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Department of Political and Social Sciences

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

by

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

1. ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS

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

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

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

² WOSM, 1992.

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

⁴ WOSM, 1998: 1.

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

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

1.1. Definition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a) *Movement*

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

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

¹⁰ BADEN-POWELL, [1919] 1949: 7.

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

¹² WOSM, 1998:19.

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

¹⁴ NAGY, 1985: 82.

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

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

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

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

b) Educational

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

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

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

¹⁵ WOSM, 1992: 2.

¹⁶ NAGY, 1985: 158.

¹⁷ WOSM, 1992: 2

¹⁸ Quoted in WOSM, 1992: 2.

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

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

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

c) Independent and self-regulated

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

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

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

d) Institutionally organized

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

²⁰ Alliance of Youth CEOs, 1997: 6.

²¹ WOSM, 1992: 3.

²² NAGY, 1985: 142.

²³ DELORS, 1996.

²⁴ WOSM, 1998: 30.

²⁵ WOSM, 1998: 30.

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

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

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

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

e) For young people

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

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

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

²⁶ WOSM, 1998: 31.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

f) *Non-partisan*

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

³⁰ WOSM, 1998: 21.

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

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

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

³⁴ WOSM, 1998:22-23.

³⁵ NAGY, 1967: 15.

³⁶ WOSM, 1983: Article 1.1.

³⁷ WOSM, 1992: 2.

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

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

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

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

g) Voluntary membership

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

³⁸ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1.

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

⁴⁰ WOSM, 1998: 28-29.

⁴¹ WOSM, 1998: 24.

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

The United Nations Volunteers offer a more accurate definition:

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

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

h) Open to everybody without distinction

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

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

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

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

⁴⁴ WOSM, 1998: 25.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2. Purpose and Missions

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

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

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

⁴⁹ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1.

⁵⁰ WOSM, 1983: Article 1.2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3. Principles

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

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

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

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

⁶¹ BADEN-POWELL, 2004 [1908].

⁶² JEAL, 2001: 392-394.

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

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

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

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

"The Boy Scouts International Conference declares that the Boy Scout Movement is a movement of national, international and universal character, the object of which is to endow each separate nation and the whole world with a youth which is physically, morally and spiritually strong.

It is *national*, in that it aims through national organisations, at endowing every nation with useful and healthy citizens.

It is *international* in that it recognises no national barrier in the comradeship of the Scouts.

It is *universal* in that it insists upon universal fraternity between all Scouts of every nation, class or creed.

The Scout Movement has no tendency to weaken but, on the contrary, to strengthen individual religious belief. The Scout Law requires that a Scout shall truly and sincerely practice his religion, and the policy of the Movement forbids any kind of sectarian propaganda at mixed gatherings"⁶⁵.

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

⁶³ NAGY, 1985: 184.

⁶⁴ WOSM, 1998: 16-17.

⁶⁵ WOSM, 1985: 3 (Resolution 14/24).

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

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

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

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

The Scout Promise

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

The Scout Law

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

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

⁶⁷ WOSM, 1985: 9 (Resolution 12/33).

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

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

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

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

Original Promise

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

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

or

God and my country;

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

Original Law

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

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

"The essence of Duty to God is the acknowledgment of the necessity for a search for a faith in God, in a Supreme Being, and the acknowledgment of a Force higher than man, of the highest Spiritual Principles". "The essence of Duty to Country is the acceptance of the concept of responsibility to the communities in which we live". "The essence of Service is the acceptance of the practices of helpfulness to others". "The essence of the Law is: Duty to others and to the Brotherhood of Man; Self-discipline; Respect for all living things"⁷².

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

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

⁷⁰ WAGGGS, 1999: Article II.

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

⁷² WAGGGS, 1997: 19-20.

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

"The Scout Movement is based on the following principles:

- *Duty to God*

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

- *Duty to others*

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

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

- *Duty to self*

Responsibility for the development of oneself"⁷⁴.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁶ WOSM, 1992: 5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁸ WOSM, 1992: 5.

⁷⁹ NAGY, 1967: 39.

⁸⁰ NAGY, 1985: 93-94.

⁸¹ WOSM, 1992: 5.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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

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

1.4. Method

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

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

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

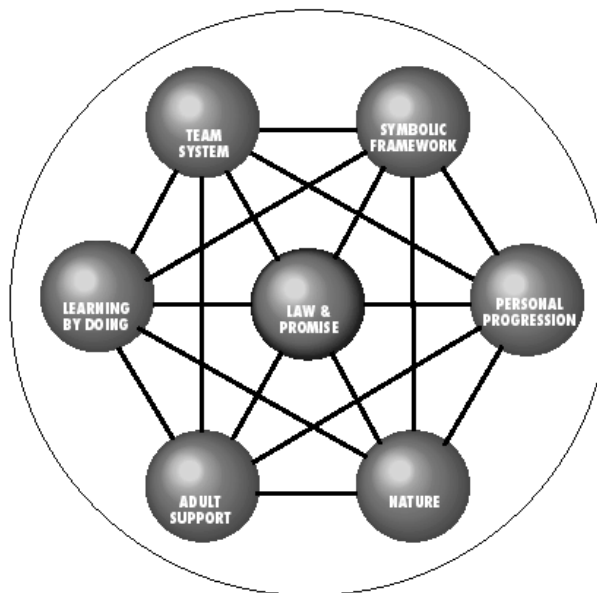
⁸⁴ WOSM, 1985: 9 (Resolution 9/31, "Scout Promise").

⁸⁵ WOSM, 1998: 8.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

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

Figure 1: Elements of the Scout method



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

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

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

⁸⁸ WOSM, 1998: 8.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹³ "Fact-finding Study (WOSM/WAGGGS)", document submitted by John Beresford, Chair of the Constitutions Committee of WOSM, to the World Scout Committee, 7th October 2000: p. 11.

⁹⁴ WOSM, 1998: 8-9.

2. OPERATION AND STRUCTURE

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

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

2.1. Network Operation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

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

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

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

Figure 2

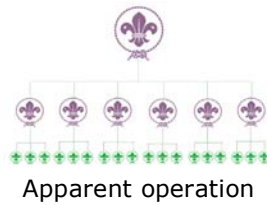
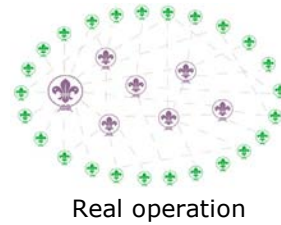


Figure 3



Source: World Scout Foundation, 2002

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2. Democracy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁷ WOSM, 1983: Article V.3 a).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹⁶ Alliance of Youth CEOs, 2005: 4.

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

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

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

2.3. Local Level: Scout Group

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹²⁰ SKOCPOL, 2003.

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

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

2.4. National Organization

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

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

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

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

¹²³ WOSM, 1983: Article VI, 3 d).

¹²⁴ "Appendix", WOSM Constitution.

¹²⁵ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

Although Scouting initially spread at local level¹²⁶, with 'troops' or small groups that would later be named the Scout groups, the national element was fundamental in the formation of the movement. *Scouting for Boys* was a tool for British patriotism; patriotism in the civic sense of the word, i.e. the attitude of public service and loyalty to one's community that is expected of responsible citizens. So, this patriotism could be easily adapted to any other country. This national element, in a Westphalian international context with the nation-state as the unit that guaranteed rights, democracy, and common life, led Baden-Powell to formalize the creation of an association¹²⁷, taking Great Britain and the British Empire as his scope, for the Boy Scouts Association (1909) and for the Girl Guides Association (1910). As I said in the section on History, beyond the fact that each domain or 'country' of the Empire created 'branches' of the British association, all Scout associations created before and after 1920 were within the scope of a nation-state. The formalization of representatives for contact between national organizations took place early on, in a resolution of 1922 on the unity of the movement:

"The Conference decided that wherever possible, in the best interests of the boys of all nations, every reasonable effort be made for an amalgamation of the various associations in any one country and if this be impracticable, the various associations concerned arrange amongst themselves for the selection of one International Commissioner to do business with the International Bureau"¹²⁸.

The *International Commissioners* gradually became responsible for 'diplomatic' relations between Scouts in different countries, not just for national federations, and were put in charge of contact with other member associations and with the world organization itself. Thirty-five years later, Resolution 7/57 considered it "essential that member countries should at all times have an international commissioner ... concerned with relations between his association and those of other countries and with permanent liaison with the International Committee and Bureau"¹²⁹. It also suggested that each association in a federation should have one, and recommended that this person should also be a member of the corresponding national council or board.

Although this is still the case today, the emergence of information and communication technologies has had a major impact on these practices. Many local Scout groups can contact groups in other countries via their websites, which, until ten years ago, was only possible by letter correspondence and with the mediation of the international commissioners, due to the exclusive nature of the information. The '*Governance of WOSM*' document points out that the development of the Internet means that the role of these international commissioners will have to change "toward one of guiding and supporting local groups that are directly in

¹²⁶ In the words of Baden-Powell, after publishing *Scouting for Boys* "[a]ll the following year [1909] boys were writing to me telling me how they had started Patrols and Troops and had got men to come and act as their Scoutmasters". "Be Prepared", *The Listener*, British Broadcasting Corporation, January 1937.

¹²⁷ Nagy explains that it was following the success of the Crystal Palace rally in 1909 that Baden-Powell decided to "to create a movement completely detached from any other youth organization. Bureaucracy was anathema to his nature, but he knew he had no choice. So the first Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts Association [UK] was formed on December 10, 1909". NAGY, 1985: 64.

¹²⁸ WOSM, 1985: 1 (Res. 12/22, "Unity of the Movement").

¹²⁹ WOSM, 1985: 41 (Res. 7/57, "International Commissioners").

contact through the Internet in the wider framework of relationships among National Scout Organizations"¹³⁰.

As I pointed out earlier, in the 1960s, WOSM and WAGGGS member associations from various countries, mainly in Europe, began to merge to form co-educational associations in which boys and girls formed part of a single educational project. In some countries, this happened either by opening up the association to the opposite sex – WOSM openly accepted female members from the 1980s – or by merging the two associations. Some merged associations maintained the policy whereby girls paid their fees to WAGGGS and boys paid their fees to WOSM; these have been known as "Scout and Guide National Organizations" (SAGNO) since the mid-1990s¹³¹. In 2005, 34 of the 155 WOSM member organizations were SAGNOs – i.e. they were also members of WAGGGS – compared to the 121 that were only members of WOSM.

2.5. The National Federations case

The WAGGGS and WOSM constitutions establish that only one member 'association' may be recognized per independent country¹³² and that only 'religious' or 'cultural' factors can be accepted as justification for a state having more than one association and that, as a result, the recognized 'national organization' will be a federation¹³³: "Federations are presently only allowed on the basis of cultural and religious considerations sufficiently important to fully justify the existence of separate associations within a National Organization"¹³⁴. The term '*national organization*' therefore covers both associations and federations. Of the hundred and seventy plus state organizations that are members of WOSM and/or WAGGGS, only twenty-one have a federative structure due to religious or cultural factors, or both.

This situation is changing mainly due to WOSM's policy to promote the model of a single association in each state, particularly since its extension to Eastern Europe in the mid-1990s¹³⁵ after the fall of the communist regimes. Practically none of the newly recognized countries have a federation, with the exception of Bosnia Herzegovina, which also is a federated country. The possibility of creating new Catholic associations has also been rejected – as in Guinea and Benin¹³⁶. Moreover, some countries have been encouraged to merge their open and Catholic Scout associations into one, as in Argentina¹³⁷ (1996) and Ireland (2004).

I will now describe the cases of state organizations with federal structures, which I have summarized in the table below (Table 1):

¹³⁰ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005: 5.

¹³¹ "Document 10: 'Policy Concerning Scout and Guide National Organizations (SAGNOs)' 35th World Scout Conference" (Durban, South Africa, 1999: approved document). WOSM, Geneva, 1999.

¹³² WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

¹³³ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 d).

¹³⁴ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM', *op. cit.*: 7.

¹³⁵ See WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, September 1995, on the refusal to create a federation in Poland.

¹³⁶ WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, March 1995, August/September 1996, March 1998, November 1998.

¹³⁷ WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, December 1995, November 1996.

In *Gabon* (WOSM), there are three associations: one lay, one Catholic, and one Unionist.

In *Ireland* (WAGGGS), there are two associations: one non-denominational and one Catholic (the two WOSM associations merged in 2004).

In *Italy* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are two associations, both of which are SAGNOs: one non-denominational and one Catholic.

In the *Lebanon* (WOSM), there are more than fifteen associations in a single federation, but I have not found any public documents in a language other than Arabic detailing what these are.

In *Luxemburg* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are three associations: one non-denominational member of WOSM, one Catholic SAGNO, and one non-denominational member of WAGGGS.

In *Madagascar* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are four associations: one Catholic member of WOSM, one multiconfessional SAGNO, one Unionist SAGNO, and one non-denominational member of WAGGGS.

In *Norway* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are two associations, both of which are SAGNOs: one multiconfessional and one linked to the Christian YMCA and YWCA organizations.

In *Portugal* (WOSM), there are two associations: one non-denominational and one Catholic.

In *Senegal* (WOSM), there are two associations: one lay and one Catholic, the latter a confederate of the WAGGGS association¹⁴¹.

In *Sweden* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there are five associations, all of which are SAGNOs: one non-denominational, one linked to the Mission Covenant Youth religious association, one linked to the Christian YMCA and YWCA organizations, one linked to the Salvation Army, and one linked to the Temperance movement (against the consumption of alcohol).

b) Countries with federations on cultural or on religious and cultural grounds

Nowadays, only six recognized state organizations have different Scout associations based on 'cultural' grounds: Belgium, Bosnia Herzegovina, Canada, Denmark, Spain, and Israel. Five of these also have associations linked to some form of religious confession and three also have the ambiguous status of 'associate' of WOSM: the French-speaking Canadian association, the Faeroe Islands association, and the Catalan Federation. *Associate* status, only awarded by WOSM, is defined in each case by an agreement of association between the autonomous organization and the member organization, though in the three existing cases, the purpose is to give a certain recognition and operating autonomy without allowing full recognition.

The Scout federation of *Bosnia Herzegovina* is the only member organization (WOSM) that is a federation solely for cultural/territorial reasons. It was recognized in 1999 and has two associations, one for each of the two republics of the State of Bosnia Herzegovina.

¹⁴⁰ The Catholic "Scouts et Guides de France" association, the largest in France, was created following the merger of the two Catholic WOSM and WAGGGS associations in 2004. In this case, because of the world policy not to accept any new SAGNOs, the new association pays boys' and girls' fees to WOSM and girls' fees to WAGGGS.

¹⁴¹ In the case of Senegal, which I am familiar with through personal experience, the secular association actually has a majority of Muslims who do not identify with the Catholic faith; this can thus generate a paradox whereby, in African countries with a Muslim majority, the exportation of the French "secular/Catholic" model is very different to how it is in the old mother country

In *Belgium* (WOSM and WAGGGS), there is a federation of five associations with a combination of cultural and religious elements: one French-speaking Catholic WOSM member, one French-speaking Catholic WAGGGS member, one French-speaking pluralist SAGNO, one Catholic Flemish SAGNO and one non-denominational Flemish SAGNO¹⁴².

In *Canada* (WOSM), the Catholic French-speaking Scouts du Canada has an agreement of association with the English-speaking organization that has the WOSM title of Scouts of Canada.

Denmark (WOSM and WAGGGS) has a federation of five associations: a pluralist SAGNO, a Baptist SAGNO, one association linked to the Christian YMCA organization and a WOSM member, one for girls only and a WAGGGS member, and one specifically for Greenland, which is a SAGNO; there is also a Scout organization of the Faeroe Islands, which has the status of associate of the Danish federation.

Spain (WOSM and WAGGGS) has a WOSM federation that includes a multiconfessional and a Catholic association; there is also a Catalan organization, which has the status of associate to the Spanish federation, and that is a SAGNO federation of three associations: one lay, one Catholic (linked to the Spanish Catholic association), and one multiconfessional (linked to the Spanish multiconfessional association). Related to WAGGGS, the Catalan SAGNO federation forms a federative 'liaison committee' with the Spanish WAGGGS organization, which is multiconfessional.

Lastly, the Scout Federation of *Israel* consists of five religious and two religious/cultural associations¹⁴³: Hebrew Scouts, *Druze* Scouts, Catholic Scouts, Orthodox Scouts, Arab Scouts – linked to the Muslim faith – and Scouts linked to Arab schools.

2.6. World Organizations and Global Belonging

World Scouting is structured into two international organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS, which have 155 and 144 national associations, respectively, of which 34 belong to both organizations¹⁴⁴: these are called Scout and Guide National Organizations (SAGNOs). Both world organizations are organized around three similar bodies: the Conference, Committee, and Bureau. They are also organized geographically into *regions*, emulating the structure of the world. As I have explained, only women can vote and be elected at the WAGGGS Conference and on its world and regional Committees¹⁴⁵, due to its policy of absolute priority to women. English and French are the two official working languages of both world organizations, but WAGGGS also has Spanish. Since 1990, the world WOSM conferences also use Spanish and Arabic as working languages with a translation system, and Russian was added to this list later on¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴² As I write this, in July 2006, the confessional Flemish Scouting associations are merging with the non-denominational Scout organizations.

¹⁴³ Hebrew Boy and Girl Scout Association; Arab School Boy and Girl Scouts; Israel Druze Boy and Girl Scout Association; Israel Arab Boy and Girl Scouts; Israel Catholic Boy and Girl Scouts; Israel Greek Orthodox Boy and Girl Scouts.

¹⁴⁴ WOSM Website: 'National Scout Organisations'. [Consulted on: 16th June 2007]
http://www.scout.org/es/around_the_world/countries/national_scout_organisations.

¹⁴⁵ "WAGGGS Statement", World Board, WAGGGS, January 1998, where it states that although WAGGGS has male members, only women "would be able to hold WAGGGS offices".

¹⁴⁶ Resolution 21/90 requested that the introduction of Spanish and Arabic as working languages in the world conference be maintained (Resolutions, 33rd World Scout Conference); twelve years later, in his report on the 2002 World Scout Conference, the Secretary General of WOSM, Jacques Moreillon, pointed

The *World Conference* is the governing body of the organization. All national member organizations are represented on it and each has the same number of votes¹⁴⁷. It meets every three years, and its tasks include determining the policy and standards of the world organization and its rules of operation, choosing the elected positions of the World Committee, and approving the entry or expulsion of national member organizations. The venue of the World Conference is chosen by the conference itself from the applications submitted.

The *World Committee*¹⁴⁸ is the executive body of the organization and acts on behalf of the World Conference when it is not held. It is composed of twelve people elected by the World Conference, the Secretary General (WOSM) or Chief Executive (WAGGGS), treasurer, and chairs of the Regional Committees. In WOSM, only the twelve elected members and the Secretary General may vote, while in WAGGGS, only the twelve elected members and the regional chairs may vote. Besides implementing the policies approved by the World Conference, it can recommend or suspend the recognition of a national association and approve the constitutions of associations and their amendments. A Constitutions Committee appointed by the World Committee assists with Scout legal issues.

One chairman and two vice-chairmen of the Committee are chosen from among those elected; these individuals must have originally belonged to a national member organization, which must have put them forward. Constitutionally, once they have been elected, these individuals cease to represent whoever put them forward and represent only the world organization from thereon. There is no quota of any kind: either territorial or, in the case of WOSM, for gender. However, the presence of WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) on the highest executive body is traditionally much higher than the percentage they represent at the World Conference that elects them¹⁴⁹.

The *World Bureau* is the Permanent Secretariat of the organization, headed by the Secretary General (WOSM) or Chief Executive (WAGGGS), who report from their respective bureaux to the Committees and are appointed by the committees themselves. The professional structure of the two world organizations has evolved over the years from a rather *amateur* model – until 1946, the position of director of the World Scout Bureau was unpaid¹⁵⁰ – to a model comparable to that of an international corporation¹⁵¹. In fact, WAGGGS' annual budget for 2006 totalled 5 million pounds sterling, 33% of which came from member fees and 23% from the

out the need for funding to ensure that Spanish, Arabic, and Russian could *also* be official languages of the world organization (Secretary General Report, 36th World Scout Conference, 2002).

¹⁴⁷ At the World Scout Conference (WOSM), each national member organization has six votes (Article 10, WOSM Constitution), and at the World Conference, WAGGGS, each national member organization has one vote (Article 6, Section 3, WAGGGS Constitution).

¹⁴⁸ It is called the World Scout Committee by WOSM and the World Board by WAGGGS.

¹⁴⁹ NAGY, 1985: 139.

¹⁵⁰ NAGY, 1985: 113.

¹⁵¹ "World Scout Committee Triennial Report, 2002-2005", World Scout Bureau, 2005. "Report & Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 2006", World Board, WAGGGS, 2007. The Beresford study revealed that the approximate budgets in pounds sterling for 1998/99 amounted to almost £2 million for WAGGGS and close to £3 million for WOSM, of which the income from member fees totalled £1.3 million (65%) for WAGGGS and £2 million (66%) for WOSM. "Fact-finding Study (WOSM/WAGGGS)", document submitted by John Beresford, Chair of the Constitutions Committee of the WOSM, to the World Scout Committee, 7th October 2000, pp. 20-22).

services of world centres. In 2004, WOSM's budget was 11.5 million Swiss francs (approximately 4.8 million pounds sterling), 50% of which came from member fees. The remaining income of the two organizations comes from donations and financial aid (27% and 21%, respectively) and aid from their respective external financial support structures: the World Scout Foundation (15%) in WOSM's case and the Olave Baden-Powell Society (5%) for WAGGGS.

WOSM introduced the Secretary General position in 1968, which had more political content – right to vote on the World Committee – than the old position of Bureau director. WAGGGS changed the name of the *Bureau Director* to *Chief Executive* in 2005, to give the latter more say in strategic management while denying it any formal powers in World Committee decision-making processes – where, unlike the WOSM Secretary General, the WAGGGS Chief Executive does not have voting rights.

The world organization is decentralized into continental *regions*¹⁵² that depend on the structure of the world, rather than being autonomous and constitutive bodies¹⁵³. So although the regions adapt the world structure to a smaller scale – with a conference, elected committee¹⁵⁴ and bureau – their legislative capacity is constitutionally subject to world regulations and agreements¹⁵⁵, and their bureau is a decentralized part of the World Bureau¹⁵⁶. The WOSM World Bureau has its headquarters in Geneva and regional offices in each region. However, due to financial constraints, WAGGGS regional executives work at the World Bureau headquarters in London, with the exception of the European region, which has had its headquarters in Brussels since the failed attempt to create a joint WAGGGS and WOSM region in the mid-1990s.

The regions issue brings us to the greatest concern of the world organization: the fear of shattering the unity of the movement. In reality, a world organization with such internal diversity will always have a tendency to fragment, particularly because of the two factors that justify the existence of Scout federations in a single country: culture and religion. If the world organization gave greater powers to the regions, this would give more legitimacy to the imposition of their own cultural vision of what Scouting should be and how it should be organized, which could create a situation whereby the geographically decentralized world movement becomes a federation of regional movements that zealously protect their own identity and put their own unique features above those of a common world membership.

¹⁵² These are the Inter-American/West Hemisphere region (1946), the Asia-Pacific region (1956), the Arab region (1956), the European region (1961), the African region (1967) and, since 1996, for WOSM only, there is also the Eurasian region (former USSR). The date in brackets is the date the regions were founded in the WOSM.

¹⁵³ For WOSM, membership of a national Scout organization to its corresponding region is voluntary (WOSM, 1983: Article XIX.1).

¹⁵⁴ The Chairs of the regional WAGGGS committees are members with voting rights on the World Committee; Chairs of the regional WOSM committees attend the meetings of the World Scout Committee in an advisory capacity (and hence, without voting rights).

¹⁵⁵ Both the WOSM Constitution (Article XXI) and the WAGGGS Constitution (Article IX, Section 4), establish that the regulations (Constitution and Statutes) of the regions must be approved by the World Committee and that, in the event of conflict between regional and world regulations, the world regulations will prevail.

¹⁵⁶ The regional directors are employed by the World Bureau, the body that appoints them after consulting with their respective regional committees (WOSM, 1983: Article XIX.2 c).

Besides its world structure, one distinguishing feature of World Scouting is that its national associations and the individuals forming part of the latter are members of it, i.e. there is a dual membership: individual and institutional. The national organizations are members in that they are legal subjects accepted by the world conference, responsible for compliance with the movement's principles; and the individuals who form part of the national organizations are members of World Scouting in that they have made a personal commitment to the movement's principles. In the words of Jacques Moreillon,

"*Individual* membership is based on *personal* adherence to the Scout promise, Scout law and Scout principles. Of course, that individual membership has to go through the membership of that person ... of a *recognised* National Scout Organization, which is the only legal entity which can have *institutional* membership to WOSM"¹⁵⁷.

In Scout jurisprudence, there is a legal difference on this matter between the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS). In the year 2000, the Chair of the WOSM Constitutions Committee pointed out that WOSM members are both members of the national Scout organizations and the individuals who belong to these organizations¹⁵⁸, while WAGGGS has specifically stated that "it is the Member Organisation who is the member of WAGGGS, not the individual boy or girl"¹⁵⁹. However, the "*Membership*" references¹⁶⁰ in the Constitutions of the two organizations denote membership of the national organizations. Although the WOSM Constitution says that "[a]ll the members of the Scout Movement are required to adhere to a Scout Promise and Law (...)"¹⁶¹, it is referring to members of the *Scout Movement*, not to *members of the world organization*. The WAGGGS Constitution also discusses adopting the method that includes "Commitment through the Promise and Law"¹⁶², "in wording approved by the World Board"¹⁶³ as being a condition for membership of a national organization.

Despite the apparent confusion between *movement* and *organization*, therefore, constitutional membership of the *world organization* is, in both cases, held by the *national organizations*¹⁶⁴, although individuals become members of the *movement* – a subject that cannot be determined as an organization – precisely through their personal commitment to the system of values (the *Promise* and the *Law*), an essential element of the method shared by WOSM and WAGGGS. This personal commitment can only be made within a national organization, which has the power

¹⁵⁷ "Meaning and Relevance of the World Organization of the Scout Movement. Address by Dr. Jacques Moreillon, Secretary General of WOSM, to the Summit Meeting of the 20th Inter-American Scout Conference". Guadalajara, Mexico, 21 March 1998.

¹⁵⁸ "Membership of WOSM is both individual (in that each individual is required, inter alia, to make the personal commitment of the Promise in order to become a member of WOSM) and also corporate (in that WOSM recognises the National Scout Organisation as a whole, and through it its individual members)". "Fact-finding Study (WOSM/WAGGGS)", document submitted by John Beresford, Chair of the Constitutions Committee of the WOSM, to the World Scout Committee, 7th October 2000, pp. 9.

