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*Department of Political
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Global
Citizenship
Education

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

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October 2007

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Study of the ideological bases, historical development, international dimension, and values and practices of World Scouting

by

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Barcelona, October 2007

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in the Doctoral program
in Political and Social Sciences.

To my father, in loving memory

To Marta Mata, with affection and admiration

To Boi Fàbregas and all he symbolizes

To my mother, to whom I owe everything

To Pau, with hope for the future

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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*This volume (2) is the English version of the original thesis in Catalan (volume 1)
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INTRODUCTION

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1. OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESIS

1.1. Thesis Objectives

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

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

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

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

The first challenge of this thesis, therefore, is to prove that World Scouting is potentially very useful for studying the contradictions that have arisen around the world in the contemporary development of the concept of citizenship, from the basis of national loyalty to the complexity of a globalized world and increasingly multi-cultural societies. It is a research subject traditionally underrated by or foreign to the scientific community. For example, few people know that World Scouting is present in 83.3% of the world's independent states (2003), with the main exceptions being countries where it has been banned: the People's Republic of China – though not Taiwan or Hong Kong – North Korea, Cuba, Laos and Myanmar[1]. Nor do many people know that World Scouting overall has almost 30 million child and youth members around the world (2003), most of whom are based in Asia, and that it has a strong presence in Arab countries while Europe represents less than 8% of its membership. And not only this – even fewer people know that, when it was formalized in 1920, World Scouting had national associations in over 50% of the world's independent states, a percentage that has not dropped since and has actually increased to a current figure of 83.3%, while the number of independent states increased from 63 in 1922 to 192 in 2004.

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

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[1] WOSM, 2006: 89.

1.2. Research Questions and Hypothesis

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

As I explain in the theoretical framework, the concepts of 'nation' and 'national' are highly controversial because of their possible identification with the concept of 'state' and because of the delimitation of non-state national communities, and World Scouting is not exempt from this controversy[2]. Although I will describe this issue in detail later on, the subject of this thesis is the combination of national identity and global belonging in the framework of citizenship education, and this affects both national communities that are states and national communities without a state. In my earlier, less exhaustive research, I studied the case of national minorities in youth associations, focusing on World Scouting and the youth councils of Europe[3]. I will not, therefore, discuss this issue again here.

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

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

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[2] I asume in this thesis the distinction between 'state' and 'nation' used by Guibernau (2001: 243). The mere fact that loyalty to one's own country is one of the underlying principles of the Scout Movement and that, since it was formalized in 1920, the number of independent states around the world has tripled highlight the important contradictions within the movement. In the history of nations, those who are now praised for their participation in the nation-building of new independent states were previously accused of jeopardizing the national unity of the earlier state.
[3] VALLORY, 2004.

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

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

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

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

d) Lastly, the *coherence of practices* section must answer the question: Is there a correlation between global citizenship education with a commitment to peace as promoted by World Scouting[4] and its reception by the national programmes and transfer to local level? If we come upon practices that contradict this combination of national identity and global belonging and its commitment to peace, we could disprove the statement that, in this aspect, World Scouting is a movement with a world discourse coherent with its local practices.

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

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

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

1.3. Academic Interest

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

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

In international relations, we have moved from realism, which saw the international arena as a stage on which only states held relevance, to the complexity of globalization, which proposes challenges that states cannot overcome in isolation and where global governance involves other actors in addition to states – individuals, companies, associative networks, mass media, etc. In national identity, since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the processes of decolonization, the model of homogeneous Western states born out of the French revolution has been pushed aside by multi-cultural societies in which managing difference is becoming increasingly important, and by states that cannot erase their internal national plurality, as was traditionally the case, and have thus found ways of adapting to it. Approaches to the third area, political participation, have also changed. Although the liberal-democratic model has continued to gain ground as the standard of political organization, parallel to a gradual decline in authoritarian and theocratic regimes[5], the institutional and procedural mechanisms of representative democracy have become necessary but not sufficient for the adequate functioning of society, as shown by growing electoral apathy. There is

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[6] SMITH, 1979: 191; BECK, 2000: 64.

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

1.4. Personal Motivation

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

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

At the age of 14, I changed to a Scout group in the Clot working district of Barcelona, within the same association. It was held on parish premises but these were the only religious element. The national discourse was very different: the Catalan identity was present but to a much lesser extent; we sang lots of songs in Spanish and many members of the group spoke Spanish as their first language. We rarely wore the association's shirt; we basically only wore the scarf. The Scout Promise existed, but it was much less solemn. When I turned 16, the people who ran the group decided to change from the Catholic association to the lay Escoltes Catalans to reflect the laicity of the group – which, in actual fact, made no reference to the spiritual dimension[7].

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

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

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

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

During the five years that I worked as International Commissioner, I had to continually answer the question asked by my association: If we are so different, why are we part of World Scouting? The conclusion after five years was that our membership was justified at least by the fact that the discourse of global citizenship becomes a farce if an association does not really belong to an organization that reflects the diversity of the world. As International Commissioner of the Catalan Federation of Scouting and Guiding (1996-2000), I also took part in a number of European Scout and Guide conferences (1995, 1998 and 2001) and world Scout conferences (1996, 1999). I also attended the world conferences of WOSM and WAGGGS in 2005 as an observer while carrying out this research. Also as International Commissioner of the Catalan Federation, I participated in negotiations with the World Scout Bureau to enhance the status of international recognition of Catalan Scouting. During this process, I also had to respond to constitutional demands about references to *spirituality* in the principles of my association. In this same post, in 1997, I helped create the association of Scout parliamentarians of Catalonia (ANPEC) and, in 2000 and 2003, I attended the general assemblies of the World Scout Parliamentary Union as an observer[8].

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

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

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

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

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

2. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES AND METHODOLOGY

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

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

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

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

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

As a result, the research techniques used in this thesis combine the finding and collating of historical and current documentation, bibliographical and documentary analysis and qualitative and quantitative techniques: the qualitative techniques are the key-informant interviews while the quantitative techniques are the finding, collating, processing and producing of statistical data on World Scouting figures today and from the past. These methodological practices can be divided as follows:
  a) Bibliographical analysis and establishing of the theoretical framework.
  b) Bibliographical compilation and analysis of academic studies on Scouting.
  c) Selection and analysis of historical and current World Scouting documents.
  d) *Key-informant* interviews.

e) Research, selection, processing and statistical analysis of the historical data of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM).

f) Processing and statistical analysis of current WOSM and WAGGGS data, and comparison with the data of the United Nations Population Fund.

g) Analysis and comparison of projects introduced.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Project[9], was the creation of three databases, which are themselves a contribution to the thesis, and which are included in electronic format in Appendix 5:

- The 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004' (my own work), which contains (1) the number of WOSM member countries, at intervals of two to three years, depending on when the census was published; (2) the comparison with the number of independent states in each case, based on Correlates of War; (3) the Scout census for each country, and (4) the breakdown of countries into continental regions, using the UN Demographic Yearbook[10].

- The 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004' (my own work), which contains (1) the number of WOSM member countries, at intervals of two to three years; (2) the comparison with the number of independent states in each case, based on Correlates of War; (3) the Scout census for each country, split into three approximate age groups: 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, and (4) the breakdown of countries into continental regions, using the UN Demographic Yearbook.

- The 'Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002' (my own work), which contains: (1) the number of world Scout conferences organized since 1924; (2) the number of WOSM member countries in these years, and (3) the number of WOSM member countries in these years that have attended the world Scout conferences.

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

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

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

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[9] Correlates of War Project, 2004: "State System Membership List, version 2004.1". University of Illinois and the Pennsylvania State University. February 2, 2005.
[10] United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical Supplement (1948-1997). This division considers all countries in Central America and the Caribbean to form part of the region of "North America".

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

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

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

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

3. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND EARLIER STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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[1] KANT, [1803] 2003: 14-15, 31.
[2] KANT, [1795] 1991: 98-99.

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

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

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

1.1. Foundations of the Concept of Citizenship

There are two basic understandings of the concept of 'citizenship'[3]. The first determines – identifies – who is a member of the political community, while the second defines the relationship between individual members of the political community and its official institutions – government. The latter includes the role of individuals, their rights and duties in the community and the reciprocal responsibilities of the government towards its citizens –including social rights[4]. In the first – passive – view, citizenship is a legal status and one of belonging. It is determined by the legal framework of the political community to which the citizen belongs; in the second – active – view, citizenship is a concept of the constitutive political culture of the form of government in which individuals dictate their own destiny through self-governance. Thus, the concept of citizenship becomes the principle of the political legitimacy of the democracy in that the citizen is a

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[3] REUBEN, 1997: 406.
[4] Some authors argue that citizenship as a social practice (and hence, beneficiary of social rights) should be considered a third typology, separate from the other two. See BENHABIB, 2002: 160-161, 162-165.

constitutive part of the sovereignty, as well as being the source of social bonding in pluralist societies, where it is no longer religion or the condition of being the subjects of an authoritarian figure[5]. Although these understandings of citizenship are influenced by classical Greek and Roman interpretations, they are essentially modern, fruit of the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, France and the United States. They have evolved since then as an interaction between the legal and cultural definitions.

The invention of the Greek city or *polis* was also the invention of the notion of *citizenship*. In his *Politics*, Aristotle says that the *polis* is the community of citizens, meaning those who take part in the exercise of power[6]. These citizens share power in democracies in the sense that they are free and equal, and are seen in politics as interchangeable units in a system in which the law represents a balance and equality is the norm. Besides inventing the idea of citizen above and beyond the definition of a specific individual, a member of an abstract political domain, Greek tradition also invented the principle of respect for the law: citizens obey a legal framework that they themselves have developed, rather than obeying a single person. Rome's revision of Greek political tradition introduces the view of citizens as legal subjects. In the Greek *polis*, foreigners, slaves and women were excluded from citizenship. In Rome, on the other hand, citizenship is defined in terms of legal status, which allows for the gradual incorporation of foreigners. This meant that elites from the new provinces could become Roman citizens as the Empire expanded.

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

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

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[5] SCHNAPPER, 2000: 9-11.
[6] ARISTOTLE (1997): *The Politics and the Constitution of Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

The modern approach gives citizens civil, legal and political equality and had two main points of friction: the importance of private, historical and religious references, and socio-economic inequalities. It was reproached on the first point of friction by the counter-revolutionaries because it tended towards an abstract society based on the individual and not on the collective, overlooking the importance of historical experience and tradition. The communitarians would take up this criticism again two centuries later. Marxism took it to task on the second point of friction because the material conditions of workers made it impossible for them to obtain the full-fledged tailored citizenship of the bourgeoisie, and compared the 'formal freedoms' proclaimed by modernity to the 'real freedoms' that socialism had to enable. After World War II, the extension of social protection and the redistribution of profits from economic expansion appeared as a way of adjusting the economic inequalities criticised by communism, thus combining economic efficiency with social justice. In his classic *Citizenship and Social Class* of 1949, Marshall states that citizenship should primarily ensure that every individual is treated as a full and equal member of society and that we must give people the greatest possible citizens' rights in order to achieve this[8].

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

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[7] ["like the nation, citizenship was an inseparable whole that had to be organized and guaranteed by a centralized state, the expression of general volition, the producer of society"]. SCHNAPPER, 2000: 44.
[8] KYMLICKA and NORMAN, 1994: 354-359; see Trevor MARSHALL (1992): *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Pluto Press.

class and groups that had been marginalized on the grounds of race or creed. Hence, the full expression of citizenship requires a liberal-democratic welfare state that guarantees civil, political and social rights for everybody without exception. Marshall's view – termed "passive citizenship" – has been heavily criticized, not only because of its emphasis on passive rights with no mention of the need for citizens to participate in public life, but also because it is not clear that his solution encourages and helps the poor to find a way out of their poverty since it creates a culture of dependence[9].

These *social rights* form the basis of Rawls' theory on justice (RAWLS, 1971) and of the response of communitarians such as Sandel, Taylor and MacIntyre[10]. The link between justice and citizenship stems from the fact that the notion of justice is based on each theory's notion of citizenship. Rawls upholds a notion of justice based on the individual who, at certain times, is a citizen; the communitarians, on the other hand, base it directly on the citizen. Rawls (1971: 303) defines justice by saying that people can only be free and equal if they have the same primary social goods – freedom and opportunity, income and wealth – distributed equally, unless an unequal distribution benefits the more underprivileged. According to Mouffe (1999: 90-91), this leads to the liberal view that citizenship is the ability of individuals to form, revise and rationally pursue their definition of the good, while the communitarians emphasize the notion of a public good that pre-dates individual desires and interests and is independent from them.

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

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[9] Norman BARRY (1990): 'Markets, Citizenship and the Welfare State: Some Critical Reflections', in: Raymon Plant and Norman Barry: *Citizenship and Rights in Thatcher's Britain: Two Views*. London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit. Quoted in Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 356. Some supporters of Marshall's view, regardless of whether they accept welfare-state reforms, have responded to this with the argument that opportunities must come before obligations. See Desmond KING (1987): *The New Right: Politics, Markets and Citizenship*. London: Macmillan (quoted in Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 358).
[10] See Charles TAYLOR (1979) *Hegel and Modern Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Michael SANDEL (1982): *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Alasdair MACINTYRE (1981): *After Virtue*. London: Duckworth.

attacks what he calls "rootless cosmopolitanism" because it apparently overlooks the importance of national communities[11].

The communitarian criticism of liberal approaches has led liberalism to develop two new arguments. Firstly, the adaptation of liberal-democratic societies to cultural plurality and national minorities. And secondly, it has left behind the merely instrumentalist view of politics based on private interests and stripped of all ethical connotations, in favour of arguments in the line of civic republicanism[12], which maintains that a degree of civic virtues is necessary to balance out rights and responsibilities and enable social cohesion. For Kymlicka (2002: 284), the concept of citizenship has become a key instrument in the 1990s for integrating the liberal ideas of justice and individual rights with the communitarian ideas of belonging to a particular community. Hence, he says, 'citizenship' was the buzzword of the political thinkers in this decade.

1.2. Civic Values and Citizenship Education

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

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

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[11] Alasdair MACINTYRE (1988): *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press: 388.
[12] SANDEL, 1998.
[13] ARENDT, [1951] 2004: 427-429, 459, 589, 599.

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

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

Combined with this mediatization are a number of other elements, such as increased abstention in liberal democracies, the rise in aggressive nationalism and religious fundamentalism in diverse regions and friction in increasingly multi-cultural societies. These elements have led to a decline in the credibility of political institutions and procedures and nurtured a degree of support for extremist and populist parties, from the left and the right. The crisis in representative democracy is leading us towards what Mouffe (1999) has termed a "centre republic", in which the groups that should be political opponents do not have markedly different projects. This generates the risk that the dissatisfaction with politics will lead groups that feel excluded or unrepresented to join fundamentalist movements or be tempted by anti-liberal political forms[15] that put an emphasis on the *enemy* (basing the characteristics of this *enemy* on features other than political ones, such as ethnicity, religion, or race) and which tend to reproduce the patterns mentioned above: reduced significance of individual thought in favour of the doctrine, collective importance over that of the individual, and invention of an external enemy[16]. Developments like these have led to the approach that "the health and stability of a modern democracy depends, not only on the justice of its 'basic structure', but also on the qualities and attitudes of its citizens"[17]. One consequence of this is to ask how citizens can come to possess these civic qualities and attitudes.

