Israel, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, the Philippines, Poland, Russia, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Brief summaries of each of the country profiles are appended at the end of this report of the conference proceedings.

WORKSHOP
PARTICIPANTS IN
DISCUSSION WITH
MEMBERS OF A
UNIVERSITY OF COSTA
RICA SERVICE
PROGRAM.

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South Africa

Panel members: Richard Fehnel (chair), Sheila Sisulu, Goodenough Kodwa, Nazeema Mohamed and Helene Perold.

Richard Fehnel opened the panel discussion by outlining how South Africa's experiments with community service or youth service are shifting. Using the social capital framework presented by Bob Putnam to illustrate this shift, Dick reviewed the

Richard Fehnel served as the Ford Foundation's Program Officer for Southern Africa, responsible for education, until January 2000.

important role of "bridging networks" as a key element of the process of building social capital. In South Africa's highly fragmented society, based on social, economic and legal structures of apartheid, networks were built on the basis of bonding among people with similar characteristics or views. However, in post-apartheid society, there exists a great need to bridge the gaps created by apartheid. This need was manifested in the establishment of a Government of National Unity, and in President Mandela's persistent actions to create and support a national spirit of reconciliation.

However, Dick pointed out that the shift from bonding networks to bridging networks can and will create tensions and pressures among those previously bonded. We see examples of this in the growing concern expressed by some trade unionists, previously allied with some university student organizations in the struggle against apartheid, about the interests of students in undertaking community service programs. Some unions see such involvement as threatening the jobs of union members. Student groups, comprising a wide range of racial, social and class backgrounds, are seeing community service programs as a way to bridge not only the differences among themselves, but also the differences between the more privileged sectors of society that they represent and the disadvantaged communities in which they aim to carry out reconstruction and development programs.

Dick suggested that the presenters might explore the growing tensions and opportunities of community service within the framework of nurturing the development of social capital.

Sheila Sisulu described how youth service in South Africa emerged from its history of apartheid. Young white people (men in military service in particular) bonded in service of apartheid while young black people (together with others) bonded to join the liberation movement. On both sides considerable harm was done, and many young black people sacrificed their education.

Sheila Sisulu is the South African Ambassador to the United States.

An important figure in the conceptualization of youth service in the new democracy was Chris Hani, a militant young ANC leader who was extremely popular among young South Africans. Hani and others recognized that the

skill of resistance would become less relevant in the transition to democracy. They questioned what the future held for young militarized people – from the white army, from the homeland armies and from the defense units — and proposed the concept of a peace corps. Soon after this, in 1994, Chris Hani was assassinated, a development that generated huge anger among the youth and caused panic across the political spectrum. In response, a flurry of proposals materialized. Some set out options for containing the youth (e.g. by putting them in work camps and disciplining them) while others contained proposals for developing young people by giving them skills.

Soon the reconstruction agenda moved away from youth and focused on the development of the Constitution and other policies. To regain momentum, the Joint Enrichment Project generated a process through which fragmented youth groupings came together with a view to fast-tracking the conceptualization of youth service. It was supported by some original research undertaken by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), which showed that only 25 percent of South Africa's young people were "fine" (i.e. socially engaged); 43 percent were at risk; 27 percent were alienated from society in a number of social and economic spheres, and 5 percent were on their way into the criminal justice system.

Over time a holistic approach to youth service was developed to enable young people to get education, training, skills and counseling – strategies designed to address the impact of apartheid on young people's personal development. At the same time the approach aimed to start changing community attitudes toward young people. Despite this progress, youth service has been a contested terrain. Part of the delay in establishing the national service structure in South Africa can be attributed to forces that were advocating programs that would control young people rather than develop them. Fortunately there are today various initiatives starting within civil society that in time will coalesce into a fully fledged national youth service.

Goodenough Kodwa described how a debate took place as to whether South Africa should have a ministry of youth affairs or a national youth commission. Three years ago the National Youth Commission was established. During its first term the

Goodenough Kodwa
is a member of the South
African National Youth
Commission.

commission has developed a national youth policy that covers all youth formations, a national youth service Green Paper, which was discussed by 167 youth organizations, and a White Paper on youth service that includes the notion of service-learning, skills development and employment opportunities for young people. Each government department is to address the issues faced by young people, and pilot projects are currently being launched.

Nazeema Mohammed described how the concept of "youth" has changed from one in which young people were leading in the trenches against apartheid to one in which young people have different needs and aspirations. Many face poverty and homelessness. She said that while the South African government is supportive of the notion of youth service, the challenge today is how to mainstream and implement the concept. The current focus of the Department of Education is on making schools function well and it is difficult to bring youth service into the center of this. In the higher education sector the challenge

Nazeema Mohamed

is Director for Policy and Support in the Higher Education branch of South Africa's national Department of Education.

is to reduce academic isolation and to connect with issues of poverty. Service could be linked to this process, but making the link real is a slow process. While the Minister of Education has identified adult literacy as a major focus for his term in office, recent developments in the professionalization of adult basic education and training mean that there will have to be careful negotiation about how to draw volunteers into the field.

Helene Perold summed up the remarks by pointing out that in South Africa youth service is likely to take a variety of forms, comprising both small pilot programs and larger initiatives. It will include voluntary as well as compulsory forms of service – the latter is already in operation for medical graduates (and soon will be extended to dentists and other health professionals). The funding for youth service programs will in many instances be drawn from the relevant line ministries, topped up by contributions from funds established by government for job creation and development initiatives, as well as private-sector and donor contributions. Curriculum reform in higher education as well as in schools provides openings for the integration of youth service, but this is a slow process. The further development of the South African Qualifications Authority will assist in ensuring that skills training for young people leads to their further career path development while the Skills Development Act

Helene Perold

is a South African consultant in education, media and development.

may help to give training a more practical focus in line with economic growth opportunities. The pilot programs that the National Youth Commission is launching will provide a significant opportunity to develop new relationships with local government.

SOUTH AFRICA PANEL:
HELENE PEROLD, NAZEEMA MOHAMED, GOODENOUGH KODWA, SHEILA SISULU, RICHARD FEHNEL (CHAIR)

"We have a situation in South Africa where a culture of entitlement and a culture of reciprocity compete for the allegiance of groups. Can youth service serve as an effective means of reducing the competition?"

– Richard Fehnel

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Discussion

Elisabeth Hoodless (UK):	Could you clarify the relationship between the youth commission and government departments? When they build a ramp to a post office, does the post office pay or do they split it between them?
Goodenough Kodwa:	As the National Youth Commission we don't get billions from government. In fact, we are still struggling to secure the funds to run our organization and to run some of our programs. What we have been able to do successfully is to access foreign donor support for some of our programmes. In relation to the construction projects, we develop a business plan (including a cost analysis) in partnership with one or more government departments. We look at what they can contribute, but we must also mobilize international donors. However, we don't doubt the commitment of our government in realizing our objectives and aims. The President himself has announced that R15m has been put aside to kickstart the construction of public buildings for access by disabled persons.
Lucy Mathai (Kenya):	Is the youth policy a new policy?
Sheila Sisulu:	Apartheid ended in 1994 and the National Youth Commission was established in 1996. Each commissioner has a term of three years. The first commissioners were appointed in June 1996 and their term ended in June 1999. The first commission established after apartheid set down a youth policy. Prior to 1994 the previous government had no youth policy at all.
Joseph Aguerrebere (USA):	Will the junior doctors community service model be expanded to other fields?
Helene Perold:	According to the Department of Health, plans are already in place for extending community service to pharmacists and dentists. There are also plans to extend community service to the field of law and accounting, but no clear dates have been set. Interestingly, the Department of Justice adopted a more consultative approach to the planning. It put the ball in the court of the institutions and invited them to come up with proposals as to how their graduates might perform a useful service role as part of their process of qualification. So each institution is to come forward with proposals which will then be discussed with government. The Department of Health, on the other hand, approached the institutions with what they wanted to do and how they would do it, and the institutions had to take it. So there is a diversity of approaches. The funding is also interesting. In the field of medicine it is not an add-on. Unlike the public works example Goodenough was giving, the Department of Health had posts in the public hospitals that were held by contracted personnel and rolled over on an annual basis. The department brought those contracts to an end to bring the new doctors in on budgeted and designated posts, rather than creating new positions. In the process, unfortunately, there has been a trade-off in terms of the loss of experience available to those hospitals.
Richard Fehnel:	Because of the various initiatives that are under way, none of which is centrally coordinated, it would be impossible at this point to estimate the number of people involved in youth service activities.

JOSEPH AGUERREBERE

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Alison Bernstein:	I would be interested in knowing what the rationale was for the introduction of mandatory service. What was the value system, the ethical argument, and why hasn't it been applied at the undergraduate level? Why was it only introduced at the professional level?
Sheila Sisulu:	The community service program for doctors is meant to help communities where many doctors would not want to serve – in rural areas in particular. The government had to import doctors from Cuba who would be willing to work in the disadvantaged communities. That was one of the reasons for getting qualified doctors into the areas where they were needed.
Alison Bernstein:	Did the government in effect say: "We have contributed to and subsidized your education, and this is payback time?"
Sheila Sisulu:	Oh yes. Firstly, in education the most expense goes to educating doctors. Secondly, and this is important, white doctors in particular were leaving the country the day they graduated, to go and work abroad. This was government's way of saying that you are free do to that, but you will have to pay in kind for the country having invested in you.
Reuven Gal:	Were members of the national youth service in South Africa involved in any way in the reconciliation committee?
Sheila Sisulu:	Not as a national youth service per se. The offshoot of the truth and reconciliation process was that various groups in society began to talk to each other about issues of reconciliation. Youth were part of those processes, but not specifically as organized youth service groups. There is, however, a place for this. The break-up and the antagonism impacted greatly on young people, whether they were directly involved or because their parents were killed or their parents went to prison. If anyone needs an opportunity to talk through these issues, it is young people. Speaking as an educator, I would say that the impact of apartheid on education calls for a truth commission on education in its own right.
Richard Fehnel:	The impact of apartheid on youth in South Africa (people up to the age of 35) has contributed to what some would regard as a culture of entitlement – entitlement derived from the sacrifices made in the struggle against apartheid. We heard that an essential ingredient for the creation of social capital is the development of a culture of reciprocity – the development of an understanding of and commitment to bridging the differences among groups by agreeing to reciprocate in the protection of mutual rights and benefits in a new order. Thus, we have a situation in South Africa where a culture of entitlement and a culture of reciprocity compete for the allegiance of groups. Can youth service be an effective means of reducing the competition? That is an important question that time may answer.

Mexico

Panel members: Pablo Farias (chair), Dolores Sanchez and Victor Arredondo.

Pablo Farias: There has been an exciting effort in Mexico to revitalize youth community service, a series of programs with a long tradition of being mandatory and national. Known as *Servicio Social*, the initiative has faced many challenges that come with the implementation of a program for youth throughout the country. Dolores Sanchez and Victor Arredondo have been key players in helping to move *Servicio Social* to the top of the agendas of academic institutions and advocating for the integration of youth service into the central mission of higher education. Both have played a major role in providing leadership for policy development and linking practitioners with the larger public in Mexico.

> **Pablo Farias**
>
> is the Ford Foundation Representative for Mexico and Central America.

Dolores Sanchez described how Mexico's longstanding tradition of youth service started in 1936 when university rector Dr. Luis Goerne addressed the medical school and told students that it was time to pay back. A personal friend of President Lázaro Cardenas, he introduced into the National University a new policy, which used social problems as the key organizers of academic activity. In this way the first *Servicio Social* program started. In 1940 the first law was passed making participation in *Servicio Social* compulsory for every student in higher education and in post-school technical programs.

> **Dolores Sanchez**
>
> is Professor in Applied Social Sciences at the Autonomous University of Baja California. She is the Academic Secretary of the National Association of Universities and Institutions of Higher Education, and is the author of *Academic Models* (1995).

Higher education enrollment in Mexico has grown from 33,000 in 1950 to 1.8 million in 1999. *Servicio Social* is an obligation for students in higher education institutions, technical schools and professional schools. All higher education students must work for 480 hours over six months, except for students who are in the health sciences: they do one year of work, which is 1,100 hours. Health sciences students can start *Servicio Social* after they have completed 75 percent of their studies. There are also voluntary community service programs.

Where do the students work during their participation in *Servicio Social*? 52 percent of the young people work in government offices (medical students who work in government-operated medical facilities are included in this number); 12 percent work in community organizations, including NGOs and 8 percent work in private institutions; 27 percent work in programs in their own universities.

What types of work do they do? The ministry of health says that 20,000 rural communities depend on medical students for the delivery of health services. In 1998, 2,000 higher education students participated in a schools network program that enables students with a basic education to learn to use computers. This year higher education students will assist with the population

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census. Medical, nursing and dental students assist with vaccination campaigns.

Between 1990 and 1999, 1.6 million students should have complied with these requirements. In 1999 alone, 299 000 students are expected to have rendered service. Professor Sanchez argued that while one would have expected these numbers to have had a larger impact on many of the social ills confronting Mexico, unfortunately they have not. Much more needs to be done to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the program and to help communities take charge of their own development.

In 1999 a study was carried out to identify the projects in which students were working and to pinpoint their major problems. The health sector had the largest number of projects, followed by education (especially projects in basic education), legal assistance, housing, water and agriculture. The study found that the *Servicio Social* program was encountering two main problems:

- Service activities are far removed from students' academic programs. This was interpreted to suggest that academic work be made more practical and to ground it more strongly in reality. Sixty percent of institutions already recognize social service as part of the curriculum.

- There is a lack of resources available to higher education offices that administer *Servicio Social*.

Victor Arredondo started by posing a question about global interconnectedness and global awareness: Will we reach the point where other nations' problems and challenges are felt as ours? Does today's global society have the knowledge and technology to eliminate poverty and to create the social capital for sustainable development? We need to set up such a target. This will require incentives – for governments, financial agencies, NGOs, academic and research institutions, media and mass media groups and social groups and individuals. What could be the role of higher education in this context?

Victor Arredondo is President of Universidad Veracruzana in Mexico.

Traditionally there has been the notion of the social distribution of knowledge, together with research. Results are published, replicated and distributed. But what can universities and academic institutions do to increase their capacity for a stronger and more widespread social distribution of knowledge? Technology and ideology or pragmatism can play a role and today universities are taking steps to promote continuous learning, upgrading professional development. Distance education can multiply these efforts exponentially. But this can be further increased through extension services, user services and youth service. Developing nations are facing the challenge of changing the university paradigm and this presents an opportunity for youth service.

In 1993 a systematic social service program was started when 54 students in nine career programs worked in ten rural municipalities spread across state of Veracruz. Now the program has about 500 students working in 50 municipalities, drawn from 29 different academic and career programs. This year (2000) the university has support from the Ministry of Social Development to double the number of students participating. Support consists of scholarships of $100 a month for each student. Youth service is an important component of the institutional mission. While global standards are seen as important, the problems experienced by local communities are seen as a priority.

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Student brigades comprise approximately 10 students each, drawn from different disciplines. Community members establish the priorities and students work according to a monthly action plan cycle that comprises three elements: action, reflection and practice. A first stage is concerned with providing assistance for subsistence – for example food production for self-consumption. Second, the program provides support for community-based small enterprises and infrastructure. Third, it gives form to the notion of knowledge distribution, social organization and the training of parents as promoters of the basic education of their children.

What are the results? In communities in which the program has been successful, young people are entering teacher colleges so that they can recycle their skills to their own communities. Some of the students have been helped to enter the universities through a very competitive process.

More than 2,000 students have participated; 50 municipalities have been supported; 75 infrastructural projects have been assisted. University students have built houses for their own accommodation. Now youth service is part of the curriculum and it will be reformed according to the evaluation results.

The program has received support from the Kellogg Foundation and the ministries of health and education. It has also received support from a fund for the support of priority microenterprises. Eight months ago a state network of NGO offices was established with the participation of 24 organizations. They decided that the University of Veracruz should chair the network, which demonstrates the legitimacy the university has achieved. Last year the program received a national award for community participation.

In talking about youth service as strong policy, it is important for all parties (public and private) to establish incentives for allocating resources to these programs. Private participation is welcomed, but when Mexico spends 40 percent of its revenue on foreign debt, extra resources are hard to find. Nevertheless creative solutions are required. It may be necessary, for example, to establish swaps of international debt for youth service.

MEXICO PANEL: VICTOR ARREDONDO, PABLO FARIAS (CHAIR), DOLORES SANCHEZ

"Creative solutions are required ... for example, to establish swaps of international debt for youth service."

– Victor Arredondo

"The Ford Foundation wants to help build institutions that can instill in young people a sense of belonging and responsibility to society."

– Chris Kedzie

Discussion

Frank Newman (USA):	What have been the results of this holistic approach?
Victor Arredondo:	About 10 percent of students are participating in rural community service projects. In order to measure its social impact the program conducts evaluations. So far the results have been mostly qualitative. For example, women are taking control of the program in one area. This is an interesting indicator because in the first year it was an operation mostly controlled by village men; now the women in the village are verbal and active. It is also amazing to realize how the diet of the community has changed following the introduction of the project. Previously they produced corn and potatoes. Today they produce about 16 different types of vegetables; they produce for their own consumption and they produce surpluses for trade. Good results have been achieved in protecting the soil and replanting trees, and there have been major strides in environmental restoration. We are now working on basic education programs for children, with parental participation. Students who study theater, dance and music are developing productions dealing with alcohol abuse, the value of children and the abuse of women. Quantitative factors will emerge in the next report.
Don Eberley (USA):	What has been the impact on the communities?
Margaret Sherraden: (USA)	Students who were getting the most out of it related this experience to what they thought they might be doing in the future. AmeriCorps program students are reluctant to participate if they don't perceive the service experience as being for their own benefit. How much feedback has been collected from the students?
Dolores Sanchez:	Feedback has been collected from health students. Most of the social service is in the health sciences. There are a number of posts in different rural communities; students with the highest marks are able to choose which community they go to. However, there is no choice about whether they do service or not. For medical students, the community work is directly related to their general practice. Regarding community impact, in vaccination programs students visit communities sporadically, e.g. once in a number of years. This leads to resistance on the part of the community for further projects. In cases where the university can show that support will be regular and sustained (such as for health education, food or housing), these relationships are more beneficial and productive.