¹⁵⁹ WAGGGS World Circular 3003 (on the presence of boys in WAGGGS associations), April 1998.

¹⁶⁰ Article V (Membership), WOSM Constitution; Article V (Membership), WAGGGS Constitution.

¹⁶¹ Article II.2 (Adherence to a Promise and Law), WOSM Constitution

¹⁶² Article V.1 (Criteria of Membership) *b) i*, WAGGGS Constitution.

¹⁶³ Article V.1 (Criteria of Membership) *a*, WAGGGS Constitution.

¹⁶⁴ Beresford's statement in his report clearly equates 'organization' with 'movement' and is backed up by a statement made by WAGGGS at a time when the admission policy regarding boys was requested to be left up to the associations; in 2002, however, the WAGGGS World Conference decided to end the admission of boys in associations that did not have any boy members at the time.

to formulate the text of the Promise and the Law with the approval of the world organization. Hence, the idea of *dual membership*: legally, the national organizations are the legal subjects, but the conscious membership of *individuals* of World Scouting as a movement has also been one of its differentiating features since the early days.

3. RECOGNITION AND BELONGING

World Scouting is a global movement that, besides principles and aims, has a series of self-established regulations and decision-making systems. Nonetheless, with its international scope and great cultural diversity, it is difficult to separate World Scouting from the many attempts to imitate it, ever since it was established, which have adopted its appearance or some of its practices in order to take advantage of its public image. Beyond merely profiting from the prestige of Scouting, these attempts at imitation can also have a destructive effect on it when they are of dubious quality or when their ideological profile is discriminatory or goes against the principles of the movement. By marking out who does and does not belong to World Scouting, we can consider it as a defined subject. In both World Scouting organizations, this practice is what is known as the 'recognition policy'.

3.1. Relevance of the Recognition Policy

In 1923, the League of Nations unanimously passed a resolution put forward by the Chilean delegate urging governments to set up special mechanisms for when recognized Scout associations visited the countries of other associations. When the Austrian Scout association asked its government, "the Austrian Government had replied that they did not know what constituted a "recognised Association" within the meaning of the resolution"¹⁶⁵. It was then suggested that the governments of the *League* be sent a list of Scout associations recognized by the Boy Scouts International Bureau.

On 22nd July 1998, four adolescents and a boatman died in an accident on what was, as far as French public opinion was concerned, a Scout activity: four scouts had died in a Scout activity led by a "reactionary priest", and the cause of the accident was "undue care and deliberate failure to meet the safety obligations"¹⁶⁶. However, the group consisted of members of the "non-recognized" Association Française des Scouts et Guides Catholiques, a member association of the also non-recognized Ordre Scout federation, made up of thirteen reactionary Catholic groups that had broken ties with Rome¹⁶⁷, and not members of either WOSM or WAGGGS. In October of the same year, a member of the non-recognized association Guides et Scouts d'Europe living in the French town of Fréjus was sent a mail-order catalogue by a company with connections to the far-right-wing Front National that sold books and CDs with Nazi SS songs and the thoughts of the excommunicated right-wing

¹⁶⁵ Report to the Secretary General: Report of the League Representatives to the Third International Scout Conference, Copenhagen, August 1924, pp. 5 and 10. Document No. 38.191, League of Nations archive, Geneva.

¹⁶⁶ "Justice: Les trous de mémoire de l'abbé Cottard au procès de la noyade des scouts". Article published in *Le Monde* on 20th October 1999.

¹⁶⁷ "Une association proche de l'extrême droite". Article published in *Le Monde* on 25th of July 1998.

Archbishop Lefebvre and Jean-Marie Le Pen. When the boy's father demanded explanations from the "Scout" association after noticing that the layout of the details on the label was identical, they told him by telephone that a member of the association had processed the details in error¹⁶⁸. The Guides et Scouts d'Europe association is not a member of WOSM or WAGGGS either. At the time of the accident in Brittany, the Catholic French WOSM association, Scouts de France, made the following statement:

"L'Association Française des Scouts et Guides Catholiques n'est pas reconnue par les instances nationales et mondiales du scoutisme et n'est pas agréée par le Ministère de la jeunesse et des sports. Cette association, comme une trentaine d'autres dans notre pays, use et abuse du terme "scout", non déposable en l'état, et en dévoie les valeurs fondamentales"¹⁶⁹.

The five associations that make up the Scoutisme Français federation, which is a member of WOSM and WAGGGS, subsequently drew up a "Charte de Qualité du Scoutisme" to assure the general public that "recognized" scouts had no problems with safety or extremist ideology. But more crucial than their fight for quality was the battle for the "label", which they eventually lost: after ten years of legal trials for misappropriation of the term "Scout" and for "pratiques éducatives dangereuses pour les jeunes", the far-right association won the court case and called itself the "Association Française des Scouts et Guides Catholiques"¹⁷⁰. These examples illustrate the importance of World Scouting's "recognition policy".

It is traditionally held that Scouting was born in 1907¹⁷¹, when Robert Baden-Powell organized a pilot camp on the island of Brownsea to put into practice his idea of adapting the exploration practices – "Scouting" – of soldiers in the British dominions to adolescents for educational purposes. Although this view is consistent with the application of what would later become the Scout method – put into practice for the first time in August 1907 – it is inaccurate if it refers to Scouting as a world educational movement. The confusion in academic discussions has probably come about because two major turning points in the history of what was a simple methodological idea have not been paid enough attention: 1909 and 1920.

The first is the year of the founding of the Boy Scouts Association UK in 1909. Since the publication of *Scouting for Boys* in 1908, the idea of *Scouting* as formulated by Baden-Powell was open in nature, as revealed in the text itself, which meant that anybody who wished to could take it up¹⁷². However, with the creation in the UK of the Boy Scouts Association in 1909 – and the Girl Guides in 1910 – Scouting became an organized idea with a legitimate institution, headed by Baden-Powell, that recognized the King as 'Patron', and with a procedure to establish the elements defining what is and is not *Scouting*. The idea was no longer a methodological

¹⁶⁸ "Les fichiers baladeurs des Guides et Scouts d'Europe. Le mouvement scout tente de remettre de l'ordre dans ses rangs". Article published in *Le Monde* on 25th April 1999.

¹⁶⁹ [The Association Française des Scouts et Guides Catholiques is not recognized either by the national or World Scouting authorities and has not been approved by the Ministry of Youth and Sport. This association, along with another thirty or so in our country, uses and abuses the term "Scout" (a term that cannot be registered in our State) and distorts its fundamental values]. "Le mouvement scout tente de préserver son image". Article published in *Le Monde* on 20th October 1999.

¹⁷⁰ "Une association proche de l'extrême droite". Article published in *Le Monde* on 25th of July 1998.

¹⁷¹ '100/2007: A Centenary of Scouting'. 2007 World Scout Task Force for the 100th Anniversary of Scouting. World Scout Bureau. WOSM: 2004.

¹⁷² BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 5.

suggestion to be freely adapted; it was now a product that its inventor – and the association he was creating – had the exclusive on across the British Empire. However, nobody had anticipated the possibility of the rapid spread of associations that saw themselves as Scouts in many countries outside British influence, because the view was that the Scout associations were independent subjects in each country.

The visits made by Baden-Powell at the request of diverse countries to talk about *Scouting* were not geared towards setting up a supranational organization. Nonetheless, the traumatic experience of World War I, the ideal of the League of Nations, and the ideological commitment that Baden-Powell undertook with the idea of promoting peace led to the second turning point: the establishment of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in 1920, followed by the Constituting Conference of 1922. Until then, *Scouting* had legally been a British organization, the practices, image, and name of which had been adopted in diverse countries from different standpoints. After 1920 though, under the enthusiastic leadership of Baden-Powell followed by British Scouting, an organization was set up as the single world authority on the bases of Scouting, which were no longer a matter for the opinion or interpretation of the different countries.

From this point on, all associations founded by the world organization agreed to submit to a single authority on Scouting, i.e. international laws that they themselves legislated. Through collective debate and a guarantee system, the new world organization could, for instance, establish that Scouting was not militarist, agree that each Scout association could place national loyalty before international fraternity, or impose ideological and organizational limits that could not be overstepped either by new candidate associations or existing members. It could also “recognize” as new associations any that met the established common conditions, which would then become members, and it could withdraw recognition from associations that breached these conditions. Since 1920, then, Scouting has become an integral world movement, which means that local groups, national associations, and the world organization at global level form a whole.

The equivalence between “membership” of the world organization and “recognition” as a Scout organization is not so much a “label” issue as an essential element to guarantee the coherence of the educational and associational project of any organization that wishes to join “Scouting”. Even in the early days of British Scouting, attempts to prevent imitations focused on British society and were not designed to ensure an exclusive international public presence. There is documentary evidence to show that Baden-Powell encouraged the creation of *Scouting* associations outside the British Empire with his visits and conferences, both before and after 1920¹⁷³. The concern was – and still is – mainly to ensure that the term “Scouting” was not used to refer to practices that went against the principles of Scouting: excluding nationalism as opposed to national commitment with a cosmopolitan vision, paramilitarism as opposed to educating the character of the individual, partisanship as opposed to freedom of opinion, discrimination as

¹⁷³ BADEN-POWELL, 1913: *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd.

opposed to openness, instrumentation as opposed to independence, compulsory as opposed to voluntary. Jacques Moreillon summarized it thus:

"Confronted at national level with many individuals and groups that spontaneously call themselves Scouts, there would be no way of telling who is really a Scout and who is not if there was not a World "Organization" with the legal and moral authority to deliver (or not deliver) the Scout "label". But this coherence, this unity of purpose, principles and method, is not only a defensive, limiting factor: it is also a decisive factor of *synergy* and *dynamism*, a constructive force that strengthens the existing National Scout Organizations and permits the birth of new ones"¹⁷⁴.

In fact, many youth movements took advantage of Scouting's popularity in the first quarter of the century by adopting some of its aesthetic elements, even in fascist or communist regimes like the German *Hitler Jugend*, fascist Italian *Balillas*, or Soviet Pioneers, where Scouting had previously been banned.¹⁷⁵ Besides the aesthetic issue, there was also a language problem. Although many languages adopted the original English term 'Scout', other languages developed terms or adapted synonyms that were more deeply rooted in their own tradition, such as *escolta* in Catalan, *éclaireur* in French, *pfadfinder* in German, *escoteiro* in Portuguese, and *spejder* in Danish and Norwegian. So, in order to organize a worldwide movement with the same principles but with an image and terminology that varied from country to country, and prevent its image from being used for ends other than its own, a recognition system had to be set up through membership of a world organization.

The inseparable dual national and global dimension of World Scouting, which respects the diversity of national frameworks while maintaining a set of common minimums established democratically for everybody, is one of the least studied and yet most relevant issues of the Scout Movement. Its relevance stems from the fact that Scouting bases its model of a movement for educating citizens on the combination of the classic republican idea of loyalty to one's country and the cosmopolitan idea of the sense of belonging and commitment to the community formed by all human beings. This combination is not only a constitutional condition that World Scouting has established for all its members: the international nature of its vast network is also part of the educational action carried out by Scout associations in order to achieve it. I will now therefore analyse international recognition from a different point of view. If Scouting's education of citizens combines national loyalty with the sense of global membership, through the establishment of a legitimate world organization and the experiences created by the organization itself, then "recognition" of an association involves much more than the straightforward authorization to use the name. For an association that considers itself a Scout association, being "recognized" involves being subject to the world organization rights and duties, accepting shared authority, being subject to the established rules of the game and participating in their renewal, and taking part in the international experiences that stimulate the sense of global belonging, instead of limiting itself to formulating these as an abstract idea.

¹⁷⁴ "Meaning and Relevance of the World Organization of the Scout Movement. Address by Dr. Jacques Moreillon, Secretary General of WOSM, to the Summit Meeting of the 20th Inter-American Scout Conference". Guadalajara, Mexico, 21 March 1998.

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 2. Scouting was banned in fascist European regimes and all communist regimes.

3.2. Differentiating between what is and is not Scouting

World Scouting is an institutionalized movement with self-established principles and regulations, but the popularity of the name and method has led many movements to adopt the name 'Scouting' without being a member of it. This is traditionally known as 'non-recognized Scouting'. However, as I will explain later, I believe this expression to be incorrect because it implies that there are two types of Scouting: 'recognized' and 'non-recognized' Scouting, something I consider to be wrong. Briefly, I propose that we only use the term 'Scouting' to refer to practices that meet the essential characteristics of World Scouting and are carried out by members of the WOSM and WAGGGS organizations, since I have indicated that World Scouting is an institutionalized movement that has established its own principles and rules of operation.

Membership and international recognition are intrinsic to the Scout identity. Scouting is more than the straightforward conformity with its principles and following of its method; precisely because of its combination of educating citizens, loyalty to one's country, and global commitment, Scouts must form part of the world organization that gives meaning to the movement's triple axis of local, national, and global action. Without becoming a member of the world organization, the ability to think, prepare, and have an impact from supranational to local level, is merely discursive, and thus cannot adequately contribute to the purpose of World Scouting as a movement. World Scouting is not simply a federation of national associations that have come together to share experiences; it is a structured movement that clearly sets out the ideological and organizational limits of those who form a part of it. In a statement by Robert Baden-Powell at the WAGGGS International Conference of 1928, he stresses the importance of the world organization's integral nature as opposed to a federal approach, thus illustrating this point particularly well:

"We must from the outset avoid making our International Conference a "Parliament" – that is, a meeting of *representatives* of different countries. If we allow the spirit of national interests to come in to conflict with our one interest "the girl" we are going to miss the essential spirit that should inspire us. The work of delegates [at the International Conference] is to bring their experiences from all parts of the world to bear upon and help the better training of *the girl*. It is not to watch the interests of their particular country as against those of other countries. Unless and until we are not assured of the right spirit it would be better that we should not attempt to start an International organization"¹⁷⁶.

The historical context of different countries has created confusion between Scouting and movements that call themselves this without actually being Scouts. When a country talks about the "start of Scouting", it does not differentiate between the time the association was created and the time it was recognized. This confusion is logical because, in many cases, the world organizations were set up after the national associations, which actually founded their organizations. As a result, World

¹⁷⁶ "Memorandum: By the Founder on the Report of the World Conference", dated 19th July 1928, page 4. Annex to the "Historical Report of the Conference which took place in Hungary, May 1928", signed by Katharine Furse, Secretary of the Conference, on 22nd July 1928. World Bureau Archive, WAGGGS.

Scouting organizations tend to indicate the year in which they were founded, along with the year that Scouting was recognized in the country, which suggests that a Scout association existed before it was recognized, thus giving rise to confusion.

Germany is an example of this: before 1945, we know that there were a number of movements in Germany that called themselves "Scouts"; these were outlawed by the Nazi regime in 1933¹⁷⁷ with the requirement that they joined the *Hitler Jugend*. However, the Boy Scouts International Bureau did not recognize any of these organizations until after World War II because of their fragmentation and excluding nationalism. The case of Germany illustrates the confusion that often arises when discussing the ideological profile of Scouting. Firstly, if we do not know that World Scouting has had the exclusive authority to determine which associations meet the common requirements allowing them to be called Scouts since 1920, we cannot differentiate between recognized Scout associations – those that constitutionally form part of World Scouting – and associations that adopt the name of 'Scouting' without being part of it. Secondly, if we fail to make this differentiation, we could fall into the trap of evaluating Scouting on the basis of associations that are not part of World Scouting, even though they call themselves Scouts. To continue with our example of Germany, if somebody were to analyse Scouting in Germany and say that before 1945 Scouting had an excluding nationalist discourse, we would have to answer that there was no association before 1945 that could be considered a "Scout" association based on world criteria.

As I have said, one of the problems with academic analyses of Scouting is precisely methodological nationalism, i.e. the tendency to study national cases without taking into account the existence of a world organization that sets the standard. These studies barely ever distinguish recognized Scouting from similar movements that adopt the name, nor do they dwell on the constitutional difference introduced by international recognition. The threat of imitation has been a constant in the history of Scouting ever since it was founded in England. In the British Empire, the monarchy's rapid institutional recognition dispelled any doubts about the exclusivity of the representativeness of *Scouting*. However, the international spread of associations calling themselves 'Scout' associations from 1909 to 1920 looked set to downgrade the quality standard that Baden-Powell sought. To cite an example, the first documented activity of 'Scouting' in Catalonia dates back to 1911, when an excursionist called Ramon Soler organized a series of activities for boys in Barcelona simply by imitating a set of postcards from the Boy Scouts Association UK with pictures of *Scouts* on them¹⁷⁸.

From the outset, the aesthetic aspect played an extremely important role. With the creation of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in 1920 (which later became WOSM), followed by that of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) in 1928, World Scouting was institutionalized into two organizations (male and female) and three main axes were established to mark the difference between what Scouting was and was not: a) the essential characteristics (principles

¹⁷⁷ NAGY, 1985: 103.

¹⁷⁸ GABARRÓ, Marcel: "L'escoltisme a Catalunya (1912-1939)", p. 104; in: *Barcelona d'excursió*. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1999: 100-133.

and definition); b) the promotion of its unity, c) and the defence of the brand and intellectual property¹⁷⁹.

a) The first axis, '*essential characteristics*', has served as an ideological basis for Scouting. I explained the contents of these in Section 1 of this chapter, but it is interesting to note that the bases for these limits were established at the first world conferences (1922 and 1924). The most important was the already quoted Resolution 14/24, which proclaims the "principles of Scouting":

"The Boy Scouts International Conference declares that the Boy Scout Movement is a movement of national, international and universal character, the object of which is to endow each separate nation and the whole world with a youth which is physically, morally and spiritually strong.

It is *national*, in that it aims through national organisations, at endowing every nation with useful and healthy citizens.

It is *international* in that it recognises no national barrier in the comradeship of the Scouts.

It is *universal* in that it insists upon universal fraternity between all Scouts of every nation, class or creed.

The Scout Movement has no tendency to weaken but, on the contrary, to strengthen individual religious belief. The Scout Law requires that a Scout shall truly and sincerely practice his religion, and the policy of the Movement forbids any kind of sectarian propaganda at mixed gatherings"¹⁸⁰.

This text indicates the movement's vocation of educating the individual, national commitment, international inspiration – without national barriers – and openness to origin, class, and creed, with a direct reference to anti-sectarian ecumenical inspiration. Resolution 11/22 also points out that membership must be voluntary, and 16/24 "re-asserts and emphasizes the non-military character of the Boy Scout Movement" adding that its aims are to develop "a spirit of harmony and goodwill between individuals and between nations". Resolutions were also passed requesting that competitions were not held between countries at the *Jamborees* so as not to undermine international fraternity, and political propaganda was forbidden in Scouting activities¹⁸¹. Since these early resolutions, there have been many others that have defined further the purpose, principles, and method of the Scout Movement¹⁸², but before the constitutional reform of 1977 that established the principles, as I explained in Section 2, the "principles" were described in resolutions on two other occasions. A resolution of 1957 described the

"fundamental principles of Scouting as founded by the former Chief Scout of the World, the late Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell: 1. Duty to God; 2. Loyalty to one's own country; 3. Faith in world friendship and brotherhood; 4. Accepting, freely undertaking and practising the ideals set forth in the Scout law and Promise; 5. Independence of political influence; 6. Voluntary membership. 7. The unique system

¹⁷⁹ The analysis of these three axes is based on resolutions of World Scout Conferences, which have all been published. Despite my requests to the WAGGGS World Bureau, archive problems have meant that it was not possible to access the resolutions approved by the WAGGGS world conferences since it was established.

¹⁸⁰ WOSM, 1985: 3 (Resolution 14/24, "Principles of Scouting").

¹⁸¹ WOSM, 1985: 1 (Res. 11/22, "Membership, Voluntary"), 5 (Res. 16/24, "Policy, Non-Military"; Res. 11/26, "Jamborees, Competitions"), 11 (15/33, "Political Propaganda"), 15 (Res. 16/37, "Political Propaganda").

¹⁸² Resolutions 15/37 "Patriotism"; 16/49 "Membership, Voluntary"; 27/49 on the freedom of peoples and nations; 18/55 on the contribution to peace; 8/61 "Duty to God/Religion"; 8/65 "Training for citizenship, Community Service". WOSM: 1985.

of training, based on the patrol system, activities in the open air and learning by doing; 8. Service to others"¹⁸³

And twelve years later, in 1969, as part of the constitutional reform led by Nagy, the national, international, and universal nature of Resolution 14/24 quoted earlier took on greater importance. More crucially, however, it highlighted the fact that these elements had to form the basis of the recognition policy, a policy that was on a different level to – and effectively *above* – the powers of legal recognition of the public authorities in the various countries:

"Therefore, the Conference reaffirms that the conditions for international recognition of any national scout organization (and its membership) are set forth in the Constitution of the Boy Scouts World Conference. Recognition does not represent intrusion into the field of politics, nor should it be considered by any government or official as affecting the sovereignty or diplomatic status of any country"¹⁸⁴.

The message was clear enough: the Scouting recognition policy is exclusive to the world organization, objectively and based on the established conditions – principles and definition – not to the recognition of the public authorities. This message needs to be understood in a dual context. Firstly, unlike in socialist countries where Scouting was outlawed, the Polish government simply changed the reference to God in the principles of the Polish Scout association to a reference to socialism¹⁸⁵. The world organization refused to accept this and withdrew Poland's recognition. Secondly, during the decolonizing process, many new States considered that the powers of recognition for new Scout associations in these countries fell within the scope of the state authorities, and the resolution wanted to clarify that recognition could only come from the world organization.

b) The 'promotion of unity' is the second axis for setting out what Scouting is and is not. Since the early days, it has involved trying to halt the fragmenting tendency of a movement that covers a huge cultural, territorial, and religious diversity, and to maintain the policy of a single organization per "country" – later be re-written as "State". The first resolution on this matter was 12/22, which adopted the British model of one association per country as being the most desirable, and insisted that if a country did have more than one, it would be an exception:

"The Conference decided that wherever possible, in the best interests of the boys of all nations, every reasonable effort be made for an amalgamation of the various associations in any one country and if this be impracticable, the various associations concerned arrange themselves for the selection of one International Commissioner to do business with the International Bureau"¹⁸⁶.

Initially, the concern for unity was caused by cases such as France, which had a number of associations of specific religions and one lay one. As time passed, the difficulties of managing the international dimension of the organization, which covered a huge cultural diversity spanning five continents and had a major task ahead of it with the decolonizing process and the creation of new independent

¹⁸³ WOSM, 1985: 41 (Res. 19/57, "Keynote Resolution").

¹⁸⁴ WOSM, 1985: 59 (Res. 3/69, "Declaration of Principle").

¹⁸⁵ "Note on the current situation in the Polish Scout Movement". Monthly Report of the Secretary General of WOSM, July 1989.

¹⁸⁶ WOSM, 1985: 1 (Res. 12/22, "Unity").

states, generated the fear of regional disintegration in addition to the existing fear of disintegration for religious reasons. As I mentioned earlier, the concern over this fragmenting tendency was the reason why the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva was commissioned to do the 1965 study, which led to Laszlo Nagy's "Report on World Scouting"¹⁸⁷ in 1967. Two years afterwards, the Conference adopted a resolution that reiterated this view:

"It directs the World Committee to ensure that any new country wishing to apply for membership of the Conference shall be encouraged and helped as necessary to establish a single, united national organization open to all boys"¹⁸⁸.

The modern version of the text of the WOSM and WAGGGS Constitutions¹⁸⁹ echo this view, which establishes unity within each country and between world regions.

c) The third and final axis distinguishing what Scouting is and what it is not, is the '*defence of the brand and intellectual property*'. At the 1924 International Scout Conference, a resolution asked associations "to prevent or combat any unauthorized use of Scout titles, uniforms, badges or insignia" to ensure that only recognized associations – i.e. members – could use them. This request was reiterated at the conferences of 1931 and 1959¹⁹⁰. For example, as Parsons explains in his research on Scouting in Britain's African colonies, the prestige of the Scout uniforms was reason for trafficking with them in various countries¹⁹¹. The policy of the world organization has been to encourage each recognized association to register the copyright of the world emblem in their respective country. Diverse resolutions have regulated copyright management for the reproduction of Scout publications from other countries, and even for the translation of world organization documents by recognized associations into the languages of the different countries¹⁹². The relevance of this axis lies in the need to avoid public confusion between recognized Scouting and organizations that use the Scout name when they are not members and do not share its defining principles and elements.

To summarize then, the difference between what is and what is not Scouting has been founded on a combination of these three axes: the principles and defining elements; the promotion of unit; and the defence of the brand and intellectual property. Nonetheless, throughout its history, the recognition policy has come across problems both in its definition and its execution, and these problems still need to be addressed if Scouting is to be clarified as a world association subject.

3.3. Practices and Problems with the Recognition Policy

The ability to grant or withdraw the recognition of a Scout association¹⁹³ is probably the most significant power of the two organizations of World Scouting, WOSM and

¹⁸⁷ NAGY, 1967.

¹⁸⁸ WOSM, 1985: 61 (Res. 4/69, "Unity of Scouting").

¹⁸⁹ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

¹⁹⁰ WOSM, 1985: 3 (Res. 12/24 "Protection of Uniform, etc."), 9 (Res. 12/31 "Protection of Uniform, etc."), 43 (Res. 7/59 "Legal Protection").

¹⁹¹ PARSONS, 2004: xi.

¹⁹² WOSM, 1985: Resolutions 10/24, 11/35, 11/51, 23/63.

¹⁹³ I will reiterate here that for the purpose of this research work, the terminological difference between 'Scout' and 'Girl Guide/Girl Scout' introduced by WOSM and WAGGGS is irrelevant because both organizations mutually recognize each other's legitimacy. Moreover, they were founded by the same person based on the same principles, contain member associations with dual membership, and only

WAGGGS, since it is this practice that allows them to ensure the unity and uniformity of World Scouting in the midst of such diversity. In the section on history, I have already pointed out the mistake of trying to analyse World Scouting before 1920, because it was not until then that international Scouting existed as a defined and analysable subject. It is only with the founding of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in 1920, followed by the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts in 1928, that we can talk about World Scouting without ambiguity.

When the World Scouting organizations were set up, they established the capacity for recognition by combining the application of intellectual property rights with a democratic decision-making system. Firstly, because Robert Baden-Powell, the man who invented and defined *Scouting*, establishing its purposes and principles and institutionalizing it as an association in Great Britain, was also the man who spearheaded the creation and development of the two World Scouting organizations¹⁹⁴, which always recognized his moral authority¹⁹⁵. And secondly, because these world organizations immediately established a democratic decision-making system to guarantee that what was and was not Scouting were defined through the collective debate of all member associations of the world organization and not, as could have been the case, the result of arbitrary and unclear decisions made by a self-invested elite.