The elements of this political crisis[18] have given even greater importance to republican arguments, a theoretical current that proposes freedom over domination and which argues that citizens must have certain civic virtues in order to obtain this freedom: an organized political community with a virtuous citizenship sets the conditions for a non-arbitrary political authority[19]. While many of these civic virtues may be necessary in any political order, there are some that are specific to liberal democracies, such as the ability to evaluate the activity of political leaders and the

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[14] CASTELLS, 2004: 403.
[15] MOUFFE, 1999: 18.
[16] Nonetheless, the *Critical Citizens* study shows that the declining confidence in political institutions has not led to a decline in support for democratic values and principles in most countries (NORRIS 1999: 27).
[17] KYMLICKA, 1999: 80. The reference to the 'basic structure' of society is because Rawls considers it to be the main subject of a justice theory.
[18] See PHARR and PUTNAM, 2000.
[19] PETTIT, 1999: 52 onwards.

desire to have a say in the public discourse, sense of justice, civility and tolerance and a shared sense of solidarity[20]. Nonetheless, a liberal democracy must respect the option of citizens who do not want to participate in public affairs, and this is the critical point when we are talking about civic values that reinforce political participation. Kymlicka (2002: 294-302) explains that, for civic republicanism, a working democracy requires certain civic virtues and shared identities among its citizens – an argument that also ties in with some communitarian theses if the restrictions on freedoms are removed. This approach, which he calls "instrumental", is entirely compatible with liberalism in his view. There is, however, a second "Aristotelian" approach, whereby the best life is that which places political participation above all other spheres of life and which states that this participation must be guaranteed. Only this second approach, says Kymlicka, is incompatible with the liberal commitment to individual autonomy and state neutrality. If citizens share civic virtues[21] that reinforce liberal democracy, it will be easier to defend democracy in the face of potential moves towards authoritarian power or restrictions on freedoms.

Amy Gutmann (1999: 15) argues that one distinctive virtue of a democratic society is that it authorizes citizens to influence how society reproduces itself and that this is done through education – which is conscious, as opposed to political socialization, which is unconscious. Although she defends the need for democratic education, Gutmann (1999: 75) warns that schools serving "simply to perpetuate the beliefs held by dominant majorities are agents of political repression". Thus, while education[22] – in and outside school – is the means through which the civic virtues enabling common life in a liberal democracy are transferred, we must clearly establish what these virtues are in order to avoid the imposition of personal visions of common good. As Callan (1997: 221) says, although the pluralism of free societies entails educating citizens who share a cohesive political identity, the strength of pluralism itself makes it difficult to agree on the identity and educational practices to be adopted to these effects. To solve this problem, the British Government set up an Advisory Group on Citizenship under the coordination of Professor Bernard Crick (1998)[23], which established that citizenship education had to allow three general skills:

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[20] KYMLICKA, 1999: 81.

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

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

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

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

When he comes to detail these values, Crick (1999: 343 onwards) states that "the very project of a free citizenship education, as distinct from a would-be indoctrinating one, whether ideological or simply patriotic, must be based on a limited number of pressuppositions", which he calls procedural values: freedom; toleration; fairness; respect for truth; and respect for reasoning[24]. We cannot talk of citizenship education then without taking into account the tension between education and indoctrination or between the chosen reproduction of the model of society and imposed maintenance of the majority vision, and the conflict with religious or cultural values that are at odds with constitutional values. However, the legitimacy of the values that must foster citizenship education lies in their contribution to living in harmony in a democracy and the development of individual ideas of common good, since they allow for public debate[25] and are based on respect for the diversity of those involved in the debate[26].

Nonetheless, as Kymlicka (1999: 85-88) explains, diverse points of view have argued that schools should not necessarily be responsible for this education in civic virtues. The family, for example, has traditionally been the transmitter of civic virtues, although mainly within a moral framework established by religion and, in all events, with no guarantee that the transmitted values would be shared. Religion itself transmits civic values, though these conflict with the principles governing common life in pluralist societies, as is the case of the Catholic Church and divorce, abortion or the recognition of homosexuality. In the 1980s, it was argued that market expansion would teach civic virtues such as initiative and self-sufficiency. However, the regulatory mechanisms of the market are not sufficient to ensure that equally negative values do not prevail. Moreover, many thinkers have focused on democratic participation as a tool for transmitting civic virtues that allow for democratic common life, even though the emphasis on participation does not guarantee that citizens will participate responsibly. The view that neither the market nor political participation teaches civic virtues sufficiently is shared by civil-society theorists like Robert Putnam (1993; 2000), who argue that this transmission takes place in voluntary organizations of civil society[27] such as parishes, families, trade unions, environmental groups, neighbourhood associations or cooperatives, generators of social capital[28]. Tingeing Putnam, Theda Skocpol (2003) argues that only organizations aiming to have an impact on the political agenda can encourage participation. The main aim of these associations is not the transmission of civic values, as Kymlicka notes, and hence, the transmission of civic

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[24] CRICK, 1999: 343.
[25] "The essential need is the improvement of the methods and conditions of debate, discussion and persuasion. That is the problem of the public". DEWEY, [1927] 1991: 208.
[26] GUTMANN (1999: 287) argues that the virtues of citizenship "can be cultivated by a common education characterized by respect for racial, religious, intellectual and sexual differences among students".
[27] WARBURTON and SMITH (2003) make an interesting criticism of the Australian government's introduction of compulsory volunteer schemes, a direct consequence of the argument that a country with more volunteers – even if it is compulsory! – is a country with more democratic values. I have dealt with the issue in detail in VALLORY and PÉREZ, 2001.
[28] See BOIX and POSNER, 1998.

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

Nonetheless, questions about the ability of the market, the family, institutional mechanisms and civil-society associations to teach civic virtues have led to the argument that the school – compulsory education – is the main arena for doing so. Thus, in recent years, a number of Western governments, such as those of the United Kingdom and Spain, have introduced compulsory citizenship education as a subject[30]. However, given that this thesis does not discuss the role of schools, further discussion on this topic is not necessary.

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

The nation-state as we now know it was created in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century in a new understanding of international law that has been termed the "Westphalian model" because it was introduced after the Peace of Westphalia of 1648[31]. This type of nation-state is based on the principle that the nation has full sovereignty over any other power. It became universal with colonization and decolonization, and has been considered to be the natural basis for the political organization of the world by Western countries over the last three centuries, replacing and adapting kingdoms, empires, protectorates and colonies[32]. The modern revolutions considered 'nation' to mean a collective with similar socio-cultural traits while 'state' meant the legal and ethical regime and the governing institutions of this nation. After the civil wars and religious conflicts in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a model was gradually introduced whereby the state was separate from the church, and the political decision-maker and establisher of rules (ruler and ruled) were different units[33].

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

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[29] KYMLICKA, 1999: 88. Joseph Farrell (2001: 131-132) also argues that democratic citizenship values can be acquired through Scouting.
[30] See *Citizenship Education at School in Europe*. Brussels: Eurydice European Unit, 2005. http://www.eurydice.org/ressources/eurydice/pdf/0_integral/055EN.pdf
[31] The Westphalia model has two main features: (a) the world consists of and is divided into sovereign territorial states that recognize no greater authority and (b), the processes for the development of law, resolution of conflict and compliance with the law are chiefly in the hands of each of these states. HELD, MCGREW, GOLDBLATT, and PERRATON, 1999: 37.
[32] KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 68.
[33] HELD, 1995: 38.

This is what Anthony Smith calls "methodological nationalism": society and state come to be seen, organized and experienced as coextensive[34].

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

Kant proposed a new framework of relations between states – made up of democratic governments, a federation of free states and the constitution of a cosmopolitan law – to establish lasting peace. An international organizational structure based on relations between nations, as though they were individuals in their society[36]. These Kantian ideas have had a very significant impact on political praxis, as shown by the creation of international structures throughout the twentieth century. Indeed, when the League of Nations was set up in 1919 and the United Nations Organization – and all of its system – after that in 1945, the same logic was followed and each state was given one vote, regardless of size. Even on the Security Council, the only body with the right to veto and five of the fifteen permanent members, this logic is upheld: the United States, China and Russia (and the USSR before it) are no more important than the United Kingdom or France.

The generalization of the nation-state system in the West has coincided over the past two centuries with the replacement of different types of un-democratic political regime with systems of liberal democracy, as stated by Kymlicka and Straehle (1999: 68), an extension of the liberal-democratic model that we continue to find all over the world. In 2000, 121 (68% of the world population) of the 147 countries on which data was available had one or all of the elements of a formal democracy, compared to just 54 countries (46% of the world population) in 1980[37]. The number of democracies continues to grow[38] and the liberal-democratic model is seen as the basic standard of political legitimacy. This model is also based implicitly on the idea that nation is defined in the same way as "people" – that is, the group of inhabitants in a specific territory – which become the holders of the sovereignty, the central subjects of loyalty and the basis of collective solidarity[39].

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[34] SMITH, 1979: 191 onwards; BECK, 2000: 23-26, 64.
[35] In fact, there is debate about the subject of sovereignty in territories that are not states, such as the Western Sahara or Palestinian territories.
[36] "Peoples who have grouped themselves into nation states may be judged in the same way as individual men living in a state of nature, independent of external laws". KANT, [1795] 1991: 102.
[37] UNDP, 2002: 14-15.
[38] HELD, 1998: 11-12.
[39] KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 70-71.

The logic of national sovereignty is thus based on the premise of a territory within a set of borders, a monopoly on violence within the territory and a population within this territory. Its practical subject, the nation-state, is traditionally seen as an institutional web that holds an administrative monopoly within specific territorial limits, in which the government is based on the law and exerts direct control over instruments of internal and external violence[40]. However, the contemporary process of 'globalization'[41] has changed these premises. According to Beck (2000: 11), globalization is "the processes through which sovereign national states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors[42] with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities and networks". On this new globalized stage, it is increasingly the case that the state cannot determine policies on aspects affecting its citizens. This is caused by dynamics such as global economic networks, supranational environmental catastrophes or by security problems with international terrorism[43]. As a result, the nation-state is undermined and liberal democracy as a decision-making system on collective affairs is weakened along with it. There was also the Eurocentric fallacy that saw the construction of national political communities in the form of nation-states as complete after the post-war pacts in Western Europe and decolonization, without taking into account the historic error of mechanically passing on certain Western European principles to non-European cultures. This led to the principle of national sovereignty being artificially transferred to societies with very different forms of organization and socialization[44] while the necessary function of social values for the acceptance and maintenance of political institutions was overlooked[45].

Thus, national sovereignty, a basic feature of the nation-state, is being undermined by diverse factors, including the difficulty of providing a response to the power of global networks and the challenge of unique identities. The nation-state is losing control over tradition and identity (because they are becoming plural) and the space-time axis (because of the speed of flows). It has less power globally and is not able to restore the democratic legitimacy that is being undermined[46]. We also need to remember that the economy and the market have been globalized while the policies that should regulate them are limited to individual states or, at the very most, weak regional structures like Europe. According to Beck (2000: 64), while modernity saw the nation-state as the centre of political analysis, in the sense that cultural identity was unique and constant over time, the debate on globalization centres on the move to a second modernity, the centre of which is gradually becoming the world as a whole – the human community. Thus, the nation-state is losing its traditional power – though not its influence – and is no longer self-dependent. Now, it is becoming part of a larger network of powers and counter-

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[40] GIDDENS, 1985: 121.
[41] I agree with CASTELLS (2004: 304) and his argument according to which globalization can be considered a new phenomenon, because of information and communication technologies, and substantially different in circumstances and consequences from the globalizing processes of other points of history.
[42] I refer here to international institutions (from the UN to the European Union or the World Bank), multinational corporations and organizations of civil society in general (BECK, 2000: 35)
[43] HELD, 1995: 16-17.
[44] CASTELLS, 2004: 32-34.
[45] INGLEHART and WELZEL, 2005.
[46] See GIDDENS, 1991; CASTELLS, 2004; HELD, 1995; BECK, 2000. Cf. BEITZ, 1999.

powers[47]. The plurality of sources of authority in the new balances of power has created a situation whereby we must now understand what we previously called sovereignty as a power that is split and fragmented into different actors at diverse levels that limit it. "Nation-states have lost their sovereignty because the very concept of sovereignty, since Bodin, implies that it is not possible to lose sovereignty "a little bit""[48].

Beyond the classic duality of the internal and external dimensions of sovereignty[49], Krasner (1999) distinguishes between four categories within the concept of state sovereignty: internal sovereignty, based on political authority and the effective control of the interior of the borders; interdependent sovereignty, which allows the authority to regulate all types of flows across its borders; international legal sovereignty, the basis of the idea of 'international community' associated with independent mutual-recognition practices, and Westphalian sovereignty, which believes that outside agents cannot participate in the political mechanisms of a state. Krasner argues that both international legal sovereignty and Westphalian sovereignty have been transgressed in the past in the interests of the time and have become "models of organized hypocrisy" of the states. The remaining two – internal sovereignty and interdependent sovereignty – had been stable until the dual force of identity assertion and the crisis in institutions and global networks weakened them to a point that they had not known before.

This leads Held (2002: 33) to argue that a new understanding of sovereignty has developed, that of *cosmopolitan sovereignty*, which "comprises networked realms of public authority shaped and delimited by cosmopolitan law". The traditional sovereignty of states, he says, no longer exists. According to Held (2002), there are now three models of political power and international legal regulations. One gives the state absolute freedom in establishing economic and political relations; this is the classic understanding of sovereignty, which he labels "the right of states". The second model, a consequence of the development of cross-border structures, is "liberal international sovereignty", which delimits political power by extending liberal interest to the international sphere. This model sits halfway between the other two. The third model, which he terms "cosmopolitan sovereignty", sees international law as a system of public law that is not limited to political power but which extends to all forms of social power. It is the 'law of peoples' because it places the authority of individual human beings as political agents and the accountability of power at the centre[50]. This third model, the ideological basis of the International Criminal Court, is a development of the increasingly widespread idea that democratic sovereignty and respect for Human Rights must be mutually limited and controlled[51].

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

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[47] HELD, 1998: 24, 26.
[48] CASTELLS, 2004: 357.
[49] Classic sovereignty and international liberal sovereignty, to which HELD (2002: 1) adds "cosmopolitan sovereignty".
[50] HELD, 2002: 1, using KANT's term "law of peoples" (KANT, [1795] 1991), picked up again by RAWLS (1999).
[51] BENHABIB, 2002: 41.

Eurofederalists and Eurosceptics are still a long way off the cosmopolitan view, which sees a federal European state as the starting point for developing a network of cross-border regimes that, despite the absence of world governance, could end up as something akin to a world domestic policy[52]. Giddens (2007) agrees with the idea that Europe could be the starting point for a better governance of globalization, considering that "multilateralism – governance by consultation and persuasion – is an intrinsic feature of the European Union, and is a principle of wide applicability in an interdependent world"[53].