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Russia

Panel members: Chris Kedzie (Chair), Lena Panova and Elena Zakharova.

Chris Kedzie: The reason why the Ford Foundation supports these types of activities in Russia derives from the perspective of promoting democracy. Caring about democracy in Russia implies a caring about young people, as is the case in all other countries. Going through the present transition, Russian youth may be particularly vulnerable.

> **Chris Kedzie**
> is Governance and Civil Society Program Officer in the Ford Foundation office in Russia.

At the same time, the transition in Russia is bringing about a significant reform in values, from honoring duty and the collective to respecting freedom and the individual. There is no previous generation that can help the youth cohort make the transition from childhood to adulthood and understand the positive and negative aspects of these values. Nearly every institution involved in socializing young people has been discredited, disbanded and/or demoralized – families, schools, the army.

The Ford Foundation wants to help build institutions that can instill in young people a sense of belonging and responsibility to society. For example, the Association of Young Leaders is involved in leadership training in Russia. They have been challenged to redefine leadership and think about "leadership for what?" The word "leader" often has a negative connotation in Russia – it is seen as people who look after their own interests. So the challenge is to create a new concept of leadership, one that embraces civic participation and social responsibility.

Lena Panova: Russia does not have national youth service programs, but it has some experience of mobilizing young people to serve their communities. From the 1920s to the 1960s nearly all Russian students at school had to undertake service activities such as planting trees, cleaning streets, etc. Young people took part in public works projects such as building cities in Siberia and developing virgin land. They were handsomely paid.

Although these activities played an important role in socializing young people, there are three fundamental ways in which they differed from the concept of national service in liberal democracies:

> **Lena Panova**
> is coordinator of volunteer programs of the Association of Young Leaders in Russia.

- There was little choice in whether or how to serve the community.

- Although the concept of service was appealing, it was debased in practice. The rights and needs of individuals were subjected to the collective interests of the state.

- The service activities often did little or nothing to strengthen the sense of community at the local level.

Now Russians are in the early stage of creating new youth service opportunities and the question is: Which elements should be embraced from the past and which elements should be relegated to history as lessons learned?

At the beginning of the 1990s, as a result of economic and political changes, youth organizations like the Young Pioneers and Komsomol (the Young Communist League) lost their appeal. In 1991 the approval of legislation governing nongovernmental organizations provided the first opportunity for organized citizens to work independently from state institutions, and numerous NGOs were founded. At this stage the NGOs represent practically the only opportunity for young people to volunteer or serve their community. Russia does not have any state institutions in charge of developing youth service programs. The State Committee of Youth Affairs is the only institution at the federal level that provides support to NGOs for youth activities, but it makes available very few resources. Federal programs on youth policy get less than 0.1 percent of the whole federal budget. For 1999 the budget of the Russian Federation allocated $1,669,000 to support youth organizations of all types.

The importance of the nonprofit sector is starting to play a role in the development of youth service programs and the formation of youth service policy. NGOs are starting to aid disadvantaged members of society and to recruit volunteers to help solve community problems. Other institutions attracting young people to community service and volunteer activities are charity organizations, municipal organizations, state educational structures and youth clubs.

The most common types of youth service projects in Russia include the Patriotic Search (preserving and honoring the memory of the Great Patriotic War by searching for the remains and records of fallen soldiers and providing them with a proper burial); cleaning and protecting the environment; social assistance provided by young people (both as individuals and in groups) to the disabled, senior citizens, military veterans, orphans and other disadvantaged members of society; the reconstruction of historic, cultural and architectural monuments (through voluntary summer work camps for youth); and alternative civilian service (see Elena Zakharova's presentation below).

Research has shown that young Russian volunteers are motivated towards service work for the following reasons:

- the opportunity to find new friends (71 percent)
- the feeling of being needed (52 percent)
- a means to change something in the society themselves (35 percent)
- the desire to help people (34 percent)
- a means to enjoy themselves (17 percent).

Elena Zakharova: In Russia today, two years of military service are compulsory for all young men between 18 and 20 years of age. At the same time the Russian Constitution of 1993 gives every Russian citizen the right to convert military service to alternative civilian service, although the State Duma (Parliament) has been unable to pass the necessary legislation to create a legal mechanism.

Elena Zakharova

is Executive Director of the Constructive Approaches Foundation in Russia.

The Constructive Approaches Foundation is developing pilot programs as a way of giving young people practical opportunities to perform alternative civilian service at a local level. At present there is no official recognition for alternative civilian service, but more than 20 young men have started working in hospitals, hospices and homes for the elderly. They also staff help-lines for youth. Sometimes they are volunteers and sometimes they receive a small salary ($20 to $25 per month). There is also a summer work camp planned for conscientious objectors, involving approximately 30 young men from the five regions. The Constructive Approaches Foundation also publishes a newsletter called Army of Kindness, which is widely distributed. It describes social youth initiatives in Russian cities, the Russian history of civilian service and international experiences of alternative civilian service.

The Constructive Approaches Foundation brings together a range of foundations and associations in the field of youth service. Its strategic objective is to help young people promote the resolution of socioeconomic problems in Russia by means of services that are beneficial to the community, and to enhance a sense of belonging and responsibility in the society.

The main activities are:

- Collecting data from government and youth agencies.

- Undertaking research to identify the demands of youth and their commitments; determining where and how they work and how they would benefit from the work; disclosing the opportunities for potential employers in the field of community service; conducting opinion polls and analyzing community trends.

- Public relations: providing information about youth service to communities, to policy makers and public activists so as to show how a demonstrable impact can be made on communities. The intention is to encourage policy formulation and the legislative process in the field of youth service and social policy.

- Pilot projects that involve youth in community service – these include a long-term (one year) pilot project as well as short-term projects (such as summer work camps).

- Support for youth volunteer projects in small towns.

Discussion

Richard Fehnel: *(South Africa)*	I am very impressed by what the team is doing in the face of huge constraints and opposition, in the context of a popular military engagement. To what extent is the development of the Patriotic Searchers walking through a minefield of political opposition? Who is defining the patriots being searched for? What ideology informs this definition? Are they looking into gulags, or only in areas that have wider political acceptability? This approach could have great value in South Africa following the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.
Lena Panova:	At this time in Russia a lot of people have forgotten about World War II and its heroes. It is an opportunity for young people to give respect to veterans and to give their future children an opportunity to understand what happened in the past.
Elena Zakharova:	The question of who is a patriot is an important question. For example, those who decline to do military service are considered to be unpatriotic. At least that is the way the situation was at the beginning of the project. But thanks to the work being done and the models built, there is a growing understanding that those who are willing to serve as janitors in hospitals are no less patriotic than those willing to serve under arms.
Lena Panova:	The search for patriots is the only type of youth service in Russia that receives significant support from the state.
Chris Kedzie:	This is a question I struggle with. The patriots to which the searches refer are those that served in the war, but not in gulags; however, neither is discredited. This is not an unquestioning affirmation of the state and military action. Respect for the individual was lacking in the previous regime. So this is something new. It is best understood as respect for the human being as opposed to rallying around a war cry.
Reuven Gal (Israel):	How many young Russians take part in alternative civilian service?
Elena Zakharova:	Less than one percent. The conscientious objectors are trying to act on their constitutional right without having a legal mechanism for doing so. Their options are to go into the army, or some undefined alternative.
Victor Arredondo: *(Mexico)*	Taking historical patterns into consideration, this must be seen as a significant policy change. Obviously the operational stages now need to be developed, but it is significant. In many ways the quality of youth service and the contribution it can demonstrate to society and the development of a proper alternative is the best way to increase the rate of participation, the number of volunteers, etc.
Frank Newman (USA):	Does the government see this attempt to create new leadership as a threat?
Lena Panova:	It is very difficult to get support from government for leadership training. Recently, however, a very interesting offer was made by the State Committee of Youth Affairs, which wants to develop a national idea of youth

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service, possibly a national federal program of youth service. They asked if the Association of Young Leaders could make this program a reality. So it seems that there are some changes developing in youth policy now.

Edna Co (Philippines): The Russian Constitution says that there is a space to commute military service to civilian service, but this is not established under federal law. Apart from this, who could determine how military service could be commuted to alternative civilian service and what forms could this take?

Elena Zakharova: Besides the Constitution, the new code of military obligation confirms for young people the right to an alternative to military service. There are also international norms, the most significant of which is the European Union, which stipulates that Russia must develop an alternative within a certain time. The fact that this is written in the Constitution ought to be sufficient to generate other opportunities. The process is that when a young person announces his intention to the draft board to exercise his conscientious objector status, the board refuses that request and the young person must go to court. So the opportunity to exercise the right to alternative service is ultimately left up to the judge. The cases have gone both ways – in Moscow the judges have not recognized the right to alternative service, but in the regions judges are allowing a person to delay his service until the right to alternative service law is adopted. So the young people do the service, hoping that the new law will be introduced.

In response to Frank Newman's question, the repsonse to leadership development is varied. In some regions people welcome the Association of Young Leaders; in other regions they try to keep them out like the plague. But the monolith is breaking up and is opening new opportunities.

RUSSIA PANEL: CHRIS KEDZIE (CHAIR), LENA PANOVA, ELENA ZAKHAROVA

Brazil

Panel members: Nigel Brooke (chair), Helena Sampaio and Elisabeth Vargas.

Nigel Brooke: This is a period in which there is considerable discussion and debate about youth service as a strategy for assisting youth to make socially responsible contributions to national development. It is undoubtedly also a response spurred by increasing crime and other social factors.

At the height of Brazil's military regime the Rondom project was established. An official project, it drew young people into infrastructural development such as laying telephone cables and attempted to show that youth could contribute to the development of the interior of the country. Dreamed up by the military, it was undoubtedly an attempt to deflect youth protest against the lack of democracy. The Rondom project was large – some 200,000 students, over some 20 years, worked in camps in the interior of the country and rendered useful service to isolated communities – but it subsequently lost legitimacy and prestige. During the 1980s the only official youth service program was run down.

Nigel Brooke
is the Ford Foundation representative for Brazil.

In the 1990s the discussion was again taken up, particularly the idea of civil service, was raised in the Ministry of Justice and coincided with the introduction of the national program of human rights. The idea was to create a program of citizenship training designed for out-of-school and unemployed youth. It has been through only one exploratory pilot project, for 16 to 20-year olds. At the same time, the young participants receive employment training.

Simultaneously discussion was taking place about the need for a university-based youth service program. Called *Programa Universidade Solidária*, it is a quasi-NGO closely associated with government but located outside government structures, so it is able to draw on other sources of support from society. It was established as a way of pioneering new types of collaboration between government and civil society to bring resources into the poorest municipalities where the needs are most urgent. Over 1,000 municipalities in the north and northeast have been drawn into the program and the notion emerged of bringing university students into these municipalities for short periods of time.

Helena Sampaio
is an anthropologist and a researcher for the Higher Education Research Center at the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil.

The community solidarity program has spawned other projects also directed at youth. For example, the Solidarity Training initiative uses the same model to direct both governmental and private-sector resources toward the training of young people in a

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range of employment skills. There is also a literacy campaign directed to youth across the country (adults have also been invited to join the program).

Elisabeth Vargas: The President of Brazil has said that what we need in Brazil is not money but justice. The injustice in the country led to the creation of the university solidarity council to work with various stakeholders, governmental and non-governmental, to propose various structural changes in the country. This is one of the programs for university youth. There is

Elisabeth Vargas
is a sociologist and Executive Coordinator of Programa Universidade Solidária in Brazil.

great concern about youth in Brazil right now – among provincial governments, NGOs and universities that work with the poor in large cities, rural areas and small towns. University students are nominated to become part of the program.

The program was created in 1995 and started operating in 1996 during the summer vacation. The initial proposal was to bring together different sectors of society that normally don't get together: the poorest of the poor, the people from the northeast, together with students from 300 higher education institutions. The simple fact of being in the university means differentiation from other people – university students have something that can be useful to others who have nothing, and they can learn from others who are in this situation. We are doing a Rondom-type project with a different vision, different resources. The small cities are the poorest in the country, having from 5,000 to 30,000 inhabitants. They are so isolated that they have no resources for human, social or economic development. The idea was to create partnerships between people from different institutions so that at different levels everyone is involved: business people, professors, students, etc. It is a big network with two main actors: the municipalities (through the mayors) and the universities (through their presidents). The mayor needs to understand why this work is important for his people e.g. why it is important for people to use clean water and to be able to read, but also why they need to learn to build cooperatives for local development, etc.

Similarly the university students need to learn about life in other communities. The university decides which students will participate. It is not only the duty of medical students to get involved in solving their country's problems; engineering and psychology students should also get involved. Multidisciplinary teams of students are prepared in the university to carry out this educational work which is also profoundly political, and which takes place for three to four weeks each year. A team of university students and a professor go to a small town that has been visited ahead of time by a professor who puts together a plan of action. It could involve training teachers in the public school system, or public health workers talking about breast cancer or purifying water. In addition, the universities put together master plans for the main office and look for institutions that can assist in maximizing the effectiveness of these initiatives. They also identify change agents such as police, priests and other local people who receive training as part of the program.

The result has been, for example, a significant decrease in infant mortality in the poorest municipalities in the north and northeast of Brazil. Because the change agents are local people there is no problem in getting into people's homes and

monitoring the effects of the program. Now the Department of Health wants to use these health agents more broadly. The idea is that they leave behind tools that can help the local people stand on their own feet. Sometimes the mayor changes and the program dies, but often the revolution is so profound that the effects last for a long time and then the state can come in with other interventions.

Of course, there are problems. The program depends on volunteers; the university may have no professor interested in living under difficult conditions; these places are very remote. These towns also have populations made up mainly of the very old and the very young. Often they don't have electricity. There is a high rate of adolescent pregnancy, and drug abuse and alcoholism affect both old and young.

There are four key goals for the *Programa Universidade Solidária*:

- Invest in the citizenship training of future professionals, strengthening their sense of social responsibility and developing their creativity and leadership.

- Through the action of university faculty and students, collaborate to improve the standards of living of different communities.

- Contribute to the dissemination of the concept and practice of community outreach among Brazilian universities.

- Contribute to the transformation of different municipalities by investing in community organization and search for local solutions.

Because the distances in Brazil are enormous, a regional project is being developed where the students go out to remote communities, but where they can also get involved in programs that operate closer to the universities. The regional program is supported by an association of 95 deans from participating universities. It is not an expensive program, and the cost-benefit is very high. The program declined an offer of support from the armed forces, but has received private-sector support from financial institutions and the insurance sector.

BRAZIL PANEL: NIGEL BROOKE (CHAIR), ELISABETH VARGAS, HELENA SAMPAIO

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Discussion

Maria Holzer (Poland): Do the communities ever complain about the service performed by students?

Elisabeth Vargas: Some local people complain that the students' habits are too liberal and that they interfere with different moral standards in the local communities. This year there was a mayor who didn't want to continue working with the university that had worked there before. But the universities have absolute autonomy and the authority to do their work. The agreement is between the mayor (who can veto a project) and the university – we are not responsible.

Nazeema Mohamed (South Africa): We have concentrated on youth involvement, particularly in higher education. I don't have a sense of academic involvement – what professors are thinking. In South Africa there are so many interventions in higher education that I can't imagine them coming together to discuss service. The contexts are so different. Here we have been speaking so freely about service and its links to literacy campaigns. In South Africa the adult basic education and training sector has now managed to professionalize the status of literacy workers and now the Minister of Education is planning a literacy campaign. How do we combine youth service with professionalization? How have the universities dealt with curriculum planning? Accreditation?

NAZEEMA MOHAMED

Helena Sampaio: The idea of university extension has existed for some time. What we don't have is the institutionalization and consolidation of these activities in the universities. The older universities have a broad range of activities involving the community. The newer universities are incorporating this idea as part of their marketing strategy. So what the University Solidarity Program has done is to give some organization to the preexisting notion of university extension for social development. It doesn't substitute for other programs run by the universities, but attempts to get away from previous ways in which students used to go out to get information for their own research projects. The universities have autonomy to define their own projects within the municipalities, but this takes place within certain ground rules such as they are not there to gather information, but to give information. Another example of how this partnership works is the literacy solidarity program, which is also a partnership between the university, other social actors and the private sector.

"This is a period in which there is considerable discussion and debate about youth service as a strategy for assisting youth to make socially responsible contributions to national development."

– Nigel Brooke

Costa Rica

Lorena Clare de Rodríguez, the First Lady of Costa Rica

Growth, progress and a better quality of life for Costa Ricans depend without doubt on a happier youth and happier children. By giving our children and youth better opportunities, we will enable them to live within a society where their rights are fully respected, and envision their future with optimism knowing that they have been duly loved and educated.

Excerpts from the address made by the First Lady to the workshop on 6 January 2000.

Any work aimed at promoting these conditions is the most promising social investment any society can make. However, the creation of these conditions is a right and therefore a duty in itself. The Code of Children and Youth enacted in Costa Rica in 1998, and in which we take great pride, is very clear when it states that "It shall be the duty of the state to adopt the pertaining administrative, legislative, financial measures or actions of any other nature to guarantee full respect for the basic rights of minors."