Since their establishment then, the WOSM and WAGGGS world organizations have been the legitimate subjects both for setting the standards that Scout organizations must meet and for recognising what Scouting is and is not. This system differs from that of other civic organizations around the world. In some cases, such as many federations of youth associations, the international organization is a federation of organizations that carry out the same type of action (educational, cultural, student, etc.) and perhaps have a set of very general principles. In others, such as Amnesty International or Greenpeace, the national groups operate like franchises that follow guidelines set down on a worldwide basis. Even the international organizations of political parties only ask their formations to assume a foundational manifesto, i.e. to indicate their agreement with the general principles.

World Scouting asks for more. The constitutions of the two world organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS, establish that only one organization can be recognized per state and that this organization must adhere to the purpose and principles of World Scouting, that it must wholly adopt the method, that it has a Promise and Law text approved by the world organization, and that it is open, without discrimination, to all those who wish to adhere to the principles of the movement. Furthermore, the national organization must be independent, non-partisan, self-governed, and

remain separate organizations largely because of a difference in opinion on how to promote equality of the sexes.

¹⁹⁴ A clear example is quoted in "Memorandum: By the Founder on the Report of the World Conference", 1928, addressed to the team carrying out the institutionalization of WAGGGS.

¹⁹⁵ The moral authority of Baden-Powell, and even the title "Chief Scout of the World" he was awarded by acclamation at the London Jamboree of 1920, were democratically established by the new body at the subsequent World Conference, the first to adopt resolutions (Paris, 1922). Resolution (3/22) establishes that "The Conference re-affirms its recognition of Sir Robert Baden-Powell as the Chief Scout of the World and asserts its belief that the ideals as set forth in Scouting for Boys are so fundamental as to transcend the limit of race and country. They place on record their appreciation of the immense obligation under which the world lies for the system which his genius has evolved and the distribution of that system to all nations to which his personality has materially contributed". WOSM, 1985: 1.

voluntary. The competent body for accepting new organizations as members is the World Conference, at which all national organizations have the right to vote. The WOSM constitutional text says the following on the subject:

"Membership of a National Scout Organization in the World Organization requires: (a) Establishment of its legal entity and evidence of its national operation. (b) Adoption of and sustained adherence to the purpose, principles and method as laid down by Chapter I of this Constitution. (c) Enrolment to be open to all who agree to conform with the purpose, principles and method of the Movement. (d) Maintenance of the Organization as an independent, non-political, voluntary movement of probity and effectiveness. (e) Registration with the World Bureau. (f) Regular payment of its registration fees. (g) Notification to the World Bureau of any intended changes to its National Scout Constitution relating to matters covered by Chapters I, II and III of this Constitution, before these are finally ratified. (h) Submission of an annual report to the World Bureau"¹⁹⁶.

The WAGGGS Constitution states:

"A Member of the World Association shall be a National Organization which: (a) adheres to the Fundamental Principles and has a Promise and Law, in wording approved by the World Board, which embodies the essential elements of the Original Promise and Law; (b) adopts the method of the Girl Guide/Girl Scout Movement (...).(c) Has a membership which is: *i.* voluntary; *ii.* open to all girls and young women without distinction of creed, race, nationality, or any other circumstance; (d) is self-governing, with freedom to formulate its policy and put it into practice; (e) is independent of any political organization and any political party"¹⁹⁷.

Both world organizations have a Constitutions Committee, the members of which are appointed by the respective World Committee, to advise on matters relating to the constitutionality of the legal frameworks of member organizations and the adaptation of their *Promise* and *Law* texts to the constitutional principles of the movement.

Over the years, the complex recognition policy has proved difficult both to define and implement. In fact, a substantial section of the 1967 "Report on World Scouting", directed by Laszlo Nagy, is rightly devoted to the "policy of recognition"¹⁹⁸, with the criticism that "it is not always applied with the same rigour". The study argues that the recognition policy established by the WOSM Constitution had been "slightly overridden by the evolution of the movement", that the text was incomplete, insufficient or not defined clearly enough, and that it was not always put into practice. It also revealed that the World Bureau had produced a document¹⁹⁹ to indicate how to apply the relevant article of the Constitution, but even that was "vague in some essential points"²⁰⁰. The report added that neither admission requests nor resignments were normally carried out on the initiative of the World Organization. Therefore, exclusions aside (which only took place exceptionally), the recognition policy was more a reaction than an action²⁰¹. However, it was not until ten years later, in 1977, that WOSM changed the

¹⁹⁶ WOSM, 1983: Article V.3.

¹⁹⁷ WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 1.

¹⁹⁸ NAGY, 1967: 42-50 (in Section II: "Problems concerning the unity of the movement").

¹⁹⁹ "Summary of Procedure as to Recognition and Registration of National Scout Organizations applying for Admission to the Boy Scouts World Conference". NAGY, 1967, Appendix H: 189-190.

²⁰⁰ NAGY, 1967: 42.

²⁰¹ NAGY, 1967: 41.

constitutional text of the Scouting principles for a clearer definition and to establish the limits of their adaptation in each country, an essential move for delimiting exactly what can and cannot be considered Scouting.

Nonetheless, the recognition policy, beginning with the very name, is still the Achilles' heel of World Scouting. Neither of the organizations has developed a clear line of argument on the link between democratic membership, recognition, and the possibility of generating change from within, which has led to the creation of organizations, particularly in the last fifteen years, calling themselves Scouts but which are not World Scouting members. Without making a rigid classification as such, Nagy's report highlights what I think are the three main elements found at the heart of many splits and which, paradoxically, have been crucial to the growth of World Scouting. The first is Scouting's interaction with other organizations that support it because they supposedly have the same purpose, particularly churches and religious confessions: I will deal with element this later. The second element is the cultural factor, i.e. the organization's identification with a specific national or regional group, which sometimes differs from the officially recognized one. And the third element is the discrepancy on interpretations of the differential characteristics of the association, i.e. how true it is to the original associative model. Interestingly, the two biggest international organizations that use the 'Scout' name without being members of World Scouting, '*Scouts d'Europe*' and the '*World Federation of Independent Scouts*' were the result, in the one case, of interaction with the Catholic church and, in the other, of a conflict over association culture in the associations of a number of countries.

As I mentioned in the Structure section, the official policy of WAGGGS and WOSM is only to recognize one 'association' per country²⁰². In the special cases where a country has more than one association, a 'federation' must be created²⁰³, which will be the recognized 'national organization'. The term '*national organization*' therefore covers both associations and federations. Only 'religious' and 'cultural' factors can justify a single State having more than one association, which means that the third factor I will deal with – conflict over the vision of association – is the only one of the three that has never been recognized by organizations as justification for the division of Scouting in a country. While the associative vision remains within the limits agreed worldwide, the majority vision adopted in each case is backed.

3.4. Factor One: Religious Confessions. The *Scouts d'Europe* case

The adoption of Scouting by other organizations, including religious, is mentioned in the very first edition of *Scouting for Boys* in 1908. The introduction, addressed to "instructors", says "the [scout] system is applicable to existing organisations such as schools, boy's brigades, cadet corps, etc., or can supply a simple organisation of its own where these do not exist"²⁰⁴. The founding of the Boy Scouts Association UK, however, meant that the alternative, "[to] supply a simple organisation of its own", was put into practice and organizations wanting to apply the Scout method

²⁰² WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

²⁰³ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 d).

²⁰⁴ BADEN-POWELL, [1908] 2004: 5.

were then subject to decisions made by the Scout association on the method. This difference is very important. If the model had been maintained whereby a book inspired a method called Scouting in which each group or organization had absolute freedom as to how to apply it, we could not discuss Scouting as a defined organizational subject; we would have to refer to it as a more or less defined educational method, like active education. However, the creation of a legitimate organization to set the standards, first in Britain (1909) and then throughout the world (1920), forced organizations who wanted to employ the Scout method to do so in accordance with the methodological and ideological guidelines of the corresponding Scout organization.

There is one exception to this: the North-American WOSM association, Boy Scouts of America. This is the only organization that has always had a system in which sponsors are responsible for much of the programme's implementation, even down to the selection of Scoutmasters. Following Kunz (1967), I define this model of Scouting sponsorship as a special case of interorganizational relations where the sponsored organization uses other organizations to implement its programme at a basic level²⁰⁵. I will analyse the negative effects of this model when I come to discuss incoherencies in practices in Chapter 5.

Although Scouting opted for the model of forming its own association, in England in 1909 and in the rest of the world in 1920 – with the single exception of the USA – it always sought the cooperation of civic institutions, associations, parishes, and schools to promote the movement, and it is this model that has made it so strong. The model is based on a symbiosis, in the sense that some of the principles of the collaborating institution are implemented through the principles of the Scout Movement. However, there is always a general danger of upsetting the balance of this symbiosis, like when a parish tries to use Scouting as a tool for catechism or a church wants to use it as a tool for evangelism, and this use is placed above the principles of the Scout Movement. The prevalence of the principles and characteristics of Scouting over those of the institutions that collaborate with it has been – and is still – one of the most contentious subjects in World Scouting. Although there have been instances where a public institution has tried to use Scouting as a way to transmit the ideology of the regime in question – something I have analysed in the section on global citizenship – this problem has occurred and still occurs today mainly with religious institutions.

The British model of Scout association established in 1909 was originally based on "the universal and ecumenical character of Scouting, which regarded all religions as means of satisfying the spiritual needs of youth"²⁰⁶, which means that the full range of beliefs are covered by a single association and that no church or confession should be above any other in the association. There is also the option of setting up internal committees for a given confession. This model was adopted by almost 90% of WOSM and WAGGGS member organizations and is the organizational basis of World Scouting. However, there has been a very strong inclination towards religious particularism, particularly because of external pressures from churches, and this has led to the creation of associations linked to a single religion. The phenomenon

²⁰⁵ KUNZ, 1969: 666.

²⁰⁶ NAGY, 1985: 100.

began in France, which, in December 1905, passed its Law on the Separation of Church and State²⁰⁷. In 1911, before the World Scouting organization was established, the *Éclaireurs de France* was set up. This was a specifically lay association whose promise made no mention of God, but it adopted the British *Scout* method – *éclaireur* is regarded as a synonym of 'Scout' in French. That same year saw the creation of the *Éclaireurs Unionistes de France*, a Protestant association backed by a leader of the *Unions Chrésiennes de Jeunes Gens*, the equivalent of the YMCA²⁰⁸. This is how France came to have both a specifically lay association – i.e. one that did not carry out religious activities of any kind, unlike the British association – and an association that was explicitly linked to a church – also unlike the British case, which did not depend on any other institution.

The Catholic church was initially cautious about Scouting, mainly because it was a movement of English origins that also contained elements reminiscent of Freemasonry: just as the Freemasons establish that members must believe in a supreme being, obey the laws of God and men, and extend charity and brotherly love, the principles of Scouting established that the Scout had to believe in God, be loyal to the King, and always help others²⁰⁹. Nonetheless, in the 1920s, the Catholics finally conceded and adopted the French Protestant model. The Catholic Church in Rome began to promote the creation of separate Catholic 'Scout' associations, under the direct responsibility of dioceses. "Many considered this step as "spiritual imperialism" contrary to the universal basis of Scouting as well as dissidence or even an attempt to attract potential priests", says Nagy²¹⁰. The first case was the *Associazione Scouts Cattolici Italiani* in 1916²¹¹, even though Italy already had a non-denominational association; it was followed by the *Scouts de France* (1920, followed by the *Guides de France* in 1923) and the *Corpo Nacional de Escutas-Escutismo Cat3lico Portugu3s* (1923). Although the Vatican officially recognized the educational value of Scouting in the 1930s, it did so referring to the model of separate Catholic Scout associations, one that was maintained in many French-speaking countries after decolonization and adopted in a number of other cases: Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay in the 1960s, and Benin and Guinea in the 1990s. In all of the above instances, Catholic groups split from the recognized Scout organization and set up a separate one²¹².

It was because of France's separation of lay and confessional Scouting, as opposed to the British model of one, non-denominational type of Scouting with religious inspiration, that World Scouting accepted federations when it was formalized in 1920. At the Second International Scout Conference, held in Paris in 1922, one of the hot topics of the new constitutional framework, which was to transform the Constitution into a tool to prevent fragmentation and dissidence, was whether international recognition could only be granted to single associations, as in Britain,

²⁰⁷ The French Law of 1905 established the religious neutrality of the State and its lack of authority in religious matters, in stark contrast to the situation in Britain, where the 1534 Act of Supremacy, inspired by King Henry VIII and passed by Parliament, made the monarch head of the Church of England – 'Supreme Governor' – which has been the case since 1559.

²⁰⁸ KERGMARD and FRANÇOIS, 1983: 34.

²⁰⁹ KERR, 1994. The same author also notes that no documentation has been found to prove that there is a direct relationship between Robert Baden-Powell and the Freemasons.

²¹⁰ NAGY, 1985: 100.

²¹¹ See PIERI, 2003: 19-20.

²¹² NAGY, 1967: 46; WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, August/September 1996, 3-5.

or to federations of associations, as in France. This was when "all national Associations were recognized without any preconditions, as had been promised two years earlier in London. This meant that in some of the founder countries, secular Associations without any explicit reference to service to God were accepted"²¹³. Nonetheless, the subsequent Conference passed the resolution quoted earlier on Scouting Principles, which included a comforting reference for those who saw both the acceptance of lay Scouting and the existence of associations not linked to any religion as the start of an agnostic or atheistic departure, despite making it clear that there was no room for a clash between religions:

"The Scout Movement has no tendency to weaken but, on the contrary, to strengthen individual religious belief. The Scout Law requires that a Scout shall truly and sincerely practise his religion, and the policy of the Movement forbids any kind of sectarian propaganda at mixed gatherings"²¹⁴.

This situation has generated tensions at different points in the past. In their book on lay French Scouting, Kergomard and François note that an attempt was made in 1949 to exclude associations with promises not mentioning God or religion from the 12th International Scout Conference²¹⁵. Although this is not recorded in the official Conference Report, it does appear in an internal report written by the British delegate to the conference, a copy of which is kept in the archives of the World Scout Bureau. In it, he explains that the Dutch association submitted a document on Scouting and religion, which led to a resolution proposal stating that:

"Since the Scout promise is the basis of all our Scoutwork it is essential that all Associations registered as members of the Conference should accept the Scout Promise of Duty to God (or to my religion). Those Associations which do not accept this Scout principle cannot be regarded as members of our International Scout Movement"²¹⁶

Although the British report does not say so, Kergomard and François note that the greatest pressure was brought to bear by the North-American delegation. They claim that the non-denominational associations were mainly from European countries at the time: Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Holland and Italy, and that "they were subject to a three-day attack orchestrated by the American delegation. In a private conversation, the leader of this delegation stated that the Éclaireurs de France were atheists and hence, communists"²¹⁷. Although the position taken by the French delegate, Pierre François, was that his association could not accept a mandate like the one being proposed, voting went ahead regardless with the result of 72 votes for and 72 against. The Canadian Chair of the meeting voted against and it was finally agreed to remove the resolution from the minutes and pretend that it had never existed. But it *did* exist: as Colquhoun, the UK Scouting delegate, says in his report, "At any rate, there is no doubt that the International Committee

²¹³ NAGY, 1985: 94. "It was a question that remained highly controversial until 1977 when the Constitution was amended under which the status quo was more or less respected but strong emphasis was placed on the spiritual dimensions of Scout education".

²¹⁴ WOSM, 1985, 3 (Res. 14/24); see "From Conference to Conference", article by the Director of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in *Jamboree: Journal of Boy Scouting*, May 1947 (Vol. II): 147.

²¹⁵ KERGMARD and FRANÇOIS, 1983: 345-346.

²¹⁶ 'For information of the Committee of the Council for meeting of 28th September, 1949. Twelfth International Scout Conference. August 8-10, 1949, at Elvesaeter, Norway'. Report signed by J.F. Colquhoun, [UK Scouting] Commissioner at Headquarters, 8th September 1949: page 3. (World Scout Bureau Archives).

²¹⁷ KERGMARD and FRANÇOIS, 1983: 346.

will watch the position of future applicants for membership most carefully"²¹⁸. And this is just what happened: to date, there has been no backing down with regard to the official view that Scouting and belief are inseparable, even though the existence of lay Scouting proves that the formula can be overlooked without Scouting losing its identity.

As I explained earlier, of the more than one hundred and seventy member countries of WOSM and/or WAGGGS, only twenty have federations that include Scout associations linked to a church or religious organization: Germany, Belgium, Burkina Faso, Canada (the French-speaking associate of *Scouts du Canada*), Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Denmark, Spain and its associated Catalan federation, France²¹⁹, Gabon, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Luxemburg, Madagascar, Norway, Portugal, Senegal, and Sweden. The Scout federations with associations linked to a religious confession are mainly from Europe and countries with a French influence. Besides associations linked to churches, there are some special instances of Scout associations being connected to the YMCA, as is the case in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Nonetheless, in European countries with a Catholic tradition that have more than one Scout association, the Catholic Scout associations are generally bigger than the non-denominational or lay associations, which is true of France, Italy, the two communities in Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Catalonia. In contrast, non-denominational associations are bigger in Scandinavian countries.

No studies have been conducted to show whether the model of religious federations is beneficial for Scouting, although, in the case of the Catholic church, when a balance has been struck between the interests of the church and the principles and characteristics of Scouting, these associations have been bigger than the non-denominational or lay associations. However, countries with only one Scout association have produced proportionally more members as a percentage of the total population aged 5 to 19; these include the United States (5.21% in the WOSM association and 4.65% in the WAGGGS association), Thailand (6.85% in the WOSM association), and Great Britain (4.27% in the WAGGGS association). As I said earlier, over the last fifteen years, WOSM has regarded federations as an exception; it has stalled the creation of new federations and encouraged federate associations to merge in an effort to restore the model of a single association for each country. However, Nagy pointed out in his 1967 report that, "contrary to the usually prevailing opinion, dissidence is not the speciality of the countries where the associations form a federation"²²⁰, but that it was a feature in countries with single associations. Nevertheless, he fails to offer a complete comparison indicating whether this could bear relation to the fact that most countries have a single association.

²¹⁸ 'For information of the Committee of the Council for meeting of 28th September, 1949. Twelfth International Scout Conference. August 8-10, 1949, at Elvesaeter, Norway'. Report signed by J.F. Colquhoun, [UK Scouting] Commissioner at Headquarters, 8th September 1949: page 4. (World Scout Bureau Archives).

²¹⁹ In 1990, the French federation approved the entry of the new Scouts Musulmans de France association, which joined the existing secular, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish associations. This was the last time that a new confessional association was accepted in World Scouting.

²²⁰ NAGY, 1967: 45.

In 1948, the separation of Catholic associations in some countries jeopardized the world organization when the International Catholic Scouters Conference (ICSC) was established for Catholic Scout associations and the Catholic offices of pluralistic associations. To prevent the split that had occurred in some countries from spreading worldwide and thus preserve the unity of the movement, in 1962 (the same year that the Vatican approved the Statutes and Constitution of the ICSC), the World Scout Committee (WOSM) gave the ICSC consultative status, as it would later do with other similar organizations of other confessions. On the basis of religious criteria, these '*organizations*' cover national Scout associations (i.e. members of World Scouting) linked to a single religion, whether as an association or a religious secretariat in a pluralist association. For WOSM, these organizations are the International Catholic Conference of Scouting (name adopted in 1975 by the former ICSC)²²¹, the International Union of Muslim Scouts, and the International Link of Orthodox Scouts. For WAGGGS, there is the International Catholic Conference of Guides. The organizations, which have '*consultative status*' with WOSM or WAGGGS, give confessional Scout organizations a framework in which to share their common beliefs, although they also alter the unity of the movement. The World Committee must approve the consultative status of an organization²²², and they are seen as a concession to prevent the split of the movement on religious grounds²²³.

In 1983, seven French-speaking lay Scout associations (the European French and Belgian associations and five African associations) set up the Coopération Francophone du Scoutisme Laïque (COFRASL) to organize a formal network of development cooperation activities. Regardless of whether the aim was indeed to develop cooperation, lay Scout work in groups began to stir the interest of other European Scout associations that called themselves 'lay', 'pluralist'²²⁴, or even 'open' or 'secular', depending on the language and cultural tradition. There are no clear definitions for these terms, but the term 'lay' can be used to describe Scout associations in which religion is not practised as a group and which follow the French-speaking tradition of 'laicity', while pluralist associations have groups linked

²²¹ The members of the International Catholic Conference of Scouting (2006) are associations with membership of WOSM – or its respective pastoral commissions, indicated by * – in the following countries: Madagascar, Burundi, Rwanda, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Senegal, Chad, Benin, Gabon, Peru, Ecuador, Paraguay, Canada (French-speaking), Costa Rica, Colombia, Chile*, Argentina*, Uruguay*, Haiti, the United States*, Santa Lucia, Bolivia, Brazil, Korea, Japan*, the Philippines*, Thailand*, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Singapore, Switzerland (Italian)*, Italy, Romania, Hungary*, Israel, Jordan, Portugal, Germany, Belgium (Flemish and Walloons), Czech Republic, France, Lebanon, Luxemburg, Lithuania, Catalonia, Spain, Palestine, Liechtenstein, Austria, Ireland, the United Kingdom*, Malta, Switzerland (German)*, and Poland.

²²² WOSM, 1983: Article XV.9.

²²³ See the section on Structure and Operation in this chapter.

²²⁴ "Le pluralisme actif est ce qui différencie les Scouts Pluralistes des autres organisations de jeunesse. Il constitue un axe majeur de l'action éducative auprès des enfants et des jeunes. Ainsi, nos groupes locaux accueillent chaque jeune quelle que soit son origine, ses croyances, sa philosophie ou sa culture. Musulmans, catholiques, protestants, juifs, laïques, agnostiques,... tous ont leur place dans le scoutisme pluraliste. Nous faisons le choix de la rencontre d'origines sociales et de valeurs spirituelles multiples, sources de richesse et de tolérance dans un souci d'ouverture et de droit à la différence". [The active pluralism of Scouts Pluralistes is what sets it apart from other youth organizations. It is a key focus of our educational action with children and young people. Hence, our local groups take in all youths regardless of their background, beliefs, philosophy or culture. Muslims, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, lays, agnostics, etc., all have a place in Pluralist Scouting. We choose to mix our social backgrounds and multiple spiritual values, sources of wealth and tolerance, in a bid for openness and the right to difference].

"Qui sommes-nous?" section of the website of the Scouts et Guides Pluralistes de Belgique: <http://www.sgp.be/qui/qui.htm> [Consulted on: 24th July 2006].

to religious confessions and lay groups. In contrast, open associations stem from the English-speaking tradition, in which there is no religious link but laicity is not contemplated; the term 'secular' is used in some countries to define both lay and open associations, though with little success because it indicates an absence of spiritual dimension in English²²⁵. So, in 1996, twelve WOSM member associations²²⁶ – and some WAGGGS members – set up the Union Internationale des Associations Scoutes-Guides Pluralistes/Laïques (UIPL, translated into English as the *International Union of Pluralist/Secular Scout-Guide Associations*), with a similar aim to the confessional organizations: to work together to educate people in the spiritual dimension, though from a non-confessional point of view. The UIPL Charter (point 5) establishes the aim as:

"Nos associations pluralistes/laïques et coéducatives affirment leur volonté de développer le patrimoine commun scout et guide. Des associations membres de l'AMGE [WAGGGS] et/ou de l'OMMS [WOSM] s'affirmant pluraliste/laïques, décident:

- pour renforcer la coopération entre les enfants, les jeunes, les adultes elles sont responsables
- pour créer un lieu de réflexion sur les valeurs qui font leur spécificité
- pour développer par la rencontre volontaire la pratique d'activités communes
- pour mieux coordonner leurs actions
- de s'associer en une Union Internationale ouverte à toutes les associations qui auraient les mêmes intentions.

La création de cette Union est aussi un appel à approfondir et à enrichir principes et valeurs spécifiques par un dialogue renforcé avec toutes les composantes du scoutisme et du guidisme mondial, en particulier avec celles ayant un lien avec des confessions"²²⁷

The leaders of the new UIPL asked WOSM to give them the same consultative status as the religious organizations. But the World Committee decided to reject these statutes on the basis that WOSM already had this role of working to educate the spiritual dimension from a non-confessional point of view. This stance also followed the negative reaction of WOSM's management to the progressive secularization of its associations, as revealed by many requests to remove the term 'God' from the Promise²²⁸.

²²⁵ The bilingual Catalan/English edition of *La laïcitat a l'escoltisme / Laicity in Scouting/Guiding* (ADROHER, 1998: 40) includes a "Translation clarification" explaining that the French terms "laïc/laïcité" have no English translation, since "secular/secularity" strips the term of its spiritual dimension, while it is retained in the lay French Scouting tradition. This translation issue has been the cause of many misunderstandings between "lay" Scouting with French or Latin roots and the "open" Anglo-German or Scandinavian Scouting, even though they are very similar in approach.

²²⁶ The founding associations were from Belgium (Flemish and Walloon associations), Italy, Cameroon, Central Africa, Gabon, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, France, Catalonia, and Luxemburg. (<http://www.cngei.it/uilp/uilp1.htm>) [Consulted on: 24th July 2006].

²²⁷ [Our pluralist/lay and co-educational associations hereby declare their wish to develop the common heritage of Scouting and Guiding. Member associations of WAGGGS and/or WOSM declaring themselves to be pluralist/lay resolve to:

- strengthen cooperation between children and youths and the adults responsible for them
 - create a space for reflection on the values that make them unique
 - develop, through voluntary participation, the practice common activities
 - coordinate their actions better
 - form an association through an International Union open to all associations with these same intentions.
- The creation of this Union is also an appeal to further and enrich specific principles and values through consolidated dialogue with all members of World Scouting and Guiding, especially those with confessional links]. "Charte de Union Internationale des Associations Scoutes-Guides Pluralistes/Laïques" (<http://www.cngei.it/uilp/uilp1.htm>) [Consulted on: 24th July 2006].

²²⁸ Jacques Moreillon, Secretary General of WOSM from 1988 to 2004, in weighing up the work carried out during his mandate, illustrates this point perfectly: "We also had to be quite tactical and pay great attention to detail, especially to the written word and to the coherence of WOSM's positions. For instance, on constitutional matters linked to the recognition of new countries (an area which brought us

Paradoxically, although the Vatican originally encouraged the model of grouping Catholic WOSM and WAGGGS Scouting into associations, the Catholic Church has recently given its support, outside WOSM and WAGGGS, to the largest organization to use the 'Scout' name without accepting the principles and characteristics of World Scouting – *Scouts d'Europe*. This Catholic organization was established in Germany in 1956 and introduced into France two years later²²⁹. It includes associations linked to the Catholic Church that are not members of either WOSM or WAGGGS but which still use the 'Scout' name.