In fact, the creation of cross-border structures leading to liberal international sovereignty was adapted from Kant's idea that states are to the world what individuals are to society. I have already pointed out that international structures such as the plenary of the United Nations uphold this idea; even when states can make an important difference, it is not so much because of their population but because of their international influence, as shown by United Nations Security Council. There is no room then for the democratic logics of "one person, one vote" beyond state borders. Nonetheless, much progress has been made over the last fifty years in reaching an international consensus. Firstly, we saw the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This was followed by the agreements adopted by diverse United Nations conferences (Rio and Johannesburg on development, Kyoto on climate change, Beijing on women, Cairo on population control, etc). We can also cite the establishment of legal frameworks and military imposition with the creation of the International Criminal Court and the multi-lateral peace forces of the UN's blue helmets, who are recruited from state armies. All of this has been accompanied by an increase in associative networks and social movements around the world that have pressurized governments and encouraged society to demand that they carry on in this way[54].

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

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[52] HABERMAS, 2001: 88-89; 2002: 230-232.
[53] GIDDENS, 2007: 226.
[54] KALDOR, 2001: 110-112; CASTELLS, 2004: 417.

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

1.4. Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism and Global Citizenship

Today's implicit equivalence between society and national state has come hand in hand with an absence of literature on the role of the nation in political theory. This situation was rectified in the 1980s by contributions from thinkers such as Anthony Smith and Ernest Gellner[56], which were joined in the 1990s by works on nationalism by theorists such as Yael Tamir and David Miller[57], along with many others. Some of these theorists, such as Tamir and Miller, are referred to as 'liberal nationalists', arguing that only within the nation-state can liberal-democratic principles be implemented[58]. This view sees the existence of nation-states as something not merely accidental and so, we need to ensure that they are maintained. It is important to note, however, that liberal nationalism is explicitly civic and hence, inclusive, as opposed to ethnic nationalism, which is not liberal. Ethnic nationalism considers only those with the necessary attributable features to belong to the national community while for civic nationalism, membership can be voluntary, through the acceptance of shared civic values[59]. This second, non-essentialist type involves the idea that the political community is also a collective project in itself that is subject to the wishes of its components, picking up on Renan's idea of an "everyday plebiscite"[60]. Liberal nationalism argues that the nation reinforces liberal democracy in that it is only within the nation that three basic principles can be achieved: social justice (since it constitutes a community of solidarity); deliberative democracy (since it establishes bonds of confidence and a

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[55] Francis Fukuyama, "The West may be cracking", *International Herald Tribune*, New York, 9 August 2002.
[56] See SMITH, 1979, 1986; GELLNER, 1983.
[57] See TAMIR, 1993; MILLER, 1988, 1995.
[58] KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 66. For Tamir (1993: 139), this is precisely why most liberals are liberal nationalists, albeit implicitly.
[59] KEATING, 2001: 3-9; "What distinguishes 'civic' nations from 'ethnic' nations is not the absence of any cultural component to national identity, but rather the fact that anyone can integrate into the common culture, regardless of race or colour" (KYMLICKA, 1999: 24).
[60] "L'existence d'une nation est (pardonnez-moi cette métaphore) un plébiscite de tous les jours, comme l'existence de l'individu est une affirmation perpétuelle de vie" (RENAN, [1882] 1997: 32).

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

The fall of the communist regimes in 1989 and the rise of new states in Europe, together with the more or less successful demands of national minorities in various countries around the world, showed that the construction of national communities and the perfection of liberal democracies are endless processes that are constantly active. Along these lines, Guibernau (2001: 256) points out that most nation-states do not consist of a single nation. Be that as it may, most Western nation-states today are created by eliminating the former internal plurality, whether through the right of conquest or in the name of the universal principle of democratic citizenship[62]. An even clearer example is that of Africa, where it is very difficult to argue that nation generally precedes the state since many borders were marked out with string lines.

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

The communitarian Charles Taylor's successful expression "politics of recognition" (1994) refers precisely to these minorities' demand to feel entirely comfortable in their collective action, starting with acceptance of the equal value of different cultures. For Taylor, "the politics of nationalism has been powered for well over a century in part by the sense that people have had of being despised or respected by others around them"[63]. The debate on the review of liberal democracies, however, has evolved from communitarian criticism of liberalism to arguments of cultural pluralism, which accepts liberal principles but stresses the need to include cultural diversity or "multiculturality". According to one of its biggest theorists, Will Kymlicka (1995: 11-21), the concept of multiculturality includes two different typologies that can occur simultaneously: national diversity in "multinational states" (in reference to the national minorities that demand recognition and/or inclusion) and ethnic diversity in "poly-ethnic states" (in reference to the inclusion of cultural differences in immigrant ethnic groups). This means that, on a global scale, they are two opposing dynamics[64]: firstly, global systemic integration, mainly economic and informational; and secondly, a socio-cultural, linguistic and ethnic fragmentation based on communities. This challenges the predicted triple death of nationalism: by economic globalization and the international expansion of political

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[61] KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 68-72.
[62] SCHNAPPER, 2001: 135.
[63] TAYLOR, 1994: 64.
[64] BENHABIB, 2000: 31, 33; THOMPSON, 1998:179.

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

Increased individual mobility has led to mass migrations that have produced societies with gradually broader cultural diversities, together with the increase in national identities and the demands of national minorities for recognition[66]. The challenge of multiculturalism, from the point of view of human rights' protection, is to incorporate these ethnic and national differences in a way that is stable and morally defendable[67], ensuring that they do not simultaneously curtail the freedom of their members. Amartya Sen warns of the underlying contradiction in categorizing individuals solely on the basis of their identity (culture, religion, ethnic group and class) and hence reducing multiculturalism to a plural monoculturalism of diverse impervious collectives within the same society. True multiculturalism, he maintains, is that which recognises differences but gives its members the freedom to maintain or change elements of their own culture[68].

Whereas political liberalism focused the question on democracy as a question on the rules of the game and their legitimating bases, the advent of cultural pluralism refocuses the question on requesting solutions for the failure to incorporate minorities. The debate on justice, therefore, becomes a debate on citizenship, under new circumstances where the conditions under which the state had regulated it have changed significantly[69]. Kymlicka's contribution, very relevant to this change in focus, shows how the state adopts elements such as language or internal territorial limits, choosing some and ruling out others[70]; i.e. he considers that the elements adopted by the state do not always match those of the collectives. In some respects, says Kymlicka (1995: 115), the ideal of the state's "benign neglect" when it makes its choice is nothing short of a myth. The decisions taken by governments on language, internal divisions, official feast days and state symbols inevitably recognize, satisfy and sustain the needs and identities of ethnic groups and specific national groups. This argument refutes the alleged liberal neutrality in the theoretical narration of democracies. The case is so strong that democratic liberalism has branched into two ways of understanding it: the first defends an understanding based on universal individual rights with non-discriminatory equality, while the second adds protection and development of certain cultural traits of groups living in the same democracy in the public sphere.

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

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[65] CASTELLS, 2004: 30.
[66] CASTELLS, 2004: 54-56.
[67] KYMLICKA, 1995.
[68] SEN, 2006: 23-29, 156-160.
[69] HELD, MCGREW, GOLDBLATT, and PERRATON, 1999: 326; LINKLATER, 1998: 119.
[70] The state's ability to maintain its chosen options for building national identity is much stronger than what can be done by liberal democracies to alleviate abuse. In fact, without distancing itself from rigorous protection of human rights, a state may demographically alter a minority's territory by encouraging migration – as occurred in Russia and the Baltic Republics in the former USSR – or by changing the territorial limits of minorities to disable them – as France did when it included the French Basque Country and Northern Catalonia into regions that included other departments – or by establishing an official language, making knowledge of it compulsory, promoting it and protecting it (KYMLICKA and STRAEHLE, 1999: 72-76).

hence, a great deal of research has been carried out in this field in recent years[71]. Likewise, the changes brought about by globalization do not necessarily lead to the homogenization of the planet or the disappearance of cultures. However, as Roland Robertson argues, globalization cannot be separated from localization – "global" is increasingly taking on the meaning of "translocal". This is why he suggests the use of the neologisms 'glocal' and 'glocalization', to complement the use of 'global' and 'globalization', given that "globalization has involved and increasingly involves the creation and the incorporation of locality, processes which themselves largely shape, in turn, the compression of the world as a whole"[72].

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

From this standpoint, Linklater (1998: 114, 124) argues that, just as citizenship has been regarded as central for modern states, today it is essential to question the very assumption that citizenship cannot be conceived outside the sovereign nation-state. This is a result of the contradiction between the principle of democratic sovereignty, according to which any person who is not 'national' in a state should be treated differently, and the liberal principle by which all adults must be considered equals. Marta Nussbaum (1996: 7) picks up on the tradition of the Greek Stoics who defined themselves as *kosmou polités* (citizens of the world) to argue the arbitrary nature of national bonds[74]. Hence, she says that a cosmopolitan education would allow recognition of what is non-essential in one's own practices and what other practices exist, in order to increase the options available in a deliberative democracy[75]. The responses of Walzer and Taylor tone down the euphoria of the cosmopolitan discourse, stressing the need for roots. Walzer (1996: 126) remarks that the greatest crimes of the twentieth century have been committed by "corrupt patriots and corrupt cosmopolitans" – in reference to fascist and communist regimes –, and Taylor (1996: 121) adds that "we have no choice but to be cosmopolitan and patriots, which means to fight for the kind of patriotism that is open to universal solidarities against other, more closed". The idea of "global

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[71] ARCHIBUGI, HELD and KÖHLER, 1998.
[72] ROBERTSON, 1995: 40. Along the same lines, Beck (2000: 46) gives the example of large multinational corporations that see their production strategies in terms of "global localization": their executives are convinced that globalization does not mean building factories everywhere, but becoming a living part of each respective culture.
[73] PAREKH, 2003: 11; BENHABIB, 2000; 2002; LINKLATER, 1998: 125-126
[74] "What is it about the national boundary that magically converts people toward whom we are both incurious and indifferent into people to whom we have duties of mutual respect?" (NUSSBAUM, 1996: 14).
[75] NUSSBAUM, 1996: 11.

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

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

Michael Sandel's view (1998: 345) is that governing the global economy requires cross-border institutions, and that, to maintain these, we need a supranational civic identity. But this, he argues, does not involve cosmopolitanism's usual overthrowing of sovereignty and citizenship, but rather the combination of the plurality of communities with a more diffuse understanding of sovereignty[77].

Although there is much controversy over the meanings of "citizenship" in national societies, the controversy over "global citizenship" or "cosmopolitan citizenship" is even greater. As well as considerations on the more liberal or more republican views of citizenship, there are considerations on the effective possibility that we can talk globally of citizenship per se, as a subject of rights and duties, when there are no institutions to guarantee it and no community of solidarity and shared values[78], comparable socio-economic conditions or indeed a language to allow deliberation[79]. And even if there were, Kant warned of the major risk of a world tyranny, a potential consequence of a world state. "Global citizen" status certainly does not exist. Nonetheless, since World War II, a certain international legal framework has existed that affects citizens, starting with the War Crimes Tribunal and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, where agreements are made on economic, social and cultural rights, and which promotes the idea of what can be understood by "world citizenship". The International Criminal Court also acts on the basis of the contents, scope and nature of a universal system of human rights.

Even though many of the negative reactions to the arguments of theorists of cosmopolitan democracy are based on the defence that, although moral principles must be universal in scope, democratic citizenship must be national, few authors deny the need to set up legitimate international political institutions beyond linguistic and national limits – not only to ensure improved governance of economic globalization but also on matters such as security, the environment and human rights[80]. Global civil society organizations, on the one hand, act as a political group of citizens that go beyond the nation-state and can influence the international political agenda. For Nigel Dower[81], there is a great deal of confusion over the concept of global citizenship because it has various meanings. One is the idea that global citizenship is an ethical conception as opposed to the idea that it is an

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[76] SANDEL, 1998: 338.
[77] "Since the days of Aristotle's polis, the republican tradition has viewed self-government as an activity rooted in a particular place, carried out by citizens loyal to that place and the way of life it embodies. Self-government today, however, requires a politics that plays itself out in a multiplicity of settings, from neighborhoods to nations to the world as a whole. Such a politics requires citizens who can think and act as multiply-situated selves. The civic virtue distinctive to our time is the capacity to negotiate our way among the sometimes overlapping, sometimes conflicting obligations that claim us, and to live with the tension to which multiple loyalties give rise" (SANDEL, 1998: 350).
[78] Chapter 5 deals with the theses of INGLEHART and WELZEL (2005) on cultural change around the world and the changes in social values.
[79] KYMLICKA, 2001: 323-326.
[80] See David Held's article and the replies of Will Kymlicka and Alex Wendt in SHAPIRO and HACKER-CORDÓN, 1999: 84-133.
[81] DOWER and WILLIAMS, 2002: 30-40.

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

There is also controversy over whether it is rigorous to speak of "citizenship" when there is no global community able to account for its activities. And then there is the debate over whether the idea of global citizenship is linked in some way to the idea of creating a world government. And lastly, the question is constantly raised as to whether promoting global citizenship is a threat to national citizenship. Academic discussion on the moral and institutional consequences of the different views of global citizenship is much wider[82], but this thesis looks specifically at the combination in World Scouting of the promotion of values of responsible citizenship in the national sphere that are inseparable from the world commitment to peace and what Parekh (2003: 11) calls universal moral duty. So, instead of a more in-depth discussion on the theory of global citizenship, I will now turn to World Scouting's citizenship education.

2. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF EARLIER STUDIES

Numerous academic works have been written on the history of the Scout Movement in many different languages, but there is no systematized database of these works. The offices of the two world organizations – the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) – have catalogued books that they have come upon or which have been sent to them, but there is no comprehensive bibliography. Association 1907[83], an association of Scouting scholars, has created a database of works that have been published on Scouting in French but there is no equivalent in English or Spanish, the other two official languages of World Scouting. Although the aspect of Scouting as a social movement has been studied in depth, there is only one academic study on World Scouting, as far as we know, specifically on the World Organization of the Scout Movement. This is Laszlo Nagy's 1967 "Report on World Scouting"[84], commissioned by the US Ford Foundation when he was Head of Research at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva (Switzerland).

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

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[82] For a thorough theoretical analysis of the concept of global citizenship, see CARTER, 2001 (especially, 147-176).
[83] http://www.histoire-du-scoutisme.com/
[84] NAGY, 1967.