Within the framework of these regulations, and essentially within the framework of the principles of the Costa Rican spirit, the participation of young people in the development of their communities is an undeniable right. We see youth, their education and participation as our most significant asset toward development. The Code of Children and Youth states that "access to compulsory and free education shall be a basic right" and that preschool education, general basic and diversified education shall be paid for by the state.

I attach special importance to issues affecting our youth and coordinate two programs that are especially close to my heart: the Young Love program and the Building Opportunities Program. The Young Love program seeks to take action in the area of sexual education. Its purpose is to increase children's and adolescents' knowledge about precautions and responsibility so that they can attain personal and social fulfillment with the participation of their families and the society at large. Building Opportunities aims to provide girls and teenage mothers with opportunities to foster personal growth and independence by participating in training related to life education and to ensure their access to health care services, education, employment and assistance services for their children.

THE FIRST LADY OF COSTA RICA

Costa Rica has a long tradition in social investment, particularly in health care, education and social security. However, we have seen a significant increase in the high school dropout rate. We are therefore making painstaking efforts to help our youth stay in the school system by designing innovative strategies that will increase educational coverage from infancy to 5 years. High

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technology enterprises have found in Costa Rica the ideal place to expand their business opportunities thanks to the level of training and know-how of our young people. The contribution these adolescents make to our development has been essential and we want them to continue having the same opportunities.

Social service in Costa Rica

Dr. Leda M. Muñoz

Costa Rica obtained its independence from Spain in 1812 and in 1814 the first university, Saint Tomas University, was founded. In the early 1940s the country extended its provision of higher education and at this point the University of Costa Rica (UCR) was established. For the next 30 years it was the only university in the country, until the 1970s when other options, both public and private, emerged. However UCR continues to be the largest and most complex institution, with over 28,000 undergraduate students. It offers 182 undergraduate programs and over 80 graduate programs both at the Ph.D. and master's degree level. In addition there are 50 so-called specializations, which are one-year graduate programs directed to physicians. At present UCR produces 50 percent of the research for the Central American region, with over 900 ongoing projects.

> **Dr. Leda M. Muñoz**
> is Vice-Rector for Social Action at the University of Costa Rica. This is an edited version of her address to workshop participants at dinner on the second evening of the workshop.

From the very beginning, the mission of UCR was clearly defined. Among its mandates are:

- To contribute to the advancement of the sciences, arts, humanities and the technologies, applying them to the Costa Rican reality.

- To study the problems of the community and to participate in projects seeking the full development of human resources, based on a plan to integrate a fair social system, which eliminates all causes of ignorance and poverty, as well as the adequate use of the resources of the country.

The knowledge generated and accumulated by the university was clearly seen as a strategic tool for the development of different groups in society. The university thus defined as part of its role the promotion of mechanisms for the transfer of this knowledge to the people, beyond the basic training of degree-seeking students.

This is what we call social action, and it has been one of the three pillars of the university's endeavors, together with teaching and research. We have defined social action as: "An academic process of interaction between the university and the Costa Rican society that the university develops in order to articulate the knowledge that the institution generates with the needs and experiences of the society, to promote social, economic and cultural growth."

To achieve this, the Vice Presidency for Social Action focuses on three main programs:

☐ Cultural extension: The promotion and financing of arts activities at the university, making an effort to bring those activities to different communities. In this way we receive hundreds of requests from many groups to take arts activities to their communities, including theater, music, dance, etc.

☐ Academic extension: This comprises all the continuing education efforts that are developed by the different schools and faculties. It includes short activities such as scientific meetings or seminars as well as more complex programs of several months' duration, some up to 12 months. It has three modes of operation: First, activities that are financed by the university, in this case by the Vice Presidency of Social Action, which address low-income groups such as small farmers. Second, activities that are financed by other institutions, including government offices, international funding agencies and others, which are usually directed to low-income groups or other special groups, such as children, the elderly, women, patients with AIDS and so on. Third, activities that are self-financed, that is, a fee is charged for them. These include continuing education activities directed to professionals or other qualified groups.

☐ T C U: The third program is the so-called university community work. In Spanish it is known as *Trabajo Comunal Universitario* (TCU). The TCUs are community-based projects, designed and implemented by different schools and departments within the university. The origin of the projects is usually a diagnosis that identifies specific needs of the target group, needs that the TCU project believes it can address. The diagnosis can be done by the community itself, NGOs, students or professors at the university, to mention a few of the possibilities.

Each TCU project has one or more professors acting as coordinators. The students come from different disciplines, and work for 300 hours in the community during a period that can extend up to one year. In order to graduate from the University of Costa Rica, all students are required to work in and complete a TCU project.

The objectives of the TCU are:

- to contribute to the developmental efforts of the country;

- to partially return the social benefit of public higher education;

- to develop social awareness and responsibility in the students;

- to update the knowledge the university has of the reality in which it is immersed.

Each year the university finances more than 100 projects all over the country (in 1999 there were 120), with more than 2,000 students participating. This generates a total student contribution of over 600,000 hours of community work, plus the work of a large group of professors, reaching to an average of 80,000 direct beneficiaries.

At present, my office is working intensively in the development of instruments to evaluate each project, so that we can have more and better elements to define which projects are worth approving and funding, considering their conceptual and methodological aspects as well as issues such as impact, efficiency and efficacy. Evaluation is conducted with the beneficiaries of the project and the students participating in it, both of whom complete a questionnaire at the end of the project. This is important because we have found that in many fields or disciplines, the training of the professors in this type of work is very limited. Normally we help the coordinators in the definition of the projects, and provide training courses for them, but still we feel the need for a more thorough evaluation of the projects. Although the opinion of the students and beneficiaries is fundamental, it is not sufficient to adequately qualify a project.

What is the future of the TCU in a rapidly changing world? Is it possible to continue with this program? There are two factors that affect this issue: on the one hand, there is increased pressure to reduce the length of the programs or careers. TCU is seen by those favoring shorter careers as an obstacle to achieving this goal. On the other hand, knowledge is fundamental to confronting and competing in an ever-changing world. It makes sense to have a solid understanding of the reality of the society in which the students will have to work as future professionals. In addition, training that is focused on problem solving, interdisciplinary teamwork and socially sensible proposals, becomes relevant – especially in a poor and small country that has achieved relative success and status among the countries in the region, mainly due to its continued efforts to promote social development. In this context TCU clearly becomes an important part of the training efforts that a public university, such as the University of Costa Rica, is bound to deliver.

"The participation of young people in the development of their communities is an undeniable right. We see youth, their education and participation as our most significant asset toward development."

– Lorena Clare de Rodríguez,
The First Lady of Costa Rica

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS VISITING ONE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF COSTA RICA'S TCU SERVICE PROGRAMS.

Student perspectives

Following the address by Dr. Muñoz, three UCR students spoke briefly about the impact of the TCU experience on their development. The following points are excerpts from the student contributions.

Maribel Morales: TCU has deeply influenced my life at a personal as well as professional level. It has developed my capacity for listening, empathy and respect for the needs of every individual. It has given me a vision of a reality that was previously unknown to me, and the privilege of sharing with exceptional people who struggle daily for a better life, and who teach the essence of life and the importance of little things.

   I firmly believe that this TCU can have a very positive influence on the Costa Rican community, because each student who opts to participate in it will be left with a greater sensitivity to the needs of others, and that will result in professionals with a strong humanitarian base. They will have the capacity to think of the needs of others and not only their own. It has been a valuable opportunity to become aware of the work that is being done. It would be good if the work were supported by governmental as well as private institutions to improve the availability of resources.

Evelyn Molina: Each moment of life involves a learning process. In my case, I learned to work as part of a team with people from diverse disciplines. This enabled me to establish a better-integrated vision of knowledge. We worked together to accomplish a shared goal. I also learned to work in a complementary and harmonious manner with a team. This results in an atmosphere of trust and a belief in what is being accomplished. It is also important that people regain the capacity to undertake actions that are not only for their own benefit but for those around them as well. The importance of field work is the contact with people, which permits a broadening of perspective. Also important is the exchanging of experiences and learning new methods and techniques.

Miguel Rojas: I have grown in the ability to communicate with people of diverse ages, areas and socioeconomic positions. High-level planning was necessary. I have also learned:

- How to deal respectfully with societal myths and stereotypes. People are able to broaden their concepts if they are spoken to with respect. This also enabled me to discover my own myths and stereotypes.

- Increased empathy and listening skills, faced with the fears and concerns of people in the midst of the complexities of real life, where dialogue and the understanding of behavior for effective prevention face limits and new possibilities.

- The understanding of AIDS as being not only a health problem, but as a socioeconomic, psychological and cultural issue, where human beings are placed in a position of needing to summon all of their strengths and creative skills to overcome the problem and find alternatives.

Service project visits

Workshop participants spent half a day visiting projects that were part of the University of Costa Rica's *Trabajo Comunal Universitario* (TCU) program. This gave delegates an opportunity to reflect on the challenges present in efforts to work effectively with communities and the challenges inherent in designing high-quality programs.

The following projects were set up for conference participants by the university:

- Centro Victor Manuel Arroyo. Students tutor Barrio youth at primary and secondary level.

- Reading and Creative Writing Project. Students mentor and tutor project participants with the aim of developing a desire to read and produce creative writing.

- Los Negritos Park. Environmental study and cleanup and restoration of a creek-river zone and its surrounding area.

- PANI. Students counsel and mentor severely troubled children.

- Summer Recreation Program. Students provide a multitude of recreational activities (sports, arts, etc.) for a wide range of children and adolescents (local, disabled, PANI homes, etc.).

- Parvas Clinic. Students provide medical service support at this neighborhood clinic.

- Medicinal Plan Cultivation. Medicinal plant project at a senior citizen's home.

- Integral attention to chronically ill children. Students provide attention to chronically ill children and their families in poorer communities.

- Math lab. Students provide math tutoring and mentoring to local children.

- Waste Separation Project. A project aimed at educating people about and implementing waste-separation practices.

- Didactic Data Bank. Students collect a data bank of diverse teaching materials.

- San Ramón Museum. Students undertake a variety of activities at this rural museum, including the collecting of oral histories, mounting exhibits and revising the museum's inventory.

During the field trips, participants considered the following questions:

- Impact on community. What population was reached through the project? What is pivotal to the success of this youth service project? What effect will changes brought about through the project have on the community?

- Impact on students. How is the project designed to contribute to students' learning? To their career interests? To the development of their personal and/or political views?

- Impact on university. How does the project relate to university curricula? How are university staff involved? How does it affect the community's relationship with the university?

In the reflection session that followed, workshop participants briefly shared their impressions of the projects they had worked in:

"Effort, engagement, enthusiasm, excitement – these are the characteristics the students demonstrated. I was amazed by the high level of commitment by the students. They were very involved ."

"I found an improvement opportunity. The students were laborers. All the exciting things were done by the professor. Students identified that involving the community would be an important strategy for sustainability. Their work in measuring levels of pollution could have related to their curricula. So an important area that emerged was of helping academics to get the most out of the opportunity."

"The students work with a lot of innovation and need to make a long-term commitment."

"The real question is not whether it is voluntary or mandatory; it is whether the program is effectively organized so that the students and the community get the most out of it. Are the students just laborers or are they really getting involved?"

"The young participants needed more training in running programs and guided reflection."

"A compelling model. Last night we heard a redefinition of the mission of the university in relation to the society that supports it. The University of Costa Rica has a vice president for social action, which indicates the extent to which social action is considered a priority."

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The Way Forward

How can youth service be built as a societal institution, like education or employment – institutions that have a major impact on people's lives? Based on presentations made and issues raised in relation to youth service in different countries, the group was asked to consider what steps might be taken to realize this goal. Two forums were convened for discussion: six breakout groups followed by a plenary session.

In the six breakout groups organized around the issues raised in the papers presented, participants were asked to reflect on the implications of the proceedings for youth service policy, practice and research. Two groups each focused on one of the following areas: social development, economic development and fostering a democratic environment. Below are the reports from each of these areas of discussion.

Youth service and social development

1 It is important to see community service in relation to youth development. Youth service has a developmental effect, especially in building bridges across groups to help build a sense of community. In the process, youth service builds social capital.

2 The purpose of youth service is to achieve social development. In order to achieve this purpose, the goals of youth service should be made explicit and shared widely. Several concerns were raised:

   - It is important to define whom we are working with.

   - There is a concern about youth who are excluded from this framework.

   - Social impact depends on programs reaching a broad youth population.

3 Youth service engenders social development benefits directly to participating communities and to those serving. It provides opportunities for empowering communities to solve problems independently of the state *and* for mobilizing the state. Youth service helps build a social ethic of service and commitment that is broader than individual development.

4 Research to be demystified. People who are the focus of the research should be involved in the research process through action research; they should help to define the problems and the solutions.

5 How do we overcome the problems of prioritizing and deciding where to start? It is important to recognize that the process itself is important and can make people feel that they are taking an active part.

6 Young people involved in community service have to feel strongly that what they are doing is useful. Also, their work should be *recognized*.

7 The private sector should be involved in a meaningful way through public-private partnerships so as to increase their involvement in solving social problems and in social development.

8 At the same time, there are two inherent tensions or contradictions:

  □ To what extent does empowering some individuals create tensions in a community and how can this be handled?

  □ By definition, social development needs long-term commitment. To what extent can youth service achieve this sustainability?

Youth service and economic development

1 Youth service can have a positive economic impact:

  □ It can impact on individuals in terms of changed attitudes, skills, careers.

  □ It can impact on the communities served, for example, by creating better conditions.

  □ It can impact on society more broadly, for example, by combating the brain drain through building solidarity between individuals and communities, and by instilling community commitment and connection.

  □ The most significant impact is likely to be in the labor force through the easing of labor supply. Human capital formation is facilitated through service, especially in developing countries where perhaps 50 percent of young people are neither in school nor in the formal labor market. Youth service can connect these young people back to school or to the formal labor market.

  However, these positive factors are conditional on sustained and evolving engagement through youth service policy and programs, not patchwork involvement.

2 It is thus important to quantify outcomes and measure the effects of youth service programs in order to influence the allocation of resources and contribute to the sustainability of youth service. It is also necessary to look at specific areas of economic impact, for example through the use of longitudinal data.

3 Foundations, like the Ford Foundation, for example, as well as governments should fund research and evaluation so as to supply this type of data.

4 Funding:

  □ Multiple public or private sources are needed.

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- Creative funding strategies are imperative, for example, debt swap in which international debt is exchanged for service.

- It is important for funding to be targeted since massive amounts are required. This was illustrated by the Brazilian program called Solidarity Training (*Capacítacaō Solidária*).

5 The productivity of service. This is closely related to human capital formation. Cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness studies can be helpful, but simplistic studies and approaches should be avoided.

6 Improve efficiency via information networks that increase the information flow. This can reduce mistakes that have an economic impact.

7 Institution-building is very important for youth service. The projects need not be large. Small, creative responses are needed that meet local needs and fit local conditions.

8 The promotion of entrepreneurship and innovation should form part of service activity. Young people engaged in service projects should be encouraged to think in innovative ways and taught how to make things happen.

Youth service and democratic development

How can youth service promote a culture of democracy? The following factors could be influential:

1 Promote reciprocity – a balance between rights and duties. Youth service offers people an opportunity to pay back to society.

2 Early engagement is important if democracy is to be deepened. Youth service schemes should offer young people as young as 15 years old the experience of consensus-building and participation.

3 Youth service should promote a sense of belonging among youth, bonding the diverse segments of society and serving as a facility to promote bridging across divisions within society.

4 Society must place a premium on youth service by providing incentives for people to serve. Their efforts and contributions to society must be recognized. For example, employers and universities might acknowledge people who have done community work. That could make young people keener to serve and serve well.

However, one group challenged the premise that youth service will lead to democratic development. What are the elements that will make that statement true?

First, the group decided that if youth service is ultimately to lead to democratic development, it must itself be democratic. The group defined democratic youth service as starting with very young people; containing an element of choice; and being as inclusive as possible. This will lead to sustained engagement with diverse participants in an activity of experiential learning. Serious reflection can cause the participants to reevaluate their role in society and reevaluation can be the impetus for behavior change.

Second, the links must be defined and measured. Civic engagement could be measured through whether young people vote or not, but this may be too simplistic. And what type of youth service will build what type of social capital?

Finally, the group recommended that we must be context-appropriate, especially when discussing the role of the state *vis à vis* the role of civil society.

Recommendations for developing the field

In the course of the workshop the discussion came to focus on the following key issues:

- The need to include alienated or marginalized youth in youth service.

- The need to include unemployed youth as a major population for youth service.

- Further work is needed to determine what type of youth service builds what kinds of social capital.

- Strategies are required to work through the resistance expressed toward youth service by organized labor or unions and professionals.

- How choices are made about whether it is the unemployed young person or parent who gets the job opportunity.

- Adults and youth need support to work together and to work through issues of adultism and power.

- The approach to youth service ought to be examined. Is it about working with youth, working for youth, or both?

In the final session of the workshop, Michael Lipsky pointed out that there are different ways of thinking about the way forward. One assumption is that we all know what youth service is and that we can all go forward together. However, people's experiences are so different that we may not necessarily agree on how to proceed.

Participants were asked to make recommendations to policy and program people in the field of youth service. These could be taken up by international organizations that want to encourage service, governments that want to promote service and universities that want to connect around the idea. How can we get beyond thinking about service only in higher education? How can better quality service be delivered? How can a more diverse understanding of young people be achieved? Youth culture crosses boundaries, but each culture also has its own norms. What are the opportunities here?