This organization, legalized in French law, is officially called the *International Union of European Guides and Scouts-European Scouting Federation* (in French, *Union Internationale des Guides et Scouts d'Europe-Fédération du Scoutisme Européen*)²³⁰. According to the association's official figures, it has 55,000 members "in Europe and Quebec", of which almost half – 25,000 – are from the French Association des Guides et Scouts d'Europe²³¹, and most of the other half – 19,000 – are from the Associazione Italiana Guide e Scouts d'Europa Cattolici²³². The figure is a modest one, not only in comparison to World Scouting, but also to European Catholic Scouting associations – the French and Italian Catholic Scout associations, *Scouts et Guides de France* and *Associazione Guide e Scouts Cattolici Italiani*, both WOSM and WAGGGS members, have 66,000 and 177,000 members, respectively. Moreover, the people in charge of Catholic Scout associations and World Scouting generally are concerned about the explicit support lent by the Catholic Church to this organization. Back in 1977, the Vatican approved the Catholic Scouting Charter drawn up by the International Catholic Conference of Scouting, thus giving official approval to an organization that accepts the authority of World Scouting above any other. Later on, however, the Vatican discovered that Scouts d'Europe was an aesthetically similar organization but did not accept any authority other than the Catholic Church, as established in its Statutes:

1.2.9. The Union is composed of Catholic scouting associations. It acts and makes decisions according to the rules of this faith.

So in 2003, despite the opposition of Catholic European associations that were members of WOSM and WAGGGS, the Vatican officially recognized the International Union of European Guides and Scouts through Decree 1130/03/AIC of the Pontifical Council for the Laity, and approved its Statutes, which are subject to Canon law.

37 new countries in these 15 years thanks mainly to the fall of the Soviet empire), we stood firm in the defense of Scouting's principles, avoiding easy or "pro-forma" recognition of "pseudo-Scout" organizations without a spiritual dimension. This was essential in a period during which so many new NSOs were being prepared for recognition ... and achieved it. This policy has not only set a high level of requirements for admission to WOSM, but it is also preventing many problems for us today which we would have otherwise had if we had shown ourselves more permissive. I am glad that the World Scout Committee always supported us on this issue". "Address of Dr. Jacques Moreillon, former Secretary General of WOSM, to Dr. Eduardo Missoni, WOSM Secretary General". Circular 4/2004, World Scout Bureau: 31st March 2004.

²²⁹ 'Les Scouts d'Europe misent sur la transparence por redresser leur image' Article in *Le Monde*, 1st September 2000.

²³⁰ Statutes of the International Union of European Guides and Scouts-European Scouting Federation, 2003. English version: http://www.uigse.org/statuto_en.asp; French version: http://www.uigse.org/statuto_fr.asp. [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

²³¹ Website of the French Association des Guides et Scouts d'Europe: <http://www.scouts-europe.org/decouvrir/index.shtml> [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

²³² Website of the Associazione Italiana Guide e Scouts d'Europa Cattolici: <http://www.fse.it/> [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

Various articles in the Statutes reveal that its actions are an instrument of the Church:

1.2.1. The Union aims at gathering, in one same community of faith, prayer and action, the various national associations of the European Guides and Scouts²³³, the fundamental objective of which is to educate young people by using Baden Powell's traditional scouting methods, based on the Christian values at the roots of our common European civilisation.

1.2.6. The UIGSE-FSE wants to form a man of faith, son of the Church.

1.2.7. The UIGSE-FSE gives the primacy to each Christian's vocation to holiness. A Scout or a Guide has to be faithful to his Promise, his Principles and his Law according to the requirements of the Sermon on the Mountain, which is the true Charter of his whole Christian life.

In this sense, the UIGSE-FSE is called to be more and more a means of sanctification within the Church, a means favouring and encouraging a more intimate union between its members' concrete life and their faith.

The Statutes also establish that 'chiefs' must belong to the Church, an obligation that does not exist in Catholic World Scouting associations:

1.2.13. The youth's full religious development requires that their chiefs should belong to the same Church or Community as theirs, should profess the same doctrine, should take part in the same liturgical and sacramental life.

Furthermore, the premise that Scouting should be open to all is ignored, even though the term 'Scout' is used, since the Statutes establish that non-Christian children and young people can only be members in exceptional cases, and that any individual who has not been baptised cannot make the Scouts d'Europe version of the Promise:

1.2.14. Some non Christian young people may be exceptionally admitted within the units, on condition that their parents have previously accepted to recognise the confessional character of the Group. No one may pronounce his Scout or Guide promise if he is not baptised. However, a Scout or a Guide may be admitted to pronounce his Promise if he is involved in the catechumenate.

The text of the Promise (Article 1.3.2) incorporates loyalty to the Church, which is something that does not exist in any World Scouting association:

"Sur mon honneur, avec la grâce de Dieu, je m'engage:
à servir de mon mieux Dieu, l'Église, ma Patrie et l'Europe;
à aider mon prochain en toutes circonstances;
à observer la Loi Scoute"²³⁴.

If we analyse the Statutes of Scouts d'Europe, we can see that it is actually a movement designed to be a tool for the Catholic Church's action as an organization and that it has simply taken the elements of Scouting that it has considered useful and discarded those that it does not require. It has adopted the name, appearance, elements of the method, and even part of the text of the Promise and the Law of World Scouting (on the basis that Scouting is a programme that can be freely adapted), and interpreted the writings and positions of Robert Baden-Powell as it has seen fit. It also adopts an ambiguous discourse to benefit from the public image

²³³ The French version reads, "les diverses associations nationales des Guides et Scouts d'Europe".

²³⁴ [On my honour, with the grace of God, I promise to: Do my best to serve God, the Church, my Country and Europe; to help other people in every circumstance; to keep the Scout Law]. The same article of the Statutes indicates that the French version of the Promise prevails over any other.

of World Scouting. For example, its French association introduces one of its promotional documents in France by saying "Le scoutisme, c'est 250.000 jeunes en France, garçons et filles, qui pratiquent d'activités passionnantes, principalement dans la nature, sous forme d'aventures attrayantes"²³⁵, while the same leaflet says that Guides et Scouts d'Europe has 28,000 members. Besides failing to heed the premise of unity in diversity, a crucial aspect of World Scouting, and despite using its image, Scouts d'Europe fails to meet three basic requirements of the Scout Movement: being open to all, organizational independence, and the universal dimension. The latter is a dimension that goes way beyond a presence in more than two countries: as established in 1924, Scouting "is *universal* in that it insists upon universal fraternity between all Scouts of every nation, class or creed"²³⁶.

3.5. Factor Two: The Cultural Factor

The term '*national organization*' covers Scout associations and federations, and always refers to the holder of the world organization membership. As I explained earlier, the official policy of WAGGGS and WOSM is to recognize a single member organization per country²³⁷, and only 'religious' and 'cultural' factors can justify a state having more than one association. Although the religious factor, which I have discussed in this chapter, is the reason for most federations, the 'cultural' factor is a thornier issue because its definition touches on aspects such as the international political recognition of national groups that do not have their own State or official recognition. The 'cultural factor' also covers associations with a nationalist vision that does not have any international legitimacy or influence from other countries. The first cases were the British Boy Scouts²³⁸ in England and the Fédération Nationale des Éclaireurs Français, which in 1913 "s'affirment résolument français et hostiles à toute prépondérance anglosaxonne et à toute organisation internationale où dominerait cette influence"²³⁹. In the United States, legal action by Boy Scouts of America in 1918 prevented the equivalent of the British Boy Scouts splinter group, originally called the 'United States Boy Scouts' or 'American Boy Scouts', from keeping the Scout name and they were forced to be renamed the 'American Cadets'²⁴⁰. There is an interesting case of an ultranationalist movement in Thailand during the 1970s, called the 'Village Scout Movement', studied in detail by Katherine Bowie, which, despite the name, had nothing to do with World Scouting or Thai Scouting²⁴¹.

²³⁵ [Scouting has 250,000 young male and female members in France who carry out exciting activities, mainly outdoors, in the form of thrilling adventures]. "Ensemble pour l'aventure", leaflet from the French Association des Guides et Scouts d'Europe.

<http://www.scouts-europe.org/public/documents/pdf/Tract2002.pdf> [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

²³⁶ WOSM, 1985: 3 (Resolution 14/24).

²³⁷ WOSM, 1983: Article V.2; WAGGGS, 1999: Article V, Section 4 b).

²³⁸ "To his [Baden-Powell's] distress, some of the pacifists set up a splinter group, the National Peace Scouts, while some of the militaristically inclined people established the British Boy Scouts and the Empire Scouts as an answer to his un-compromising stand against including military drill in his scheme" HILLCOURT, 1964: 296. See also NAGY, 1985: 67.

²³⁹ [hereby declare that they are resolutely French and hostile to the supremacy of any English-speaking culture and any international organization in which this influence prevails]. KERGOMARD and FRANÇOIS, 1983: 38.

²⁴⁰ MACLEOD, 1983: 157.

²⁴¹ BOWIE, Katherine A. (1997): *Rituals of National Loyalty: An Anthropology of the State and the Village Scout Movement in Thailand*. New York: Columbia University Press.

In World Scouting, however, use of the 'cultural' factor to justify the existence of different recognized Scouting associations came originally from the groups of refugees from Eastern Europe in the 1920s. In 1929, the International Scout Conference made two exceptions for the acceptance of new members: the Scout associations of Russia and Armenia, both set up by exiles residing in France. As Nagy explains,

"Russia was recognized as a founder country [1920] but a special case inasmuch as Scout representatives in exile were given recognition in 1928, although their association faded away shortly after. In practice, the Russian exile association should have been incorporated into the French one since it operated in French soil. The second exception was the Armenian Scouts, also registered in France, who received recognition in 1929 and still [1985] enjoy it. This was another exception that confirmed the rule; a unique case which resulted from the ambiguity of the use in the original constitution of the words "country" and "national organization"²⁴².

Recognition of the role of minorities went through various stages in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1926, the International Scout Conference approved a resolution (15/26) to allow national minorities in countries other than their own to create their own Scout groups within the association of the country where they resided, with "the right to use their own language in their inner life". Then, in 1929, International Conference Resolutions 19/29 and 20/29 established that the association of origin had to be consulted before a group was set up with a different nationality²⁴³. And finally, just before World War II broke out, in July 1939, Resolution 12/39 was passed on displaced individuals. This recommended that they be integrated into the existing association instead of creating "any separate national group in another country"²⁴⁴.

After World War II, World Scouting was forced to change its policy given the huge numbers of refugees and displaced persons. The Russian Scout association in exile in France, which had been approved in 1928, was stripped of its recognition. The "Displaced Persons Division" was then set up in the Boy Scouts International Bureau to help refugees and displaced persons in Germany and Austria. However, to avoid repeating the earlier model, Resolution 14/47 of the 1947 International Conference explicitly stated that "registration with the DP Division will not give right of membership of the Boy Scouts International Conference but will give recognition as Scouts under the protection of the Bureau"²⁴⁵. The new position on displaced persons and refugees then, prevented the creation of new associations in exile hoping to obtain international recognition. Instead, it encouraged displaced persons to join Scouting in their adopted country until they returned to their native country – a hypothetical return in most cases²⁴⁶. Russia did not become a member of WOSM until the year 2000, while Armenia did so in 1997, when it recovered its independence. When Armenia became a member of WOSM with full voting rights,

²⁴² NAGY, 1985: 94.

²⁴³ There is a very interesting analysis of this model in the article 'A Comparative Study of the Boy Scout Movement in Different National and Social Groups' (SCHEIDLINGER, 1948), which analyses the presence of Polish Scouting in the United States, carried out by Polish exiles after World War II, and the questions regarding which language to use, which flag to adopt and which country to swear loyalty to.

²⁴⁴ WOSM, 1985: 7, 15. Yet between 1922 and 1932, the Boy Scouts Association UK itself had encouraged and managed the migration of Scouts to the colonies, mainly to Australia, but also to Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, as recently shown by VOELTZ (2003).

²⁴⁵ WOSM, 1985: 17.

²⁴⁶ NAGY, 1985: 120.

the association that had been recognized in France, 'Scouts of Armenia', disappeared.

In 1936, the combination of cultural and religious factors in Canada resulted in the creation of a French-speaking Catholic Scouting federation (Fédération des Scouts Catholiques), mainly in Quebec, with links to the Catholic Scouts de France association. English-speaking Canadian Scouting already existed as an autonomous 'branch' (Canadian General Council) of the British Boy Scouts Association, a typical situation in many Commonwealth countries. In 1946, Scouts of Canada was awarded international recognition as a WOSM member with full voting rights and the situation of the French speakers was regularized in 1961 with the creation of the French-speaking Association des Scouts du Canada, which was made an associate member of the Scouts of Canada.

Although Scouting has had to adapt to the independence processes that have taken place over the last 100 years – particularly as a result of decolonization and the collapse of the USSR – Scout jurisprudence has been very careful not to use culture as a way of encouraging the creation of separate associations in areas seeking independence²⁴⁷. In his report quoted earlier, John Beresford points out that,

"[t]here is today increasing pressure from ethnic and other minorities in some countries to seek independence for their region. Scouts and Guides in these regions may feel loyalty towards the aspirations of their regional and local communities and press to become separate Associations. However both WAGGGS and WOSM have identical policies (with rare exceptions) in adopting the UN criteria for recognising a sovereign state and do not permit two National Organisations in the same State"²⁴⁸.

The current strategy is to prevent Scouting from becoming involved in the conflict that generally precedes independence; however, as soon as a country obtains internationally recognized independence, the organization quickly sets about creating an independent Scout organization. The WAGGGS by-laws have a specific point that deals with these cases, entitled "National Organizations in countries attaining political independence":

"A National Organization which has been part of the World Association through a Member Organization may, on the attainment of political independence by its country, apply direct for Membership of the World Association. In a country where the formalities of political independence are in process but not fully completed the National Organization in that country may submit an application for Membership of the World Association. Subject to recommendation by the World Board the application may be submitted to Full Members meeting at a World Conference, for approval. The World Conference may authorize the World Board to send, at its discretion, the official acceptance as a Member of the World Association and the Certificate of Membership; this to be either when the formalities of the country's independence are completed or, in special circumstances, at a time considered more appropriate by the World Board"²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁷ I develop this point further in VALLORY, 2004.

²⁴⁸ "Fact-finding Study (WOSM/WAGGGS)", document submitted by John Beresford, Chair of the Constitutions Committee of WOSM, to the World Scout Committee, 7th October 2000, p.9.

²⁴⁹ WAGGGS, 1999: By-law I, Section 4.

As I explained in the Structure and operation section of this chapter, there are six countries that have recognized Scout organizations with different associations for 'cultural' reasons: Belgium, with its Flemish and Walloon communities; Bosnia Herzegovina; Canada and the French-speaking community; Denmark and the Faeroe Islands and Greenland; Spain with the Catalan federation, and Israel. Of all these cases, only the French-speaking Scouts du Canada association, the Faeroe Islands association, and the Catalan federation have the special 'associate' status. There are also three more territorial exceptions: Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Palestine, of which only the latter is a clear case of the "exceptional" recognition of a non-state national community.

Taiwan has a different case with WOSM and WAGGGS: while WAGGGS has recognized the Girl Scouts of Taiwan as a member since 1966, WOSM has not recognized organization under the name of Taiwan. WOSM does have a recognized organization called *Boy Scouts of China*, although it only effectively operates in Taiwan. Chinese Scouting was a WOSM member from 1937 to 1950, before it was outlawed. The logic behind the WOSM member organization that keeps Scouting in Taiwan is not that of the Taiwan independentists, but of the Chinese unionists, who moved to Taiwan. Taiwan's status has been maintained, but it is provisional and WOSM hopes that "[it] represents an extra issue in view of a hopefully near future when Scouting will officially start in People's Republic of China"²⁵⁰.

The Hong Kong Scout (WOSM) and Guide (WAGGGS) associations were recognized when *Hong Kong* was under British protection, before it became an independent state. In 1997, when Hong Kong became part of the People's Republic of China as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) – bearing in mind that Scouting is not officially recognized in China – the Scout association of Hong Kong was maintained and still exists to date. Portuguese Scouting in Macau on the other hand was not so fortunate²⁵¹ when Macau passed into Chinese hands in 1999, also as a Special Administrative Region.

Lastly, the *Palestinian Scout Association*, founded in 1951 with relations with the Arab region, where it was an 'associate member', was recognized by WOSM as a non-voting member in 1996 – three years after the "Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements" was signed in Washington, which established a Palestinian National Authority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It is a pluriconfessional Scout association that meets the three essential conditions for recognition: one association per "territory", accepted statutes, and a defined territorial base: the land governed by the Palestinian National Authority. The resolution on recognition establishes that "this conditional recognition", based on "the uniqueness of the case", "shall give the palestinian Scout Association the principal privileges and attributes of membership, except the right to vote", and

²⁵⁰ "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005; adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 8.

²⁵¹ "[F]ull membership status is granted to National Scout Organizations belonging to "territories" that are not recognized as politically sovereign, as it is the case for the Scout Association of Hong Kong. With the added paradox of another Scout Organization established in a territory with the same political status as Hong Kong (i.e. Macau) to whom the membership is not granted". "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005; adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 8.

"records that this situation shall prevail until the sovereignty of Palestine is internationally established, at which time the Palestinian Scout Association shall be considered for full membership status in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution of WOSM"²⁵².

Besides these three exceptions, no specific policy has been adopted regarding the consideration that these "territories" should have, i.e. Scout groups in non-independent communities that are geographically and culturally distant from their mother country, which now total 26 for WOSM²⁵³. They have obtained world membership through diverse means, whether through membership of the Scout association of their mother country, or through the adoption of the ambiguous status of 'accredited' association for the corresponding region.

3.6. Factor Three: Conflict over the Vision of Association. The 'Independent Scouts' case

To analyse the conflict over the vision of association in Scouting, I will use Sunder's definition (2001), which is the discrepancy in an organization between the argument that associative cultures change, sometimes for the better, and the argument that denies an organization legitimacy to change any of what it considers its founding elements²⁵⁴.

As I said earlier, there was a great deal of confusion in the early days of Scouting regarding its identity as an associative project. To begin with, *Scouting for Boys* did not refer to the establishment of a specific association, saying that existing organizations could carry out *Scouting* simply by following the instructions in the book. The founding of the Boy Scouts Association (UK) in 1909 was a reaction to the groups of boys that had been set up to put the ideas of *Scouting for Boys* into practice. Hence, Baden-Powell's insistence that "Scouting started itself"²⁵⁵, meaning that Scouting existed before the organization itself. Although this idea tries to place more emphasis on the boys than on the organization, the conceptual interpretations are important: if Scouting is an action that everybody interprets as they see fit, on what basis can we say that the Hitler Youth was not Scouting? There is only one answer: Baden-Powell. While the founder of Scouting lived, he had both the legal and moral authority recognized by everybody as the man in charge, firstly of British Scouting and then World Scouting (after 1920); it was he who dispelled doubts about what Scouting was. Baden-Powell was the man who progressively passed on his moral authority to the associations that made up World Scouting, and this is why the World Conference was so important right from the start. His speeches and discourses were full of pointers about what Scouting was and was not, pointers that the legitimate bodies later formalized as resolutions. While Robert Baden-Powell

²⁵² "Document 9: 'Recognition of New Members'. 34th World Scout Conference" (Oslo, Norway, 1996). WOSM, 1996, pp. 2-4.

²⁵³ WOSM identifies 28 "territories" in a recent document: "Anguilla, Antarctica, Aruba, Bermuda, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Cook Islands, Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Faroe Islands, French Guiana, French Polynesia, Gibraltar, Greenland, Guadeloupe, Macau, Martinique, Montserrat, Netherlands Antilles, New Caledonia, Norfolk Island, Puerto Rico, Réunion, Saint Helena, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, Turks and Caicos Islands, Virgin Islands (British), Virgin Islands (U.S.), Wallis and Futuna". "Document 7: 'Governance of WOSM'. 37th World Scout Conference" (Yasmine Hammamet, Tunisia, 2005: adopted as a reference document). WOSM, Geneva, 2005, p. 8.

²⁵⁴ SUNDER, 2001: 500-5001.

²⁵⁵ BADEN-POWELL, 1937.

and Olave Baden-Powell led the two world organizations, they showed an ability to move with the times, as with the marine or aerial types of Scouting. Ideologically, the evolution of Baden-Powell's own thoughts between 1908 and 1918 on peace, cultural diversity, and freethinking is famous in itself.

On Robert Baden-Powell's death in 1941, a debate emerged on how to interpret his thinking, particularly regarding changes in the defining elements of the different associations. Because the organizational system of World Scouting does not impose a single model of associative culture (in terms of the application of worldwide common minimums), the changes in the various associations over the years have had supporters and detractors who have not always reached an agreement. As a result, the evolution of the methodology and image of Scouting in many countries has transformed or replaced formal and practical elements that were originally part of the associative culture, which has led to splintering.

The first case dates back to 1964, when the Boy Scout Association UK set in motion a process "to study all aspects of the future of Scouting and to make recommendations ... as to the development of the Movement", which resulted in a document called the "Advance Party Report"²⁵⁶. The implementation of the conclusions of this report included changing elements such as the uniform, the name of the association (removing the word 'Boy'), elements of the method, and characteristics of the sections, besides organizational matters. Some people in the UK strongly disagreed with the proposed changes, because they saw them as abandoning the traditions and intentions of Robert Baden-Powell. In 1970, after the changes had already started to be implemented, the detractors formed a new British association called the Baden-Powell Scouts. Interestingly, the group split from the Scouting established by Baden-Powell because it refused to accept the changes agreed in a democratic decision-making process, but it adopted the name Baden-Powell as a source of legitimacy for its new project. There were similar splits in a number of countries²⁵⁷ (mainly in Europe) and although they were numerically irrelevant and never became WOSM members, they did encourage the general public to question the unity of Scouting and its modernity. Therefore, while many WOSM member associations tried to dispel the stereotyped image of military-like uniforms or formal stagings that were at odds with central Western values, the splinter associations based their existence on 'loyalty' to these elements, which were – to them – what "Baden-Powell's Scouting" was all about.

In 1996, a number of these associations set up the World Federation of Independent Scouts in Germany, to give associations that called themselves Scouts but were not members of World Scouting an international federation through which they could organize camps, rallies, and collective training²⁵⁸. In Germany alone, there are eleven member associations, but the largest and oldest (1970) is still the

²⁵⁶ The Boy Scouts Association, 1966: "The Advance Party Report (Popular Edition), Being the Recommendations of the Chief Scout's Advance Party, 1966". London: The Boy Scouts Association.

²⁵⁷ NAGY (1967: 43-44) mentions the case of the splinter association, the "All India Boy Scouts Association", which he says had more than 145,000 members and the reason for the split "also touches on the application of scout methods": the recognized association had introduced methodological changes and begun co-education, but the splinter association wanted to maintain the important traditional methods of the British and keep girls and boys separate.

²⁵⁸ Website of the World Federation of Independent Scouts-Europe:
<http://www.wfis-europe.org/en/start.html> [Consulted on: 8th July 2006].

British Baden-Powell Scouts; according to their data, the World Federation of Independent Scouts (WFIS) has 30,000 individual members around the world. To make a comparison, the Scout Association UK alone, member of WOSM, has 500,000. The only requirement for becoming a member of this international federation is not belonging "to another world organisation" and "to follow, and use, Baden-Powell's original program, traditions, uniforms, morals, ethics, and structure as laid out in B-P's *Scouting for Boys*", accepting modifications only for "health, environmental, first-aid, and safety reasons"²⁵⁹. The "international" membership of WFIS associations is, to all effects, rather unrealistic. Its website indicates that WFIS "acts as an umbrella association for regional scout organisations"²⁶⁰, which tells us that the name only includes regional organizations. Moreover, as of November 2006, there was only a website for the European region and there was no information on any other continent. As an organization, it does not have a shared set of ideas or bases other than that of not belonging to any other world organization, and its international structure is also rather dubious: the website states that members of its World Council are voted over the Internet²⁶¹.

As Sunder (2001) has explained in reference to the Boy Scouts of America, "modern society is becoming increasingly homogeneous across cultures and heterogeneous within them"²⁶², and this is equally applicable to associations. Since it is the world organization, with its democratic decision-making process, that has the legitimacy and authority to define what Scouting is and how it evolves, the policy in cases of splintering due to differences in interpretation of the principles or method has been to support the recognized organization, as in the British case mentioned above. However, as Sanders points out, there is a risk that legislation may be used to maintain a specific vision of the association and deny the rights of its members to promote changes, as occurred in the United States when the board of the Boy Scouts of America refused to accept homosexuals based on a dubious interpretation of the principle of freedom of association²⁶³. However, the organizations set up in the United States in opposition to the discriminatory action of the Boy Scouts of America opted to use advocacy or pressure groups, rather than creating a splinter association. One of the reasons is legal difficulties, as the *Inclusive Scouting*²⁶⁴ network explains in its list of reasons why it does not set up a new organization:

- 1) Congress in 1916 chartered the BSA as the sole Boy Scout organization in the USA. The BSA has won every case against groups who tried to have another Scout organization.
- 2) Any such organization would foster a different kind of discrimination, which would be equally wrong.
- 3) Any other organization that formed could not possibly be real Scouting if it couldn't work with Scouters and other Scout units who are in the BSA.

²⁵⁹ <http://www.wfis-europe.org/en/start.html>.

²⁶⁰ WFIS website: <http://www.wfis-worldwide.org/start.html> [Consulted on: 2nd November 2006].

²⁶¹ "The election will be held, and votes able to be cast, between the dates of March 17th 2007 to March 31st 2007. Votes should be sent to wfis.election@gmail.com". WFIS website: <http://www.wfis-worldwide.org/election.html> [Consulted on: 2nd November 2006].

²⁶² SUNDER, 2001.

²⁶³ I will deal with this question in more detail in Chapter 5, in the "incoherencies in practices" section.

²⁶⁴ The Inclusive Scouting network is an initiative of diverse US groups of Scouting members, parents of Scouts and other individuals with no connection whatsoever, who oppose Boy Scouts of America's discrimination against homosexuals and atheists.

- 4) The costs of forming such a separate organization are prohibitive.
- 5) Our purpose is not to split the BSA, it is to strengthen it and save it from those who would turn it into a narrow organization"²⁶⁵.

The main opposition movement to the discriminatory policy of the BSA, *Scouting For All*, defines its mission as being:

"to advocate on behalf of its members and supporters for the restoration of the traditionally unbiased values of Scouting as expressed and embodied in the Scout Oath & the Scout Law, and to influence the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) to serve and include as participating members ALL youth and adult leaders, regardless of their spiritual belief, gender, or sexual orientation"²⁶⁶.