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

2.1. Methodological Nationalism and other Limitations

Apart from Nagy's 1967 study and the book he published almost twenty years later: *250 millions de scouts*[85] (mainly on WOSM), there are no other known academic works on Scouting that cover its world dimension[86]. The decisive influence of the movement's founder Robert Baden-Powell and Scouting's strong national focus have meant that studies analysing its educational methodology and social repercussions generally focus on a single country or, at the very most, compare cases from a handful of countries. A global study would also be very costly, so the possibility has been hampered by funding limitations too. As a result, WOSM's two main academic studies from the last twenty years on the educational implications of Scouting and gender equality are comparisons of three case studies from France, Belgium and Scotland, in the first case[87], and four case studies from Russia, Slovakia, Portugal and Denmark in the second[88], with the obvious limitations of this given that European Scouting represents only a small percentage of the world's total.

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

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

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

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

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[85] NAGY, Laszlo: *250 millions de Scouts* (Lausanne, Éditions Pierre-Marcel Favre, 1984). English version: NAGY, 1985.
[86] The series of speeches published by CHOLVY (2003) also analyses the second half of the twentieth century to an extent, though he uses speeches that mainly concern Francophone and Latin countries. BRÉLIVET (2004) only repeats the history published by Nagy (1985).
[87] TRA BACH, HUBERMAN and SULSER, 1995.
[88] NIELSEN, 2003.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2. Redefining the Historical Framework

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3. Controversies over the Start of Scouting in the UK

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

The studies combine objective elements of the early British Scouting organization with analysis of Robert Baden-Powell's writings. Paradoxically, in a movement in which intuition is much more important than doctrine, the writings of the founder of Scouting, mainly *Scouting for boys* (BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004) but also speeches, articles and manuals (and their interpretation), soon became the source of *Scouting* orthodoxy[91]. As Parsons (2004: 25) very astutely points out, in a way, "Scouting can be compared to a secular religion with Baden-Powell as its prophetlike founder whose writings constituted the core of the Scout canon and whose personal example became the guide for the model behavior". Nagy, however, warns in his report (1967: 16) that,

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

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

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[89] The recent *An Official History of Scouting*, published by the Scout Association UK, has a similar approach (The Scout Association, 2007).
[90] The title of Springhall's article (SPRINGHALL, 1987) is very clear on the issue: "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?".
[91] A thorough and complete collection of quotations by Robert Baden-Powell was compiled by Mario Sica (1984) and this was recently complemented by a specific work on Baden-Powell's thoughts on peace (SICA, 2006).

intentions behind the movement's creation, on whether he was a racist, and on his alleged homosexuality[92]. However, when it comes to analysing a world organization with full decision-making capacity, these biographical aspects pale in significance.

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

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

The controversy surrounding these alleged militarist aims does not undermine Jeal's interpretation (2001), as he sees more civic education content than militarizing intentions in Baden-Powell's Scouting idea[93]. However, my research does not touch

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.5. Socio-Educational Studies on World Scouting

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

The study discusses three main problematic areas, for which it suggests possible solutions. Firstly, those concerning the basic principles. Secondly, problems with the movement's unity. And thirdly, problems with global organization. Given that the Report on World Scouting is the only precedent to this thesis, I use its arguments for comparative purposes in several chapters, particularly those on origins and historical consistency and on ideological consistency – mainly when dealing with the essential characteristics of World Scouting and its recognition policy. Nevertheless, I will now describe the study in general terms and explain its main arguments and conclusions. The first section, "Problem concerning basic principles", begins by pointing out that Scouting is profoundly British in origin but extraordinarily adaptable to many countries, something which proved crucial for defining the world organization that was formalized in 1920. It also deals with the two main axes that Scouting must live with: religion and politics. On the subject of religion, the report explains the difficulty in determining whether religious confessions adopt Scouting for altruistic reasons or in their own interests. An alliance that has traditionally bolstered Scouting, he says, has also been used to allow confessions to increase their membership. Surprisingly, the results of his questionnaire indicated that the majority of confessional and non-denominational Scout associations would choose a more spiritually open form of Scouting[94].

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

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

debate between lay and religious morals, but in finding the path to encourage "truly universal solidarity and brotherhood". In his analysis of Scouting and politics, he observes that the 'apolitical' aspect – in the sense of maintaining a distance from government decisions – is only possible in countries where Scouting is essentially leisure education, but that it is very difficult in developing countries, where nation-building is everybody's responsibility (NAGY, 1967: 33). This idea is taken up thirty years later by Pippa Norris (1999) in her empirical study on critical citizenship. According to this study, while being a critical citizen in Western countries means insisting on answers from democratic governments, critical citizenship in countries in the transition towards democracy involves asserting oneself to guarantee that human rights are protected[95].

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

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

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

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

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

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[96] Tra Bach, Huberman and Sulser, 1995.
[97] Nielsen, 2003.

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

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

CHAPTER 2. ORIGINS AND HISTORICAL CONSISTENCY

1. THE PRECEDENTS OF WORLD SCOUTING (1907-1920)
1.1. An Idea, a Book, and their Background
1.2. The Formalization of a Movement for the British Empire
1.3. British Consolidation and Spontaneous International Expansion
1.4. Peace and the Ideal of the League of Nations
2. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WORLD SCOUTING
2.1. The Period under the Leadership of Robert Baden-Powell
2.2. The Globalization of World Scouting
3. GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN WORLD SCOUTING
3.1. The Assumptions of 'Citizenship' in Scouting
3.2. Values to Perpetuate Society vs. Values to Transform Society
3.3. Global Citizenship

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

1. THE PRECEDENTS OF WORLD SCOUTING

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

1.1. An Idea, a Book, and their Background

It is unanimously agreed that the catalyst for the birth of Scouting was *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship,* a book written by Robert Baden-Powell, a British soldier who gained popularity in Great Britain after he commanded the defence of the South-African border town of Mafeking[2] and made a name for himself among the general public. The work was published in six fortnightly instalments from January 1908 and as a book the following May[3]. Devised as a commercial product by the editor C. Arthur Pearson, magnate of the *Daily Express* newspaper, *Scouting for Boys* became an instant best-seller: of the four editions printed in the first year, there are no surviving details. However, we know that 60,000 new copies were published in the second year[4].

Baden-Powell wrote the book after being asked to do so by William Smith, founder and leader of the Boy's Brigade, a British youth movement with military and Christian overtones. Smith was familiar with Baden-Powell's Aids to Scouting for NCOs and Men,[5] which was very popular among young men although it had been designed as a military thesis[6], and asked its author to adapt the work for adolescents. The publisher, however, intervened to give *Scouting for Boys* a much more commercial edge, to the point that the book actually advertised that "Scout's Badges, Medals, Patrol Flags, and Crests, Tracking Irons, and such articles of Scouts' equipment, can be obtained at low rates on application here"[7].

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[2] In 1899, the town of Mafeking was besieged by the Boers during The Boer War in what is now South Africa. The siege lasted 217 days (from October 1899 to May 1900) and, though of little military importance, it was strongly echoed by the British press at a time when Great Britain was seriously lacking in national victories. When the conflict ended in a British win, Robert Baden-Powell, who commanded the defence of Mafeking, became a national hero. SPRINGHALL, 1987: 934-942.
[3] The serial version was published by Horace Cox, the printer of the *Daily Express*, and the book version was by C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. Both companies were owned by Arthur Pearson.
[4] JEAL, 2001: 390-397; BOEHMER, 2004: xi, xii.
[5] *Aids to Scouting for NCOs and Men* was published in 1899 by Gale & Polden, and was not Baden-Powell's first work on Scouting: he had previously published *Reconnaissance and Scouting* (1884, William Clowes).
[6] PARSONS, 2004: 52.
[7] BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 5-6.

There was, therefore, no great strategy for creating an organization behind *Scouting for Boys*; quite the contrary. In fact, the first edition was "in every part a fragmentary, porous, non-cohesive mishmash of other texts"[8], many of which were his, others of which were not – such as the notes on the North-American Indians, which were taken from Ernest Seton[9]. Filled with exotic tales, games, theatrical works, secret signs and symbols, and written in a style to stimulate adolescent minds, the book combines entertainment with moralizing, as though it were a game. A game that was, in actual fact, a training scheme for adolescents in their leisure time, ready to be adopted by existing British youth organizations like The Boys' Brigade or YMCA[10], or directly by civic groups[11].

The ideological background to Baden-Powell's idea revolved around the social and political tensions of the Edwardian era[12], which included the belief that industrialization was undermining the traditional notions of good conduct and leading to the moral and physical degeneration of the lower classes in the British Empire and the possible decline of the Empire[13]. Given the underlying threat of German invasion and his conviction that British youths were not prepared to defend the nation, Baden-Powell believed that he could propose a model to complement the education received by adolescents at school from an overtly patriotic point of view; a model that would shape their character and teach them initiative and useful skills by means of open-air activities, games, and observation, in a popular, motivating format[14].

Baden-Powell had tested his system six months earlier, in August 1907, when he took a group of twenty adolescents from different social classes to the small English island of Brownsea. There, they camped together in tents, cooking their own food, playing games, learning skills and listening to the exotic tales that he told them. This date is traditionally seen as the start of Scouting[15]. In January 1908, *Scouting for Boys* was published, followed by the boys' magazine *The Scout* in April of the same year, of which an astonishing 110,000 copies a week were published in its first year[16].

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

[9] BOEHMER, 2004: xiii, xliv.

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

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

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

[13] WARREN, 1986: 385-387.

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

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

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

From the first edition of *Scouting for Boys*, we can see that the book is a collage of previous works and diverse materials[17], with no clear doctrinal strategy. According to Warren, "Baden-Powell, no systematic thinker or critic, picked up and dropped social and political concerns as he went along"[18]. Indeed, the emphasis is on the development of the individual's character and the moral influence of the small group—quite the opposite of doctrinal and impersonal training. However, there are constant contradictions: it seeks the complicity of parents, the school, and the church, but criticizes parental laziness, the inconsistency of schools, and the biblical teachings of the Church[19]. Furthermore, the model reveals the desire to shape autonomous individuals yet indicates the importance of obedience and self-discipline[20].

1.2. The Formalization of a Movement for the British Empire

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[17] BOEHMER, 2004: xi.
[18] WARREN, 1986: 387.
[19] NAGY, 1985: 61-62.
[20] MACDONALD, 1993: 150; JEAL, 2001: 413.
[21] BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 36.

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

In the original edition of the book, however, there is nothing to give the Scout's Oath a solemn tone differentiating it from the other elements used to identify Scouts. In fact, after it has explained the Oath, the story continues in an epic and fantastical tone to describe the Scout's Salute and the secret signs that Scouts use[23]. His description of the Scout's Law ("Scouts, all the world over, have unwritten laws...") is clearly only part of the story, since he is not referring to the Boy Scouts (which did not yet exist); instead, he blends fiction and intention with an 'unwritten law' accepted by Scouts all over the world (referring to the explorers, the characters in the story).

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

In September 1909, twenty-one months after the book was published, Pearson (the book's publisher) sponsored a rally at London's Crystal Palace after spotting a burgeoning business opportunity in the initiative. To the surprise of its organizers, led by Baden-Powell, 11,000 boys who considered themselves Scouts turned up at the rally[25]. Baden-Powell described this spontaneous growth in an interview in 1937:

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

Of course, this description does not mention the original link between the structure of Scouting and the militarist Boy's Brigade, with which Baden-Powell later severed ties having previously accepted the vice-presidency of the organization[27]. So, the

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[22] BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 44-46.
[23] "[The scout's salute and secret sign consists in] the three fingers held up (like the three points of the scout's badge) remind him of his three promises in the scout's oath". The Scout's Badge is mentioned two pages earlier: "The scout's badge is the arrow head, which shows the north on a map or on the compass. It is the badge of the scout in the Army, because he shows the way: so, too, a peace scout shows the way in doing his duty and helping others" (BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 37, 34). The Salute and Badge are still part of Scout symbology around the world today.
[24] NAGY, 1967: 17.
[25] NAGY, 1985: 63-64; REYNOLDS, 1942: 150.
[26] BADEN-POWELL, 1937.
[27] ROSENTHAL, 1980.

London rally in 1909 marked the start of a process to set up a Scouting organization, with the territorial help of the ecumenical Christian organization, the YMCA[28] (which hoped that the Scouts would become members of their organization once they reached adulthood) and with the continued financial support of the book's publisher[29].

There are three probable reasons for the success of Scouting. Firstly, its historical opportunity. The idea came about when the concepts of 'youth' and 'leisure time' emerged in the West and when the countryside and living with nature were favoured over life in industrial cities[30]. Secondly, the project had the thorough complicity of institutions with social and political authority in Great Britain, i.e. the monarchy, the army, school, and the church – a complicity that would be replicated in many other countries. And lastly, the civic proposal of *Scouting for Boys*, the work of reference in the early days of Scouting and throughout its history, was heterogeneous and relatively ambiguous; this heterogeneity not only encouraged a wider acceptance, but also paved the way for the later international expansion of the idea.

The above ambiguity explains the wide social support for Scouting and is the reason why, as Nagy indicates, we should not be surprised that the movement has been accused of being militaristic by some and pacifistic by others; that many have regarded Scouting as overly-religious, but churches have criticized its lack of religious content (only two of the 300 pages of *Scouting for Boys* discuss religion), or that the Labour party accused it of promoting values that that helped to keep the Conservatives in power, while the Tories attacked it for its socialist overtones[31].

1.3. British Consolidation and Spontaneous International Expansion

Just three months after the Crystal Palace rally in December 1909, the Boy Scouts Association was set up with an astonishing 108,000 members and Baden-Powell himself as president. A year later, in 1910, the Girl Guides Association UK was created with 6,000 members and Baden-Powell's sister Agnes as president[32]. In 1909, Baden-Powell was knighted by King Edward VII and, spurred on by the latter, retired from the army the following year with the rank of general so that he could dedicate his time exclusively to Scouting.[33] When Scouting was formalized as an organization, the Scout Promise and Law formed an inseparable tandem that became the focal point of Scouting ideology, despite their relative relevance in *Scouting for Boys*[34]. The methodological system of Scouting, designed for adolescents, had a 'Law' in the form of a shared code of values and a 'Promise' in the form of an act of voluntary adherence to these principles[35], an element of self-

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[28] WARREN, 1986: 388-389.
[29] ROSENTHAL, 1986: 52; WARREN, 1987: 388; JEAL, 2001: 400.
[30] COLTON, 1992: 4.
[31] NAGY, 1985: 68. JEAL (2001: 413) adds that its adaptation to the Edwardian idea of working towards 'national efficiency' was ambiguous enough to be well received by both the conservative Tories and the social democrat Fabians.
[32] NAGY, 1985, 64; JEAL, 2001: 471.
[33] JEAL, 2001: 422; NAGY, 1985: 47.
[34] JEAL, 2001: 393-394
[35] NAGY, 1985: 183-184.