In plenary discussion a number of suggestions emerged.

Policy

- Identify what areas of international policy discussion youth service can be related to. For example, the environmental movement, the movement for sustainability and the women's movement have been very successful. We have forums for youth, but service is not being articulated in these discussions.

Best practice

- A systematic exchange of experience is needed.
- Distill what makes good programs and share it (via the Internet, for example).
- Young people and recipients ought to be consulted.
- Check country reports for recommendations, e.g. in Poland, to connect smaller youth groups.
- Make a conscious effort to broaden service opportunities beyond the higher education arena and provide more opportunities for youth service. Look critically at who will be the beneficiaries of youth service.
- We need a standardized international training manual for youth leadership. Each country has its own manuals but collaboration could be helpful.
- We should think more about the question of age. At what age do we introduce youth service? How do we achieve a cascade of participation through different ages?
- Is it possible to develop ground rules for service, e.g. preparing youth to deliver service? Can we develop principles that will govern our perspective on service? Can we reach agreement? For example, the developmental component for youth: In all our contexts there are disadvantaged youth who have not benefited from state policies; compensatory mechanisms must be built in, such as access to scholarships, so that a wider range of people are able to serve.
- Youth service should include giving young people money and empowering them to handle and manage money in their projects.
- It is very valuable is to put together principles, practices, experiences and ways of looking at and doing youth service, by way of reflection and evolving toward becoming more thoughtful. This links up with the suggestion of developing a field of scholarship for national and community service. These processes can bring together country experiences and can contribute to the development of more thoughtful activists and action-oriented academics.

Research

- Make the field of youth service an academic discipline like conflict resolution where people from different disciplines join forces to study and write research papers and books, etc.

- How does one measure success? We have lots of different categories in which to look for results, but most of the information we have now is more anecdotal than rigorous. There is a real need to define criteria that can be used to evaluate and assess impact. This is important for the informing of policy.

- The sustainability of youth service requires further work, especially on the costs and benefits and to what extent they are favorable compared to alternatives.

Leadership

- It is important to clearly articulate the rationale for youth service and its goals. We have to identify a broad range of objectives for youth service, even though we have different contexts. (For example, we all speak of democracy even though we come from different political contexts).

Resources and funding

- Establish relations with international organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations to facilitate funding and support research.

Partnerships

- Get past the issue of whether youth service should be a government or an NGO issue, and see it as an enterprise that involves a wider range of stakeholders (including the mass media), which can help create incentives and support. The positive contributions of young people are not mentioned in the media, only negative issues. Private-sector contributions are very important.

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Networking and sharing experience

- Build up international youth service projects in which young people from different countries can visit each other so as to facilitate global integration for people from different countries and different realities.

- We need strategic thinking about how best to disseminate the ideas related to youth service.

- The Internet Web site:

  - This can be extremely effective in sharing training materials, principles, networking and policy ideas.

  - A prototype is available on http://gwbweb.wuustl.edu/users/csd/youthservice/main.html. A name and logo is presently in development. Suggestions are welcome. Participants are invited to submit Web sites that can be linked to this site.

  - It is important that the site should enable people not only to gain information but also to engage in and debate issues. The site should be interactive to facilitate engagement.

  - There should be common categories of information in each of the Web pages linked to the site. We need guidelines for this so as to ensure that there is valuable information for research as well as for program management.

  - Whatever becomes the repository for information and learning should not only be based in the United States. It would be interesting to have a consortium of institutions in different countries.

- This meeting has been extremely rich in cross-country communications. We need more means of communicating and telling stories. How do we establish a developmental pipeline for this? Ways of linking with other young people? How do we help young people to organize themselves?

- Use friendships to continue to connect with each other and use the Web site to continue to share ideas.

Closing Remarks

In closing the workshop, Melvin Oliver, Vice President of the Asset Building and Community Development Program at the Ford Foundation, made three observations:

- The workshop put an enormous weight on the role of community service in solving many of the world's problems. We need to be careful about this. Sherraden's paper talks about small effects and this suggests that we should be careful about overselling community service. The research question, which asks which aspect of youth service has the most important impact, is really the key one. Service that focuses on human capital development will have a very different set of outcomes from one trying to serve special needs.

MELVIN OLIVER

- The notion of social capital provides a very important concept in our understanding of society, but it has a dimension that is very problematic. Social capital is a necessary, but not a sufficient variable for getting at some of these outcomes. If we talk of community service purely in terms of social capital, we forget that it is performed in a political, social and economic context that could outweigh all the benefits of social capital. For example, in the 1950s African Americans who were lower class and working class had greater networks than white Americans. This did not produce benefits in and of itself, but when the context was ready, it did produce huge benefits in the civil rights movement.

There is also the risk that the concept of social capital can be interpreted as doing something very cheaply. In this way it runs the risk of undercutting the need for social program delivery. It is important to ready the social context for community service – to work with communities, not for communities. This takes time, effort and money. Bridging networks don't necessarily mean good outcomes. The key to community service is not only social capital; it also involves skills development and other issues.

- The workshop has shown that there are lots of open research questions and that we should develop the research apparatus that links with practice. Practitioners should collaborate with scholars to explore these questions about the types of service and what they achieve.

"It is important to ready the social context for community service – to work with communities, not for communities."

– Melvin Oliver

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Alison Bernstein introduced her closing remarks by saying that this workshop showed that not only does the United States not have all the answers, but also that there is a huge body of practice and experience on youth service outside the United States. It is very important to avoid a U.S.-centered focus. The subject of collegiate service is something that has been going on for a long time. At present we lack the research, evaluation and impact assessment that we need, but the large number of Latin American institutions involved in social service is significant. The question of reciprocity can result in much being learned across national boundaries.

Much of the discussion of youth service is happening in countries that are in transition toward democracy – South Africa, Russia, Brazil, Chile, etc. Much of service is related to democratic nation-building. The state is a very important actor and the social capital argument does not take sufficient account of this.

In the United States, Costa Rica, Mexico and other countries there is a fear that democratic values are not being transmitted from one generation to the next. In this regard, the workshop focused on four key issues:

- Context: social capital theory does not take this sufficiently into consideration.

- Curriculum/Content: Mandatory *vs* voluntary service – this is not really the issue. The content of the experience is the issue.

- Category of analysis: What are we analyzing? Who is it we are serving? At which level – national, institutional, NGO?

- Critique: We all believe that youth service is a good worth pursuing. But we ought to critique our own work and find better models. This is just a beginning. We are just starting to understand the context, curriculum and categories. We must do more of this as we go forward.

Special thanks were given to Eliot Greenspan, Kathie Cheng, Michael Sherraden, Pam Garza and Susan Stroud for the roles they played in designing, planning and organizing the workshop.

ELISABETH VARGAS, HELENA SAMPAIO AND
ALISON BERNSTEIN

"We all believe that youth service is a good worth pursuing. But we ought to critique our own work and find better models. This is just a beginning."

- Alison Bernstein

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Country Profiles on Youth Service: Summaries

Brazil

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Country profile compiled by Elisabeth Vargas, General Coordinator of Programa Universidade Solidária, and Helena Sampaio, a researcher for Núcleo de Pesquisas sobre Ensino Superior (NUPES) at the University of São Paulo, Brazil.

Currently home to 157 million people, Brazil occupies nearly half the land area of South America. Young people between 15 and 24 years of age represent one-fifth of the total population. Although the schooling system has been expanded, today only 25.8 percent of youth attend school, and not necessarily at a level appropriate to their age. While the number of economically active young people is high nationally, the figure is skewed in favor of those from higher-income families; 15 to 24 year-olds who come from families with a per capita income of half the minimum wage are underrepresented in the job market. These young people, especially young men, are vulnerable to violent deaths (homicides or accidents).

Brazil was under military rule for 20 years, between 1964 and 1984. During this period its external debt grew to massive proportions, inflation was rampant and the public internal debt soared. During the early years of military repression, youth activism was encouraged by the political parties and the Catholic Church, both competing for hegemony over the youth leadership. However, by 1968 legislation outlawing activities had the effect of weakening youth organizations and their leadership, and finally decimating it.

During this period, a massive youth service program – the Rondon Project – was conducted. It was coordinated by military officers and ran from 1967 to 1989. University students were usually sent to distant regions of Brazil (especially the Amazon) where they offered assistance in fields such as medicine, dentistry and construction that related to their fields of study. A solid infrastructure was built for the project, including camps constructed by the army. The universities and an estimated 300,000 students participated enthusiastically in this ambitious project until, in the 1980s, it lost strength and finally closed down in 1989.

1989 saw the first Brazilian president being elected by means of direct voting, although he was forced to resign three years later. The next president to be elected, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, launched the Real Plan to stabilize the currency and halt inflation – strategies that have so far proved successful in terms of economic recovery. In recent years, youth participation in Brazil has increased significantly, while NGOs and youth groups have proliferated. Research shows that 54

percent of Brazilian youth want to engage in voluntary work, but do not know how to start.

The democratic government has begun to look at youth policy and programs. A recent initiative of the National Commission of Population and Development gathered studies on the quality and standard of living of young people. The Ministry of Justice has also devised a program known as the Civil Service project, which aims to "engage youth in community work" in order to arouse "solidarity and social responsibility."

The project dates to 1996, when, in the context of the National Program of Human Rights, the Ministry of Justice proposed the creation of a "civil service constituted of youth trained to become agents of citizenship, who can act in defense of human rights... ." A commission comprising representatives of the ministries of Justice, Labor and Education, the High Command of the Armed Forces, the Board of Solidarity Community and the Secretariat of Strategic Issues then took on the task of giving form and substance to the Civil Service Program. Any 18-year-old (provided young men have been excused from compulsory military service) can voluntarily participate for a year in the activities, which are aimed at allowing young people to attain adulthood by means of social responsibility and solidarity.

The first two experimental pilot projects of the Civil Service program were launched in 1997 in the Federal District and in Rio de Janeiro. The Rio de Janeiro project is under the State Secretariat of Labor and Social Action, but the executive coordination has been given to a leading NGO, in partnership with other NGOs. The initial resources came from the Financial Support for Workers Tax. Although the initiative has been successful, a drastic reduction in financial resources is foreseen; this has prevented the programs from being extended or repeated. Nevertheless, some 3,000 youth (compared to the anticipated 15,000) have participated in developing programs related to human rights, elementary school courses, computer science and small-business management.

Another initiative geared toward youth service under the presidency is the Solidarity University Program. It was developed by an entity called the Solidarity Community Council, which aims to foster partnerships with civil society. In this program the universities mobilize teachers and students from universities to work in partnership with poor municipalities and to provide information in the fields of health, education, community organization and citizenship. Over a period of four weeks, students come into contact with a variety of poor communities where they deal with matters as varied as HIV/AIDS, bee-keeping, vegetable gardens and the treatment of lice.

Because the Solidarity University Program takes place outside government, it has been able to establish relationships with different state agencies and to raise financial support from a range of sources. For example, until 1999 the armed forces offered transportation for students to the host municipality. The ministries of Education and Sports and Science and Technology granted scholarships to the students for the duration of their stay in the host municipality, although these are no longer available. Other partnerships in both the governmental and nongovernmental sectors have also been sought and have strengthened the program. New initiatives have recently been undertaken to increase the funding base so as to extend and expand the program.

A qualitative evaluation of the impact of the Solidarity University Program was carried out in 1998. It demonstrated the program's importance to the municipalities, the beneficiaries, the universities and the students. While limited in reach – only 6,000 university students to date have participated out of a possible two million – it represents a means of developing and diversifying university youth service.

Canada

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Country profile compiled by William A Ninacs, La cooperative de consultation en dévéloppement and Michael Toye, La cooperative de travail Interface, Canada.

Canada is the second largest country in the world, but has a relatively small population of 30.2 million. The Canadian state provides an extensive social security system, including free basic health care and free elementary and secondary schooling. For the sixth year running, Canada was ranked first of 174 nations in the United Nations 1999 Human Development Index analysis.

The work force comprises about 15 million people, but unemployment is highest among young people aged 15 to 19 (20 percent) and aged 20 to 24 (12.3 percent) in comparison with other age groups. Canada's birth rate has been steadily declining and the country now relies on immigration to boost its population. This has resulted in a diversity of cultures and languages as immigrants from every continent come to Canada.

The youth population has stabilized at about 20 percent of the working-age population. However, young people face a number of barriers to employment, such as increased competition in the workplace from out-of-work adults and entry-level jobs stifled by relatively young middle and top management.

Canada is a confederation of provinces and territories, with some areas of competence lying with the federal government and others within the jurisdiction of the provinces. Jurisdictional conflicts may well account for the absence of a comprehensive national youth policy and federal implementing body. The province of Quebec, for example, has a Young People's Web page and a Youth Secretariat, but these do not exist at a national level.

During the 1960s, a combination of factors such as teenage delinquency and job scarcity as well as a wave of social legislation, led to the initiation of a number of youth service programs. Among these was the Company of Young Canadians, which aimed to assist disadvantaged people both in Canada and overseas. The program was discontinued in 1975, along with the Opportunities for Youth Program, which aimed at creating job opportunities for students.

Two years later, the Canadian national youth corps, Katimavik (meaning meeting place) was established. Katimavik has had a checkered existence as a result of changes in political administrations. At its peak, it enrolled over 4,000 participants, when a change in government drastically reduced federal funding and changed the orientation of the program. It was finally closed down in 1986, only to be revived on a pilot project basis in 1994, following another change of government. A national, nonprofit, nongovernmental organization, Katimavik has a head office in Toronto and is entirely voluntary.

The program has three objectives: to contribute substantially to the personal, social and professional development of the participants; to promote community service; and to offer a diversified experience fostering a better understanding of the Canadian reality.

The program is project-based, with activities being identified and proposed by a range of nonprofit organizations. These nonprofit organizations are Katimavik's sponsors and its most important partners as the program depends on the quality and number of projects that receive participants.

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Groups of eleven participants comprising, in theory, an equal number of men and women between the ages of 17 and 21, 70 percent anglophone and 30 percent francophone and drawn from different socioeconomic backgrounds, do volunteer community work in different locations in Canada. In practice, the goal of diversity has not always been reached. In 1998-1999, Katimavik completed 75 projects across Canada by working with local nonprofit organizations to create 414 volunteer placements.

A condition of the revival of the program was an evaluation. This was carried out in 1998-99 and focused on the attainment of the program's objectives as well as its financial and management controls. On the whole, the findings were positive and the program's relevance affirmed.

A few national programs profiled are exclusively Canada-based. Frontier College, a hundred-year-old program, volunteers young people to teach literacy skills, particularly among marginalized and isolated workers. Another initiative, Youth Job Cooperatives, operates projects that teach young people to run a cooperative business so as to promote their social and economic integration.

However, the majority of other Canadian programs that involve youth service are conducted in an international development context where the services are directed at a beneficiary country. Examples of these are Canada World Youth, Canadian Crossroads International and Youth Challenge International. All of these place young Canadians in developing countries for varying periods of time to work in community organizations or on projects. Youth Challenge International requires participants to contribute to community service in their own community on their return, while Canadian Crossroads International hosts young people from partner countries in Canada where they volunteer in community organizations. All of these projects receive most of their funding from the Canadian International Development Agency, with other contributions from private sources and the participants themselves. The combined total of volunteers who participated in the activities of these organisations in 1998 was around 1,400.

One issue raised in the paper is that both the programs directed at helping developing countries and those directed at disadvantaged communities in Canada seem to involve working *for* communities rather than *with* them. It is suggested that this may foster a charitable outlook on development, as opposed to an empowering one. However, the chief goal of youth service should be to foster the empowerment of the volunteers, and to do this, a process of personal empowerment should take place. Youth service organizations should identify, measure and demonstrate the positive impact of their work, which has not been sufficiently done in the past. In fact, there exists a dearth of research and documentation on the various programs and their effect. Such hard data would allow government and youth service organizations to formulate policies and tailor programs to the needs and interests of youth. For example, since smaller families now characterize Canadian society and the role of the family is changing, policies that focus on the development of group skills and their attendant values could be developed.

Funding of youth service programs is a crucial area of concern. The budget size of many projects means that they are closely tied to government, which may make them vulnerable to political vagaries. One weakness of the Katimavik program is its reliance on a single source of funding from a federal government department. This makes it vulnerable to changes in the priorities of political administrations.

China

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Summary of country profile written for the China Young Volunteers Association by Dr. Ding Yuanzhu, Senior Research Fellow at the Academy of Macroeconomic Research of the State Development Planning Commission and Professor at the 21st Century Development Research Institute of Tsinghua University, China.

From 1978 on, China began a program of economic reform in order to achieve a market economy. At the same time, the country embarked on a transition from an excessively centralized political system to a more democratic one. Still in the early stages of transition, the position and function of government is in a process of change. Prior to 1978, the Chinese Communist Party and government essentially controlled all social organizations and institutions. Non-governmental organizations did not exist at all. Today government is no longer the only driving force behind development, although most initiatives are not totally independent.

At the same time as driving economic reform, government has adopted a series of policies to promote the social development of China. At its core is a coordinated strategy to link economic and social development. This strategy was outlined in 1996 in the *Ninth Five-Year Plan on National Economy and Social Development of the People's Republic of China* and *2010 Long-Term Outline*.

While China's average growth rate continues to be good (9 percent between 1995 and 1998, and 7 percent in 1999), the gap between regions as a result of the economic transformation has grown larger, and has increased the level of instability in society and politics. One of the biggest challenges facing China is the sharp rise in unemployment, which rose above 9 percent in 1999 (more than 160 million people). This is largely due to the structural reforms in the economy, which have resulted in millions of layoffs. Other major challenges include the paucity of arable land and the migration of the poor to the cities, environmental pollution, poor health, and the growing number of elderly people (an estimated 13 million people are over 60 years of age).