Generally then, splinter associations that use the term 'Scout' tend to be more resistant to change than the recognized organization, probably because if there is a split in the opposite direction, they stop using the term 'Scout'.

3.7. Recognition Policy Typologies

No WOSM or WAGGGS documents on the recognition policy establish a typology of associations that use the 'Scout' – or 'Guide' – and are not members of World Scouting. When an association calls itself 'Scout' without belonging to WOSM or WAGGGS, these organizations are put into the single category of 'non-recognized Scouting'. Nagy's 1967 report described three different categories of associations that called themselves Scouting without belonging to WOSM or WAGGGS: "non-recognized", "dissident", and "exiled and refugee"²⁶⁷; but did not give the reasons for this categorization. From the text, we learn that he considers associations that have never been recognized as "non-recognized", while dissidents are those caused by split in a recognized Scout association or federation. However, his definition is confusing because he uses Spain as an example of a non-recognized association²⁶⁸, when it was actually recognized until 1939. In its handling of exiled and refugee associations, Nagy's report coincides with the policy that World Scouting adopted after the end of World War II to prevent displaced persons from forming separate associations and promoting their integration into associations of their adopted countries²⁶⁹.

The three most important conclusions of Nagy's report on recognition policy are, firstly, that some large, non-recognized associations are growing and will continue to grow, regardless of whether they are recognized. Secondly, that when dealing with non-recognized or splinter associations, the children and young people who need Scouting should be put before the adults in charge, which would allow a more open approach to finding solutions²⁷⁰. And thirdly, that the principles of recognition

²⁶⁵ *Inclusive Scouting* website: <http://www.inclusivescouting.org:8000/faq/mission/> [Consulted on: 26th July 2006].

²⁶⁶ *Scouting For All* website: <http://www.scoutingforall.org/articles/mission.shtml> [Consulted on: 26th July 2006].

²⁶⁷ NAGY, 1967: 43-46.

²⁶⁸ NAGY, 1967: 45.

²⁶⁹ WOSM, 1985: 15 (Res. 12/39) and 17 (Res. 14/47). "We formally oppose the recognition of refugee associations, representing their country of origin". Nagy, 1967, 49.

²⁷⁰ "If an attempt were to be made to put oneself in the shoes of the innocent boy who needs scouting, and not in those of the adult who is generally responsible for the quarrels, one would become more tolerant towards the "lost sheep"". NAGY, 1967: 49.

must focus first and foremost on educational conditions rather than ideologico-political matters²⁷¹. Towards the end of the 1960s, this latter element in particular heralded a turning point in the recognition policy that World Scouting – mainly WOSM – had adopted since the end of World War II, in a context of changing frontiers, displaced persons, refugees, and exiles, and communist regimes in Eastern Europe where Scouting was banned. The new constitutional reform, which was brought in by Nagy and adopted during the 1970s, ensured that the definition of the principles was incorporated into the educational elements and that these were evaluated during recognition.

Nonetheless, there are two main problems with the use of the expression “non-recognized Scouting”. Firstly, it does not differentiate between the non-recognized associations that meet the essential characteristics of Scouting and the others that explicitly reject them. And secondly, by using the expression “non-recognized Scouting”, World Scouting seems to be implicitly accepting that the association they are referring to is also a Scouting association, only that it has not been recognized, which is particularly grave when it is referring to associations that reject the essential characteristics. This is reinforced by the deliberate use of terms such as “non-aligned Scout organisations”²⁷², to define associations that call themselves Scouts but do not belong to WOSM or WAGGGS. This expression, for example, puts the emphasis on the suggestion that there is a voluntary element to the qualification of associations (their “non-alignment”), instead of the fact that their Scouting nature has not been recognized.

If, as I have argued, World Scouting operates as a network, the recognition policy has to serve as a quality filter for approvals in this network, so that it can identify both the interested supplanting of and deviations that go against the shared elements. This is why I maintain that a more accurate categorization is needed of organizations that use the *Scouting* name or its derivatives and are not recognized by WOSM and/or WAGGGS. However, in order to reinforce the legitimacy of World Scouting in establishing which associations are recognized and which are not, three conditions would have to be met:

One: World Scouting recognition must guarantee that the education of citizens carried out in the name of Scouting in any country is based on the essential characteristics mentioned earlier, including non-discrimination, non-partisan independence, being non-compulsory in nature, and being committed to peace. This would require revising the recognition of associations that are socially regarded as discriminatory, that are dependent on government bodies, where individuals are forced – in whatever way – to become members, and that promote values inciting hatred, violence, or paramilitarism.

Two: Having a democratic system by which the members of a national association can decide its evolution should be an essential condition for exclusive World Scouting recognition. To do otherwise would be to grant the leaders of the

²⁷¹ "We therefore recommend that the new rules setting out the principles of recognition be stricter about educational conditions, but not quite so hard about ideologico-political criteria which are, by definition, extra-scout matters". NAGY, 1967: 49.

²⁷² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-aligned_Scouting_and_Scout-like_organisations [Consulted in August 2007].

recognized association and not the movement the monopoly of the vision of what Scouting is in the country in question.

Three: In its recognition policy, World Scouting should revise the undue influence of churches – institutions external to the movement – on decision-making in many associations. This influence has led to a reductionist reading of the spiritual dimension of Scouting’s education that has confused it with religious education or faith development and generated a conflict with two extremes: radical religiousness or militant atheism, with no room for personal growth and discovering one’s self²⁷³.

Having explained these conditions, I will now classify organizations that call themselves Scouts without World Scouting recognition (i.e. that are not World Scouting members) into three groups (Table 2). I call them “competitor parascouting”, “provisional parascouting” and “false Scouting”. The first, *competitor parascouting*, is a movement that uses the name ‘Scout’ and meets the essential characteristics of World Scouting, but exists in a country where there is already a recognized Scout organization and, for whatever reason, it does not want to form part of this organization. The second group, *provisional parascouting*, is a movement that identifies itself as Scouting, meets the essential characteristics of World Scouting, and exists in a country without recognized Scouting, but cannot be legalized in its country²⁷⁴, or is in the very early stages and cannot guarantee educational quality. Hence, it cannot yet be recognized – i.e. it is in an interim situation with regard to recognition. And lastly, *false Scouting* is any movement that adopts the ‘Scout’ name when its principles or practices breach or directly contravene elements of the essential characteristics of World Scouting.

Table 2: Proposed classification of non-recognized organizations

	<i>Exists in a country that already has recognized Scouting</i>	<i>Exists in a country that does not have recognized Scouting</i>
<i>Conforms to the essential characteristics</i>	Competitor parascouting	Potential parascouting
<i>Rejects the essential characteristics</i>	False Scouting	

Author’s own work

a) The first type, *competitor parascouting*, would contain organizations that call themselves ‘Scouts’ and which meet the essential characteristics of World Scouting and act in coherence with them, but are established or act in countries

²⁷³ In the words of Laszlo Nagy in his 1967 report, “it is possible to have a real need for spirituality without God – a need that certainly cannot be defined as “religiosity”, for it is attached neither to morals nor to a belief in God but to feelings, to sensitivity and sometimes even to sensuality”. NAGY, 1967: 25.

²⁷⁴ The resistance of underground Scouting in authoritarian regimes reinforced the movement after the fall of these regimes. Two special cases are those of Catalan (BALCELLS and SAMPER, 1993) and Italian (VERGA and CAGNONI, 2002) Scouting.

where a recognized Scout organization already exists. The importance of accepting the essential characteristics of World Scouting in my classification lies in the fact that a non-recognized association may end up becoming a member if the difficulties of its integration into the recognized Scout organization are studied and solutions found. This is what happened in Benin, when a Catholic Scout association split from the recognized organization on the grounds of poor quality education, with the backing of the Church. The World Scouting Bureau, which got involved after 1995, rejected the creation of a federation and suggested that Scouting be refounded in Benin with a new association that covered and satisfied the interests of both parties. The refusal of the dissenting Catholic association, however, blocked the process three years later²⁷⁵. Another example are the British Baden-Powell Scouts, which I mentioned earlier, explaining that they do not accept the democratic evolution of the recognized Scout Association UK in matters of methodology and symbolism.

Associations like the Catholic one in Benin or the British Baden-Powell Scouts cannot be considered proper 'Scout' associations, even though their work is very similar to that of Scout associations, because Scouting is not only the practice of the method; it is also the education of citizens based on shared ideals, through the experience of being a member of World Scouting, which promotes the education of individuals in becoming citizens of the world. As I pointed out earlier, the World Federation of Independent Scouts (WFIS) as an organization has neither a shared set of ideals nor arguments beyond that of not belonging "to another world organisation"²⁷⁶, and cannot guarantee shared principles or a coherence beyond that of individual countries. This is why it is not a world movement. And hence, it is not Scouting, even if it uses the name.

The use of the Scout name by associations that do not accept the democratic rules of World Scouting – in that the recognized association has a system to guarantee the participation of its members – is actually the exploitation of a brand's reputation without accepting the parameters that define it. However, if we now consider the children and young people that form part of these associations, because they accept the essential characteristics of Scouting, they could become part of World Scouting at some point in the future. This is why I suggest the expression 'competitor parascouting': 'parascouting' because they are not actually Scouting but could be in the future, and 'competitor' because they compete with the recognized Scout association.

b) The second type, '*potential parascouting*' would contain associations that meet the essential characteristics of World Scouting but cannot be members for two reasons: either because they are still embryonic and need more members or a more stable organizational structure, or because there are difficulties or impediments to establishing a Scout association in their country. In the first case, WOSM and WAGGGS maintain formal or informal contact with groups that practice the Scout method in countries without recognized Scouting, referred to as

²⁷⁵ WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, March 1995, November 1998.

²⁷⁶ WFIS-Europe website: <http://www.wfis-europe.org/en/start.html> [Consulted on: 2nd November 2006].

"potential member countries"²⁷⁷. In some cases – especially in micro-states – associations do not have enough members to provide quality guarantees and, in others, they are still in the process of structuring their organizational system with guarantees. In both instances, World Scouting works towards the goal of awarding the association 'potential' recognition as a member with full voting rights. In countries where it is difficult or impossible to set up a Scout organization, there are groups that use the Scout method to promote the common values of the movement and would eventually like to form part of it, though in many cases this cannot be confirmed. It was the case of Catalan Scouting during the Franco dictatorship or Italy during fascism, and also of the Polish Scouting of the 1980s that was not controlled by the communist regime²⁷⁸. Therefore, these associations have the desire to become fully recognized associations and this recognition depends only on a change in socio-political circumstances.

c) The third and last type, '*false Scouting*', would include associations that reject or consciously breach the principles and conditions required to be a World Scouting member and are refused membership for this reason. This was the case of several German associations before 1945, which did not subscribe to World Scouting's view of national loyalty as being on a par with universal fraternity and equality as being above race, creed, or origin. It was also the case of the Polish association after 1949, when Poland became a socialist state and the government merged the association into its structure, altered its Promise and Law, age of membership, and appearance, and put party leaders in charge of it²⁷⁹. WOSM withdrew the association's recognition. The same happens when an association cannot guarantee its independence – generally of a government – or its autonomy in decision-making. One example of this took place in 2000, when WOSM launched its Peace Cruise project in which a crew from a range of countries had to live on a ship together as it cruised around the Mediterranean. However, the Turkish government refused permission for the ship to land. When the Turkish Scout association failed to mediate with the Turkish government, possibly due to pressures from the government itself, the Secretary General of WOSM sent a letter to the head of the association reminding the Scouts of the constitutional obligation of maintaining their independence from governments and indicating that if this were not the case, Turkey's recognition would be withdrawn²⁸⁰.

There are three main subgroups within false Scouting. The first, which I have dealt with, is where the principles of the sponsoring institution are placed above the principles of World Scouting, as is the case of the Scouts d'Europe with its subordination to the principles and positions of the Catholic Church. The second, also dealt with here, is where loyalty to "original Scouting" (with a rather subjective interpretation), generates a model that opposes the principles of inclusiveness, openness, and the sense of global belonging, which have been characteristics of World Scouting since it was founded. The third is where the Scouting appearance is

²⁷⁷ "Potential member countries: There are 35 countries where Scouting exists (be it embryonic or widespread) but where there is no National Scout Organization which is yet a member of the World Organization of the Scout Movement". WOSM website: <http://www.scout.org/satw/elsewhere.shtml> [Consulted on: 6th July 2006].

²⁷⁸ "Note on the current situation in the Polish Scout Movement", WOSM Secretary General Monthly Report, July 1989.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ Series of documents on the Peace Cruise. World Scout Bureau archives.

used by governments or political parties to develop youth movements, generally for indoctrination, although in most cases the 'Scouting' name is changed to something else ('Pioneers' in communist regimes).

CHAPTER 4. WORLD DIMENSION: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS (1924-2004)

1. WORLD SCOUTING TODAY (2003)

- 1.1. Geographical Presence
- 1.2. Population and Density
- 1.3. Age Ranges
- 1.4. Gender

2. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF WOSM (1920-2004)

- 2.1. Member Countries
- 2.2. Individual Membership
- 2.3. Age Ranges (1968-2004)
- 2.4. Participation in World Decision-Making Processes: World Scout Conferences
- 2.5. International Youth Camps: World Scout Jamborees

INTRODUCTION

The hypothesis of this research is that World Scouting fosters a sense of global belonging among its members through a combination of its principles, organization and world dimension. This latter element is crucial for gauging the movement's impact on 83.3% of today's independent states around the world with its simultaneous strong local tradition and active international life, giving rise to a rare example of intercultural harmony in civil society around the world. In the previous two chapters, I demonstrated the ideological consistency of World Scouting – through its two organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS – as an object of analysis with a coherent historical sequence of events, democratically established inclusive principles with an international scope and a system of organization that guarantees the participation of all member countries and methodically delimits its components.

To determine the extent to which World Scouting has been and still is an organization with a global scope and presence, it was necessary to demonstrate two things: firstly, that it is an international movement, both now and in its early years, that reaches the majority of countries and continents of the world and has substantial numbers of members, considering that it is a voluntary organization, and secondly, that people from all over the world – not only the European or Western elite – have a say in its democratic stances.

To demonstrate the international dimension of both world organizations, I first had to determine the exact data needed to assess the dimension and find out whether this information existed. The world dimension can be evaluated firstly by geographical presence; in this case, by the number of countries that are World Scouting members. Secondly, it can be evaluated by social relevance, i.e., by the number of individual members of World Scouting in each of these countries. I also thought it important to find out the past evolution and current situation of this aspect, where possible. Lastly, to avoid biases caused by volumes of youth populations in the different countries, I decided to contrast the Scouting census with the youth population counts in each country. On an organizational level, however, interaction between the parameters of countries and numbers of individuals was not

possible, so I added a further two parameters: participation in world conferences and world Jamborees. As I explained in Chapter 3, the world conferences are the supreme governing body of World Scouting and meet on a regular basis. Since each country is given the same number of delegates, it was interesting to find out which ones attended the different conferences, in order to gauge the composition of participants in the highest decision-making process of World Scouting. The World Scout Jamborees are the main international camps for young Scouts, though many other Scout exchanges are held each year.

Data Collection and Analysis

For the analysis, I contacted the two world organizations in order to collate and process information from the current censuses and those that have been conducted since they were founded. My dealings with WOSM were satisfactory. This organization has a statistics unit that gave me free access to all of its past censuses, some of which were handwritten. They were collated and computer-processed one by one, given that none before 1990 were in electronic format. The first surviving census in the archives of the World Scout Bureau (Geneva) and the Scout Association UK (Gilwell Park, England) was published in 1924 and the latest census available at the time this information was collated (February 2006) dates from 2004. WOSM's statistics unit has a major challenge ahead of it in computerizing its data and conducting studies for use in prospective analyses. In fact, the World Scout Bureau conducted studies back in the 1960s and 1970s – without the aid of computers – on the evolution of the census and densities as a proportion of the total population, as I will explain later. This statistics unit has helped me to clarify queries and contradictions that have cropped up during the computer processing of the historical data, including calculation errors and different figures from different sources. The result was the creation of four new data sets¹. Appendix 4 contains a summary of the data processing, particularly the incidents that took place when the data was entered into the computer.

The historical data of WAGGGS has not been analysed because it was not available at the time of data processing. Despite an initial attempt to collate information, technical problems with the World Bureau WAGGGS archive meant that it was not possible to carry out a similar process with its data, so I have only included data from its latest census (2003). As a result, there is no combined historical analysis of the evolution of WOSM and WAGGGS censuses, which would have been very interesting since it was not until the 1960s that WOSM associations began to accept girls as members, as I explained in Chapters 2 and 3. The historical analysis of censuses, therefore, only looks at WOSM associations, whose members have mainly been male. The combined historical analysis remains a task for future research. Nonetheless, since current WAGGGS data *is* available (the most recent being from the 2003 census), a combined analysis of current World Scouting has been made to compare the 2003 WAGGGS and WOSM censuses. This analysis illustrates the

¹ Eduard Vallory: 'World Scouting 2003 Data Set'; 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004'; 'WOSM Ages-based Census Data Set, 1968-2004', and 'Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002'. Department of Political Science, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, 2007.

current situation of World Scouting by numbers of member countries and individual young members (between the ages of 5 and 19 years) – i.e. not including adults, as I will explain later. WAGGGS breaks down the data from its 2003 census by age group and gender, while WOSM splits the data into age groups but only provides information on gender for the age groups overall. It has therefore not been possible to contrast the analysis of age groups with that of gender.

For the analyses of both current and historical data, I have compared the member countries of World Scouting with the independent states existing at any given time. To do so, I contrasted the data from the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses with the “Correlates of War Project”², a joint initiative by the University of Illinois and Pennsylvania State University that identifies actors as member states of the international system between 1816 and 2004. The project uses Russett *et al.* (1968) and Small and Singer (1980)³ for the data for 1920 onwards and establishes the essential requirements as being members of the League of Nations or United Nations or having a minimum population of 500,000 inhabitants and being recognized through diplomatic missions of two “major powers” – also based on the Small and Singer (1980) classification.

Despite being unable to study the evolution of the census in one hundred and seventy countries separately, I believe that aggregating the data by continental regions gives a sufficient indication of the relevance of the global dimension of the Scout Movement, though the creation of the database will allow future researchers to analyse the information by country. By classifying countries into continental regions I have avoided those currently used in World Scouting. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, because of the differences between WOSM and WAGGGS, such as WOSM’s Eurasian region, which includes the countries of the former Soviet Union. And secondly, because the World Scouting regions sometimes use more cultural than geographical criteria, such as Israel’s location in the European region. Hence, I have grouped countries into the continental regions used by the United Nations Population Fund⁴, which considers the whole of Central America to be part of the region of North America, a classification that I have maintained.

To sum up, I have used five main sources for the data on Scouting analysed in this chapter, four of which are data sets that I have made:

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

² Correlates of War Project. 2004. “State System Membership List, v2004.1.” February 2005. Online, <http://correlatesofwar.org>.

³ Bruce M. Russett, J. David Singer, and Melvin Small (1968): ‘National Political Units in the Twentieth Century: A Standardized List’, *American Political Science Review*, 62(3):932-951. J. David Singer and Melvin Small (1972): *The Wages of War 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook*. John Wiley & Sons, pp. 19-30. Melvin Small and J. David Singer (1982): *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 38-46.

⁴ United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical supplement (1948-1997). Notice that this division considers all countries in Central America and the Caribbean to form part of the region of “North America”.

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

(ii) The 'WOSM Census Data Set, 1924-2004' (my own work), which contains (a) the number of WOSM member countries, with intervals of every two to three years, depending on when the census was published; (b) the comparison with the number of independent states in each case, based on Correlates of War⁵; (c) the Scout census of each country; (d) the breakdown of countries into continental regions, using the UN Demographic Yearbook.

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

(iv) The 'Data Set of International and World Scout Conferences, 1924-2002' (author's own work), which contains: (a) the number of world Scout conferences organized since 1924; (b) the number of WOSM member countries in these years; (c) the number of WOSM member countries in these years that have attended the world Scout conferences.

(v) The 'World Scout Jamboree' data set, version 1.4 (produced by the World Scout Bureau), which contains: (a) the world Jamborees organized since 1924; (b) the number of WOSM member countries that have attended the world Jamborees in those years; (c) the number of individuals from each country who have attended.

Data Reliability

While the data on the world Scout conferences and Jamborees is taken from the register of the people who attended them, and the data on WOSM member countries is taken from the World Scout Bureau register of enrolments and departures since day one, the data on the censuses of individual members of Scouting in the different countries are somewhat more unreliable. So, we need to bear two things in mind: that the censuses use figures reported by the national associations to the world organizations, through the available means, and that the censuses have always been related to the payment of fees.

In both WOSM and WAGGGS, the fees paid to the world organizations vary according to the number of members in each country, as is the case with the United Nations. Thus, in World Scouting, all countries have the same voting rights at the World Conference but the fees they pay depend on how many members they have – and in the case of WOSM, just since 1996 it has set up a system of different fees based on the four categories of economies of the World Bank, which are based on

⁵ Correlates of War Project, 2004: "State System Membership List, v2004.1".

per capita gross domestic product (GDP). So, in the past, associations have had reason to report lower member counts than the real ones in order to pay less fees. Proof of this came in 1996, when the World Scout Conference agreed that countries with the lowest category of GDP would only pay fees for the first million members. That same year, the Indonesia association reported almost five times the members of its previous census.

The definition of "members" is also interpreted in different ways by different countries. The statistical report on the WOSM censuses from 1990 to 2000⁶ notes that the spectacular increases in the census of Indonesia (Gerakan Pramuka) after 1996 and the United States (Boy Scouts of America) after 1997 also occurred because the two countries decided to include in their censuses all children and youths who took part in extracurricular activities run by Scouting—referring to them as "associate members". The inclusion of these "associate members" by the Indonesian WOSM association makes a huge difference, not only to WOSM, but also to World Scouting as a whole, since its 2003 census (8.05 million members, of whom 7.2 are children, adolescents and youths) makes up over a quarter of the total adding up WOSM and WAGGGS. According to WOSM, the Indonesian association reports that only 370,000 members of the total 8 million Scouts in the 2003 and 2004 censuses "are duly registered, pay a fee and are individually identified"⁷, while the remaining 7.6 million are 'associate members' who take part in official extracurricular activities organized by the Scout association, though all 8 million are included as members for the WOSM censuses. Although I have not looked into other potentially similar situations, in certain points of the comparative analyses, I separated Indonesia from the rest of the Asian region to give a truer view of Asia's impact on Scouting as a whole and avoid an overly biased representation.

There is no uniform definition of age ranges across World Scouting. The 'sections' or age groups vary from country to country, and they do not always refer to the same ages. The reliability of the data broken down into sections in the censuses is therefore relative and more for guidance purposes than anything else: it cannot be said to be the result of an in-depth analysis of the actual situation. Nonetheless, it does give us an indication of the changes that have taken place within different age ranges and in densities. I have therefore chosen to group the various "sections" into three age groups that can then be compared to the United Nations population census for the current and past (1968-2004) analyses. For the gender comparison with the 2003 analysis, while WAGGGS has broken down the data in a rather curious way, the WOSM data was taken from an extra question on its censuses, which was not always answered; thus, there is no way of knowing whether the value zero means that there are no girls or that the association has not counted girls and boys separately.

By comparing the Scout census with the real population of each country for the World Scouting analysis of today (2003), the number of members could be

⁶ 'Fact Sheet: World Scouting Membership 1990-2000'. World Scout Bureau. WOSM: August 2001.

⁷ E-mail from Luc Panissod, Deputy Secretary General, World Scout Bureau, dated 15th August 2006.

interpreted by taking into account the population of the country, using densities, and not only as raw data. However, for the historical evolution analysis, the United Nations does not have data on country population counts before the 1980s. Since my analysis groups countries into continental regions, this lack of data made it impossible to conduct a joint analysis, so the evolution section contains only raw data. As a result, we cannot determine the relative importance of the growth or decline of Scouting in the real population compared to the growth or decline of the corresponding population brackets in the various countries and continents. Nonetheless, future research could be carried out along these lines for a number of countries because the United Nations censuses do contain historical population data on some countries.

The data sets that I have created for this research may still contain errors, despite thorough checks of potential errors and inconsistencies, which have been corrected wherever possible with the support of the Statistics Unit of the World Scout Bureau (Appendix 4). Nevertheless, they represent the first electronic comparison of this data and bring to light results and inconsistencies that have not been seen before and, more importantly, they can be used as the starting point for future research.

Chapter Contents

This chapter will attempt to describe the world dimension of Scouting today and throughout WOSM's history, starting with its creation in 1920 (the earliest data available dates back to 1924). For the current world dimension, which uses the WAGGGS and WOSM censuses for 2003 (excluding Scout leaders, i.e. including only girls and boys) the analysis aims to answer four questions: (a) whether Scouting's geographical presence extends to the majority of countries in the world and in a uniform manner across different continents or whether it is only present in a few countries outside the West; (b) how many people are members in each of the main regions of the planet and what proportion of the total youth population do they represent (density); (c) what is the relevance of the different age ranges (to determine whether this is a movement of youths, adolescents or children, with the consequences this has on its capacity for citizenship education, and to find out whether this situation is similar on the different continents), and (d) what is the percentage of boy members and girl members (to find out whether the educational task is aimed more at one of the sexes or whether it is similar for both).

The analysis of WOSM's historical evolution uses the full censuses, i.e., it does not separate children/young people from leaders, and focuses on four points: (a) the evolution of its geographical presence, parallel to the change in the number of independent states around the world, in order to determine whether they are similar or whether the presence of WOSM is historically concentrated in certain areas; (b) the number of individual members, to find out whether their numerical relevance has increased or decreased over the years; (c) WOSM's evolution by continents, broken down into three age ranges to determine whether the weight of each in World Scouting as a whole has varied or remained stable; (d) the participation of countries in world conferences since Scouting was founded, which will reveal whether the countries that have taken part in decision-making processes were

mainly from a specific area or whether all continents have been uniformly represented, and (e) the participation of young people in Scouting's most emblematic international activity, the World Jamborees, held regularly since 1920, to determine whether there has been a real diversity in participants or whether they have simply been local or regional meetings.

1. WORLD SCOUTING TODAY

The aim of this section is to reveal the current situation of World Scouting using the latest available data on the world organizations WOSM and WAGGGS. Although the last available WOSM census is from 2004, the last WAGGGS census is from 2003 so I have decided to compare the 2003 censuses of the two.