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

The code of conduct set down in the Scout Law is a social code that benefits others rather than the person who adopts it. It is a set of rules designed to produce better citizens and, hence, better neighbours[36], with a series of principles that would later become essential for maintaining the ideological unity of the movement. Precisely because of the growing importance of these principles after the movement's formalization, Baden-Powell and the British association made a series of gradual changes to the Scout Law text. Firstly, in 1911, they added a tenth point with moralizing overtones: "10. A Scout is pure in thought, in word and in deed". In 1912, they added a reference to parents in points 2 and 7, exceeding the limited confidence in their example at the time in England; in 1917, they added a reference to individuals "under" Scouts, in response to criticisms from socialist circles; and in 1938, they changed "Officials" for "Scouters" in point 2 and rearranged the text. So points 2 and 7 ended up as: "2. A Scout is loyal to the King, his country, his Scouters, his parents, his employers and to those under him. 7. A Scout obeys orders of his parents and his patrol leader or scout master without question". Finally, in 1934, as I have already mentioned, 'country' and 'creed' were added to point 4 (which came into effect in 1938), a change that would prove particularly significant later on: "4. A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other scout no matter what country, class or creed, the other may belong"[37].

The educational ideology of Scouting, therefore, came about after its emergence, during a militarizing period and in opposition to this trend, independently of its origins[38]. Hence, in parallel to the development of active learning, Scouting takes the form of a type of training for citizens that is mainly educational, though it does not rule out elements of patriotism and religious commitment[39]. The educational role of Scouting was stressed by its founders in the years prior to 1914, when the accusations of militarism multiplied. In fact, the development of its own educational method based on individuals that encouraged them to reach their full potential distanced it from military mass discipline. Moreover, it was around this time, between 1911 and 1914, that England received the influence of the modern ideas of the Italian feminist and educator Maria Montessori and her "learning by doing" philosophy, very similar to the method that Scouting was intuitively developing. The ideological link between Scouting and the innovative liberal currents of educational renewal was quickly pointed out[40]. Back in 1914, Baden-Powell

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[36] REYNOLDS, 1942.

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

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

[39] WARREN, 1986: 392-393.

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

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

In 1916, a few years after its introduction, the method was extended to the pre-adolescent age range ('Wolf Cubs' or 'Cub Scouts', and a mood was set around Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book*[42]; for girls, the term 'Brownies' was used[43]). In 1922, it was extended upwards to the post-adolescent age range ('Senior Scouts' or 'Rovers'[44]), while 'Scouts' remained the term used for those aged 12 to 15. Although they initially had a certain degree of autonomy, these ranges eventually became sections[45] or age groups within the same movement.

Many believe that Robert Baden-Powell decided to create a parallel organization for girls when, at the Crystal Palace rally in 1909, he saw that some girls had come who considered themselves Scouts[46]. Nonetheless, earlier documents of Baden-Powell explicitly indicate that girls could be Scouts. In his 'Boy Scouts Scheme' of 1907, the first document outlining the Scouting project, he wrote that it was the basis "for an attractive organization and valuable training for girls"; and in an article in 1908 he said: "I think girls can get just as much healthy fun out of Scouting as boys can ... and prove themselves good Scouts in a very short time"[47].

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

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

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

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

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

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

[45] JEAL, 2001: 31, 500-501, 516.

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

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

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

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

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

In 1912, Robert Baden-Powell married Olave Saint Claire Soames, who was 23 years old at the time[54]. Two years later, in January 1914, the first edition of the *Girl Guides Gazette*, the official girl-guiding magazine, appeared[55]. Olave quickly replaced Baden-Powell's sister Agnes at the head of the girl guides, since she was much younger, more active and sporty, and her ideas were closer to those of her husband. She wrote at the time that: "Girls must be partners and comrades rather than dolls"[56]. In 1915, Robert Baden-Powell became President of the Girl Guides Association and in 1918, Olave became the new Chief Guide. Later on, she would become the absolute world leader[57]. Also in 1918, Robert Baden-Powell published *Girl Guiding. The Official Handbook*[58], to replace the book published with his sister in 1912.

To reiterate what we said earlier, Baden-Powell had not intended to create an organization – either in Britain or on an international scale – when he published *Scouting for Boys*. However, just as it had spread across England, Scouting and, to a lesser degree, Guiding, began to expand quickly and immediately to the rest of the British Empire and the entire world. In fact, the heterogeneity of the original idea and the various ways in which it can be interpreted also help to explain how a product designed to revitalize the British Empire could have such a successful immediate reception in societies as diverse as Chile, France, Malaysia, and Japan. Nonetheless, both in Britain and abroad, its propagation was accelerated by the implication of government institutions acting on their commitment to the service of citizens, given that these values of order were held in high regard by society[59]. Not only did Scouting spread to the British Empire (Ireland, Canada, Australia, New

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

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

[52] JEAL, 2001: 471-487.

[53] KERR, 1932: 90-93

[54] JEAL, 2001: 428-442.

[55] KERR, 1932: 99.

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

[57] JEAL, 2001: 473, 476 (469-487).

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

[59] PARSONS, 2004: 5-7.

Zealand, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and India, between 1908 and 1909)[60], but also to Chile, Denmark, the United States, and Russia (1909), Brazil, France, Finland, Germany[61], Greece, and Holland, (1910), Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Sweden, Malaysia, and Singapore (1911), etc. [62] An untrammelled growth both in extension and name that went hand-in-hand with the spread of *Scouting for Boys*: by the end of the 1920s, two decades after it was first published in London, it had already been published in twenty-six countries – not including editions printed in the British Empire[63].

This inadvertent international expansion was given a cautious welcome in London. According to Laszlo Nagy, Baden-Powell suggested that applications for membership from areas not under British jurisdiction were rejected. However, in the October 1911 edition of the *Scout Headquarters Gazette*, he suggested the idea of setting up a foreign affairs department to maintain contact with Scouts throughout the world. It marked the dawn of a movement, but not of an international organization[64].

As Sica explains, Baden-Powell did not regard the international proliferation of Scouting as a 'strange coincidence', as though it were a mere generalization of an institution with a social purpose. In fact, he refused to patent the term for the exclusive use of British Scouting and gradually abandoned the idea of producing citizens of the Empire in favour of a more internationalist discourse. It also evolved in this direction because Baden-Powell had travelled to many countries – and continued to do so – with a Liberal vision that represented a stark contrast to the expansionist nationalism of continental Europe, preoccupied with its frontiers[65].

In the summer of 1913, the first 'international' Scout camp was organized near Birmingham, with an attendance of 30,000, most of whom came from British territories, though some also hailed from European countries and the United States[66]. Moreover, each and every one of the first ten editions of *Scouting for Boys*, up until 1922, was edited to expand and globalize the social and cultural references of the text in order to make Great Britain less obviously the centre of the Scout world[67]. However, the world was on the brink of a great war and tension was in the air. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa, compulsory military training was introduced in schools, generally in the form of cadet corps, and it seemed only a matter of time before Britain did the same[68]. We know that Baden-Powell, in an early attempt to prevent the absorption of the movement, tried

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

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

[62] WOSM, 1990.

[63] JEAL, 2001: 396.

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

[65] SICA, 2006: 16-17.

[66] NAGY, 1985: 65, 76.

[67] BOEHMER, 2004: xliv.

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

to convince the authorities that Scouting could be a good form of indirect preparation for this type of training[69]. His case was backed up by the fact that many of those in charge of the British organizations and its Scoutmasters and leaders were also soldiers. This is a key issue in the historiographic debate to which I referred earlier regarding the military origins of the British Scout Movement.

When war broke out, the process to define Scouting was in full swing and the movement was still learning how to run itself. Its structural and ideological basis was too weak for the size to which it had grown. With origins that lay in romantic tales of frontier explorers, World War I was a reality check for the Scout Movement that rocked its foundations[70].

1.4. Peace and the Ideal of the League of Nations

As Nagy explains, in the summer of 1914, millions of young men from all sides went to war believing that they were fighting for a noble cause and a better world. Amidst the patriotic and nationalist fervour, there was no room for nuances[71]. In Great Britain, around 150,000 of the young men mobilized for the war were or had been Scouts, and 10,000 of these died[72]. Many were Scoutmasters (leaders). Many other Scouts – boys and girls – carried out auxiliary tasks and services. But this was not the only setback for the new movement. For example in 1911, in Germany, later the enemy of the British, 80,000 Germans considered themselves Scouts. By the time war broke out, *Scouting for Boys* had already been translated into German and close contact had been established between the British organization and the Germans[73].

After such a bloody conflict between countries, it was highly likely that the international aspirations of Scouting would be reduced to ashes. And yet, once the war was over, the movement did not wane; on the contrary, its numbers increased – Great Britain had almost 200,000 Boy Scouts and, just a few years later, almost half a million Girl Guides[74]– and it had a presence in thirty or so countries. Boys in British Scouting were mainly from the middle to lower-middle classes, rather than the lower class[75].

Sica believes that World War I and the international expansion of Scouting and its possibilities were the main reasons why Baden Powell changed the register from citizens of the empire to the ideal of citizens of the world[76]. The war showed him the first-hand effects of a full-scale conflict on young people. The vision of a soldier trying to maintain the stability of the Empire was transformed into that of a civil activist committed to avoiding another armed conflict by firmly distancing Scouting

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[69] SPRINGHALL, 1987.
[70] JEAL, 2001: 448-456.
[71] NAGY, 1985: 79.
[72] SICA, 2006: 17.
[73] JEAL, 2001: 449, 453.
[74] JEAL, 2001: 485.
[75] SPRINGHALL, 1971: 138-141.
[76] SICA, 2006: 16-18.

from nationalist tendencies with expansionist ambitions[77]. In a text on "Scouting as a peace agent" from 1917, he wrote:

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

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

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

This was the first time that the idea of an international organization of countries had been put forward to replace war as a way of resolving conflicts. The League of Nations was eventually established at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, under the Treaty of Versailles "to develop cooperation among nations and to guarantee them peace and security". Despite an unfortunate sequence of events starting with the veto of the US isolationists to stop the United States ratifying its creation, followed by its inability to put a stop to the expansion of Japan, Italy, and Germany, the League of Nations was an important precedent for the idea of peace as a political objective and laid the ideological foundations of what in 1945 would become the United Nations Organization[83].

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[77] PARSONS, 2004: 54; NAGY, 1985: 82.
[78] Quoted in REYNOLDS, 1942: 190-191 (the italics are mine).
[79] BADEN-POWELL, Robert (1919): *Aids to Scoutmastership*. London: Herbert Jenkins.
[80] BADEN-POWELL, [1919] 1949: 21.
[81] COLLIS, HURLL and HAZLEWOOD, 1961: 97. Quoted in JEAL, 2001: 511 (the italics are mine).
[82] DiNUNZIO, 2006: 406.
[83] United Nations Library, 1983.

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

> "I need scarcely say how, in common with most people, I am anxious to do anything to make the League a living force.
>
> "[…]. Through the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement we have already instituted […] the training of young citizens of the different countries to think in terms of peace and good will towards each other, so that the League of Nations shall, in the next generation, be *a bond between peoples rather than a pact between Governments*.
>
> "We have now over a million young members in the different civilised countries, all working under the same Scout Law and ideals, looking on each other as brother and sister members, and in a great number of cases interchanging letters and visits.
>
> "Next year will see a great International Conference of these boys and girls in London.
>
> "So I hope that our aims and doings will commend themselves as all in the direction in which your society is moving"[84].

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

2. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WORLD SCOUTING

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

The definitive move to organize Scouting as an international movement came in the summer of 1920. It should be noted at this point that the aims and ideology of Baden-Powell had changed radically since 1908. Firstly, there was the link to the active learning discourse, particularly in relation to the teaching methods of Maria Montessori and the rejection of militarism. Secondly, more emphasis was placed on the need to develop one's own criteria while the notion of obedience was relativized[85]. Thirdly, it had a patent international vocation, related to the ideal of the League of Nations, which was one of the consequences of the international Scout network that was being spontaneously created. Lastly, and closely related to the previous point, was the permanent commitment to peace, also a consequence of the profound impact of World War I. Although these elements, which I will discuss in subsequent chapters, were the foundations for the formalization of World Scouting, we should remember that many countries set up associations based on the early British model. This meant that there was an ambiguous tension in many

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[84] Archives of the Scout Association UK, Box "Co-operation-League of Nations", Chief Scout to Lord Mayor of London, 23 September 1919. Quoted in SICA, 2006: 23 (the italics are mine).
[85] "And so it is in almost every problem of life; individual power of judgement is essential, whether in choice of politics, religion, profession, or sport, and half our failures and three-quarters of our only partial successes among our sons is due to the want of it. We want our men to be men, not sheep". BADEN-POWELL, 1912.

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

The meeting originally planned for 1918 was finally held in London in August 1920, with 8,000 Scouts from 21 independent countries and 12 British dependencies[86]. It was the first International Jamboree[87], which has since been held regularly and become the icon of the movement. It was at this rally that Robert Baden-Powell was appointed Chief Scout of the World by acclamation, an honorific title that only he has held since then. Although the Jamboree was essentially an adolescent gathering, the first International Scout Conference was held there in the presence of thirty-three Scout organizations from diverse countries and it was agreed to create an international organization, the 'Boy Scouts International Bureau' (BSIB)[88]. That same year, the permanent secretariat was set up and, two years later, the organization was formally constituted in Paris[89]. Scouting now had a million members worldwide.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS)[92] was finally established on the suggestion of Robert Baden-Powell at the Fifth International Conference of Girl Guides (Hungary, 1928). Delegates from 26 countries were present at the conference and the association was given a similar organizational structure to that of the world Scout organization: a permanent secretariat (the Bureau), an elected International Committee with nine members (the executive body) and a plenary International Conference of national associations (the governing body). Robert and Olave Baden-Powell were registered as non-voting members of the International Committee. In 1930, Olave Baden-Powell was elected World Chief Guide, the equivalent to her husband's title in male Scouting. By 1931, Guiding had a million members around the world[93], though mainly in English-speaking countries[94].

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

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[91] "Report on the Activities of the International Bureau 1920-1922", typed document presented to the International Committee in 1922, Pg. 1. World Scout Bureau Archives (Geneva).
[92] Unlike in male Scouting, there was no confusion between the name of the international organization and the permanent secretariat in Guiding. As I will explain later, male Scouting solved this problem in the 1960s, when it changed its name from the Boy Scouts International Bureau to the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM).
[93] WAGGGS, 1997. 15.
[94] In the words of Robert Baden-Powell in 1928, "Of the forty countries possessing Girl Guides or Girl Scouts only ten have over five thousand members, and six of these ten are British. ... Outside the British Empire and the United States of America, the Movement is still in an embryo state as regards strength". "Memorandum by the Founder on the Report of the World Conference", p. 2. Appendix to the "Historical Report of the Conference which took place in Hungary, May 1928". World Bureau Archives, WAGGGS.

the world[95]. Baden-Powell's enthusiastic commitment to the League of Nations as a way of securing world peace is also evidenced by various statements. Just after the 1920 Jamboree, where it was agreed to set up the International Organization, Baden-Powell published an article in *The Scout* explaining the structure and aims of the League of Nations. In it, he lamented the absence of the United States but expressed his conviction that they would end up becoming members. He also openly encouraged Scout groups to work together to promote the League of Nations Union: "probably a local branch exists in your town; if so, you should ask the secretary if you can help him in any way, such as distributing handbills for meetings"[96].