Young people between the ages of 14 and 35 total 460 million, comprising 38 percent of the population. Since the 1980s, the Chinese government has promoted the concept of urban community service. In 1993 the 14 ministries and committees jointly launched *The Advice about Rapid Development of Community Service* to further promote the implementation of urban community service. Since then, community volunteer activities have become popular. Community service has become part of state and local plans and is being tested in some areas. At the same time as driving the concept, government has made use of many positive non-governmental initiatives. By the end of 1998, community service facilities across the country numbered 148,000, while service networks to facilitate people's participation numbered 345,000, an increase respectively of 66.3 per cent and 104.1 per cent.

Since 1995 the state has enacted youth policy, such as the *China 21st Century Agenda*, which highlights the education, employment, legal rights and interests of young people and encourages them to play a full role in all aspects of Chinese life.

The Communist Youth League of China has been at the forefront of organizing projects for young people with the China Young Volunteers Program as its keystone project. The

establishment of the China Young Volunteers Association in December 1994 signified the entry of the program into an organized and regulated stage. Some provinces and cities have since drafted laws and regulations that give legal standing to voluntary service.

The Young Volunteers Program calls for young volunteers to serve others in the hope of promoting both economic development and social progress. The Young Volunteers Association is the organizing body for the program and comprises a network of 34 provincial associations, 738 at the local level, 15,018 service centers and 21,569 service bases. Research conducted by the Guangzhou Suigangao Institute in Guangzhou province showed that 63.1 percent of volunteers are between 19 and 25 years old while 75.6 percent have completed secondary school and are students, managers, skilled staff or government functionaries.

All in all, 70 million young people have participated in the program. The Young Volunteers Program has three main areas of activity.

The first is to render services to key social beneficiaries such as the families of martyrs, heroes, the disabled, the elderly, senior intellectuals, soldiers and teachers. Volunteers operate on a one-to-one basis to assist these groups with special difficulties. For example in 1996, over 200,000 young volunteers administered services to 70,000 retired or disabled former mineworkers.

Secondly, young people volunteer to render services in key places, such as remote, poor and disaster areas. For example, in June 1994, serious floods and storms affected several provinces. Hundreds of thousands of young volunteers formed teams to rescue people and goods and rebuild houses and roads. Another successful project on June 5, 1995, World Environment Day, involved young volunteers in over 500 railway stations collecting white rubbish (plastic bags) which was causing serious pollution. An ongoing project is the Poverty Alleviation Relay Project, which mobilizes young people to go into poor areas for between one and two years to render services in education and health care.

Thirdly, young people provide services at large activities and events. For example, in August 1995, 100,000 young volunteers in Beijing served at the 4th World Conference on Women. In 1997, 70 000 volunteers assisted at the 8th National Games. Millions of enthusiastic young volunteers have provided services at fairs and games and other large activities.

Political support from the state has been forthcoming for the Young Volunteers Program. Various state leaders have remarked positively on the value and role of the young people's activities. Government departments such as the Central Civilization Office of the Chinese Communist Party and the ministries of Education, Agriculture and Public Health have all introduced policies to give political support to the program. When the public has been made aware of the program there is strong support as well, and the volunteers have been welcomed with respect.

Strong political support has not been matched, however, with financial support from the state. Some associations operate without a budget, and volunteers pay for the activities out of their own pocket. Unless the state finances the activities of the program there is the risk that its growth or sustainability will be limited, making it difficult to maintain the enthusiasm of the young volunteers. At the same time, it has been suggested that the state should legislate fund-raising and tax incentives for private donations, and should establish a system that affirms the worth of the participants.

Other recommendations for improving the program include improved training of volunteers, the creation of a link between volunteer activities and employment, the creative use of available human talent, increasing public awareness of the program, setting up a data base and enlarging the scope of their activities.

Costa Rica

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Country profile compiled by Minor Mora Salas, Profesor, Escuela de Ciencias Sociales del Instituto Tecnológico de Costa Rica, Carmen María Castillo Porras, Profesora Asociada, Escuela de Trabajo Social, Universidad de Costa Rica, San José, Costa Rica and Michael Sherraden, the Benjamin E. Youngdahl Professor of Social Development and Director, Center for Social Development, Washington University, USA.

Costa Rica is a small Central American nation with a population of about 3.5 million people. Compared to its neighbors, Costa Rica has enjoyed high levels of economic development, democratic governance, education, health care and social protections.

The antecedents of youth service in Costa Rica were the Scout Movement and the Red Cross, which laid the groundwork for voluntarism and youth participation beginning in the early 20th century. Involvement of youth in party politics from the 1930s forward was another important development in youth participation. In 1966 the National Youth Movement was founded. However, the emphasis has been largely political, with social service and voluntarism playing a secondary role. During the 1980s and 90s, new programs for adolescents were created, with the greatest emphasis on health and personal development.

Of six major youth service programs, two are non-governmental and four are sponsored by the government. The two major nongovernmental youth programs are the Red Cross and Center for Attention to Youth. The Red Cross continues to offer voluntary opportunities for young people. The Center for Attention to Youth operates a project known as Youth @ Give All, which has an educational and cultural integration mission, using information technology (for example in Techno Clubs) to bring general information, language skills and job training to young people in disadvantaged communities.

The four government programs are the National Youth Movement (MNJ), Young Love, University Community Work (TCU), and Student Community Work (TCE). As indicated above, the MNJ is largely political in orientation. However, it sponsors Work Camps for youths 15 to 24 years of age, undertaking conservation projects in national parks and other protected areas. Conservation benefits undoubtedly result, but the Work Camps are also oriented toward recreation and developing young leaders for political parties. Young Love, a program initiated from the Office of the First Lady, is focused on youth development and personal health, especially reproductive health. It was a response to rising levels of adolescent pregnancy during the 1970s and 1980s.

TCU is designed as a youth service program. It operates only out of the University of Costa Rica, the nation's leading university, and its branches. Students in four-year degree programs are required to complete 300 hours of service, and students in two-year degree programs, 150 hours. Service is intended to be in communities with few resources, although service projects vary widely in nature. To some extent, professors in the university may have captured TCU projects for their own research purposes. The original TCU purposes are similar to social service programs in many Latin American Universities, to pay something back for the privilege of receiving

a higher education and to instill a sense of commitment to solving social problems. Unfortunately, for many students TCU has become little more than a requirement for graduation.

TCE, a program of the Ministry of Public Education, is a service program for secondary students. It began in 1995 as a mandatory requirement for graduation from High School, with a goal of including all types of educational institutions ("day, night, technical, academic, public and private"). The objectives are: (1) to develop in the student a civic conscience in relation to his/her community responsibility, (2) to pay back society for what it has given the student in education, (3) to develop awareness and attitudes of solidarity and cooperation with the community, and (4) to utilize the knowledge acquired to strengthen community development. At the outset, each student was to undertake 30 hours of community work. However, this was raised to 120 hours in 1998. Students work eight hours per month, and completion of TCE usually takes two years. Community work is not a substitute for academic internships. Regarding organization, projects are first approved by a TCE Committee, and then approved by a Technical Committee, followed by formal agreement among the organizations regarding the work that will be done. With the teacher's help, students identify community needs, choose priorities, design the project, execute the actions planned and write final reports. Examples of projects include peace education and conflict resolution; reforestation; literacy training; conserving historic places; creating groups for sports, music, dance, or art; drug and alcohol prevention; and assisting organizations in the community such as the Red Cross, libraries, centers for the elderly, hospitals, etc. Because it is new, everyone is learning to manage the program. No evaluation has been carried out as yet.

An interesting question for an outside observer is whether Costa Rica's 1948 decision to disband its army has had any impact on nonmilitary youth service as an expression of national citizenship or international peace. However, Costa Ricans do not seem to think of youth service in these terms; the youth programs do not reflect these themes, either ideologically or practically.

While the more standard youth service programs, such as TCU, may today lack vitality and meaning for many young people, the newer youth programs, Youth @ Give All and Young Love, discussed above, may represent a different vision of youth involvement. Unlike traditional social services, these innovative programs emphasize both rights and responsibilities, both services and participation. This vision is of taking responsibility for one's personal growth and planning one's life projects. This is considered to be an important foundation for personal development and autonomy, and also service to the community. These new programs are said to create a new social agenda for youth, initiating projects in which young people not only focus on their personal development, but also engage in projects of community social service and environmental sustainability. It is in these programs, largely nongovernmental, where energy for youth service in Costa Rica may be flourishing.

As in many Latin American nations, medical students in Costa Rica are required to undertake *Servicio Social* as part of their internship in medicine. The goal is to repay society for the privilege of education, and also to provide basic training. Students are placed predominantly in underserved rural areas. Medical and dental graduates serve for one year at minimum salary, though the compensation is more generous than, for example, in Mexico. *Servicio Social* is a requirement for the College of Medicine and Surgery and for membership in the professional medical organization. Accordingly, there are no problems with compliance; service is an accepted part of training to become a doctor.

Egypt

Country profile compiled by Hind Wassef of the Population Council, Egypt.

With a population of 62 million, of which 60 percent are below 25 years of age and 40 percent under 15, as well as an official unemployment rate of 8.3 percent (unofficial 15 percent), projects aimed at youth and carried out by youth are of particular concern in Egypt. Huge polarization exists in income distribution in Egypt, and more and more young people are entering the informal job market, unable to find formal employment.

Youth service in Egypt dates back to the beginning of the 20th century when young people first mobilized around the quest for political independence from Britain. The Nationalist Party attracted many young people whose political agenda translated into a social vision. One of the strategies they employed to spread awareness and mobilize people was to provide access to education. Egypt remains a largely rural country with high rates of illiteracy and the teaching of reading and writing remains a constant theme in youth programs.

The first youth organizations were affiliated with or modeled on international youth groups. Then local initiatives emerged, such as the Group for Rural Development, established in 1933 by university students. They sought to combat illiteracy and poor health conditions as a prerequisite for national development and were seen as fulfilling a duty to country and society in the context of national liberation.

Young people supported the 1952 revolution to rid Egypt of its occupiers and generate social development. Youth work camps and rural work camps were set up and by 1955 there were 30 rural camps for boys and girls, which served 12,000 young people. Working jointly with communities, they introduced agricultural, social welfare and construction projects and also included social, cultural and sporting activities.

At present, there are two important government ministries concerned with youth. The first is the Ministry of Youth, so renamed in 1999, although it had existed under various other titles since 1939. Article 10 of the Constitution stipulates that the state is responsible for youth and for nurturing them into good citizens. The Youth Ministry concerns itself with what young people do in their leisure time, so as to prevent them from becoming involved in criminal behavior or early sexual activity. Much of the focus is on sport. For some years, a policy of national service for young women was in place, but was not always enforced.

There are 4,127 youth centers spread over Egypt, although not distributed evenly by region. Membership is not restricted by age, and parents and senior citizens also make use of the centers. Apart from sport, centers may offer a range of activities such as health-awareness campaigns, literacy programs, environmental programs, vocational training and cultural activities. Funding for the youth centers is secured from the local directorates. Each youth center undergoes an evaluation on an annual basis according to predetermined criteria, with the 10 most excellent receiving monetary awards. Men participate to a far greater degree in youth centers than do women, unless a concerted effort is made to reach out to girls, particularly in rural areas

The second important government body is the Ministry of

Education. Despite free and compulsory schooling for the first nine years, enrolment figures are unsatisfactory. A recent study (1998) showed that only 73 percent of 14-year-olds attend school. The ministry has undertaken massive school building efforts, which have increased enrollment, especially in the rural areas and for girls. Curriculum reform is aimed at making school more accessible and introducing rights-related issues, such as child rights, gender rights etc.

A substantial part of youth service is carried out by NGOs, of which there are some 14,000 in Egypt. The NGOs operate within a longstanding tradition of community service and voluntarism. In 1999 a new law regulating NGO work and its relationship with government was introduced, with mixed reaction. Some believe that it is a positive step toward institutionalizing the sector, while others feel it places limitations on NGO work. Early in 2000 this law was deemed unconstitutional. While the NGO sector awaits final amendments to the law, its work continues in different fields. Among those NGOs working with youth, programs focusing on microcredit enterprises, the creation of job opportunities, literacy and health awareness feature most prominently.

The General Union of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides is exclusively youth-focused and incorporates a strong element of service. With a national office and offices in all districts, young people ranging between 7 and 25 years old are recruited from schools, clubs and large factories where their parents are employed. Members can choose what kind of project they would like to be involved in, including drug-awareness campaigns, environmental protection, literacy campaigns and health campaigns. The NGO collaborates with relevant governmental ministries in its efforts. For example, during the earthquake and flood disasters of the 1990s, the organization mobilized to meet government needs. The organization also collaborates with international aid agencies, so extending its funding base.

Other local NGOs are girl/woman-focused, concentrating on reproductive rights, job skills and women's empowerment. Still others equip young men with business skills. NGOs working in Upper Egypt (the more disadvantaged part of the country) provide services and information, while mobilizing young people to give back to their communities. Only one-third of students are involved in social or community projects related to the university.

While youth policies exist, supported by the Constitution and the school curriculum, these are not necessarily translated into action. Moreover, there is a shortage of second-line volunteers in NGOs, suggesting serious difficulties in channeling young people toward community service. Some observers are concerned that the system is too rigid for young people and that it limits their participation in programs. Furthermore, government youth services service an age group that, in time, outgrows these programs and loses touch with community work later in life. It is suggested that to address this, government should invest in young people by supporting modest salaries for community service through NGOs, for example. In this way, the NGO sector could carry out projects that are of priority to government, without increasing the size of the public sector.

A final issue raised is whether centralized, mandatory youth service is more effective than a decentralized, optional structure. It may be fruitful for reporting on youth service to be centralized, and for the choice of activities to be decentralized, depending on the young person and the NGO.

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Hungary

Country profile compiled by Richard Harrill of Youth Service International (USA and Hungary), assisted by Zsolt Pethe and Heather McLeo.

Hungary's turbulent history is marked by repeated invasions and subsequent occupations, the most recent of which was by the Soviet Union (1945 – 1989).

Since opening its borders in defiance of the communists during the Velvet Revolutions of 1989, Hungary has transformed itself into a parliamentary democracy. In June 1998 Hungary held free elections for the third time since 1989, ushering in the Fidesz-Hungarian Civic Party.

During the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, Hungary experimented with limited private ownership and foreign involvement in some sectors of the economy. As a result Hungary developed the healthiest and most progressive economy in the former Soviet Bloc, and this facilitated political reform. Hungary has been a member of the OECD since 1996 and is projected to enter the European Union by 2002.

Despite these developments, a low election turnout in 1998 highlighted growing public frustration with politics. By contrast, participation in civil society seems to be on the increase. A large number of citizens are initiating and controlling social development, rather than waiting for the state to act. Hungarian foundations have been legal since 1987; most are grant-seeking and not grant-making. Many are involved in health, social services and culture, while some support education and research. Since the early 1990s the number of civic organizations has risen to as high as 48,000. About two-thirds of all NGOs are voluntary associations, counting a total of 5.5 million members. Forty percent of non-profit organizations rely on volunteers who number about 380,000. Budapest is home to one-third of Hungary's nonprofit organizations and generates more than two-thirds of the total income of the nonprofit sector.

Youth voluntarism in Hungary really started with Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in the early 1900s. But movements like these were crushed during the communist era, for fear that they might fall outside party control. Groups like the Little Drummers, the Pioneers and the Communist Youth Party were established to organize youth activities, reinforce Marxism-Leninism and in some cases to organize "voluntary" projects.

The collapse of the communist regime in the 1980s brought to an end the system of compulsory youth organizations. Young people could now choose after-school activities that matched their interests, which in most cases would be extra academic lessons with market value. The demise of the communist youth organizations has left a vacuum. The education system is exceptionally rigid. It emphasizes rote learning and undervalues nonacademic programs that might develop leadership or citizenship. Consequently, many young people have more leisure time, although there are few opportunities to develop their skills or leadership abilities outside the formal curriculum. Young Hungarians are focused intently on developing market skills for the future, which they see more and more linked to European Union and western markets. However, some NGOs are trying to integrate democracy and civic education into schools and universities.

The last decade has seen the demise of the old political regime and the disappearance of all but one of the old communist youth programs. The Pioneers, still the largest youth

group in the country, traded in communist ideology for the UN Declaration for the Rights of the Child. The Pioneers provides programs to approximately 70,000 children a year between the ages of 10 and 14. Concurrently, Hungary has witnessed the rapid emergence of NGOs and a mix of new government programs focused on young people. However, while many of these programs serve the needs of young people – from student rights to drug prevention – very few actually engage young people as volunteers, or involve them in local civil society.

The recently elected Fidesz government, with the youngest parliamentary leadership in Europe, has the potential to be a major partner in developing a successful youth service policy in the country. It is advocating for more active citizenship. The Ministry of Youth and Sport (MYS) was launched in January 1999 and is the newest ministry in Hungary, with a budget of about $58 million. Although only one quarter of the amount is allocated to programs for young people, the ministry remains a crucial source of funding for such programs. The MYS is of great importance to Fidesz, a party that prides itself on representing the new generation and advocating for youth rights. Mobilitas is a division of the MYS that distributes funds and runs specific initiatives deemed priorities by the ministry. The ministry and its dedicated agencies hope to provide access to professional development, training and active learning methodologies for more and more young people in the long term. The Ministry of Education is concerned with implementing a more democratic style of education and developing more diverse extracurricular activities.