The WOSM and WAGGGS censuses use different categories to classify individuals by age range in the education process. However, these age ranges are defined by the individual associations, so the classification in the censuses is only approximate. The most clearly delimited range is the age range with which Scouting began, Scouts/Guides, roughly from 11 to 15 years. It is preceded by the Senior Scouts/Senior Guides, which can range from 15 to 18 years. The Cubs/Brownies are immediately below Scouts/Guides and usually include the 8-11 age range. At the very top end, we have Rovers/Rangers for those aged 18 to 22 and, at the very bottom, Pre-Cubs/Pre-Brownies, aged 6 to 8 years. However, when it comes to comparing these age ranges with the United Nations population census in order to calculate density, we discover that the latter only divides the population into five-year age ranges, which only leaves us with two possibilities: either 5 to 24 years or 5 to 19 years.

I have only used the categories of the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses that include young people⁸ and not leaders or adult support. Although this could reduce the number of young people under the age of 25 who are leaders in many countries, given that it is impossible to separate them from leaders over the age of 25, I have limited the analysis to the above categories. As a result, I eventually chose the 5-19 years option because not all associations have leaders over the age of 18, so including the 20-24 range would give a biased view of density. Moreover, the most inaccurate range in the census categories is the middle one (Scouts/Guides), which is very close to the 10-14 population range. I have therefore combined the lower two (Pre-Cubs/Pre-Brownies and Cubs/Brownies) to compare them to the 5-9 years population range and I have done the same with the top two (Senior Scouts/Senior Guides and Rovers/Rangers) in order to compare them to the 15-19 years population range, as shown in Table 3.

This division matches that of the United Nations census: 5-9 years, 10-14 years and 15-19 years, which will allow for a more accurate analysis of Scout density.

⁸ In WOSM: Pre-Cubs, Cubs, Scouts, Senior/Venture Scouts, Rovers. In WAGGGS: Pre-Brownies, Brownies, Guides, Senior Guides, Rangers.

Table 3. Approximate correspondence between World Scouting categories and the age ranges of the United Nations Population Fund census

<i>WOSM/WAGGGS categories</i>	<i>Age ranges</i>
Pre-Cubs/Pre-Brownies Cubs/Brownies	5-9 years
Scouts/Guides	10-14 years
Senior Scouts/Senior Guides Rovers/Rangers	15-19 years

Author's own work

There are four parts to the analysis in this chapter, in line with the aims described above: geographical presence, population and density, age ranges and gender. Along the lines of this research – that World Scouting is a movement with two world organizations – the analysis deals with the two organizations individually and as one in order to determine their real impact.

The unit of analysis of this chapter are the countries – national organizations – that were WOSM and/or WAGGGS members in 2003 (see Appendix 4). The variables and characteristics below were taken into account for these countries:

- a) Geographical region to which it belongs (Africa, North America, South America, Asia, Europe and Oceania), using the United Nations database⁹ (see Appendix 4);
- b) That it was an independent state, in accordance with the definition of Russett *et al.* (1968) and Small & Singer (1980);
- c) Total members and the number of members broken down by gender and age range (5-9, 10-14, 15-19), based on the 2003 censuses of the two world organizations¹⁰;
- d) Population aged between 5 and 19 in each country, broken down into three groups: 5-9, 10-14 and 15-19. The population data for almost all countries was obtained from the United Nations Population Fund for 2000¹¹. However, the population of a few countries was unavailable, so approximate data from other population sources were used (see Appendix 4).

⁹ United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical Supplement (1948-1997).

¹⁰ Eduard Vallory: 'World Scouting 2003 Data Set'. Department of Political Science, Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona, 2007.

¹¹ 'World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision Population Database'. United Nations. Population Division. <http://esa.un.org/unpp>.

The descriptive analysis of the data has followed the aims of this research and of this chapter in particular. Each section describes the methodology used in more detail.

For *geographical presence*, I have compared the number of member countries with the total number of independent states in order to determine the world dimension of Scouting. I have done this by grouping the countries into the continental regions indicated earlier in order to determine the area of the planet to which the member countries of World Scouting belong. For *population and density*, besides indicating the number of World Scouting members in each continental region, I have calculated the density of Scouts for every 10,000 young people using the Scout censuses and data from the world population census for each country, using only the age range I mentioned earlier (5 to 19 years) in order to avoid biases in countries with a bigger young population. I have also compared the World Scouting censuses to the last world population census of the United Nations Population Fund, which is from 2000¹².

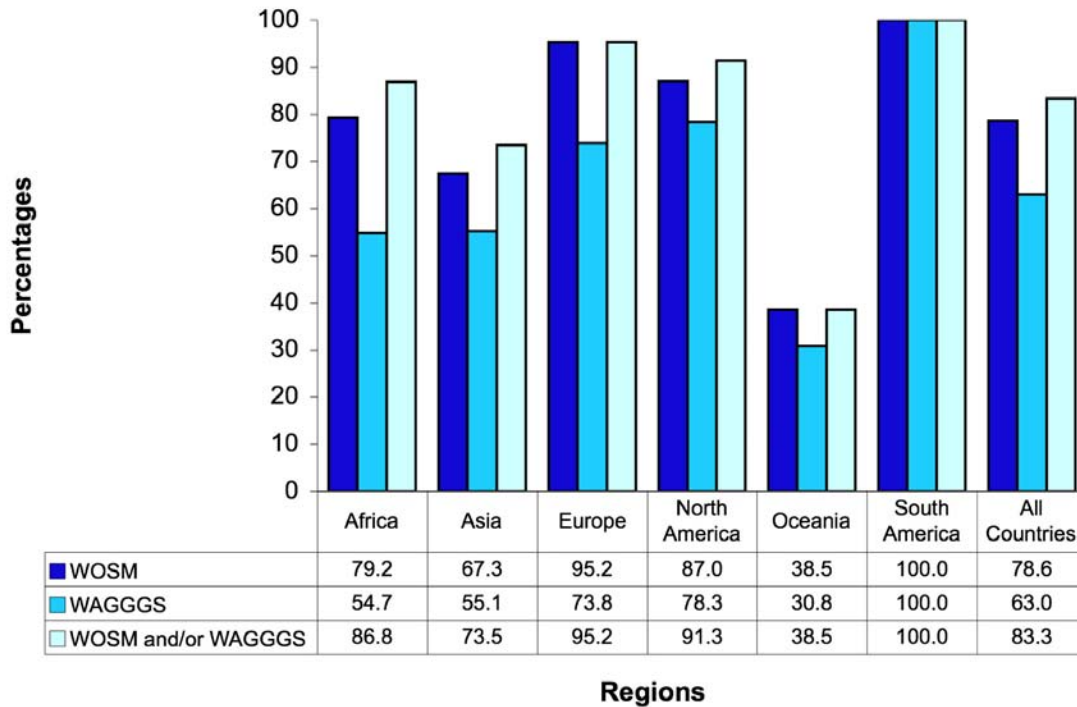
Finally, the analysis by *age ranges* is based on the equivalences of the 3 groups shown in Table 3. This made it possible to compare the Scout ranges with the real population in order to determine density. Even so, for *gender*, the analysis was limited by the fact that WOSM only breaks down the 5-19 range and, not the individual age groups, by gender, so I have only indicated the weight of each gender in WOSM, WAGGGS and World Scouting as a whole, broken down by continental region, but not in each age range.

1.1. Geographical Presence

The first element for analysing the world dimension of a movement like Scouting is to determine whether its geographical scope extends to the majority of the world's countries and whether it is uniform across the continents or only the case in a handful of countries outside the Western world. As I have explained, because there is not always one member association of World Scouting per independent state, I have used the core of independent states of the "Correlates of War Project" to determine the percentage of national Scout organizations corresponding to the independent states of the world.

¹² 'World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision Population Database'. United Nations. Population Division. <http://esa.un.org/unpp>.

Figure 4. Percentage of independent countries that are members of WOSM and/or WAGGGS out of all independent countries (2003)



Author’s own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 4 illustrates the percentage of WOSM and/or WAGGGS member countries out of all independent states in 2003. The percentages are for all countries as a whole and grouped into continental regions¹³. In the All countries column, we see that WOSM and WAGGGS together are present in 83.3% of independent states. Of these, WOSM is in 78.6% of states, while WAGGGS is in 63.0%. If we analyse the distribution by regions, we see that, with the exception of South America, all regions have a similar situation whereby the percentage of independent countries in which WAGGGS is present is always lower than that of WOSM. However, in South America, all independent countries have both WOSM and WAGGGS member associations. In Europe and Africa, the percentage of independent countries with WOSM members is approximately 20% higher than that of independent countries with WAGGGS members. In other regions, the difference between the percentages is less and even falls to the same level, as is the case of South America. The region with the lowest percentage of members of one of the two world organizations is Oceania, which has 38.4% overall (38.5% for WOSM and 30.8% for WAGGGS), because of the high number of mini-states in the region. The regions with a higher percentage of Scout presence, both WOSM and WAGGGS, are South America (100%), Europe (95.2% and 73.2%, respectively) and North America (87.0% and 78.3%, respectively).

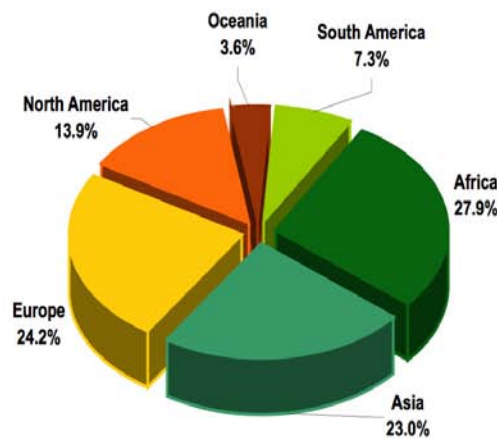
These percentages indicate that World Scouting has a broad-ranging international presence both globally (in 83% of independent countries) and on all continents.

¹³ The WOSM and WAGGGS censuses were conducted in 2003. The list of independent states was taken from the *Correlates of War Project*, which is from 2003. The continental regions are those established by the United Nations Population Fund (Appendix 4).

World Scouting has member organizations in thirteen of the fifteen countries of the world with the highest population rates¹⁴, and it is only not present in the People’s Republic of China and Vietnam, where it is outlawed (not including Hong Kong or Taiwan, which have 215,000 World Scouting members between them). Scouting is officially present in 68 of the 80 countries and territories with over ten million inhabitants¹⁵. In order of population (UN, 2005), of these 80 countries, World Scouting is only not officially present in the People’s Republic of China, Vietnam, Iran, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Iraq, Uzbekistan, North Korea, Syria, Kazakhstan, Mali and Cuba¹⁶. Moreover, the majority of independent states where World Scouting is not present, with the one big exception of China, are very small countries.

Having analysed the relationship between the national Scout organizations that are WOSM and/or WAGGGS members and independent states, I will now turn to look at the geographical presence of World Scouting, based on the number of member organizations with full voting rights, regardless of whether or not they are independent states. Figures 5, 5a and 5b below illustrate the geographical representation of World Scouting in the six geographical regions analysed here: first as a whole (the total for both world organizations) and then separately, dealing first with WOSM and then with WAGGGS. These figures show the weight of all countries in each of the regions as a fraction of the total.

Figure 5. WOSM and/or WAGGGS member countries in each region as a percentage of all WOSM and/or WAGGGS member countries in 2003 (n =165)



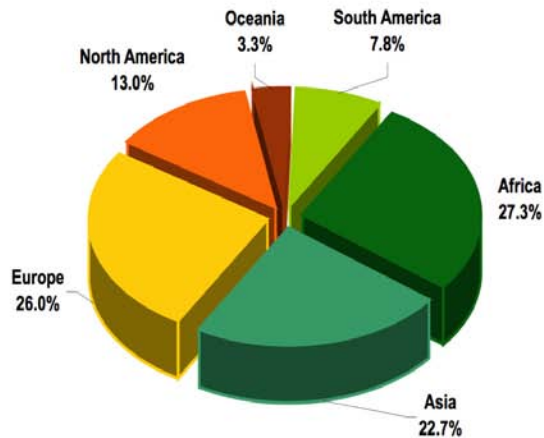
Author’s own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

¹⁴ China, India, United States, Indonesia, Brazil, Pakistan, Russia, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Japan, Mexico, Vietnam, Philippines, Germany and Ethiopia. UNITED NATIONS, 2005a.

¹⁵ UNITED NATIONS, 2005a.

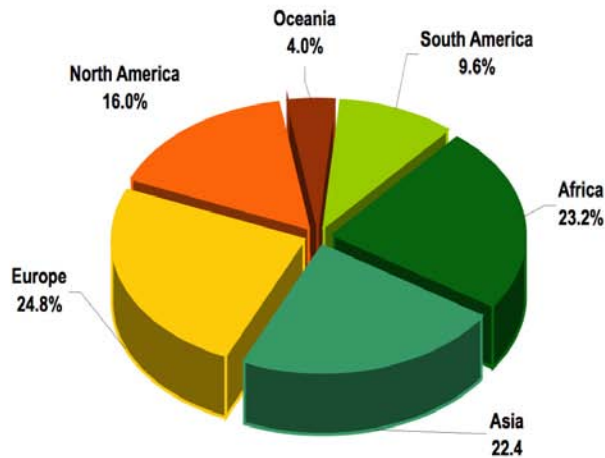
¹⁶ In 2006, Scouting was officially outlawed in five countries: the People’s Republic of China, North Korea, Cuba, Laos and Myanmar. WOSM, 2006: 89.

Figure 5a. WOSM member countries in each region as a percentage of all WOSM member countries in 2003 (n =154)



Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 5b. WAGGGS member countries in each region as a percentage of all WAGGGS member countries in 2003 (n =125)



Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 5 reveals that Africa is the region with the greatest representation out of the 165 WOSM and/or WAGGGS member countries, given that it accounts for almost 28% of member countries. It is followed by Europe and Asia, with 24.2% and 23.0%, respectively. The percentage of member countries drops in North and South America, which have 13.9% and 7.3%, respectively. Finally, Oceania is the region with fewest countries, accounting for just 3.6% of the total.

If we analyse the regional representation of WOSM (Figure 5a), we see that the regions of Africa, Europe and Asia have the highest geographical presence percentages of the total 154 member countries in 2003. Specifically, Africa has 27.3% , Europe has 26.0% and Asia has 22.7%. These are followed by North America with 13.0% and South America with 7.8%. Again, Oceania has the lowest representation, with 3.3%.

The same analysis for WAGGGS (Figure 5b) reveals a similar distribution to the

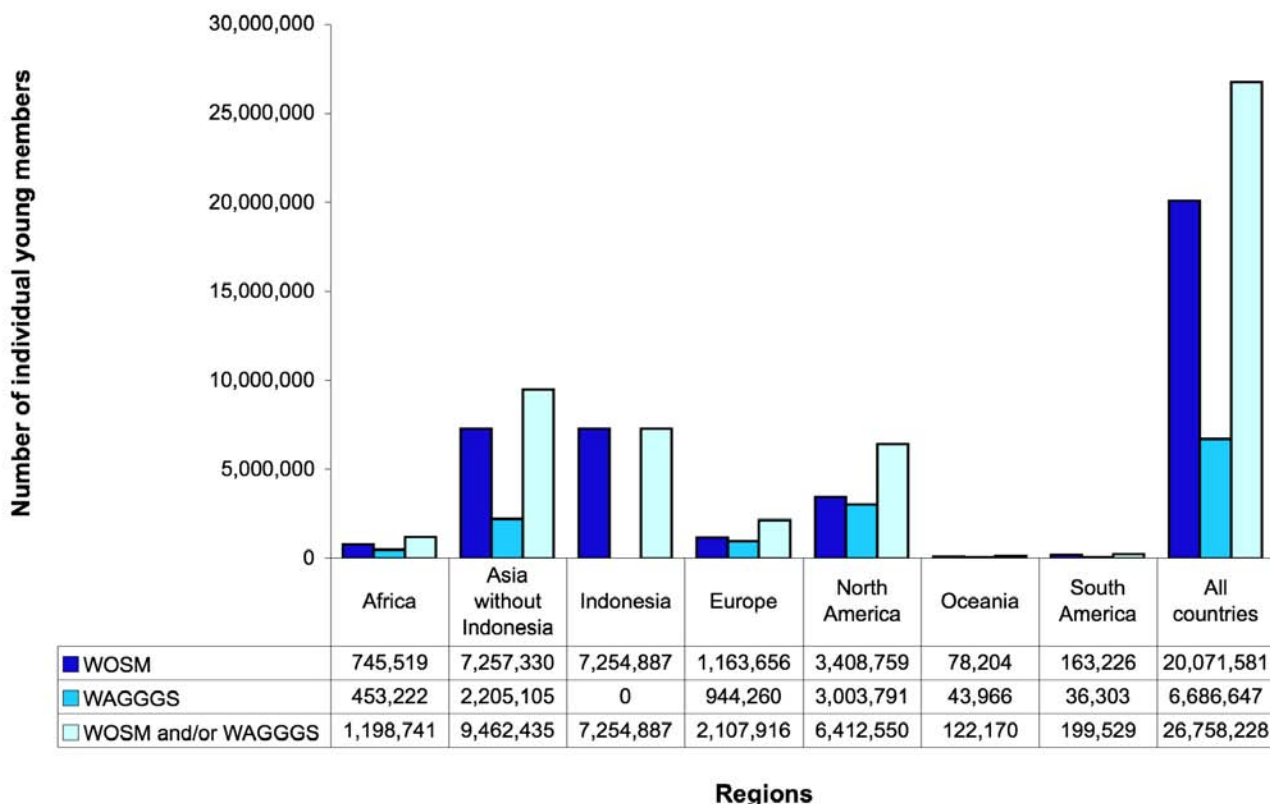
previous one: Europe, Africa and Asia are the regions with the highest representation, with 24.8%, 23.2% and 22.4% respectively. They are followed by North America with 16.0% and South America with 9.6%. Again, Oceania has a minority representation of countries, with 4%.

If we compare the percentages obtained by analysing the two world organizations separately, we see that the percentage of WOSM member countries in Europe and Africa is higher than the percentage of WAGGGS member countries, while the percentage of WAGGGS member countries in the rest of the regions is greater than that of WOSM.

1.2. Population and Density

After the geographical presence of World Scouting, another aspect to take into account to determine its world dimension is the number of young members it has, both globally and in each of the large areas of the planet, and to find out what proportion of the total young population it constitutes, that is, density. This point includes the World Scouting census, its distribution across continental regions and its density, i.e., the number of Scouts per ten thousand children and youths aged 5 to 19 in each of the regions.

Figure 6. Number of young people who are members of WOSM and/or WAGGGS by regions and overall, 2003



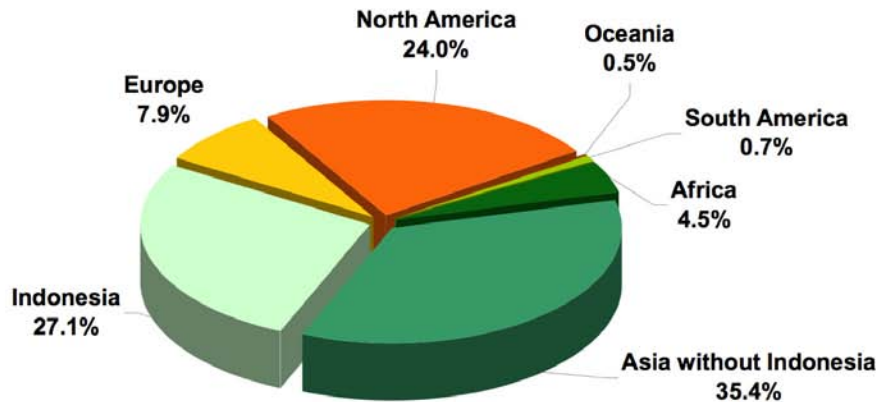
Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

World Scouting (2003) has over 26 million young members (i.e., generally under-20s). As shown in Figure 6, 20 million of these are WOSM members and the remaining 6.68 million are WAGGGS members. Analysis of the number of young people who are World Scouting members reveals that the region with the most members is Asia, with a total of 16.7 million young people (14.5 of whom are WOSM members and 2.2 are WAGGGS members). However, Indonesia (WOSM) accounts for more than two fifths of this figure, with 7.25 million young people. Asia is followed by North America, where 6.4 million young people – 24% of the total – belong to one of the two organizations (17% to WOSM and 44.9% to WAGGGS). Europe has approximately two million young World Scouting members, making up 7.9% of the overall total; of these, 1.16 million belong to WOSM and 944,260 to WAGGGS. Africa only has 745,519 young WOSM members and 453,222 WAGGGS members. Lastly, Oceania and South America are the regions with the least young members: Oceania has just 122,170 members and South America just 199,529. Generally speaking, there are more WOSM members than WAGGGS members, both when the data is analysed by regions and overall. This difference is almost double in all regions except for North America and Europe, where the number of members is virtually the same. At the other extreme is South America, where there are four times as many WOSM members.

In the 2003 censuses, the five biggest WOSM and WAGGGS associations between them account for 75% of the population of girls and boys between the ages of 5 and 19 in World Scouting. For WOSM, these are (in millions of members) Indonesia, 7.25; USA, 3.2; India, 2.29; Philippines, 1.94, and Thailand, 1.11, which gives a total of 13.8 million members (69% of WOSM's total). For WAGGGS, these countries are USA, 3.8; India, 1.1; Philippines, 0.67; United Kingdom, 0.55, and Canada 0.14, giving a total of 6.4 million members (76% of the total).

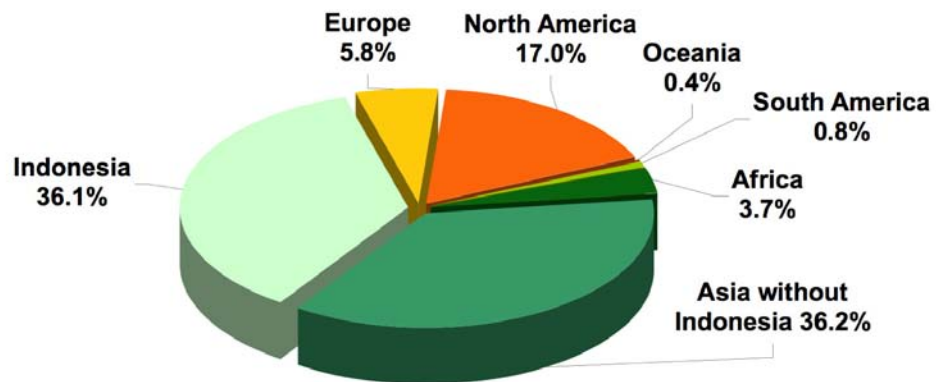
Nevertheless, a detailed analysis of the national associations would not be enough to gauge the weight of Scouting in each continental region and, by extension, find out which region has the highest representation in terms of members of World Scouting and in each of the two organizations. Figure 7, therefore, indicates the members in each region as a percentage of the total, and separates them into the two world organizations, represented by Figures 7a and 7b.

Figure 7. Percentage of young members of World Scouting (WOSM and/or WAGGGS) by region (n = 26.758.228)



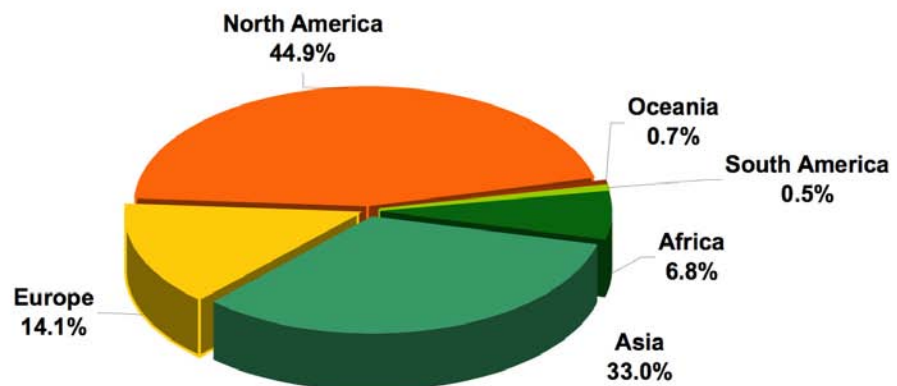
Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 7a. Percentage of young WOSM members (n = 20.071.581) by region



Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 7b. Percentage of young WAGGGS members (n = 6.686.647) by region

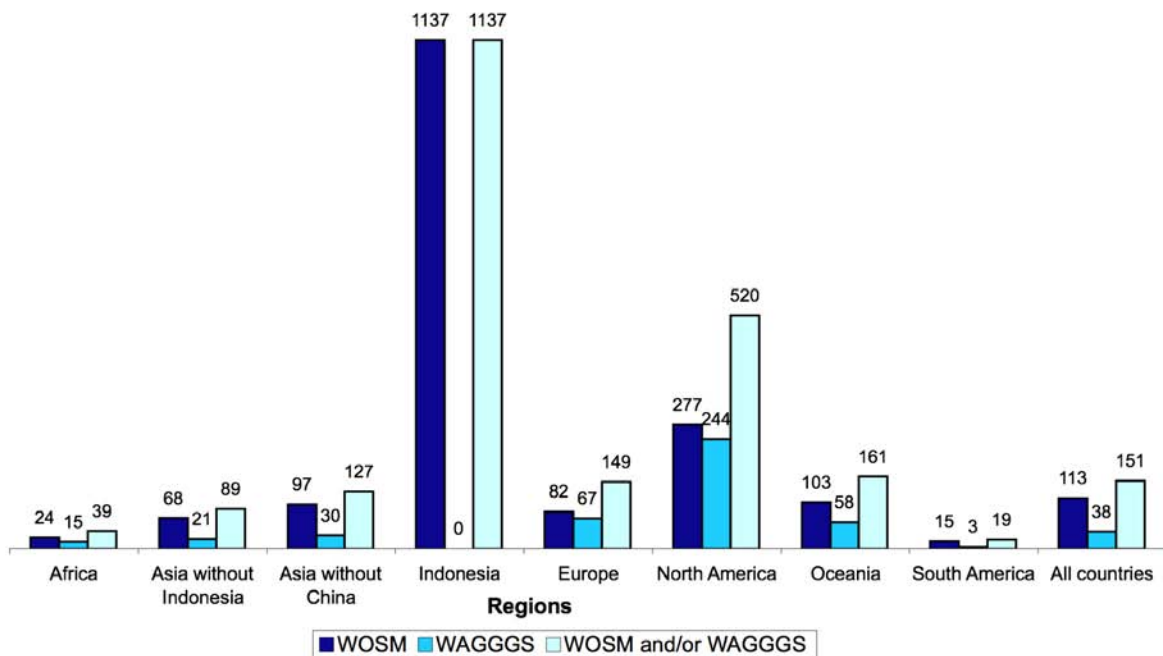


Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 7 shows that Asia is the region with the most young members of World Scouting (62.5% overall, of whom 27% are from Indonesia), followed by North America (24.0%). However, when we analyse the data on the two organizations separately (Figures 7a and 7b), we see that WOSM’s percentage is clearly higher in Asia (72.3% compared to 17% in North America), even if we do not take into account the imbalance caused by Indonesia (36.2% compared to 17%), while for WAGGGS, this percentage is higher in North America, albeit to a lesser extent (44.9% compared to 33.0% in Asia). Oceania and South America are the regions with the least representation.