According to Sica[97], during the first few years of World Scouting, Baden-Powell attempted to make the organization into a sort of League of Nations youth movement but came up against the staunch opposition of the Committee of the Council, the executive body of the Boy Scouts Association UK, which considered the British League of Nations Union to be a "political organization". In fact, some of the latter had even opposed the organization of the International Jamboree in 1920. The tensions between the ideals of the movement and the interests of its 'stakeholders' has also been a constant throughout Scouting history.

The creation of the world organizations led to the establishment of an official international approvals system for Scouting, which became all the more necessary when, in 1923, for example, the League of Nations assembly encouraged governments to facilitate the mobility of "recognized associations" of Scouts and Guides: the Austrian government said that it did not know what "recognized association" meant in the context of the resolution[98]. After the formalization of the movement, it would be a democratically operated international organization (the Boy Scouts International Bureau or the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts) that would officially approve the membership of Scout or Guide associations. Scouting had grown too big to allow imitations to use its 'brand' for other purposes. In 1924, for example, the Boy Scouts International Bureau rejected German Scouting's request for international recognition on the grounds of associative atomization and unclear drafting of the Law, Promise and Constitution[99]. According to Jeal, the refusal was also due – at least in part – to the fact that "the German [scout] movement was too militaristic, too nationalistic and overly expansionist in the wrong directions since it was attempting to absorb Austrian

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

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

[97] SICA, 2006: 21-28.

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

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

Scouting"[100]. And neither German nor illegalized Italian Scouting obtained international recognition until the end of World War II[101].

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

The world conference agreements can be discerned from the "resolutions", which were the official stances approved by the majority. For example, Resolution 1/22 of the First World International Conference (Paris, 1922) established that "each nation should have six votes", in reference to member organizations. If we analyse other resolutions passed at the Paris Conference, we can see the first steps towards establishing a series of common standards. Under the title "Membership, Voluntary", Resolution 11/22 notes that Scouting membership must be voluntary: "it is undesirable that Scouting should be made compulsory". Resolution 12/22 deals with the need to guarantee the unity of the movement and avoid the fragmenting of associations within single countries[104]. From very early on, then, the world organization tried to ensure that each country had only one association, based on the British model, instead of generating federations of associations, which was the French model later copied by many Latin countries[105]. In 1919, the Boy Scouts Association (UK) set up a training school for Scoutmasters at Gilwell Park, near London. In 1922, with the launch of the Boy Scouts International Bureau, this training school became the world reference for approved training of Scoutmasters and trainers of Scoutmasters around the world[106].

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

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[100] NAGY, 1985: 102.
[101] Vegi's JEAL, 2001: 543-553, on relations between Baden-Powell and the Boy Scouts International Bureau and the fascist and Nazi regimes in Italy and Germany, respectively.
[102] BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 26.
[103] "'It is glorious to feel that my country is the greatest on earth; that our soldiers were in war the bravest and ever victorious against all odds; that our women are the most beautiful in the world; as also it is with our country and its scenery and climate; that in art and science, in manufacture and invention, it is the men of our nation who have led the way. And when one looks at the people of other countries, how strange and eccentric they are'. That is the kind of talk that most of us have heard; but to which nationality did the speaker belong? Was he Briton or Italian, German or American, Chinese or Swede ? in truth he may have been any one of them, since people of all countries have been apt to give expression in that way to their patriotic pride. [...] The worldwide crash of war has roughly shaken us all and made us awake to the newer order of things. No longer is one nation better than another". Published in *Jamboree*, January 1921; quoted in SICA, 1984: 156; and SICA, 2006: 19-20.
[104] WOSM, 1985: 1.
[105] See the section on national federations in Chapter 3.
[106] NAGY, 1985: 83-85; PARSONS, 2004: 55-56.

established the national, international, and universal character of the Scout Movement. At the same time, in order to silence criticisms that it was lacking in religious content, at the request of Catholic representatives[107], it expressed its non-confessional ecumenical commitment[108]. This resolution contains the two identifying elements that Scouting has tried to emphasize throughout its history, and their counterweights: national identity balanced out by international expansion, and faith balanced out by ecumenism. Scouting, therefore, did not wish to become a lay movement[109] without national identities; it was a movement committed to the spiritual dimension of the individual and the role of religion[110] where dialogue between religions was possible and where national identities were the way forward – as opposed to the impediment – to building what we now know as a 'model of global or cosmopolitan citizenship'.

So, in just over ten years, Scouting had changed from a training idea to a British youth movement, and from this to an international organization of national Scout associations determined to stamp out excluding nationalist tendencies from among its members. In 1924, the International Conference refused to recognize German Scouting, pointing out that, although it wished to increase the number of members of the world organization, "to ensure that the World Movement shall have as its unalterable foundation the recognition of Scout brotherhood, regardless of race, creed or class" it established "[t]hat there should be no discrimination as to admission to membership of fellow subjects or citizens for any reason of race, creed or politics" as a condition for recognition[111]. This condition was established with the full knowledge that public institutions in many countries with Scouting discriminated on grounds of race, creed, or ideology.

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

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

[108] "The Boy Scouts International Conference declares that the Boy Scout Movement is a movement of national, international and universal character, the object of which is to endow each separate nation and the whole world with a youth which is physically, morally and spiritually strong. It is national, in that it aims through national organisations, at endowing every nation with useful and healthy citizens. It is international in that it recognises no national barrier in the comradeship of the Scouts. It is universal in that it insists upon universal fraternity between all Scouts of every nation, class or creed. The Scout Movement has no tendency to weaken but, on the contrary, to strengthen individual religious belief. The Scout Law requires that a Scout shall truly and sincerely practice his religion, and the policy of the Movement forbids any kind of sectarian propaganda at mixed gatherings". WOSM, 1985: 3 (Resolution 14/24, "Principles of Scouting").

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

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

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

Kingdom, Hungary, Iraq, Japan, Poland, Romania, Siam, Spain and Yugoslavia[112]. We should remember that these were the years of the Great Depression, which began in 1929 and mainly affected the United States, Europe, and the British Empire; it was also the period in which nationalism took root in Germany, Italy and Japan, and marked the decline of European colonialism in general and the fragmentation of the British Empire in particular[113]. Against this backdrop, World Scouting tried to set down a series of rules on its operation that would stabilize the new international organization. It therefore dealt gradually with the tasks of defining a 'national' organization, the limits of patriotism, the regional scope of associations or the role of national minorities, and, later on, displaced groups.

However, the rise of fascism and its aggressive nationalism was also a threat to the ideological stability of the Scout Movement. The regenerationist discourses of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, who were admired somewhat in many Western countries during the 1920s[114], overlapped with part of the discourse of Scouting: Edwardian values such as duty, discipline, and self-sacrifice, suspicion of industrialization, rejection of Soviet communism, love for one's country and culture, the importance of physical exercise, the romantic invocation of explorers...[115] We need to remember that World Scouting was only just starting to develop its structure at this time and that many countries had 'unrecognized' Scout associations that interpreted Scouting as they saw fit[116]. As a result, it was established that the international organization would have to approve the text of the 'Promise' and the 'Law' of each country, as a means of ideological approval and a way of making the acceptance of shared values more explicit, with the additional obligation of notifying any changes. Associations were also encouraged to legally protect uniforms and identifying signs against fraudulent use[117].

In countries with totalitarian regimes, though, the situation was more complicated than the straightforward fraudulent copying of the Scout appearance. In 1917, when the Soviet Union was established, there were 50,000 Scouts in Russia. In 1922, the Scout Movement was banned and replaced by the Young Pioneer movement, which was controlled by the Communist Party and the members of which included former Scouts with Bolshevik sympathies[118]. However, many others went into exile and set up a Russian Scout association there, internationally recognized by WOSM from 1928 to 1945[119]. In Italy, Mussolini decided to absorbe Scouting into the fascist youth organization *Balilla* in 1927. The non-denominational Italian Scouting association, set up in 1912, founded the international organization

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

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

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

[115] JEAL, 2001: 549-550.

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

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

[118] CHARQUES, 1932: 506.

[119] NAGY, 1985: 94.

in 1920, but was put under the high patronage of the Head of State after 1915[120]. In the early 1930s, the Nazis also outlawed Scouting associations, none of which were internationally recognized, and gradually incorporated their members into the *Hitler-Jugend* (Hitler Youth)[121]. To summarize, in the Axis countries, the regime banned Scouting (Italy after 1922, Germany after 1933, and Japan after 1941, together with fascist Spain after 1939) and replaced it with indoctrinating official youth movements controlled by the regime, but which imitated the Scout appearance. The same occurred in the Soviet Union after 1922 and in the occupied Baltic states and Soviet republics as they were formed, with the single exception of Poland[122].

The Scout appearance and activities were copied in the fascist and communist regimes at a time when the Scouting 'brand' was still being 'registered' in many countries, and this led to a confusion that still exists today regarding the Scout Movement's alleged proto-fascist past[123]. According to Kroonenberg, the Nazis even copied the uniforms and neckerchiefs of Scouting and made arrangements for the *Hitler-Jugend* to be internationally recognized as *the* German Scout Movement[124]. Beyond the apparent similarities of the time, particularly in their appearance, all the evidence indicates the opposite. The regimes of all these countries had outlawed Scouting, not only in their own country but also in those occupied by their forces during the war, though we do know of cases of organized resistance by local Scouting in many[125].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Along these lines, the 1937 International Scout Conference in Hague (Holland) officially modified one of the points of the Scout Law, adding the references to brotherhood between countries: "A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what *country*, class, or creed the other may belong"[127]. It also approved a very explicit resolution on "Patriotism", declaring that the International Committee,

> "be requested to do all that it can to ensure that Scouting and Rovering in all countries, while fostering true patriotism, are genuinely kept within the limits of international cooperation and frienship, irrespective of creed and race, as has always been outlined by the Chief Scout. Thus, any steps to the militaryzation of Scouting or the introduction of political aims, which might cause misunderstanding and thus handicap our work for peace and goodwill among nations and individuals should be entirely avoided in our programs"[128].

In that same year, 28,000 Scouts had congregated for the 5th International Jamboree, which took place in Holland. It was preceded by Hungary in 1933, with 25,000 participants; England in 1929, with 50,000 participants; and Denmark, with 4,500 participants. Only seventeen years had passed since the first Jamboree, when the Boy Scouts' International Bureau was set up. To all intents and purposes, the International Jamboree had become the practical representation of the international nature of the movement: adolescents from all over the world coming together under the principles of Scouting. In July 1939, the 10th International Scout Conference was held in Edinburgh. Shortly afterwards, war broke out and international activity was paralysed. In most of the countries that took part in World War II, whether actively or passively, Scouting played a role in the organized resistance to state oppression, both in the countries that were occupied and in those of the attackers[129]. Neutrality took on a new dimension – and not only in Scouting: there were limits that could never again be accepted.

Robert Baden-Powell retired from Scouting in 1937 and died in 1941. In the six years of international conflict, while Scouting was being persecuted in the occupied countries, the Boy Scouts International Bureau was paralysed and there was no external coordination for associations. The death of the founder, promoter, and inspirer of the Scout Movement occurred at the height of the war, in the midst of a social crisis, mass population movements, and the imposed paralysis of the international Scout structure. Everything suggested that Scouting had been caught in a downward spiral, especially since it remained prohibited for many of its adult members, or, at the very least, that it had been severely weakened[130]. But this was

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[126] NAGY, 1985: 102.
[127] The word in Italics, *country*, was added to the existing *class* and *creed*. NAGY, 1985: 106.
[128] WOSM, 1985: 15 (Resolution 15/37, "Patriotism").
[129] See ST GEORGE SAUNDERS, 1948.
[130] NAGY, 1985: 111.

not the case. The International Committee met in London in November 1945[131], where two important agreements were reached. Firstly, the date and venue of the International Jamboree and Conference, that were supposed to be held in 1941, were arranged: they would take place in 1947 in France. And secondly, the decision was made to separate the Boy Scouts International Bureau from the headquarters of the Boy Scouts Association UK and was carried out that same month[132].

Only three of the seventeen European countries with recognized Scouting had remained neutral. Yet, as work began on the reconstruction of the international movement, it was clear that it had gained newfound strength: at the start of the war, Scouting had just over 3.3 million members while the 1947 census revealed that it had 4.4 million members in 43 countries, despite the demise of eleven associations. If we compare the censuses of 1939 and 1947 (in thousands), we see that Scouting doubled in Argentina (from 5 to 10), Denmark (18 to 36), France (94 to 211) and Sweden (23 to 51), and tripled in Belgium (17 to 53), Greece (12 to 41), Holland (36 to 116), and Czechoslovakia (20 to 67). In India, membership increased from 285 to 414 thousand, in China, from 315 to 570 thousand (in 1941)[133] and Britain's figure of 600 thousand was maintained. However, almost half of the total 4.4 million members were from the US Scouting organization, which had grown from one million two-hundred thousand members in 1939 to two million in 1947[134].

The reasons for Scouting's success in the United States could include the fact that the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) had adapted the British model to produce a successful, typical American product[135]. Tying in with the original idea that Baden-Powell had before the Boy Scouts Association UK was established, the United States association does not carry out activities directly; instead, sponsoring institutions with an interest in children's welfare, such as churches, schools, trade unions, parents' associations, Rotary Clubs, voluntary firemen, etc. who carry out the activities and the Boy Scouts of America provide them with everything they need. US Scouting was also responsible for professionalizing Scouting management and using academic research as a mechanism for updating the association[136]. The practical approach of the US Scout model, designed to encourage skills acquisition, contrasted with the more intellectual European model, which put education before entertainment. The balance between these two approaches – one pragmatic, based

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

[132] NAGY, 1985: 116-117.

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

[134] ST GEORGE SAUNDERS, 1949: 246-7.

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

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

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

The international stage following World War II was in stark contrast to the one that had followed the 1914-1918 war. A world organization, the United Nations, was set up with similar political principles to the League of Nations[137], but with a stronger moral message following the defeat of fascism. Both the United States and the Soviet Union signed the UN Charter together with a further 49 countries. The United Nations is structured around a General Assembly (its governing body) in which all member countries have the right to vote, a permanent secretariat, and a Security Council (its executive body), which has five permanent members (the countries that won the war: United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China) with the right to veto and a further ten members elected by the General Assembly for a two-year mandate. An important conceptual change was introduced with the structure of the United Nations: not all countries were equal. To accept the legitimacy of the United Nations was to accept the power of the countries with greater military power, albeit within a framework of common principles that were reinforced three years later when the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

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

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

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[137] See GOODRICH, Leland M. (1947): "From League of Nations to United Nations". International Organization, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Feb., 1947): 3-21. The Preamble to the United Nations Charter, signed on 26th June 1945 in San Francisco (United States), asserts:
"We the Peoples of the United Nations determined
– to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
– to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
– to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
– to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,
and for these ends,
– to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and
– to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
– to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
– to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,
have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.
Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations". *Charter of the United Nations and its Preamble*, Department of Public Information, United Nations: http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter**/**
[138] Preamble, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: United Nations General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948 (http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html).