Since 1989 more than 15,000 young men have participated in programs that offer alternatives to military service (4,469 in 1998). Young men are placed in not-for-profit organizations working for the public interest and in church charities. The most popular placements are with cultural and educational groups, followed by social and health organizations and environmental programs. Conscientious objectors have to do service over 15 consecutive months. A weakness in the alternative service program is that it suffers from problems of enforcement and quality.

A number of NGOs have specific projects aimed at young people and involve young volunteers. The Catcher in the Rye Society (Zabhegyezo) is probably the most authentic, indigenous Hungarian youth service program. Its mission is to train young people between the ages of 14 and 25 to develop and manage younger at-risk and "latchkey" children. It is based in Budapest and has 14 local chapters spread across Hungary. It has trained over 500 youth "animators" who have provided support to more than 5,000 at-risk children. One site has become a model program of the Soros Foundation and may be replicated in other communities. Other youth-focused organizations have been set up by religious institutions and universities; there are also some umbrella groups with links across Europe.

It has been estimated that only 5 percent of young people between the ages of 14 and 25 are in some type of youth organisation. This is largely attributed to negative perceptions towards youth voluntarism remaining from the communist era.

The ideas of youth service and voluntarism under the new democratic order are relatively undeveloped in Hungary. There is a general lack of interest in voluntarism. Very little, if any, research has been conducted on the subject. While different factors are inhibiting young people's participation, it seems that an initial phase of service has begun. Challenges for the future include taking models to scale nationally; crafting youth service policies; helping government define a funding and support role; and luring socially responsible businesses to the table.

Israel

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Country profile compiled by Reuven Gal, Director, Carmel Institute of Social Studies, Israel.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, compulsory military service has been the predominant mode of national service. A law passed in 1949 – the Defense Service Law – made it compulsory for almost all Jewish-Israeli youth, both male and female, to be drafted into the military at 18 years. Furthermore, the law called for dual military-civilian functions in the use of all state-supported activities.

The Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) currently have approximately half a million servicemen and women (including the large reserve corps), out of a total population of six million people. The IDF has a strong presence in Israel's daily life and because of its expanded mission as a military and civilian organization, it serves as a major nation-building institution. Apart from its military duties, the IDF is involved in, *inter alia*, assisting in primary schools in remote areas, absorbing new immigrants, promoting cultural activities, helping the disabled and disadvantaged, and construction and settlement projects.

Despite its compulsory nature, participating in the IDF has traditionally been seen as a privilege by young secular Israeli Jews. It is considered the primary rite of passage for entry into the mainstream of Israeli society. It is an integral part of the nation-building process and it is a central element in youth development and the socialization process.

However, recent years have seen a change in the accepted notion of military service as the only form of national service, and other forms of national service are gradually gaining legitimacy. This is for several reasons.

Firstly, there have always been exemptions to the conscription of Israeli citizens. Religious and orthodox Jews (male and female) are granted exemption, and while this did not attract much controversy in the early years, it has latterly become the subject of much public debate. An interesting phenomenon in the secular state of Israel has been the meteoric growth of orthodox and ultra-orthodox communities. The growing counter-culture has led to separate school systems, social service and welfare networks and cultural institutions. In the process, it has created tension in society about the unequal burden placed on secular Jews to serve in the military, while religious Jews refuse to do so.

Secondly, since Israel has long been in a state of hostility with its Arab neighbors, Arab-Israelis (Muslim and Christian) – comprising 20 percent of the population – are prohibited from serving in the IDF. However, a survey conducted in 1994 revealed that 75 percent of Arab youths are in favor of either mandatory or voluntary civic national service for themselves. Approximately 60 percent of Jewish youth supported this concept. A 1999 survey showed that 75 percent of the respondents (adult Jews) supported compulsory national service for everyone: Jews, Arabs, men, women, religious and secular youth.

The third reason behind the consideration of alternative forms of national service is the evolving peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Peace agreements with Egypt and Jordan and the progress (albeit capricious) made toward a peaceful

resolution with Palestine, have led to a reconsideration of the role and size of the IDF. For the year 2000, the largest cut in the allocated national budget was in the area of defense.

Finally, Israel itself is in a period of transition from a centralized, planned economy, directed by the state to a free market economy and a downsized, decentralized government.

One indication of the growing demand for a new approach to national service is the submission of four proposals to the Knesset (parliament) in the last five years by members of diverse political affiliations. All have called for the "nationalization" of civic youth service to apply to *all* those who are not carrying out military service. One of these proposals has recently led to the implementation of a pilot program of a national youth service for any Israeli citizen who is not serving in the military for any reason. Graduates of this program will be granted the same rights and benefits as their soldier counterparts. In principle, this program should apply to the total spectrum of young people currently excluded or exempt.

Religious young women have always been exempt from national service. However, as far back as 1953, legislation designed to accommodate them was passed, although it was only implemented, partially, in 1970 when the government allowed nongovernmental, nonprofit organizations to serve as the operating agent for voluntary civic service for women.

The first such NGO, Sherut Leumi (national service) was founded a year later. In 1994 it split into two organizations, Bat Ami (my people's daughter) and IVSA (Israel Volunteer Service Association), also known as Aguda. While Bat Ami is mainly open to Jewish religious women and a few men, Aguda restricts itself to Jewish religious women. Both currently have a corps of 3,000 volunteers and operate in the fields of education, welfare services, health services and other types of services. The women also receive classes on Jewish education and history.

A third organization, Shlomit, differs from the above-mentioned in that is open to both men and women from any religious background who are exempt from the military, including Jewish men who have received a waiver on medical grounds. Indeed, it is the organization's mission to provide an opportunity for all young Israeli men and women to contribute to society, regardless of their religious, gender or ethnic background. By 1999 the organization had 800 volunteers (of whom, still, 90 percent were women), so indicating a growth in the number of young people who are seeking alternatives to military service.

Two other initiatives operating are the Council of Youth Movements-Israel (CYMI), which offers community work in development towns and disadvantaged neighborhoods to young men and women who defer their military service for a year, and the Jewish Municipality program, which is open to Jewish women of different religious levels.

Although there has been no comprehensive evaluation measuring the success of the existing national youth service programs, it seems that the gradual increase in numbers of programs are an indication of their effectiveness to seek out alternative solutions to military service in a changing Israel.

The developments in the Middle East from conflict to peace could also lead to a regionalization of youth services, which could not only advance the peace process but also create a new generation of leaders, promote intercultural exchanges, and achieve practical objectives related to the development of the region.

Kenya

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Country profile compiled by Shanyisa Anota Khasiani, Director of the Family Support Institute and Professor at the University of Nairobi, Population Studies and Research Institute, Kenya.

Kenya has a population of 28.7 million people, 60 percent of whom are between 10 and 24 years old. Currently in the throes of a recession, the country is experiencing high unemployment rates; a decline in available arable land on which Kenya is heavily dependent; migration of the poor to urban areas, and dire levels of poverty, especially in the rural areas where 75 percent of the population lives. More than half (55 percent) of Kenyans are poor and have inadequate access to water, sewage, sanitation and shelter.

Among the youth, enrolment in the education system has declined, both at primary and secondary school. In arid areas young girls, in particular, drop out of school to fetch water. Overall, unemployment and underemployment are rife and youth are over-represented in both groups.

While 500,000 young people graduate from the school and training system each year, only 250,000 to 330,000 jobs are being created. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is affecting youth (an estimated two million people are infected) and there is a high percentage of unwanted pregnancies. Poverty is increasing among the youth as they lack access to resources and skills. Children and young people are increasingly becoming involved in drug abuse and drug trafficking.

Youth service in Kenya has developed through three routes: public youth service programs, private organizations and initiatives taken by young people themselves. The backbone of the youth service is the creation of employment opportunities to enhance the well-being of young people and their communities, to counter the threat unemployment poses for the national social and political fabric and to curb migration to urban areas.

Kenya has an explicit national youth policy which identifies key sectors for service, which include infrastructure development, agriculture, technical and vocational training and business counseling. The National Youth Service (NYS) was created by an Act of Parliament in 1964 at the insistence of the youth wings of the political parties, which had been engaged in the struggle for independence. It is a voluntary and non-remunerated program, designed to reorient and assimilate militant youth, relieve youth unemployment, create a pool of trained and disciplined young people to support the army and police force, undertake national development projects and create national cohesion. Service opportunities are advertised in the daily newspapers. During the 1980s, pre-university students were admitted, but this proved to be unsustainable.

Today, the NYS implements projects within the national development plan. These projects are government development programs that receive public funds and technical support from the line ministries while the NYS provides the human resources. It has 18 camps across the country and enrolls unemployed, unmarried men and women between the ages of 18 and 22. The average intake is about 2,000, although in some years, due to lack of funds, enrollment has been low or nil. The young people receive both formal and in-service training in a variety of fields aimed at preparing them to take their place in the work force. Agriculture and road building

are the two development areas of the NYS focus. The NYS has more than 10 agricultural and livestock farms across the country; they not only generate food for the consumption of NYS volunteers, but also contribute income to the Treasury. The NYS has achieved wide public support as well as the approval of future employers.

The Youth Development Program is implemented by the Department of Social Services in the Ministry of Home Affairs, National Heritage and Sport. It relies on a combination of public funding and international donor support. Communities also provide support in any way they can. Targeting out-of-school youth between 15 and 30 years old, the program currently has 2,000 self-help income generating groups. Training is the core activity, especially in order to acquire skills for employment or self-employment. The program has attracted widespread support from youth, their parents and the communities. However, young men dominate the program.

The Youth Polytechnic program has also been guided by national policy. A voluntary program for school-leavers, Youth Polytechnics are found in every part of the country. They receive some public funding, and parents pay school fees. Over 19,000 trainees were enrolled in the Youth Polytechnics during 1999; women constitute only 25 to 35 percent of this number. During their two years in the program, young people receive vocational training. NGOs are an important delivery mechanism for this program.

The Kenya Scouts Association is an example of a private institution whose activities are consistent with national youth policy. Its membership ranges in age from 6 to 25 years. A nongovernmental youth membership organization, its programs include community development activities focused on health, agriculture, education, the environment, reproductive health and drug abuse, among others. Members develop leadership skills, learn individual responsibility, and engage in practical projects from which both they and their communities benefit.

In 1996 young people came together to organize their own initiative – the Slum Information Development and Resource Centers (SIDAREC). As the name implies, the idea is to harness the human resources and talents of people living in slum communities. Presently operating in one slum area in Nairobi, SIDAREC has 100 volunteers. The program offers counseling and training in fields such as the environment, reproductive health, HIV/AIDS and drug abuse, and also runs a recreational center.

While youth policy does exist in Kenya, it is fragmented, lacks clarity and is not comprehensive. The Department of Social Services has undertaken an initiative to harmonize and coordinate youth policy. However, there are presently few opportunities for young people to be involved in the planning and implementation of programs. It is suggested that youth programs could be encouraged to adopt authority and management structures that involve young people by making the receipt of funds conditional on such participation. Strategies to ensure the financial sustainability of programs must be developed as, at present, the funding situation is precarious.

While the scope of many youth service projects is broad, their reach is limited. People in rural and isolated areas are often excluded. Most programs have low female enrollments, and many young women drop out owing to pregnancy. If these difficulties are to be addressed, affirmative action programs should target isolated regions and women.

A further area of exploration for youth service programs is the use of traditional forms of youth service as they existed in Kenya's pre-colonial societies. These systems were grounded in the cultures of the communities, contributed to the cohesion of the social group and gave young people the opportunity to contribute meaningfully to their community. Unwarranted bad press led to the neglect and decline of these practices, which should be reviewed.

Mexico
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Country profile compiled by Gilberto Guevara Niebla, Professor of Letters and Philosophy at the National University of Mexico.

Mexico is a developing country located at the extreme north of the Latin American continent and shares 3,326 km of border with the United States. In 1999 its population was 98.1 million; 75 percent were urban-based. While the majority of the Mexican population is under 24 years old, people between the ages of 12 and 24 constitute approximately 28 percent of the whole. However, projections suggest that the population is becoming older as the annual birthrate is in fact decreasing.

After the peasant revolution from 1910 to 1917, a new political, economic and social order emerged in Mexico. Until 1978 the country was essentially governed by one political party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party, a populist movement. In 1978 Mexican politics started to become more democratic and today Mexico is a multiparty democracy, holding regular free elections.

The Mexican economy grew steadily between 1945 and 1980. 1982 saw the beginning of a major economic crisis, after which the government began to implement a neoliberal economic policy. 1995 to 1998 was a period of economic decline, although 1999 saw some improvement. Today, Mexico shows both extreme wealth and poverty. The annual rate of GNP is 4 percent to 5 percent but 34 percent of the total population are living below the poverty line; 17 percent do not have access to drinkable water; and 16 percent of all children go no further than the fourth year of school.

The social movement of Mexican youth started in 1910 when the Mexican Revolution launched a program of social reform, making help for the poor a priority. It was at this time that the idea of professionals and university students working as agents of social development took root in Mexico. However, there was always a tension between the state and the universities, as the "intellectual aristocracy" distanced itself from the revolutionary forces and showed very little interest in the peasants' circumstances. Meanwhile, the revolutionary leaders set up a number of educational institutions designed to meet the needs of the peasant class. These were of a more polytechnic nature and were supposed to produce professionals coming from the peasant and working classes to work in poor communities in areas of agriculture, health and so on. In the 1940s a number of laws were passed that made social service an obligation for university students. By this time, the state and universities had reconciled and the higher education sector grew and diversified.

Mexico does not have an overarching, coherent youth service policy. The laws governing university social service are set and implemented by a number of national and local agencies, namely federal or state offices, municipalities, universities or other higher educational institutions. They are therefore not consistently applied throughout the country. There are also other categories of youth service: school social service, educational military service, voluntary social service and state youth organizations.

The University Social Service (USS) is not exclusively for universities; it also includes tertiary-level technical institutions. Originally intended as a way to combat poverty, USS has graduate students theoretically working for a determined period of time in a disadvantaged community. (The minimum is 480 hours, but service can be as long as two years, depending on

the profession.) Some participants receive a minimum wage; some get no pay at all; in very few cases, a scholarship is awarded. A senior medical student will work in a rural clinic or urban hospital, while a graduating law student will serve in any office of the justice department.

By August 1999, the General Department of Professions had registered a total of 2,923,000 professional certificates for USS. However, this figure is misleading because, in the absence of rigorous methods to monitor the service, some students say they have completed their service when they have not. Furthermore, the moral aspect of the USS appears to have lost its strength. Currently, most of the social service projects are conducted in places where poverty is not really a problem. This suggests that people are able to manipulate the system to their advantage, according to their personal or professional needs and aspirations. Only a minority of the service programs are actually directed at combating poverty and promoting the development of poor communities.

In 1989 a supporting fund was created within the federal Solidarity program to motivate serving students to work in poorer regions. This program, administered by the Department of Social Development, was later called the Community Social Service Program. In the past five years the department has awarded 242,055 scholarships and young people in the service have participated in 3,316 projects. Most of the projects are related to municipal development, health, improving the justice system and attending to the needs of particularly vulnerable members of poor communities. The program favours settling students in their communities of origin.

The School Social Service (SSS) is independent of the USS. Students from different school levels participate in socially oriented activities that are either part of the mainstream curriculum, or voluntary. A recent study by an umbrella body for schools looked at the impact of these kinds of activities and found that students involved in them develop a greater social consciousness, are more aware of socioeconomic problems and their general education is much more rounded.

Educational military service is rooted in the long tradition of social involvement among the military forces in Mexico – not only in natural disasters, but also in community development through promoting civic values and patriotism. In 1996 the Department of Defence and the Department of Education together launched three programs for the military: a literacy campaign; the promotion of sport; and social work.

Voluntary youth service is supported by a number of NGOs such as Centros de Integración Juvenil (CIJ). The CIJ operates across the whole country with approximately 1,000 regular staff and 1,000 voluntary participants. The organization's main objective is to fight drug abuse through prevention, awareness and treatment programs. Other civilian organizations generate voluntary work for young people, like supporting orphans, protecting and educating street children, and social work in ethnic communities.

In 1989 the government launched the association Causa Joven whose aim was to better organize USS and to recruit young volunteers to participate in different social activities. In January 1999 Causa Joven established Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud (IMJ) which develops programs on human rights, legal advice, ecology and the environment, drug and alcohol prevention, urban development and working with street children. IMJ also sponsors research studies on young people. An inquiry into young Mexicans should be completed in 2000. In general, however, not much research has been conducted in this field in the country as a whole.

The government of Mexico should make more coordinated and concentrated efforts to develop a national youth service policy and support volunteer youth service initiatives. Voluntary social activities can play a major role in combating poverty, and educating and developing young people.

Nigeria

Country profile compiled by Francis C. Enemuo, Department of Political Science, University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos, Nigeria.

Nigeria is a federation of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Modern Nigeria is a result of the interests of British capital. The country covers 923,768 sq. km and has an estimated population of 105 million people and approximately 250 ethnic groups. Since independence from Britain in 1960, the country has lurched from one political crisis to another, mainly due to different ethnic groups fighting for power. A coup in January 1966 was followed by a counter-coup in July of the same year; a civil war in which the separatist southeast fought the rest of the country for 30 months, between 1967 and 1970. Nigeria remained under military rule for most of the period between 1966 and 1999. The civilian regime inaugurated in 1979 was overthrown in 1983, and the next 15 years saw a succession of three brutal military regimes. Democracy was restored on May 29, 1999, with the inauguration of an elected president.