Having analysed the geographical distribution of members, I will now explain the relevance of this figure as a percentage of the total population aged 5 to 19, both globally and regionally. Figure 8 illustrates the distribution of the density of World Scouting as a whole and of the two organizations individually, taking the population aged 5 to 19 as a reference. The analysis has tried to avoid the traditional comparison with the total population count of each country, given that the important density here is the one concerning the age range of the census that could potentially be Scouting members, i.e., the younger inhabitants. Therefore, the population aged 5 to 19 has been processed country by country to compare it with the census of each Scout association. The density measurement used is the quotient between the total number of young people who are World Scouting members and the total population aged 5 to 19 multiplied by 10,000. This gives us the number of young World Scouting members for every 10,000 people in our age range.

Figure 8. Density by organization and region, 2003
 (Number of Scouts per 10,000 people = (Number of Scouts/Population 5-19)*10000)*



* The values for WOSM and/or WAGGGS should be the sum of the values obtained by WOSM and WAGGGS. This is not the case for some regions because the data has been rounded up or down.

Author’s own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 8 compares the censuses with the population data and shows that, 151 of every 10,000 young people on the planet are World Scouting members: 113 belong to WOSM and 38 to WAGGGS. When breaking down the data, I have tried to eliminate two very important factors that would produce a heavy bias in the case of Asia¹⁷. Firstly, the fact that China, the most heavily populated country in the world, has outlawed Scouting; and secondly that, as I have mentioned, Scouting in Indonesia is connected to schooling, so there are more members in this country than any other country in the world (it has a density of 1,137 Scouts for every 10,000 young people).

If we break down the data by geographical region, excluding Indonesia, we see that North America is the region with the most Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants, specifically 520. It is followed in order of importance by Oceania – the continent with the least members – and Europe, with 161 and 149, respectively. Without Indonesia, Asia has a density of 89, which increases to 127 if we do not take into account the population of China. Africa and South America are the continents with the lowest density of Scouts (39 and 19), as is also the case with the census.

If we analyse the results obtained with the two organizations separately, we see that there are more Scouts for every 10,000 in WOSM than in WAGGGS, for all regions. Nonetheless, North America is significant in that the two organizations have a fairly similar number of Scouts. The clearest differences are to be found in Asia where, excluding Indonesia (which only has WOSM membership) and the population of China, 97 of every 10,000 young people belong to WOSM while just 30 in every 10,000 belong to WAGGGS. Similarly, Oceania has 103 Scouts in WOSM and 58 in WAGGGS for every 10,000 inhabitants.

1.3. Age Ranges

Scouting was founded as an educational movement aimed at adolescents, although it was extended shortly afterwards to the youth and pre-adolescent age groups (see Chapter 2). The consequence of these decisions are still relevant today because a movement that is predominantly juvenile does not have the same citizenship education capability as a movement that includes young people and adolescents.

As Dominique Bénard observes, the Scout Movement was founded as a way to overcome the problems of adolescents at the time of the second industrial revolution; a hundred years later, the education of adolescents has become a global challenge of utmost importance once again. Thus, in the words of the Assistant Secretary General of WOSM, “la qualité de notre programme éducatif se mesure non pas au nombre des jeunes qui nous rejoignent mais au nombre de jeunes qui nous quittent chaque année avec la motivation et les compétences nécessaires pour jouer un rôle constructif dans le développement de la société”¹⁸. The social impact of

¹⁷ If we include the whole of Asia, including the population of China and the census of Indonesia, it has a density of 154 Scouts per 10,000 young people.

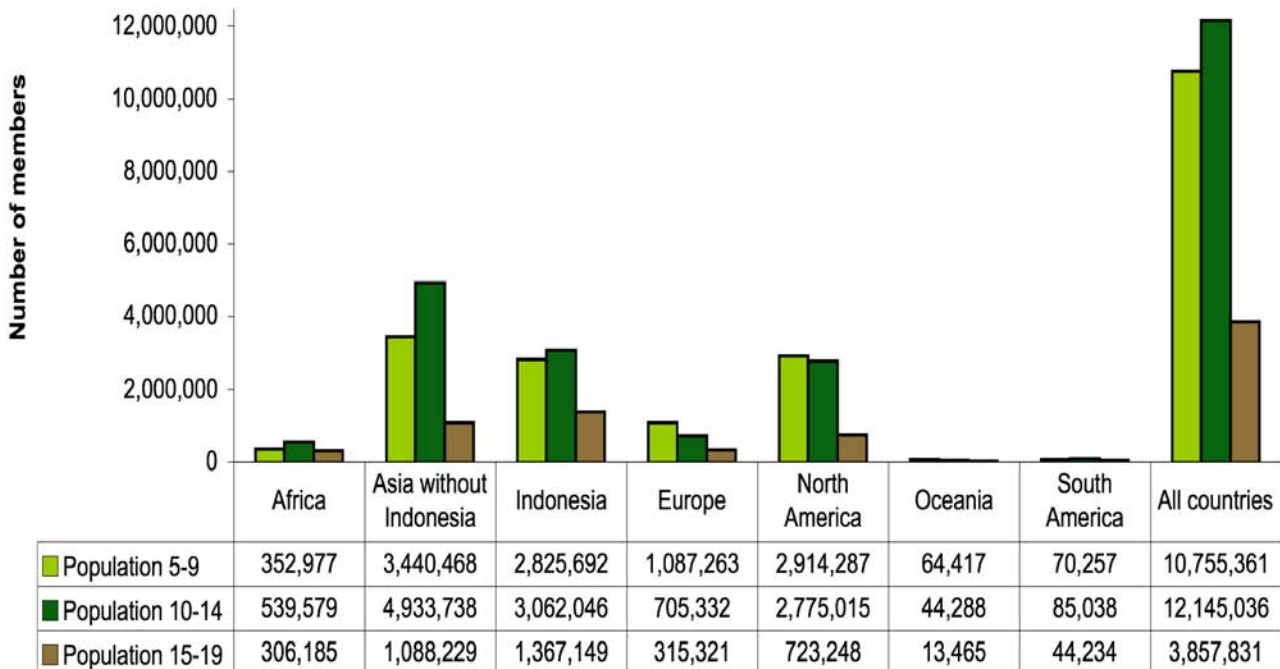
¹⁸ [“The quality of our educational programme is not gauged by the number of young people who join us

Scouting in its aim of educating responsible citizens is thus conditioned by its potential impact on adolescents. According to UNICEF, adolescence is “a period of transition between childhood into adulthood” which, for statistical purposes, can be divided into three stages: “early (10-13 years), middle (14-16 years), and late (17-19 years) adolescence”¹⁹.

We therefore need to know the percentages of these different age ranges in World Scouting as a whole and to find out whether this is similar around the world. Since the age ranges are approximate and vary from country to country, as I have explained, I have divided them into three groups to make them match up with the United Nations population census (Table 3): the child group, which covers those aged 5 to 9 years; the early adolescent group, which includes those aged 10 to 14 years, and the late adolescent group, which contains youths aged 15 to 19 years. In this point, then, I will analyse the data from the World Scouting census by separating it into the three age ranges indicated. The results are explained in two parts: the first offers a comparison between the number of people in each age range within each world organization while the second compares the number of members of each world organization within each age group.

1.3.1. Geographical Presence of World Scouting According to Member Age

Figure 9. World Scouting Census by Regions According to Member Age



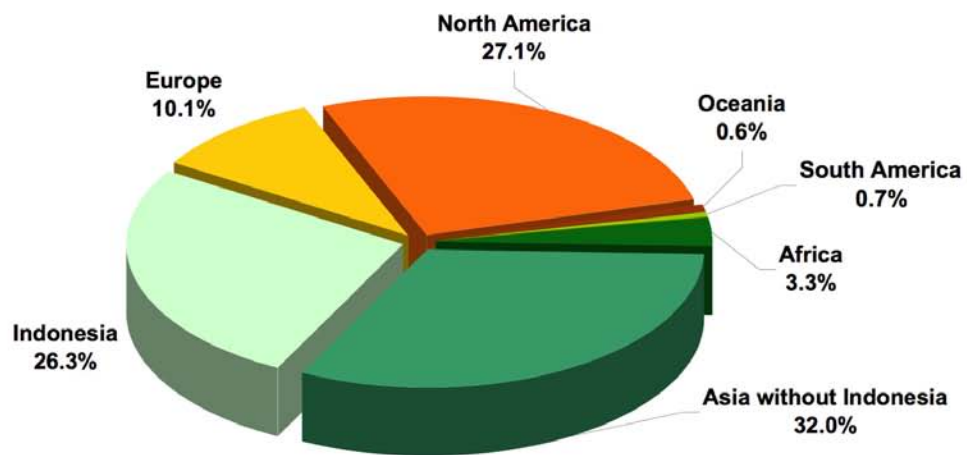
Author’s own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

but by the number of young people who leave us each year with the motivation and skills needed to play a constructive role in the development of society”.] Dominique Bénard, Deputy Secretary General and head of Educational Methods of WOSM: “Inventer le Scoutisme du XXIe siècle”, opening address of the États Généraux du Scoutisme Francophone Canadien. Canada, 20th May 2005, Association des Scouts du Canada (pp. 3-4).

¹⁹ UNICEF: ‘Adolescence: the Big Picture’. http://www.unicef.org/adolescence/index_bigpicture.html (visited 23rd March 2007).

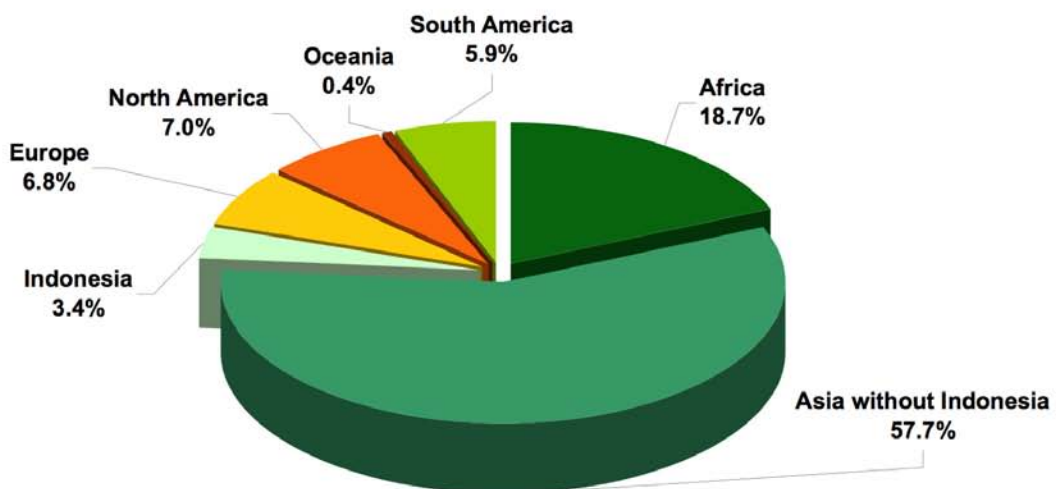
In its analysis of the geographical presence of World Scouting by member age, Figure 9 illustrates how the child and young members of World Scouting are mainly between the ages of 10 and 14, followed by those aged 5 to 9 years. In figures, there are 12.1 million boys and girls aged 10 to 14 years, 10.7 million aged 5 to 9 years and just 3.8 million aged 15 to 19 years. All regions have more girls and boys between the ages of 10 to 14, except North America and Europe, which have more boys and girls aged 5 to 9 years. On all continents, the younger age range is the smallest, although in Africa this figure is very close to the child range. I have also established which regions have the highest representation in each World Scouting age group overall, as illustrated in Figures 10, 11 and 12, which I have compared to the percentage of the total population in these age groups (Figures 10a, 11a, 12a).

Figure 10. Percentage of World Scouting members in the 5-9 years age group, by region (n = 10.755.361)



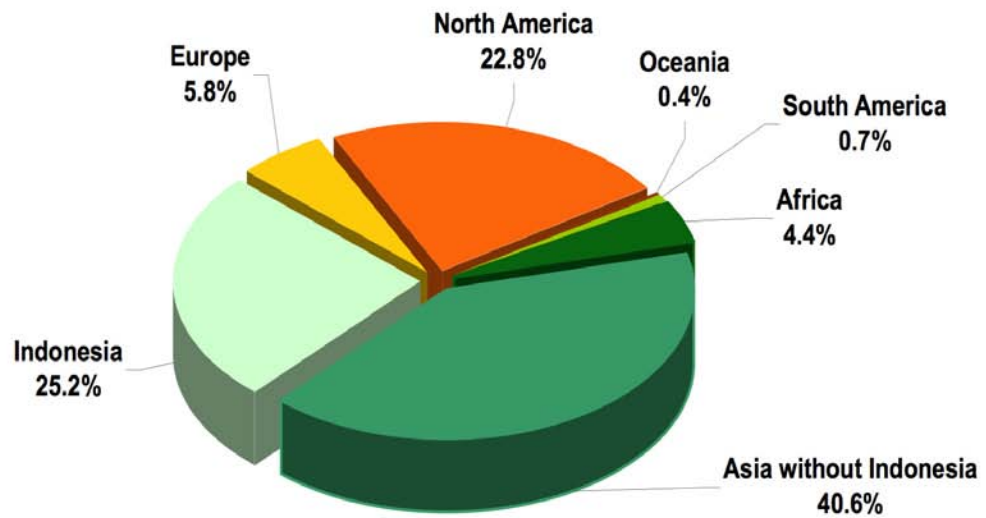
Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 10a. Percentage of world population by region (5-9 years age group)



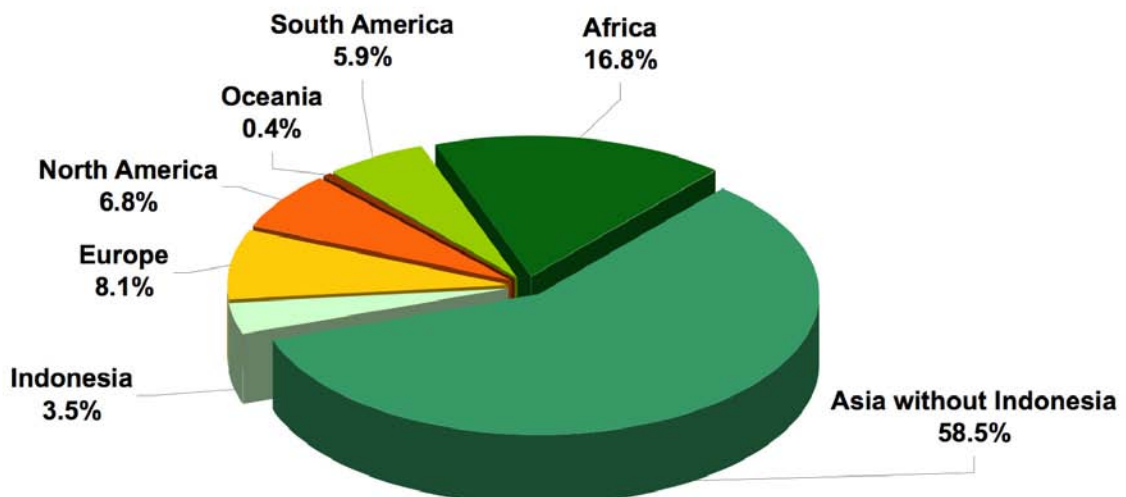
Author's own work. Source: United Nations Population Fund, 2000

Figure 11. Percentage of World Scouting members in the 10-14 years age group, by region (n = 12.145.036)



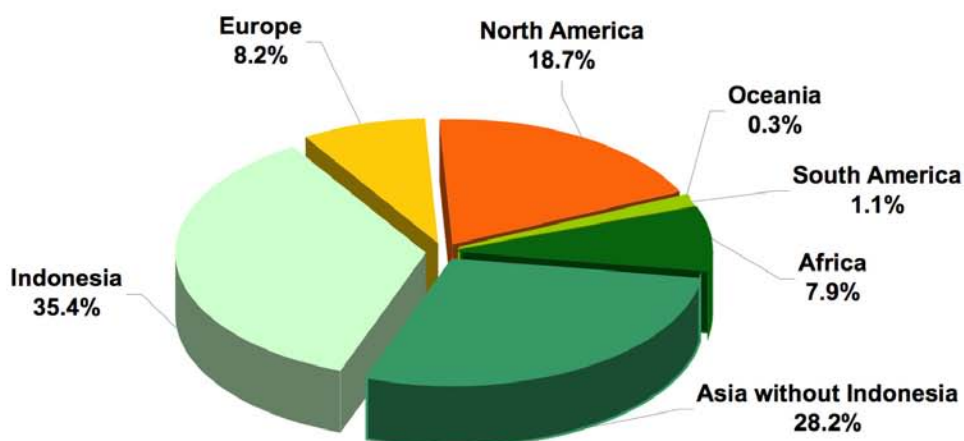
Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 11a. Percentage of world population by region (10-14 years age group)



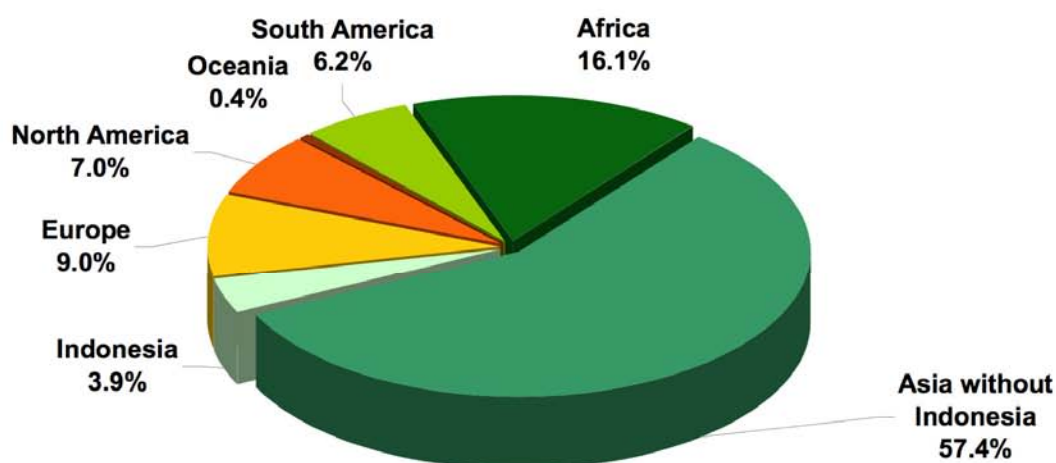
Author's own work. Source: United Nations Population Fund, 2000

Figure 12. Percentage of World Scouting members in the 15-19 years age group, by region (n = 3.857.831)



Author's own work. Source of data: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 12a. Percentage of world population by region (15-19 years age group)



Author's own work. Source: United Nations Population Fund, 2000

Figures 10, 11 and 12 show that the distribution of young members of World Scouting by regions is similar for the different age groups. More specifically, we see that Asia has the most members in all three age ranges, even if we exclude Indonesia. The 10-14 years age group has the highest representation (40.6%, increasing to 65.8% with Indonesia) and the youngest age range has the lowest (28.2%). It is followed by North America, whose percentage falls from 27.1% to 18.7% as age increases. Europe's largest group is that of children aged 5 to 9 years (10.1%) and its smallest is that of youths aged 10 to 14 years (5.8%). Africa, in contrast, has its highest representation in the 15-19 years age bracket (7.9%). Lastly, South America has less than 1% for the 5-14 age group and almost 10% for those aged 15 to 19 years. The number of members in Oceania does not exceed 1% of the total in any age bracket.

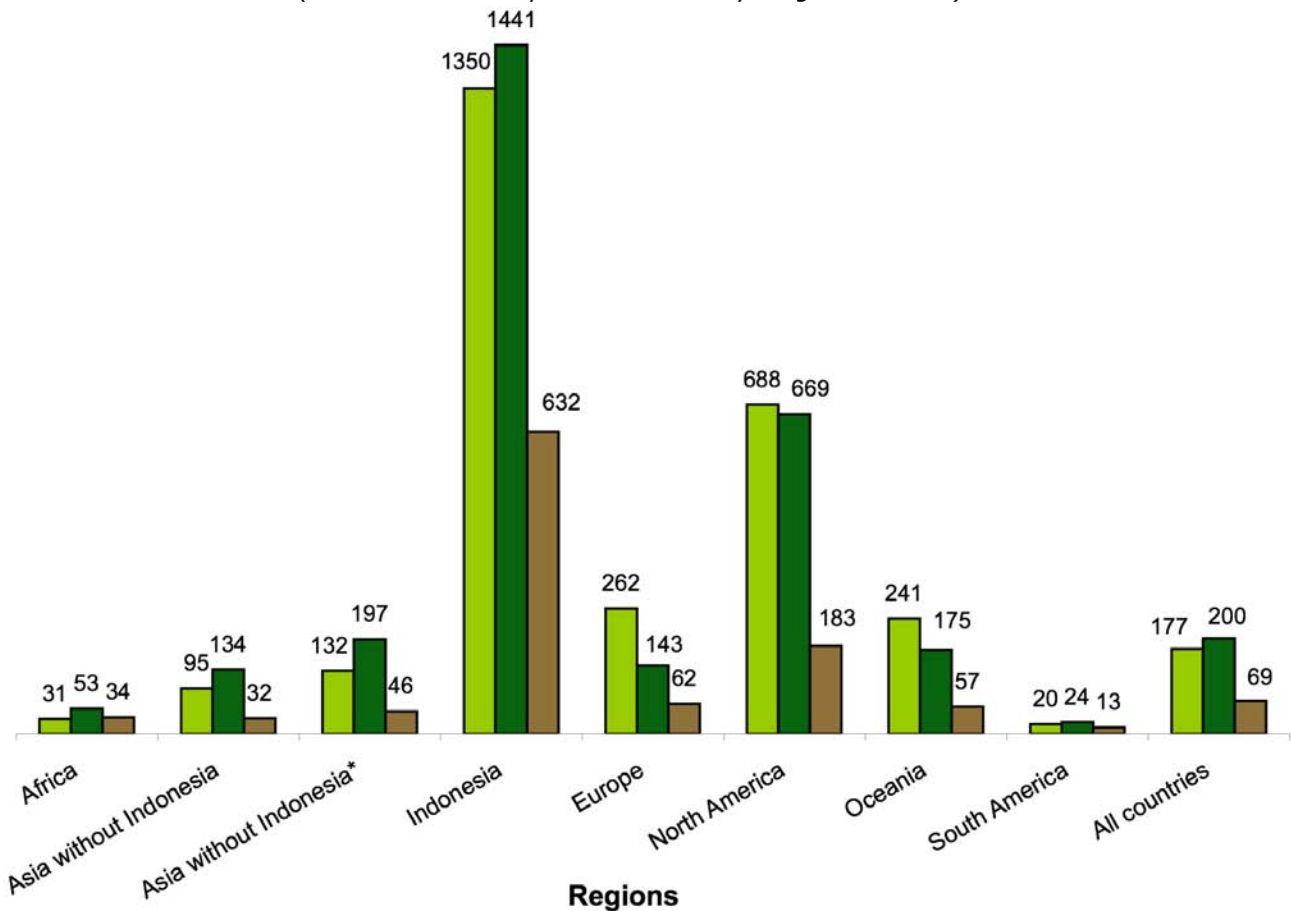
To determine the relevance of the census data, we need to take into account the real population in the age groups considered so that we can allow for the

difference in impact between countries with a young population and ageing countries. This is the reason for comparing these percentages with the same age ranges of the United Nations census (Figures 10a, 11a and 12a), as it allows us to confirm the excess bearing of the Indonesian Scout association in comparison to the country's real weight in the world's population, although it does balance out the absence of Scouting in China and the potential importance of the latter. The weight of the Scout census of North America is far greater than that of the country's young population on the world in general. These two excesses balance out the low percentages represented by the Scout populations of Africa and South America in the young population of these continents.

Nevertheless, the true relevance can be seen more clearly if we analyse the density of Scouting as a percentage of the population of this same age range. Hence, Figure 13 illustrates the density of Scouting grouped into continental regions, which is calculated using this formula:

$$\frac{\text{Number of Scouts}}{\text{Population in age range}} * 10000$$

Figure 13. World Scouting density according to member age, by region (number of Scouts per 10 thousand young inhabitants)



* This density calculation does not include the population of China

■ Population 5-9 ■ Population 10-14 ■ Population 15-19

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

In all countries, for every 10,000 young people in the age group in question, World Scouting has 177 child members aged 5 to 9 years, 200 boys and girls aged 10 to 14 years, and 69 young people aged 15 to 19 years, which clearly shows that youths are the minority age group. As we did for Scouting overall, we include the biases produced by Indonesia's Scouting census and the ban on Scouting in the most populated country on the planet, the People's Republic of China. Scout density in the Europe and Oceania regions is clearly greater in the 5-9 age group, which suggests that Scouting mainly has a child profile there; the child age group is also the main one in North America, though its figures are very close to those of the 10 to 14 age group, which is the biggest group in the other regions: Africa, Asia and South America.