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

In this context, Scouting was outlawed in the countries annexed to the Soviet Union, together with others in the socialist sphere of influence: Poland, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria, and later on, North Korea, Czechoslovakia, China, and Cuba[139]. But the International Scout Movement continued to grow with new recognized associations, not only Federal Germany (accepted in 1950), but with many countries outside Europe, largely because of decolonization. While in 1922, just 9 of the 31 Scout associations were non-European, by 1955 only 18 of the 56 recognized associations were from Europe[140].

2.2. The Globalization of World Scouting

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

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

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

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

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

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[139] NAGY, 1985: 123; *cf.* KROONENBERG, 1998.
[140] NAGY, 1985: 129; *cf.* BOY SCOUTS INTERNATIONAL BUREAU, 1954
[141] WOSM, 1985: 25 (Res. 27/49); the French version says: "Nous nous mettons de nouveau au service des principes de la liberté et de l'indépendance des peuples et des nations …" (p. 26).
[142] WOSM, 1985: 39 (Res. 18/55)
[143] WOSM, 1985: 57 (Res. 12/67).

regions. The International Bureau and Committee also became increasingly multicultural and multiracial during this period: the first Asian member of the International Scout Committee was elected in 1931, followed by the first Arabic member in 1951 and the first African in 1961[144].

Scouting also played a vital role in the processes of decolonizing and nation building. The in-depth study of Timothy H. Parsons (2004) on the role of the Scout Movement in British colonial Africa reveals the two faces of the movement outside Europe: its early days as a means of social control of the colony, introduced and managed by the colonial authorities, and its subsequent use by the colonized societies, first as a way to achieve greater equality[145] and form troops, then as a form of social protest, and finally, as an instrument for national construction during decolonization[146]. At the 1959 International Scout Conference in New Delhi, Pandit Nehru, then leader of the non-aligned countries, recognized the importance of Scouting and its excellent possibilities for third-world countries in his welcome address[147].

Although the Scout Movement spread across the world very early on, its operation and planning capacity were far from those of a world organization. True globalization required a solid strategic base, so the United States Ford Foundation decided to fund a study to help the movement with this challenge. In 1965, the Ford Foundation directly commissioned the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva with a study on the situation of World Scouting. The head of research at the Institute, a Hungarian exiled in Switzerland, was chosen to prepare the report, which was published two years as the "Report on World Scouting", presented in 1967[148]. One of its conclusions was the suggestion that the 'director' figure of the World Bureau be changed for a 'secretary general' with more executive powers, and it was this position that the Boy Scouts International Bureau offered to the study researcher, Laszlo Nagy, appointed secretary general in 1968. He started out in a very different situation to the current state of affairs:

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

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

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

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

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

[147] NAGY, 1985: 139.

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

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

communication, and research, and set up a committee of operations for quality and growth headed by the former president and executive manager of IBM. The International Conference held in Japan in 1971 approved the incorporation of community development into the Scout programme: in 1972, the first world seminar was held on this issue in Cotonou (now Benin) and 1973 saw the first world seminar on the environment, held in Sweden. Around this time, new forms of Scouting were also being explored so that they could be adapted to contexts such as that of rural Africa. It was also agreed to replace the term 'international' with 'world': at the World Scout Conference of 1973 (Kenya), in the framework of wider constitutional reforms, the name 'Boy Scouts International Bureau' was changed to the 'World Organization of the Scout Movement' (WOSM)[150]. At the 1977 conference, the fundamental principles of the constitutional text were reworked[151]. This was also the year of the death of Olave Baden-Powell.

Notable changes to the WOSM Constitution in 1977 included a new definition that did away with the words 'boy' and 'adolescent' and kept only 'young people', on the pretext that the latter term included the other two, though it was a move that clearly opened the door to the progressive entry of girls in many countries[152]. In diverse countries, WOSM and WAGGGS member associations were gradually merged or joined to create new associations with dual membership. WOSM and WAGGGS have called these 'Scout and Guide National Organizations' (SAGNOs) since the mid-1990s[153].

Despite the vitality of the movement, membership in industrialized countries began to slump. According to Nagy, Secretary General of WOSM at the time, the reasons for this drop included "inadequate leadership, failure to adapt programmes to modern requirements, a sombre economic climate, a drop in the birth rate, dissident factions". However, the decline in membership in Europe and the United States was offset by a spectacular increase in membership in developing countries. In 1968, industrialized countries accounted for three quarters of the world census, and over half of all members hailed from English-speaking countries. But by the mid-1970s, industrialized countries had become the minority and Asia alone accounted for half of the world Scout population. This naturally had repercussions on the content of educational programmes[154].

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

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[150] The conference, committee and bureau were all changed to 'world' instead of 'international'.
[151] WOSM, 1985: 73 (Res. 1/73), 93 (Res. 20/77). NAGY, 1985: 150, 153, 158, 162.
[152] As stated in the document detailing the changes made, "Further development, both as regards the specification of the age and the sex of the young people, was a matter which should be left to each National Scout Association". "Document 2: 'The Purpose, Principles and Method of the Scout Movement'. Proposed revision of present Chapter II of the World Constitution. 26th World Scout Conference" (Montreal, Canada, 1977: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1977: pp. 12-13.
[153] "Document 10: 'Policy Concerning Scout and Guide National Organizations (SAGNOs)' 35th World Scout Conference" (Durban, South Africa, 1999: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1999.
[154] NAGY, 1985: 163.

the United Nations, rights would not depend on size, though voting rights would be restricted in some cases[155].

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

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

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

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

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

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

a result[158]. The new situation in these countries after the prohibition was lifted led to an astonishing resurgence of Scouting, especially considering that it had been banned for forty years; Scout associations were quickly set up in Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia (and the countries it was later divided into), the Ukraine, Armenia[159], Albania, Estonia, and Lithuania, all of which were swiftly given international recognition[160]. The resurgence of Scouting in Eastern Europe came as a surprise and was the first time since WOSM had extended membership to girls that new possibilities for rapid territorial growth had been discovered. In just a few years, twenty-three new countries[161] joined World Scouting: either WOSM, WAGGGS, or both at the same time. This led to competition between the two world organizations for recognition of the new associations, to the point that WOSM opened a delegation in Crimea in 1993 to deal with the membership of new associations, and created the "Eurasian" region in 1997 to cover the countries of the former Soviet Union, which were incorporated into the European region for WAGGGS.

The 1990s were in fact marked by the strategic updating of the two world organizations and the attempt to merge them by many European associations, mainly members of both organizations[162], and the corresponding counter-reaction. As part of this process, a joint Scout and Guide region was set up in Europe in 1995, with just one committee and one bureau, though it broke down three years later due to the fragility of the basis of its attempt at unification. The other part of the process was the World Scout Committee's decision in 1997 not to recognize any new SAGNOs (associations where girls paid their fees to WAGGGS and boys to WOSM), followed by the agreement of the World Board, WAGGGS in 1998 not to recognize any new associations with boys as members. The idea was to mark out a clear profile for the two organizations and avoid competition. These strategic stances were rounded off by a suggestion from the World Board, WAGGGS in 1999 to merge with WOSM, which its own World Conference rejected in 2002, thus reinforcing its separate identity as an essentially female organization. Nonetheless, the WAGGGS/WOSM Consultative Committee was set up in 2001 to liaise between the two world committees of the organizations for the study of possible areas of collaboration.

In 1997, the cautious international public stance of the two world organizations gave way to a new formula more akin to advocacy: the Alliance of the CEOs of four large youth organizations (WOSM, WAGGGS, YMCA, and the YWCA[163]), of the Red

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[158] KROONENBERG, 1998: 65, 99-100.

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

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

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

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

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

Cross[164] as a major humanitarian movement that focused on young people, and the International Award Association, a worldwide youth programme, which were joined in the year 2000 by the CEO of the International Youth Foundation, the largest international foundation aimed at young people. World Scouting used this alliance as a platform for indicating its stance on long-term policies affecting the world in general, though as a 'declaration' by its technical managers, not through the agreement of the world conference or committee. The first declaration made by this Alliance (1997) was to raise awareness of non-formal education, a concept that had already been defined by UNESCO, and to ask governments to extend their educational policies beyond school; the second (1999), was to request long-term national youth policies; the third (2001), to promote the role of women for a society with equal opportunities; the fourth (2003), to promote an initiative for the whole of Africa to unite against HIV/AIDS, which has since been put into practice, and the fifth (2005), was on the participation of young people in decision-making processes[165]. These documents indicate a much more committed approach to taking a public stance on topics affecting government policies, with World Scouting adopting the role of an advocacy group.

Although women still have a meagre presence in WOSM[166], the firm policy to achieve equality between genders led to the decision in 2002 to choose a female chair of the World Scout Committee for the first time, who also happened to be the first black chair: the Senegalese Marie-Louise Correa. In Asian countries, Scouting is increasingly linked to schools through voluntary but recognized extracurricular activities, which has led to spectacular growth. Indonesia is an extraordinary example of this: by linking Scouting and state schooling, it has reached 8.9 million members (2003), almost 30% of the world WOSM total.

3. GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN WORLD SCOUTING

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

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[164] The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.
[165] Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005.
[166] A comparative study from 1998 shows that girls represented 4.1% of WOSM, though it has been open to both sexes since the 1970s, while the "exceptional" presence of male members of WAGGGS was 0.16% of the total. "Fact-finding Study (WOSM/WAGGGS)", document submitted by John Beresford, Chair of the Constitutions Committee of WOSM, to the World Scout Committee, 7th October 2000: p. 11.

3.1. The Assumptions of 'Citizenship' in Scouting

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

Scouting emerged at a time when nationalism was flourishing. As MacKenzie (1986: 3) explains, at the end of the nineteenth century, "in the emergence of the new nationalisms, 'state, nation, and society' converged, and the elite which promoted this convergence created new rituals, a whole range of invented traditions and cults through which it could be communicated to the public"[167]. British Scouting – and also that of most of the countries that introduced it in the first quarter of the twentieth century - is clearly an instrument of this "convergence". There are another three sociological factors that fostered the birth of Scouting: the emergence of 'youth' as a separate stage; the extension of the concept of leisure or free time, and greater appreciation of nature and the countryside as opposed to life in the industrial city. This is in addition to three assumptions of Victorian society by which it was conditioned: the theory on the progress of civilizations, secularized religious moralism and democratic tradition. In turn-of-the-century England, there was widespread acceptance of the theory of progress[168], according to which some communities are more advanced than others, both in different countries and civilizations and within single countries – in reference to social class. This theory was the ideological basis of British imperialism, the mission of helping to civilize the world, and it can be seen in early writings on Scouting in England. Secondly, there was strong religious moralism even though, unlike in Catholic countries, it was not dictated by any religious power – like the Vatican – since the monarch is the head of the Anglican church in England. And thirdly, there was a long tradition of British democratic parliamentarianism whereby the monarch's legitimacy derived from loyalty to the institutions and good governance, where democratic practice

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[167] And he adds that, in Britain, "the nationalist convergence took a distinctively imperial form in defence of real and imagined colonial interests" (MACKENZIE, 1986: 3).
[168] There are five premises underpinning the theory of progress: 1. Belief in the value of the past; 2. The conviction that Western civilization is noble and thus superior to others; 3. Acceptance of the worth of economic and technological growth; 4. Faith in reason and the scientific and scholarly knowledge obtained through it, and 5. Belief in the intrinsic importance and the ineffable worth of life on earth. NISBET, Robert A. (1998): *History of the idea of progress*. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 317.

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

All these elements can be found in the basis of Baden-Powell's methodological proposal in *Scouting for Boys* in 1908 and his idea of "good citizenship", and more specifically in the Scout 'Law' and 'Promise' tandem[169] which, as I will explain further in Chapter 3, became the point of reference for the principles of the Scout movement that had to be voluntarily accepted in order to become a member, in the form of a shared and voluntarily accepted code of values. As Nagy argues (1967), the British context is essential for understanding the references to loyalty, the King and God, as this was a society that, despite the moralizing influence of the Edwardian era – and the Victorian period before it – had strong liberal foundations[170]. Thus, the creation of the British Boy Scouts Association in 1909 became a point of reference for the immediate imitation of the model in many countries around the world: an association under the protection of the king as patron, and which had the cooperation of the Church and public institutions, including schools and the army.

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

(*a*) As regards the link to active education experiences, cross references between Baden-Powell and Maria Montessori show how Baden-Powell tied in the practice of Scouting to Montessori's idea of active learning and how Montessori recognized the important educational role of Scouting's methodology[171]. Beyond the view of Scouting as a method of instruction, the similarities (WONESCH, 1999) between Baden-Powell's Scouting method and aims and Maria Montessori's active

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[169] The 1908 text of the "Scout oath" says: "Before he becomes a scout a boy must take the scout's oath, thus: 'On my honour I promise that: 1. I will do my duty to God and the King. 2. I will do my best to help others, whatever it costs me. 3. I know the scout law, and will obey it'". (BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 36). The "Scout Law" text is: "1. A Scout's honour is to be trusted. 2. A Scout is loyal to the King, and to his officers, and to his country, and to his employers. 3. A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others. 4. A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what social class the other belongs. 5. A Scout is courteous. 6. A Scout is a friend to animals. 7. A Scout obeys orders of his patrol leader or scout master without question. 8. A Scout smiles and sings under all circumstances. 9. A Scout is thrifty". (BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 44-46). These two texts were amended several times in subsequent editions up until the end of the 1930s and excessively nationalist references were deleted (SICA, 2006: 16). See Section 1 of this chapter.
[170] "If the service which was required of the boys was for God, it was for the God of a multi-confessional and tolerant society; if loyalty to the King was asked for, it was faithfulness to a monarch who reigned rather than governed". NAGY, 1967: 17.
[171] JEAL, 2001: 413-414; WONESCH, 1999.

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

(*b*) Secondly, and closely related to the grafting of active learning currents, we find that Baden-Powell places an increasing emphasis on the need for adolescents to develop their own personal criteria, in contrast to blind obedience. World Scouting explicitly stressed that its role was not to instruct the masses, like the army did, but to form the individual's character[172], a topic that I will discuss in Chapter 5. Thus, the apolitical nature of Scouting's proposal meant independence from – rather than absence of – criteria on public life.

(*c*) Thirdly, Scouting's international vocation emerges in parallel to its geographical expansion across the British Empire. While Parsons (2004) has already shown how the creation of Scout delegations in British dominions was initially designed to maintain loyalty to the Empire, this same expansion took place in many other countries where, even before 1912, associations imitating the early British Scouting model were set up, from Chile to Denmark, the United States, Russia, Brazil, France, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Malaysia and Singapore[173]. According to Sica (2006: 17), the international expansion of the Scouting project and the impact of World War I are what trigger Baden-Powell's "internationalist conversion". The result of this conversion was the disappearance of the idea of cultural or national superiority and the appearance of the explicit statement that loyalty to one's own country was inseparable from brotherhood between countries and that, as a result, there could be no discrimination on grounds of class (as established in 1908), race or origin.