The Nigerian economy has also witnessed major crises since independence. From colonial times until the early 1970s, agriculture formed the backbone of the country's economy. In the 1970s, the economy became almost entirely based on oil. Agriculture was neglected as the state invested in ambitious large-scale industrial projects to support the oil industry. The country failed to use its oil wealth to diversify its economic base. The collapse of the oil market in 1980 threw the economy into deep crisis. However, none of the objectives of the government's structural adjustment programme, adopted in 1986, have borne much fruit: per capita GDP dropped from N1487bn (Naira) in 1980 to N1051 in 1996. (N90 = US$1)

Although there was a tradition of youth community service in pre-colonial Nigerian societies, the ending of the civil war in 1970 was the major factor in the creation of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC). It was believed that young people would help to promote development and reconciliation, improve understanding and tolerance between different ethnic groups, and help redress imbalances in the uneven education system. Owing to the education provided by Christian missionary societies in the early part of the century, southern regions had more advanced and better-resourced educational institutions, and thus more skilled people to serve the communities. Despite the NYSC's efforts, this disparity continues.

The oil boom in 1970 and the more buoyant economy provided an enabling environment for the NYSC's youth mobilization and nation-building goals. The scheme was inaugurated in July 1973 as a one-year compulsory national service for all Nigerian university and polytechnic graduates under the age of 30. In 1975 foreign-trained university graduates and graduates from polytechnics and colleges of education were included. The age-limit was lifted in 1977 and then reinstated in 1985 with the downturn in the economy. At this time college education students were excluded again. Young people who have served in the armed forces, the intelligence services and who have received national honours are exempt from the scheme.

The overarching objectives have been to improve the educational and service standards of the individual participants, to encourage labor mobility and to foster national unity. There were 2,364 graduates in the first intake in 1973-74 and 64,731 graduates in 1997-98. A total of 706,688 participants served in

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the scheme from 1973 to 1999. The main reason for the increase has been the growth in number of higher-learning institutions – from six universities in 1973 to 108 institutions in 1998/99.

The NYSC is primarily funded by the federal government, but state and local authorities have to make contributions. The scheme is managed through a hierarchy of structures, from the federal government level to the regions, where the program is supervised and monitored at grass-roots level. Each NYSC service year is made up of four stages: mobilization and orientation; primary assignment; community development service; and winding-up activities and the passing out parade.

The NYSC has provided continuous human resources to the public and private sectors across the country. Educationally disadvantaged states rely on the scheme for professionals such as doctors, pharmacists, engineers, lawyers, accountants and architects. The NYSC has also become the major source of graduate teachers, particularly science teachers for secondary schools in rural areas. It is also the main source of medical doctors in rural hospitals. At least 70 percent of corps members are posted to schools; and two doctors and other corps health professionals are posted to each local government area. Through the service, participants have had access to job opportunities away from their home regions.

The NYSC has contributed to intergroup understanding, giving young Nigerian people opportunities to establish themselves professionally and form friendships and even marry outside their own ethnic areas. (Participants are obliged to work outside their own areas as part of the nation-building philosophy.) The scheme has also led to a more even distribution of skilled personnel across the country. Scheme members have set up many enduring rural infrastructures and public awareness programs. They have been involved in construction projects, educational projects, health programs, charity and social work and environmental improvement activities. Completed projects include the construction or repair of boreholes, deep wells, roads, bridges, culverts, classrooms,

clinics and bus-stop shelters. There are adult literacy programs, extramural classes for students, and health, environmental and other public awareness campaigns.

NYSC activities are widely covered in the press. The program has sometimes been criticized for aspects of its management and for being elitist as it involves such a small percentage of young Nigerians. But the NYSC was not conceived as an exercise in popular participation; it was primarily concerned with training the future leaders of the country. Most media reporting and opinion about the program is in fact positive.

While the original objectives of the NYSC are still in force, a number of constraints are affecting the scheme. Corrupt political leadership has not been a good role model for engendering feelings of patriotism among young people; nepotism and "favor banks" have meant that posts are designated unfairly; some states stopped employing non-indigenes, which defeated one of the primary goals of the scheme; the corps' management resources have been stretched because of the increase in the number of states and local government areas since its inception. The economic downturn has led to inadequate funding and severely limited the capacity of NYSC operations. Inflation and unemployment rates are high, leading many members to look for other ways of earning more. Some employers see the scheme as a source of cheap skilled labor and so do not retain the better participants in permanent employment.

For the NYSC to function optimally, there should be an enabling ethical and political environment to combat the religious bigotry, ethnic antagonism and intercommunal conflicts that have characterized Nigerian society in recent times. Strengthening the NYSC will depend on better funding and judicious management, combating preferential posting, finding meaningful assignments for corps members, establishing job-creation schemes and building on the achievements of the program.

The Philippines

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Country profile compiled by Edna A.Co, Assistant Professor and Director of Studies, National College of Public Administration and Governance, University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines.

The Philippines is an island nation bound on all sides by the Pacific Ocean – an archipelago of 7,107 islands scattered over some 1,295,000 square kilometers of sea and acounting for almost 300,000 square kilometers of land. The population of 70 million spreads over fourteen regions, speaks 88 languages and embraces many religions and ethnic groups. Although Filipinos are predominantly Roman Catholic, a number also observe the Muslim faith.

The Philippines has had a long history of colonization: 400 years under Spanish rule and the first half of the 20th century under the United States. The Philippines became fully independent in 1946. In 1986 the 20-year Marcos dictatorship was overthrown through the People Power Revolution and today the Philippines is a young democracy with a presidential system of government, experimenting with a decentralized approach to governance.

Youth movements have played an important role in the political life of the Philippines. Most recently young people led the protest movement against the Marcos dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s. A range of active student organizations joined under the umbrella of the National Union of Students in the Philippines (NUSP) which reached out to all sectors of society oppressed by the Marcos regime and coordinated its activities with international organizations. Students and youth movements collaborated with the church, which often spoke for the needs of grass-roots communities and was a pioneer for social justice.

Following the People Power Revolution in 1986, a new charter recognised NGOs as legitimate agencies for expressing and addressing people's social and economic needs. Their function is to work in partnership with government, but also to criticize it where necessary. There are approximately 16,000 NGOs in the Philippines today and most are staffed by young people.

With the economic decline in the mid-1990s, unemployment levels rose and the quality of the government's social services began to decline, particularly in education. The number of students completing secondary school has dropped significantly and young people are extremely vulnerable to unemployment owing to low qualifications and little experience. More young women are unemployed and socially excluded than young men. Young people migrating to the cities from rural areas are vulnerable to exploitative labor practices, and do not have access to adequate housing.

In June 1995 President Fidel Ramos approved the Philippine Republic Act 8044, otherwise known as the Youth in Nation-building Act. The act defined youth as people between the ages of 15 and 30. In 1995 this meant that young people made up nearly one-third of the total population. Young people in the Philippines are classified into four major groups: in-school, out of school, working and youth with special needs.

The Republic Act 8044 placed youth issues high on the agenda and set about creating an environment conducive to youth empowerment and youth service. The National Youth Commission (NYC) was created as the policy-making and coordinating agency of government youth programs. An older organization, the Sangguniang Kabataan (SK-Youth Council) was created in 1991. The SK is the youth arm of local government,

with approximately 840,000 members across a total of 42,000 villages. Through this organization young people between the ages of 15 and 21 can directly participate at all levels of governance: village, municipal, city, provincial and national. The National Youth Commission works with the SK-Youth Council's extensive network, but the SK is criticized for not doing enough to mobilize young people politically; it puts most of its efforts into sport and sport competitions. The Republic Act 8044 also made provision for the National Youth Parliament – a national policy-making body through which 100 young educated representatives are able to lobby the congress on youth issues.

Despite the government's intentions to give issues affecting young people greater priority, the proportion of the national budget allocated to youth is actually declining. This is partly because the onus is falling more on local government departments, which means that young people will have to establish closer links at this level. The four agencies most responsible for addressing the needs of young people are the Department of Social Welfare and Development, the Department of Education, Culture and Sports, the National Anti-Poverty Commission and the National Youth Commission.

Other youth organizations actively involved in organizing young people include the Jaycees and the Young Lions, which are engaged in community service, fighting drug abuse, and environmental awareness and management programs. The organizations work with underprivileged communities in rural and urban areas and frequently link up with international counterparts.

One of the most impressive youth movements involved in voluntary social and community activities is the Ugnayan ng Pahinungod, which was established in 1994 at the University of the Philippines. It was created in the university's spirit of serving the nation through voluntary activities and has institutionalized voluntary service in the country. The program involves university students, young faculty members, researchers and extension workers. It collaborates with government agencies, NGOs, the private sector and charity foundations.

The movement runs 52 programs designed to meet the needs of underserved communities and young people. Programs include deploying graduate teachers to underserved communities; nonviolence campaigns; teacher training programs; research into the nonprofit sector; developing diploma and master's programs for voluntary management; publishing journals; and medical and dental services. The programs aim to instill values of good citizenship among the young volunteers. Through consultation with participating communities, programs are designed to meet their needs. Beneficiaries include women, young people, government welfare recipients, fishing communities, high-school students, teachers, cooperatives, NGOs and local government units. The number of volunteers has grown from 300 in 1994 to current levels of 6,000. It is believed that the programs have also inspired young non-university people. The programs are managed so that volunteers will work in areas that are best suited to their skills. They undergo an orientation program and their work is carefully monitored. The organization promotes participation and partnership and brings together governments, NGOs, civic associations, educational and religious institutions, and medical groups and charities. There is no discrimination on the grounds of religion or beliefs.

Government and nongovernment bodies attest to the low level of young people's participation in political and community activities. In the 1996 elections, only 53 percent of those categorized as youth registered to vote. Young Filipinos face the challenge of increasing their participation and involvement in affairs that affect them. There thus must be greater engagement of young people in political structures, and the huge network of the SK should be strengthened to function as an important forum for youth service in the Philippines.

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Poland

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Country profile compiled by Richard Harrill of Youth Service international (USA and Hungary).

Poland is situated in the northeastern corner of central and eastern Europe, flanked to the east by the former Soviet Republics of Belarus, Ukraine and Lithuania, and to the west by Germany. Historically, it has been a nexus between two economic political systems and two ways of life. However, since the fall of Communism in 1989 Poland has been a parliamentary democracy, transforming its political and economic landscape and allying itself much more closely with western Europe than with Russia. Poland is on track to join the European Union after 2002.

Since the collapse of Communism, the Polish economy has undergone dramatic changes. It continues to liberalize its trade, foreign exchange and investment policies and today is among the fastest-growing economies in Europe, a central European leader in attracting foreign investment. The government has also undertaken widespread administrative and social reforms, including overhauls of health care, social security and the pension system.

With 60 percent of its population under the age of 40, Poland is a relatively young country, but despite the political and economic improvements, many young people have been hit hard by the abrupt changes of the last decade. Unemployment among 15 to 21-year-olds is nearly 50 percent. In regions that are more dependent on state-owned enterprises, both parents may be unemployed, leaving entire families suffering. Poland has also suffered increases in drug and alcohol abuse, crime and domestic violence over the last decade, all of which are taking their toll on young people. The education system has not changed rapidly enough to meet the growing needs of young Poles. Polish schools remain hierarchical and rigid, preparing young people for an old way of life that no longer exists. Therefore, despite the country's positive economic indicators, many young people in Poland are left feeling apathetic about their future. There is thus a need for programs serving young people as well as youth service programs.

Before Communism, the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association – a large NGO set up at the turn of the century – was the most contemporary form of youth service in Poland. During the Communist era (1948 – 1989), however, most NGOs either ceased to exist or were coopted and used to promote the objectives of the state instead. In fact the Scouts became a vehicle for forcing several generations of young people to serve their country. Not surprisingly, in Poland today the idea of volunteering is still very closely associated with the compulsory voluntarism of the totalitarian era. Nevertheless, young people were very involved in the underground labor movement, Solidarity, which helped to topple the Communists in 1989. This movement provided valuable lessons in leadership and organization for many of the social entrepreneurs running youth service programs in Poland today.

The current government has not yet developed a comprehensive youth policy. Consequently there is a vacuum left by the demise of the many national youth programs, which, although oppressive, had been set up during the Communist era – sports leagues, political youth groups, and job-training

programs. Military service is one of the very few areas of youth service where the government has an official policy. Every Polish male of 18 years or up (excluding the physically unable or conscientious objectors) is required to spend 12 months serving the country. There is no official alternative to compulsory military service, but the ministries of Labor and Defense run a quiet (unpublicized) civil service program for conscientious objectors.

The Youth for Europe (YFE) program is the only government-sponsored youth project – a joint venture of the European Union and the Polish Ministry of Education. Every year about 5,000 young people participate in exchange programs with other European countries; it also helps arrange for community-based associations to host an equal number of young foreign people. YFE essentially trains young Polish community leaders to perform service and run local NGOs.

In order to fill the gap left by government, foundations and NGOs have stepped in to develop youth service programs, recognizing the need to replace the empty communist programs of the last generation. Many innovative leaders and social entrepreneurs have created structured positions for young people to contribute to civil society as volunteers. A range of small, innovative programs connects young people to local NGOs and government authorities, and reinforces the concepts of public service and voluntarism, addressing topics such as environmentalism, drug prevention and voting. Some programs are local while others have national scale and impact. They can be grouped into five categories: scouting, volunteer/ third sector, youth-serving organizations, school-based service learning, and international youth service. However, most constitute services to youth rather than youth service opportunities.

For example, since 1992, BORIS (the Office for the Movement of Self-help Initiatives) has been a leading non-profit support center in Poland, bringing better planning and accountability to the sector. Many of the programs incubated through BORIS have a strong youth component and are frequently spun off as independent NGOs. The Volunteer Center of Warsaw, funded by international donors, is a volunteer clearinghouse that matches volunteers with service opportunities. It is trying to overcome the negative connotations of "compulsory voluntarism." Some 70 percent of its volunteers are under the age of 30 and almost 90 percent are young women. There are also a number of small, innovative, community-based NGOs that focus on serving at-risk young people from low-income areas or dysfunctional families.

Little or no research has been done to date on the topic of youth service in Poland. However, there are strong models of youth service springing up across Poland under impressive leadership. Innovative high schools, universities and summer enrichment programs are launching civic education classes and developing service-learning roles for young people.

The following steps are required to take youth service to the next level in Poland: establish a big picture organization to conduct research, share information and unify the various streams of youth service; engage local and national government as partners in youth service policy and programming; develop more extensive grass-roots youth service programs, particularly in areas of economic hardship; leverage indigenous funding resources for youth service and encourage foundations to coordinate their funding of service programs; build capacity in the youth service sector; and engage youth in the planning and development of service programs and attempt to address the gender imbalances currently found in such programs.

Russia

Country profile compiled by Elena Panova, coordinator of volunteer programs of the Association of Young Leaders in Russia, Anton Lopukhin, Executive Director of the Association of Young Leaders and Christopher Kedzie, Governance and Civil Society Program Officer in the Ford Foundation's Moscow office.

Although Russia does not have a national youth service program, the Russian experience is critical to the study of youth service around the world. Firstly, the Soviet Union was very successful in mobilizing young people to serve the country, although the actual programs are not good role models for the future. Secondly, Russians are in the early stages of creating new youth service opportunities and they must decide which elements to embrace and which to relegate to history as lessons learned.

Young Russians are deeply troubled. There are clear signs of increasing social alienation and moral degradation among them. The rates of suicide, crime and drug abuse are alarmingly high while participation rates in voting and social organizations are depressingly low. None of the traditional institutions that sought to socialize the next generation of Soviet citizens and to instill in them a sense of community has survived the transition period intact. Families are struggling to cope with changing societal norms and economic conditions. School systems are overburdened with adapting to new academic criteria and a shortage of resources. Teenagers are largely left to their own devices.

After the Soviet Union broke up in 1991, Russia was to become a new democratic society based on Western free-market principles. But the Russian economy has been under enormous strain: the financial crisis in 1998 led to GNP falling by 4.6 percent; the average income dropped by 18 percent; in August 1999 the official unemployment rate was 9.1 million

people, 38 percent of whom were young.

Faced with these difficult economic and demographic realities, the government is reducing social spending due to lack of funds, which, in turn, is leading to a further decline in the standard of living. The political elite is essentially preoccupied with macroeconomic issues. The social welfare system in Russia still resembles that of the Soviet Union: Disadvantaged members of society are cared for in isolated institutions and most state-run institutions are unreceptive to the idea of accepting volunteer service. However, a culture of self-reliance is beginning to emerge as people increasingly realize that the state will not be able to solve everything and they will have to become actively involved in changing their own circumstances.

It is only in the past few years that the notion of youth service for the benefit of communities has been conceivable. After the revolution in 1917 all charity institutions were disbanded. The Communist Party monopolized social life and the only remaining organizations were communist organizations. Organizations such the Young Communist League (known as Komsomol), and the Young Pioneers were politically oriented. Allegiance to the Communist Party forcibly supplanted loyalty to the community. Service was one of the key tenets of communist education. Every student had to do service work in state-sanctioned programs, such as cleaning streets, planting trees and collecting rubbish. For large-scale projects, the Soviet government launched propaganda

campaigns to appeal to the idealism and patriotism of young people to get them to move to the sites of new communist constructions in remote regions. These activities did not involve free choice. Aiding really socially disadvantaged people was not a priority and the activities did little or nothing to strengthen the sense of community locally. Beneficiary communities were not consulted about their needs. In fact, the underlying ideology aimed to encourage identification with the motherland, or with a world revolution, and reduce the importance of local community relationships such as neighborhoods, ethnic groups or families.

During the transition period, starting in the early 1990s, the Young Pioneers and Komsomol organizations lost their former influence and a number of NGOs were established. With the collapse of the welfare system, some of these organizations provided an opportunity for young volunteers to serve the disadvantaged and to work independently from state institutions. Youth service in Russia today is almost completely circumscribed by voluntarism and the terms youth service and voluntarism are used almost interchangeably. During the last eight years a number of laws governing youth programs have been passed, though none is focused on youth service per se. The only national entity for organized service is the army for which there is still universal conscription. The federal government has not made provision for alternative civilian service although it is a constitutional right. However, several regional administrations and NGOs are experimenting with their own models for alternative service. The State Committee of Youth Policy is the only institution providing support to youth NGOs at the federal level, and it is extremely limited. This is forcing youth organizations to seek support within their own localities.

The nonprofit sector is starting to play a role in the development of youth service programs and the formulation of youth service policy, despite the sector's lack of maturity. Many volunteer programs, civic education programs and employment programs for young Russians are being developed. Some NGOs that aid disadvantaged members of society are also beginning to recruit young volunteers to help solve community problems. There are also attempts to influence state policy to increase the effectiveness of programs that address social needs, to improve the working environment of NGOs in general, and to get young people to be more politically engaged.

Approximately one-quarter of all NGOs are concentrated in Moscow and St. Petersburg, which means that the reach of youth groups across Russia's other ten time zones is limited. NGOs active in the field include the Association of Young Leaders (AYL), established in 1992, which was the result of a combined effort between young Russians and the California Association of Student Councils. It is one of the 41 youth NGOs that receives funding from the federal government. The AYL is concerned with developing young people's leadership skills and organizes seminars for young people interested in community service, and for heads of state and non-governmental organizations that may provide volunteers with service opportunities. The Moscow regional charity foundation, Social Partnership, distributes humanitarian aid to disadvantaged people in Moscow, and is leading the development of civilian youth service as an alternative to military service. Child and Youth Social Initiatives (DIMSI) is a nationwide organization that, in over five years, has mobilized more than 10,000 volunteers in more than 40 regions of the Russian federation. Volunteers gain practical experience in welfare, health and in educational and cultural institutions.

While these are some of the effective youth organizations, the successful development of national youth service for the whole Russian Federation will depend on increased state support, the growth and consolidation of the third sector, the continued input of foreign sponsors and a well-developed research agenda.

South Africa

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Country profile compiled by Helene Perold of Helene Perold and Associates, South Africa.

Young people have played a major part in redirecting South Africa's history. Their militant activism in the struggle against apartheid peaked with the Soweto uprising of 1976, which began the most intense phase of resistance and repression in South Africa. The struggle against apartheid was won in 1994, when a new democracy was established.

In South Africa today, young people are defined as being between the ages of 14 and 35 years. There are 16.2 million people in this category, making up 39 percent of the South African population (which totals 41.6 million). Seventy-seven percent of young women and men are African, 11 percent are white, 10 percent colored and 3 percent are Indian.

South Africa has the most diverse and sophisticated economy in Africa. The political change in 1994 opened South Africa's economy to global trends, but 40 years of economic protectionism cannot be reversed overnight. South Africa's economy is still constrained by the baggage of the apartheid era. There are vast disparities in wealth between white and black South Africans and although the African middle class is growing, more than two-thirds of Africans live in poverty compared with 2 percent of whites.

Youth unemployment is one of the most critical problems in the country. Many young people are unskilled and poorly educated due to the inferior education under apartheid. In October 1995 the actual unemployment figure for young men and women was 69 percent. Poorly educated and unemployed urban youths with no job experience make up nearly 50 percent of the unemployed poor. Unemployment among young women is 14 percent higher than among young men, and young Africans are more likely to be unemployed than young people in the other racial groups.

The anti-apartheid struggle involved making South Africa ungovernable and it has been a challenge to change this attitude in young people toward positive support for reconstruction and development in the new democracy. Most are in secondary school – the institution most likely to positively influence their views of themselves and their world – but many urban schools have a culture of abuse, violence and crime, drugs, depression, sexual violence, anger and a sense of hopelessness. Other psychosocial pressures faced by young people include high levels of sexual activity, which is often abusive and leads to HIV/Aids and trauma. Substance abuse is increasingly common. There are very few structured and positive social opportunities for young people and the rate of crime is high.

The concept of national service is a contested one in the South African context. There is a close association between the term national service and apartheid's repressive actions and militaristic tendencies. The first real attempt to launch a youth service program came from the national Youth Development Forum, which launched the National Youth Service Initiative in 1993. The program aimed to mobilize young people to participate voluntarily in programs designed to meet identified social needs in the communities in which they lived. Between 1994 and 1996 several community-service programs were started around the country, but the initiative was more expensive than anticipated and difficult to sustain on the basis of donor funding. By 1996 both the National Youth Development Forum and the service initiative had collapsed.

Following the elections in 1994, the new government established a number of institutions and agencies intended to serve the interests and needs of young men and women. The National Youth Commission, set up in 1996, is responsible for monitoring youth development programs and services, research and policy development, advocating for appropriate services, programs and facilities for young people, and planning, managing and promoting the coordination of youth development programs. Thus far, the commission has developed Youth Policy 2000 (1998), a Green Paper on National Youth Service (1998) and a White Paper on National Youth Service (1999) that has been put to the Cabinet for approval.

The notion of community service was given further impetus by debates about the transformation of higher education in South Africa. Research funded by the Ford Foundation and conducted by the Joint Education Trust found that a wide variety of community service programs operate on South African campuses. Some are compulsory and curriculum-related; others are voluntary. They include work-study programs on and off campus, extension services and internships, and student volunteer service programm. Most of these programs rely on external funding. Education faculty and managers see the potential benefits of these programs but are generally constrained by a lack of resources in their institutions.

In July 1998 the Department of Health introduced one additional year's compulsory activity for junior doctors as a prerequisite for their registration with the Health Professions Council of South Africa. This is not a year of training, but a year of service. The intention is for doctors to acquire a greater understanding of how to apply their skills in a developing context and to deploy their skills and expertise more equitably in South Africa as they work in underserved communities. The Department of Health intends phasing in a similar program for other health professionals.

The Green Paper on National Youth Service (1998) defines the notion of youth service as the involvement of young people in activities that provide a service that benefits the community. It argues that this notion of service should not compete with labor, nor should it involve financial reparation. The National Youth Service should give young people a way out of long-term unemployment, develop an understanding of their role as citizens in a democracy, and help them participate in community reintegration and nation-building. Four target groups have been identified for National Youth Service: young people in higher education; young people in further education and training (secondary school level); unemployed youth; and youth in conflict with the law. The Green Paper envisages a mix between compulsory and voluntary programs.

The National Youth Commission is currently developing business plans for five government-supported pilot programs to be launched during 2000, which will lay the foundations for future initiatives to be taken to scale. They will involve public works, literacy projects, HIV/AIDS education and the environment.

There are relatively few youth service programs in the non-governmental sector. Most NGO programs do not necessarily have a service orientation. The best-developed youth service program is the Youth Work Scheme, run by the Joint Enrichment Project in Johannesburg. The program focuses on the goals of service as well as community development.

In general, research and evaluation into youth and service programs in South Africa suggests that future programs must cater for the economic, educational and psychosocial needs of young people. They should be long-term and sustainable and life skills training should be included in every youth program. Furthermore, programs should be community-based, contribute to building a positive youth culture, and should actively work to encourage self-sufficiency and independence.

United Kingdom

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Country profile compiled by Arnie Wickens of Community Service Volunteers Consulting, London, United Kindom.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain is a parliamentary democracy with an estimated population of 59.2 million. Twenty-one percent of the population is under 16 years old and there are estimated to be over 7.2 million young people between the ages of 15 and 24. Britain has a rich cultural, social and religious diversity. Despite a healthy economy, record low levels of inflation, and less unemployment than in the 1980s and early 1990s, there is still a high level of inequality.

The UK has neither military service nor a universal civilian youth program. Although the government does not have a national service policy, it does have a number of interrelated policies that, in their totality, are intended to encourage youth service and active citizen involvement. In response to low levels of turnout in elections, declining political party membership, a lack of interest in politics and disengagement from conventional political processes (especially by younger people and those living in poorer or deprived neighborhoods), initiatives are under way to bring government closer to the people as a way of addressing the democratic deficit.

In addressing problems of health care, education, crime and safety, transport and the environment, and focusing particularly on social exclusion, the government's policy is to join initiatives between different national and local government departments, while involving the corporate sector, community groups and neighborhood organizations and individuals. It is trying to restore notions of mutuality and community to civil society. Social capital is seen to be important and community development is back in favor. The philosophy in government puts volunteering, and within that, youth service, in a new context of partnership working to promote social inclusion. To further government's objectives, volunteering is being recast to appeal more widely. Youth projects are expected to enhance initiatives in the areas where government is directing funds, such as health, education and unemployment.

Britain has a long tradition of philanthropy, which includes both the charitable giving of funds and the giving of time for good works and worthy causes. There are currently 180,000 organizations registered as charities in England and Wales. Many of them are concerned with education and with young people. It is estimated that 22 million people (about half the population) are volunteers in the UK, contributing some 85 million hours of service every week. It is not known exactly how many of these are young people, but a survey in 1997 showed that about 43 percent of 18 to 24-year-olds give up to seven hours of service per week.

The first two organizations that gave young people opportunities to do things for others and themselves were Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) (1958) and Community Service Volunteers (CSV) (1962). By the late 1960s, Student Community Action groups were being formed to link student bodies and their local communities by setting up volunteering projects. Students could get involved in the running and delivery of projects through Youth Action Projects. Scotland, with legal and educational systems separate from England and Wales, continued strong state support for youth service through its Community Education Service. Elsewhere in the 1970s and 1980s, young people were generally viewed as a problem. Large sums of money were directed at growing levels of youth unemployment to stem youth unrest due to the decline in traditional industries.

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Local agencies that recruited volunteers often did not know what to do with young people, nor did they have the vision and resources to handle them effectively. CSV began a campaign to introduce a national youth service program. But the strident opposition from within the voluntary sector suggested that the time was not right for such a project. Then in 1995 the House of Commons led a commission, organized by CSV, that produced an influential report on citizenship. CSV subsequently set up three pilot projects in the UK to demonstrate what a national service scheme could be like.

The leading UK department in encouraging youth service and active citizen involvement is the Home Office, which houses the Active Community Unit (ACU). The ACU allocates government grant funding to national voluntary organizations. Recipients include CSV; the National Youth Agency; the National Centre for Volunteering; and other providers of community involvement programs, some of which have youth service components within their broader operational aims. The UK Department for Education and Employment is responsible for the two main government-sponsored youth service programs in Britain: Millennium Volunteers and European Voluntary Service.

Millennium Volunteers (MV) started in 1998, and is administered by a special section of the Department of Education and Employment. The program is open to 16 to 24-year-olds who join to do a project of their choosing. The European Voluntary Service (EVS) is run and fully funded by the European Commission, and the UK was very involved in its formation. EVS is a transnational program open to 18 to 25-year-olds, which aims to promote intercultural learning experiences for young people and to help with the development of local communities. Volunteers can take part in a nonprofit activity for community benefit in another EU country for between six to twelve months. The national structure responsible for running the program in the UK is the Youth Exchange Centre, a division of the British Council.

Programs that have set the pace and informed government thinking and policy on youth service are the Princes Trust Volunteers (PTV), Changemakers and CSV.

PTV, founded in 1990, provides business support, grants and training for 14 to 30-year-olds. Major employers largely meet the program costs as they see PTV as an investment in the skills and personal development of their employees. Changemakers was set up in 1994 to challenge, empower and support young people to address the issues that concern them in their lives, their communities and in the world around them.

Community Service Volunteers (CSV) is the major youth service program in Britain. CSV has a unique and explicit non-rejection policy, offering universal access to its programs. It creates opportunities for people to play an active part in the life of their communities. It tackles social exclusion through volunteering, training and community action, with partnerships at the heart of its work. Two of its eight programs focus primarily on youth. CSV Education promotes active learning in the community and CSV Volunteering Partners (VP) matches young people with community and social care projects all over Britain. CSV Education involves some 45,000 people through its different projects, and works in over 400 schools and 215 universities and colleges.

Although there is a high level of youth service in Britain, very little has been evaluated and the social policy dimensions of youth service in Britain have not been documented. But the overriding political message is that volunteer service is an essential act of community that has moved into the forefront of political debate. The buoyant economy and falling youth unemployment mean that it is no longer a crisis response to job loss, and more about values and philosophy for the kind of society British people want to live in.

United States of America

Country profile compiled by Kathryn Furano and Gary Walker of Public/Private Ventures, USA.

During the past few decades, the United States has experienced a profound political, economic and social transformation. With the end of the cold war and the nuclear arms race the United States has sought to adjust to a post-bipolar world where power is more diffuse, global relationships more complex and economic volatility unavoidable. On the domestic front the United States has also experienced enormous shifts.

The population of the USA is becoming increasingly diverse along racial, ethnic and religious lines. Today the population is the oldest it has ever been: Currently 13 percent are 65 or older. Demographic shifts have also brought changes in lifestyle. For example, there are fewer households with married couples and fewer children living with two parents.

The United States economy is booming in response to increasing globalization, and the labor force is shifting from manufacturing to high-tech industries. This has implications for the least-educated workers – some 50 percent of the U.S. population with no postsecondary education – who are not benefiting from recent economic gains. Only 6 percent of new jobs created during the last decade did not require at least some postsecondary education.

The sociopolitical perspectives of young Americans are also changing. Many are feeling socially disconnected and disillusioned with American democracy, and there has been a notable reduction in political participation among young people of voting age. Nonetheless, while young Americans may not ascribe to traditional means of civic participation, they are heavily involved in community service and volunteering. Research shows that in 1998, 73 percent of people between the ages of 15 and 29 worked on behalf of a community organization or participated in grass-roots activities designed to improve their communities at some point in their lives.

Service has generally emerged in the context of pressing national concerns such as joblessness or war and has taken different forms in recent U.S. history. The notion of national service first came to the fore during the Great Depression when the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established in 1933 as part of Roosevelt's New Deal program. The CCC was created to conserve the country's national resources and to provide jobs for unemployed young men during the depression. It operated for nearly 10 years. Three decades later, during the antiwar and antidraft protests of the mid-1960s, national service was seen as a potential alternative to mandatory military service. Although not articulated as a national service policy, Congress approved several federal service programs during the 1960s and 1970s, including the Peace Corps and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). In the 1970s and 1980s youth service and conservation corps were the only other services given attention. In 1984 Congress passed a bill that authorized the establishment of an American Conservation Corps that would have enrolled up to 37,000 young people, but President Ronald Reagan pocket-vetoed the legislation.

By the time Bill Clinton was elected president, a number of state and local initiatives – including, but not limited to, youth corps – were taking root. At the community level, small, organized service programs were increasingly becoming a strategy for solving local problems, improving educational outcomes in schools and building a sense of common purpose. During the Clinton administration, national service received considerable support as a strategy for reawakening the spirit

of community and improving access to postsecondary education and training.

The National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 defines and drives the current system of voluntary national service in the United States. It created the Corporation for National Service (CNS), which oversees program implementation and the channelling of funds. The legislation delineates four broad service categories: education, public safety, human needs and the environment. It enables service to function as part of antipoverty programs and job-training programs, aiming to build a sense of community and move beyond the differences that separate people by age, race, gender and economic background.

There are three youth service programs with national reach currently in place: The triad of federally funded National Service programs (AmeriCorps, Learn and Serve America, and the National Senior Service Corps); the 100 Youth Corps that currently operate in 33 states and 148 communities; and YouthBuild, which supports 108 sites where corps members earn their General Equivalency Diplomas (GEDs) and build houses for low-income families. Together, these programs provide service for tens of thousands of young people each year, although the portion of the federal budget allocated to supporting them is very small. An amalgam of independent entities also exists, primarily to provide service opportunities for youth and adults. These organizations include Campus Compact, Do Something, Inc, the Youth Volunteer Corps of America, and the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts.

AmeriCorps provides service opportunities for the largest number of young people in the United States. It is the signature program of the Corporation for National Service (CNS). Currently there are over 50,000 members participating in one of its three programs: Americorps, the National Civilian Community Corps (NCCC) and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). Learn and Serve America has two components: school – and community-based programs for elementary and high-school youth who may or may or not be attending school; and higher education programs for college-age youth. Many Learn and Serve programs use service-learning as a strategy to show participants how to use academic skills to solve community problems outside the classroom. Several million students in schools and higher education institutions participate in service learning activities.

Launched in California in 1976, Youth Corps are state and local programs that engage young people between the ages of 16 and 25 in full-time, voluntary environmental and community service, job training and educational activities. Youth Corps accesses funds from a variety of sources. In 1997-98, 20,045 corps members served; nearly two-thirds were people of color (African-American, Hispanic, Asian, Native American and mixed race). Over half had no high-school diploma. The main activities were conservation, environmental restoration and recycling. YouthBuild has grown to a national entity with 108 chapters nationwide. The program offers job training, education, counseling and leadership development opportunities to unemployed and out-of-school young people and adults between the ages of 16 and 24 who build or rehabilitate affordable housing in their neighborhoods. It targets low-income young people from all racial backgrounds, with over 4,500 participants successfully completing the program each year.

National service in the United States can function as a unifying force among citizens as well as achieve its dual purposes of individual development and community improvement. Although the idea of service has not enjoyed consistent political and public support, the country's major concerns about itself – individual isolation and lack of community – suggest that it is an idea whose worth has not been fully tapped. To do so requires persistence, revised political and substantive strategies, and a more focused approach to evaluating the utility and effectiveness of services.

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> We sincerely regret that Dr. Francis Enemuo died in February 2000 on the Kenya Airways flight that crashed en route to Lagos, Nigeria from Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. His contribution to the work of the Ford Foundation on youth service will be sorely missed.

Notes

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