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

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[172] "The aim of Scouting training is to improve the standard of our future citizenhood, especially in Character and Health; to replace Self with Service, to make the lads individually efficient, morally and physically, with the object of using that efficiency for service for their fellow-men" (BADEN-POWELL, [1919] 1949: 33-34). One of Baden-Powell's biggest critics, Michael Rosenthal (1984), concludes from the analysis of the Scout Law and Promise of the first edition (1908) of *Scouting for Boys* that the aim was not to develop the individual, "except as that development is seen as a product of absolute submission to all officially endorsed forms of authority". In contrast, we only need to read Baden-Powell's 1912 article in the *Headquarters Gazette* of the Boy Scouts Association UK, 'The Other Fellow's Point of View', to see that he regarded the need for personal criteria as far more important than simply accepting the official political or religious discourse: "[.. .] Justice and fair play do not always form part of our school curriculum. If our lads were trained as a regular habit to see the other fellow's point of view before passing their own judgement on a dispute, what a difference it would at once make in their manliness of character! ... Such lads would not be carried away, as is at present too commonly the case, by the first orator who catches their ear on any subject, but they would also go and hear what the other side has to say about it, and would then think out the question and make up their own minds as men for themselves. … And so it is in almost every problem of life; individual power of judgement is essential, whether in choice of politics, religion, profession, or sport, and half our failures and three-quarters of our only partial successes among our sons is due to the want of it. We want our men to be men, not sheep". BADEN-POWELL, 1912: 162.
[173] WOSM, 1990.

through the communal education of diverse countries: the idea of universal Scouting brotherhood. The impact of World War I proved decisive for the adoption of this stance, but so did the informal international dimension that Scouting had taken on before 1920. Thus, the explicit, militant commitment of Baden-Powell to the internationalist project of the League of Nations, with the opposition of the conservative figures on the Committee of the Council of the Boy Scouts Association UK[174] is possibly the first important precedent for the friction between two often conflicting interests in Scouting: the interests of patriotism – which did not always fit in with the early British liberal-democratic idea in other countries – and the interests of cosmopolitanism – on which the 1920 World Scouting proposal was based. In fact, the cultural nationalism that characterized British Scouting[175] could already be seen in the Scouting idea in the respective countries even before World Scouting was organized. The fact that Scout associations were set up in many countries on the basis of the early British model long before 1920 created the paradox that both visions are based on texts written over the years by Baden-Powell. As a result, throughout this thesis, I stress the importance of keeping in mind the positions and practices of the world organizations after their creation in 1920, since these do not contain the contradictions we come across in some cases.

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

The British Scouting formalized in 1909 with the Boy Scouts Association adopted the values from *Scouting for Boys* that were aimed at "good citizenship", which essentially meant active and socially acceptable behaviour, based on "good turns" – a Scout is active in doing good, not passive in being good[176]. If we look, for example, at the book's reference that there be no millionaires or people living in poverty, an example of socialist thinking, we see that this is offset against the liberal fear that socialism could make life a form of slavery for everybody[177]. Thus, his conclusion reveals a certain caution that was appreciated by those who defended the established order: "It is easy to pull down; the difficulty is to do so without damage to the country. We ought to begin by building up on a sounder foundation before destroying the old"[178]. The four big changes described above in Baden-Powell's pre-1920 thinking – active education, individual criteria, international expansion and peace – generated a series of referents in practice for

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

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

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

[177] JEAL, 2001: 413.

[178] BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 298.

the improvement of society that went far beyond merely doing good turns. The idea that no country, race, culture or religion is superior to another[179] and observance of the ideals of the League of Nations left no room for neutrality on expansionist nationalism, racial discrimination or religious fanaticism. The role of the two world organizations was crucial here in preventing these tendencies, present in many countries at diverse points in their contemporary history, from being incorporated into the corresponding Scout or Guide association.

Many of the thirty or so countries that met in London in 1920 to agree on the creation of the Boy Scouts International Bureau had, emulating the British association, been given the explicit support of their supreme state institutions, thus combining apoliticism with institutional loyalty. Just as King Edward VII was patron of the Boy Scouts Association of the UK, in many countries, this position was held by the head of state: the monarchy in Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and Spain; the president of the Republic in Italy and the United States, and the governors of the Empire in the British colonies. This is still the model in place today, as explained in WOSM's document on Governance: "notwithstanding the independence of the National Scout Organisations, in many cases national authorities play a relevant role in Scouting, and the Head of State is often recognized as the Patron of local Scouting in a country"[180]. Even in modern South Africa, where Scouting was introduced as a colonial instrument and was internationally conflictive during apartheid, President Nelson Mandela agreed to be the patron in 1994[181]. Nonetheless, the protection of state institutions did not change Baden-Powell's idea of an independent, self-regulated and voluntary Scouting, whether as regards the public schooling system or the massive resources invested by Fascist countries around Europe (Germany, Italy and Spain) in indoctrinating youth movements, having suppressed the existing ones – including Scouting[182]. The official protection that Scout associations had and continue to have in many countries adds an interesting aspect to their goal of global citizenship. Like the League of Nations, World Scouting was consolidated by a permanent combination of national loyalty and a clear sense of global belonging.

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

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[179] BADEN-POWELL, 2006: 59-61.
[180] "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 13.
[181] PARSONS, 2004: 256.
[182] JEAL, 2001: 545.
[183] WOSM, 1985: 9 (Resolution 9/31).

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

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

The liberal-democratic background to the concept of citizenship in Scouting actually ended up sparking contradictions in discrimination and authoritarianism, both in the British colonies and in other countries. In a 1936 article on Scouting in South Africa, for example, Baden-Powell explains that, in a society totally segregated into black, Indian and white races[184], "our policy of Scouting being open to all "regardless of class, creed, or colour" was found to be impossible in practice", but the attempt of one sector to make Scouting for whites only was impeded and a federation was set up with three branches, one for each ethnic group, with a view to abolishing segregation in the future[185]. The values of Scouting have thus become values of social transformation in that they have been adapted to societies other than the British context and adopted by sectors of resistance to the established order, whether on issues such as national identity or anti-colonialism, opposition to dictatorships, assertion of the civil rights of ethnic groups, assertion of gender equality or opposition to the discrimination of homosexuals in the United States[186].

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

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

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

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

firstly, we have the moral phase of the utopian socialists and initiatives of Victorian charity; secondly, social mobilizations led by workers' movements, not exempt from important social conflicts, and lastly, the phase of political reforms, in which the modern parties institutionalized social rights and, particularly in Europe, created the welfare state. Scouting emerged during the phase of social mobilizations and perhaps this is why it was very cautious with anything that could generate conflict: a Scout had to be above class divisions and, in consequence, above the class struggle. This does not contradict the fact that, as I explained earlier, Baden-Powell was sympathetic to socialist ideals. However, when the USSR decided to outlaw Scouting shortly after the Russian Revolution of 1917 and replace it with the Pioneers – with the same aesthetic and methodological elements[187] – Baden-Powell turned against communism[188]. The USSR's decision to ban Scouting, which was followed by all communist regimes during the twentieth century, meant that Scout associations after World War II were clearly on the opposite side to communism, underlining the concept of freedom. A document published jointly by the Scout and Guide associations of the United Kingdom in 1951, "A Challenge to Scouting: The Menace of Communism", advised their members to fend off the attack of communism on religious faith and the established order. Nonetheless, the conclusions also left room for philosophical and socialist thinking, like that of early Scouting documents:

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

In addition to its rejection of totalitarianism in communist regimes, World Scouting's idea of citizenship was influenced by two major issues after World War II. Firstly, after the creation of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted[190] in 1948. And secondly, there was a concern that the argument of neutrality had allowed the rise of totalitarian movements like Nazism, as occurred in the 1930s. The latter is perhaps the main criticism of the Scout movement made by Herbert Lewin (1947*b*), the New-York psychologist who studied the indoctrination of the Hitler Youth and compared it to the citizenship education model of US Scouting:

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

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[187] CHARQUES, 1932: 506.
[188] JEAL, 2001: 544-547.
[189] The Boy Scouts Association, 1951: 9.
[190] *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: United Nations General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948 (http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html).
[191] LEWIN, 1947*b*: 172. As I will explain later, Lewin (1947*a*) makes it clear that there is a big difference between Scouting, which educates in freedom, and the Hitler Youth, which indoctrinated through obedience. Professor Farrell (1998, 2001) concurs with him and states that, based on his knowledge of

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

The answers to these questions are as diverse as the situations they are asked about. The position of the world organizations, after the exceptions of recognizing Russia and Armenia in exile, was not to recognize Scout associations as members in countries where it was not allowed, though contact was maintained if they existed illegally. Individually, each Scout acted on the basis of his/her own understanding of "active citizenship". Associations did not have a consistent role either. In the Fascist Spain of the 1940s, for example, while Spanish Scouting sought to connive with the regime, the illegalized Catalan Scouting organized itself to resist it[192], as was also the case in Italy[193]. On a similar note, the Consejo Directivo de Scouts de Argentina recently made a statement harshly condemning the dictatorship of the 1970s and inviting its members to organize activities to recover the collective historical memory and celebrate the democratic system[194]. In decolonization, on the other hand, as Parsons (2004) has shown with Africa and Nagy (1967, 1985) has explained, Scouting played a key role as an instrument of social construction: infrastructures, collective identity, nation-building, national elites, etc.

The constitutional amendment approved by WOSM in 1977[195] added the concept of "responsible citizen" to the purpose of the Scout Movement, a step beyond that of "active" citizen in assuming that responsible citizens have the ability to analyse, apply their own criteria and distinguish what is positive from what is negative. It also explicitly stated that the reference communities of this responsible citizenship

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

[192] BALCELLS and SAMPER, 1993: 137-138.

[193] VERGA and CAGNONI, 2002.

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

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

were local, national and international. These two concepts are now set down in the constitutional purpose of World Scouting, for both WOSM and WAGGGS[196].

3.3. Global Citizenship

The cooperation to development was introduced as part of the strategic action of World Scouting in the 1970s, in the light of the new world stage resulting from decolonization (with many new World Scouting member countries) and the progressive 'globalization' of Scouting, i.e. an increased understanding of it as a movement of global action through local action. The introduction of development cooperation closed the conceptual local-global circle of social involvement that began with the "good turn" in 1908. Hence, the concept of social involvement in World Scouting came to consist of four progressive lines that mark out a logic of service to the community with actions from local to global level:
  – Community service
  – Community development
  – Development education
  – Cooperation for development[197].

However, Scouting is essentially an educational movement, so cooperation and other actions organized by groups locally and associations nationally must be seen as educational tools. Nevertheless, World Scouting is not exempt from the increased involvement of international NGOs and associations in the global agenda. During the 1990s, many international NGOs that had traditionally adopted a cautious stance of apoliticism began to play a more active public role, particularly because of the impetus of diverse United Nations summits held in this decade, including those on the environment (Rio, 1992), human rights (Vienna, 1993), population (Cairo, 1994), social development (Copenhagen, 1995), women (Beijing, 1995), and the respective 'parallel summits' organized by international movements of civil society[198]. The organization of the World Social Forum by diverse international NGOs, held for the first time in Porto Alegre (Brazil) in 2001 as a response to the World Economic Forum in Davos, is an example of this.

The positions of WAGGGS and WOSM on the issue have changed substantially over the last ten years. In the mid-1990s, there were initiatives by Jacques Moreillon and Lesley Bulman, then the top executives of WOSM and WAGGGS[199], to create an alliance with other top executives to adopt a public stance in favour of non-formal education. The result was the document 'The Education of Young People: A

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

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

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

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

Statement at the Dawn of the 21st Century'[200], which was followed by documents on national youth policies (1999), girls and young females (2001), the situation in Africa (2003) and the participation of young people (2005)[201]. Technically speaking, these documents were not signed by the organizations; they were statements made by their CEOs. Moreover, the model of an alliance with diverse organizations not only reinforced the public image, it also reduced possible apprehension at a statement coming exclusively from World Scouting. Nevertheless, the changes did not end here. There was a feeling that, in the words of Lesley Bulman in 2006,

> "although we have done a lot for girls and young women over the years, we have concentrated very much on the project element – in some safeish areas. We have not really been an advocate in the full sense of the term for girls and young women. And we certainly haven't spoken out publicly on their behalf. In fact, nine years ago I was told very clearly by the Chairman [of the World Board] that we were not an advocacy[202] organisation"[203].

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

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

WAGGGS' stance has been boosted by a thus far unheard-of initiative: a direct survey to over 6,000 girls and young female WAGGGS members in one hundred different countries, the results of which led to the 2005 world campaign "Girls Worldwide Say", an overt advocacy campaign[205].

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

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

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[200] Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1997.
[201] Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005.
[202] The term 'advocacy' in citizens' organizations refers to the pressure that these organizations bring to bear on institutions, governments and corporations to change their behaviour, based on the public interest and not on the private interests of the members of the organization. SKOCPOL, 2003: 142-144.
[203] 'Why advocacy?' Lesley Bulman's speech to the WAGGGS advocacy working group in London, May 2006. Archive of the Chief Executive of WAGGGS.
[204] "Many member organisations that in the past have been quite nervous about speaking out on controversial issues are now asking WAGGGS to be more vocal on many issues. They are confronting HIV and AIDS – this involves many member organisations tackling sex and related subjects that in the past would have been taboo – or certainly would have made them very nervous. Even such sensitive subjects as FGM [female genital mutilation] are being tackled by some member organisations. I felt really proud at the last World Board meeting when the statement on HIV and AIDS which states quite clearly that we believe that girls need access to all the information available on HIV-AIDS prevention – condoms, the lot, – was passed unanimously". *Ibid.*
[205] The responses to this huge survey discussed mainly health issues, of which seven were chosen: "fight AIDS"; "make healthy food choices"; "prevent adolescent pregnancy"; "it is important to talk about sex"; "let's talk about the danger of drugs"; "ban smoking in public places"; and "discover your potential". An example of how this advocacy campaign was organized is WAGGGS' public stance of supporting agreements made by diverse governments to ban smoking in public places, indicating that 83% of the 6,000 girls surveyed agreed with the initiative and asked for compliance with the World Health Organization Framework Convention on Tobacco Control.

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

WOSM's attitude towards advocacy is also changing, though not as overtly as WAGGGS. In 2004, the worldwide *Scouts of the World* project was launched[207] to encourage young people all over the world to get involved in achieving the Millennium Goals of the United Nations in 2000. In early 2005, strict criteria were established for working with corporate partners and WOSM explained that it would not allow partnerships with organizations whose actions conflicted with the principles of WOSM[208]. Moreover, a recent press document issued by the World Scout Bureau explains how the social impact of Scouting is two-fold, with "global advocacy" and "local action", and mentions the possibility of launching some form of advocacy initiative in the future:

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

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

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[206] *Advocacy Guidelines* document, WAGGGS, 2007.
[207] Circular 33/2004, World Scout Bureau, November 2004.
[208] Circular 4/2005, World Scout Bureau, January 2005.
[209] 'Scouting's Social Impact: 28 million young people are changing the world'. Presspack, Doc No. 3, Version 31.05.2006. WOSM press document: World Scout Bureau.