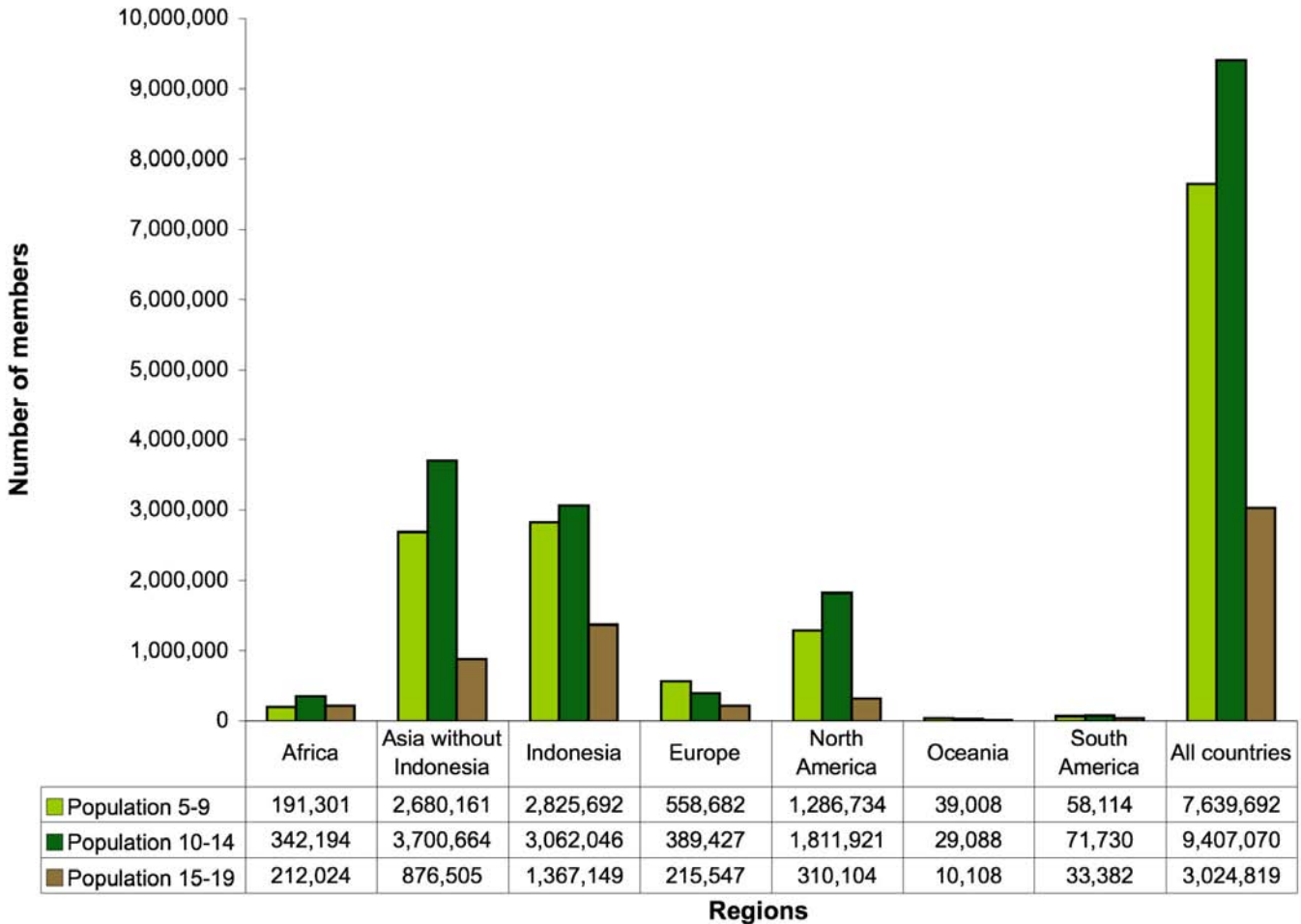
If we analyse the results by continental regions, we see that North America has the highest density in all age groups, if we exclude Indonesia. More specifically, there are 688 and 669 Scouts for every 10,000 individuals between the ages of 5 and 9 and 10 and 14, respectively, and 183 Scouts for every 10,000 people aged 15-19. The Europe and Oceania regions have similar distributions in terms of density by age and they have more Scouts between the ages of 5 and 9 than 10 and 14. In Asia, however, adolescents are the biggest age group, regardless of whether Indonesia is included. So, when we omit Indonesia, we see that, out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 10 to 14 years and 5 to 9 years, 134 and 95, respectively, are Scouts and only 32 out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 15 to 19 years belong to Scouting. This density increases if we exclude the census of the People's Republic of China: 197 in the adolescent group, 132 for children and 46 in the youth range²⁰.

The regions with the lowest density of Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants, regardless of age, are Africa and South America. In Africa in particular, 31 out of every 10,000 children between the ages of 5 and 9 years, 53 boys and girls aged 10 to 14 years and 34 youths aged between 15 and 19 years are Scouts. In South America, there are 20 Scouts for every 10,000 children between the ages of 5 and 9 years, 24 children between the ages of 10 and 14 years and just 13 out of every 10,000 youths aged between 15 and 19 years.

²⁰ If we include the Scout association of Indonesia and the population census of China, the density of Asia becomes 170 children aged 5-9 years, 214 boys and girls aged 10-14 years and 72 youths aged 15-19 years for every 10,000 young people.

1.3.2. Geographical Presence of WOSM According to Member Age

Figure 14. Census of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) according to member age



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

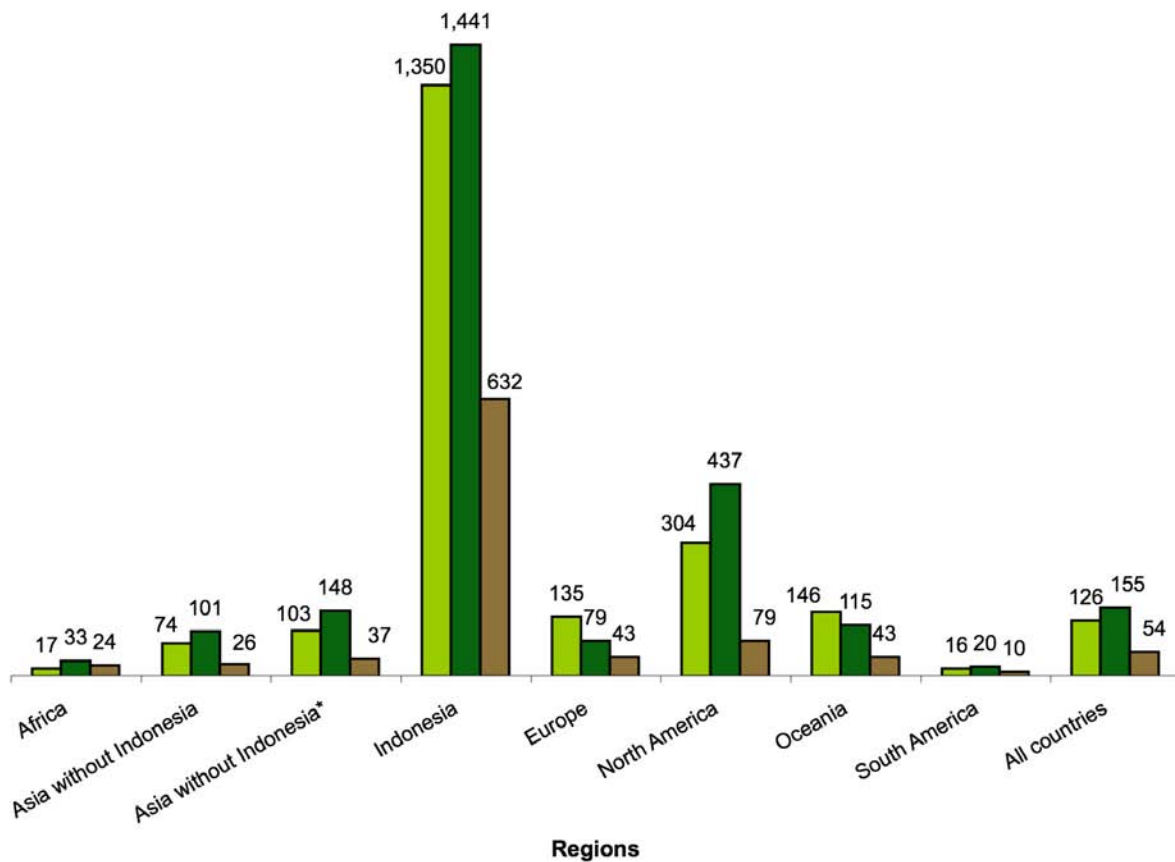
Figure 14 analyses WOSM by itself and shows how the 10 to 14 years age group is the biggest in all countries. In figures, WOSM has 7.63 million members aged 5-9 years, 9.4 million aged 10 to 14 years and 3 million aged 15 to 19 years. If we analyse the data by regions, we see that members aged between 10 and 14 years are the most numerous group in all regions except for Europe and Oceania, where WOSM has more members between the ages of 5 and 9 years. In contrast, youths aged between 15 and 19 years are the minority group in all regions. Of WOSM's members between the ages of 5 and 9 years, 5.5 million are from Asia (2.8 million of which are from Indonesia), 1.28 million are from North America, 0.55 million from Europe, 191 thousand from Africa, 58 thousand from South America and 39 thousand from Oceania. Asia is also the region with the most WOSM members between the ages of 10 and 14 years (6.76 million), followed by North America, which has 1.81 million members in this age group. No single region (excluding Indonesia) has a million young WOSM members between the ages of 15 and 19 years. The list is topped once again by Asia, with 876 thousand members (2.2 million if we include Indonesia), followed in descending order by

North America (310 thousand), Europe (215 thousand), Africa (212 thousand), South America (33 thousand) and lastly, Oceania (10 thousand).

Percentage-wise, Asia is the WOSM region with the most members in all age groups, regardless of whether we include Indonesia, with approximately 70% in all cases; the 15-19 age group has the highest representation with 74.2%. It is followed by North America, which has 19.3% in the 10 to 14 age group but only 10.3% for the older age range. Europe has around 7% in the upper and lower age groups and just 4.1% in the 10 to 14 age group. Africa's highest representation is in the 15 to 19 years category (7%) and it has around 3% in the others. Lastly, the number of WOSM members in Oceania and South America is no more than 1% in any age bracket. However, to understand the relevance of the census data, we need to take into account the population in the age groups we have considered, that is, density, calculated as previously with the formula

$$\frac{\text{Number of Scouts}}{\text{Population in age range}} * 10000$$

Figure 14a. Density of the World Organization of the Scout Movement (WOSM) according to member age (number of Scouts per 10,000 youths)



* This density calculation does not include the population of China

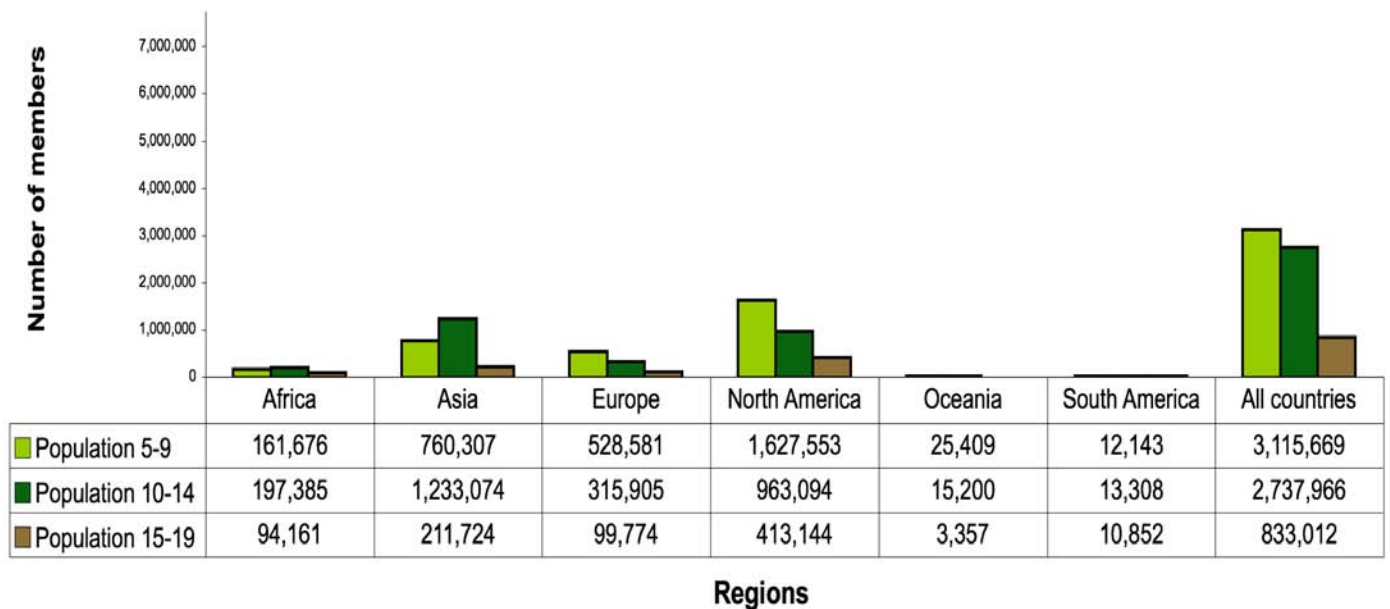
■ Population 5-9 ■ Population 10-14 ■ Population 15-19

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 14a shows that, for the total of member WOSM countries, the number of Scouts for every 10,000 people between the ages of 10 and 14 years is higher than for the rest of the age ranges. In figures, there are 155 Scouts in every 10,000 people aged between 10 and 14 years, 126 Scouts for every 10,000 children aged between 5 and 9 years, and 54 Scouts in every 10,000 youths between the ages of 15 and 19 years. The total density of WOSM is the same as for World Scouting as a whole. The region with the highest density is North America which, for every 10,000 people in each of the three age ranges, has 304 Scouts aged 5 to 9 years, 437 Scouts aged 10 to 14 years, and 79 Scouts aged 15 to 19 years, all WOSM members. It is followed by Asia which, excluding Indonesia, has a density of 148 Scouts aged 10 to 14 years for every 10,000 young people in the same age range, and a density of 103 aged 5 to 9 years and 37 aged 15 to 19 years – without taking into account the population of China. Europe and Oceania have the same distribution across the different age groups: the number of Scouts aged 5 to 9 years for every 10,000 inhabitants is greater than in the rest of the age groups. In Africa and South America, although the number of WOSM members aged between 10 and 14 years per 10,000 young inhabitants is higher than that of other age ranges, they have fewer Scouts for all age ranges than the other regions.

1.3.3. Geographical presence of WAGGGS by member age

Figure 15. Census of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) by member age



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 15 shows that the majority of WAGGGS members are children between the ages of 5 and 9 years, followed by individuals aged 10 to 14 years. In figures, 46.6%²¹ of all WAGGGS members are aged 5 to 9 years, 40.9% are 10 to 14

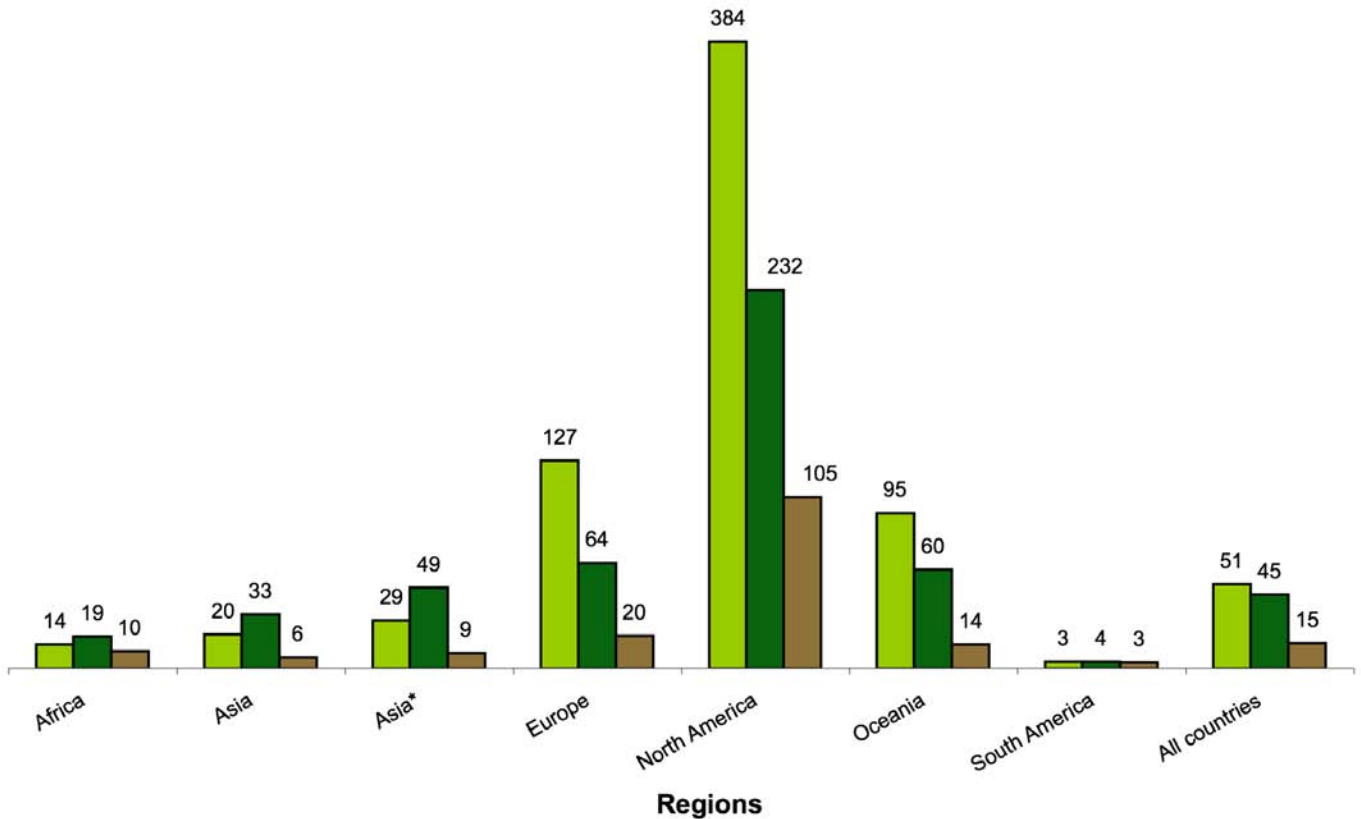
²¹ Calculated as the sum of the census of the three age ranges divided by the census of each age range multiplied by one hundred

years old and 12.5% are between the ages of 15 and 19 years. If we analyse the censuses of each region, we see that WAGGGS behaves differently to what we have seen from WOSM up until now. The number of children between the ages of 5 and 9 years is higher than the number of members between the ages of 10 and 14 years in North America, Europe and Oceania, while in Asia, Africa and South America, the number of members aged between 10 and 14 years is higher, at 1,233,074, 197,385 and 13,308 WAGGGS members, respectively. Thus, North America has 1,627,553 WAGGGS members aged 5 to 9 years, 963,094 members aged 10 to 14 years and 413,144 members aged 15 to 19 years. In Europe, on the other hand, WAGGGS has 528,581 million members aged 5 to 9 years, 315,905 million aged 10 to 14 years and 99,774 million aged 15 to 19 years. The region with the lowest census for all ages is Oceania: 25,409 WAGGGS members aged 5 to 9 years, 15,200 aged 10 to 14 years and 3,357 aged 15 to 19 years. WAGGGS is not present in Indonesia.

By analysing these percentages, we can see that the distribution of WAGGGS members by region is similar for the upper and lower age ranges, with North America accounting for around 50% of members aged 5-9 and 15-19 years. In the second age bracket (10 to 14 years), however, Asia holds first position with 45%. This region is also the second leading region for the other age groups after North America, which contrasts with the distribution of WOSM and World Scouting as a whole, since Asia is always the top region in these analyses. It is followed by Europe and Africa. While Europe's maximum representation is in the 5 to 9 years age group (17%), Africa's maximum representation is in the 15 to 19 group (11.3%). Finally, as we saw with WOSM, Oceania and South America are the regions with the least WAGGGS members.

Nonetheless, in order to determine the relevance of the WAGGGS census data, we need to take into account the population in the age groups considered in the regional countries total. Hence, Figure 15a below illustrates the density, calculated with the formula used earlier.

Figure 15a. Density of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) according to member age (number of Guides/Scouts per 10,000 young inhabitants)



* This density calculation does not include the population of China

■ Population 5-9 ■ Population 10-14 ■ Population 15-19

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

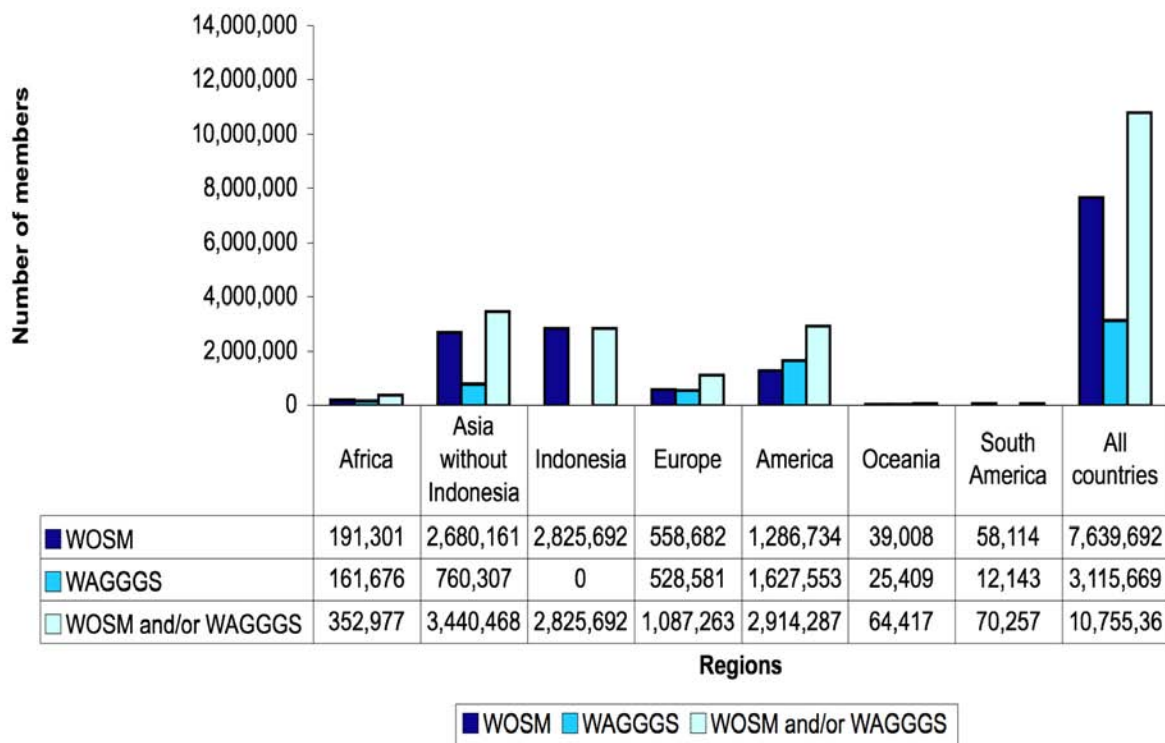
Figure 15a illustrates the density of WAGGGS and reveals the importance of the North American Girl Scouts of the USA association in the world total, even though this density decreases as age rises. In figures, we observe densities of 384, 232 and 105 for each of the age ranges – from lower to upper – respectively. It is followed by Europe and Oceania, which reveal the same pattern in age-group distribution. There are 127 and 96 WAGGGS members, respectively, out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 5 to 9 years, 64 and 61 out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 10 to 14 years and 20 and 14 out of every 10,000 inhabitants aged 15 to 19 years. The continents with fewest WAGGGS members in all age groups are Asia, Africa and South America and these are also the continents with the lowest density, although the 10 to 14 years age group in Asia is close to that of Europe and Oceania. South America has the lowest density in all ranges, which also occurs in WOSM. The WAGGGS census shows that the densities are higher for members aged 5 to 9 years globally and more specifically in the regions of Europe, North America and Oceania.

1.3.4. Census and Density by Age Range According to World Organization

In the previous points, I compared the census and density of each age group in the two world organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS. The graphs below now compare the census and density within each age range for each of the World Scouting organizations.

a) Geographical Presence of the Population Aged 5 to 9 years by World Organization

Figure 16. Scout census by world organization. Population aged 5 to 9 years



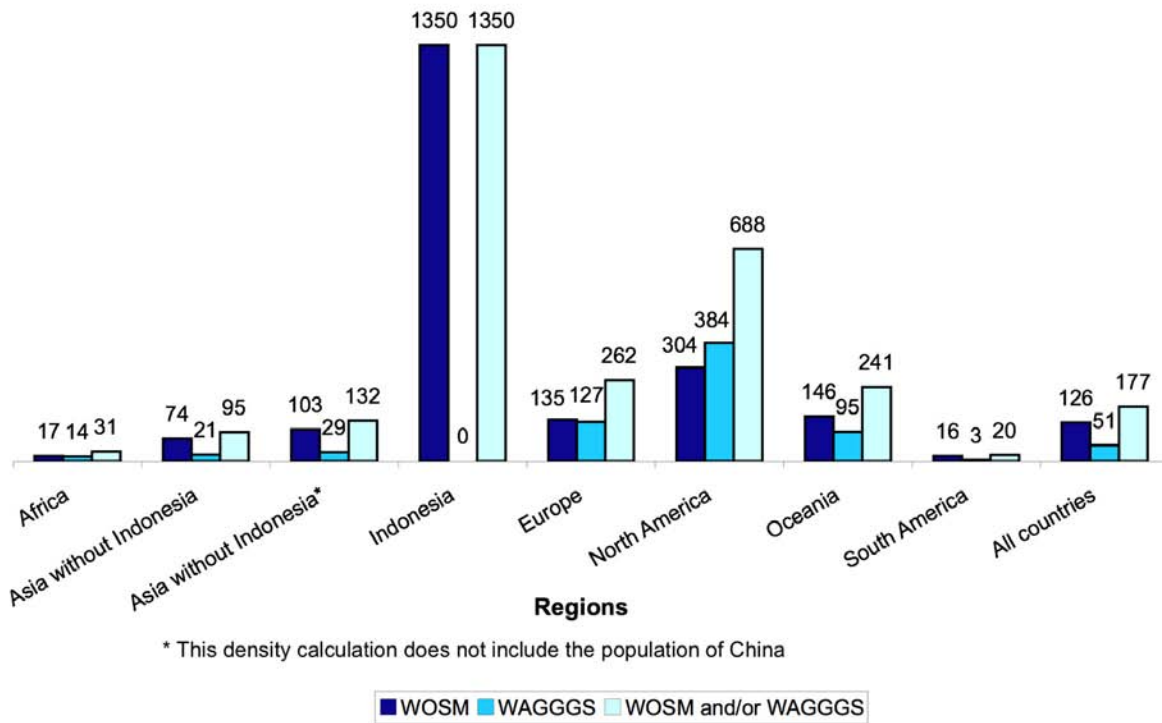
Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 16 shows that 10.75 million children aged 5 to 9 years are members of one of the two World Scouting organizations, 7.63 million of which belong to WOSM and 3.1 million belong to WAGGGS. If we compare the number of children aged 5 to 9 years in each organization, we see that Asia has considerably more children aged 5 to 9 years in WOSM than in WAGGGS: almost four times as many, excluding Indonesia, which is a similar figure to that of South America. In North America, however, the number of children aged 5 to 9 years is greater in WAGGGS than in WOSM.

In the Asia region, there is a more marked difference between the two organizations, since 5.5 million children aged between 5 and 9 years are WOSM members whereas only 760 thousand are WAGGGS members. This difference remains considerable even when we exclude the 2.8 million children in Indonesia. In Europe and Africa, although there are more Scouts between the ages of 5 and 9 years in WOSM than WAGGGS, the differences are less pronounced: 558

thousand WOSM members compared to 528 thousand WAGGGS members in Europe, and 191 thousand WOSM members compared to 161 thousand WAGGGS members in Africa.

Figure 16a. Density of members aged 5 to 9 years by world organization (number of Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants aged 5 to 9 years)



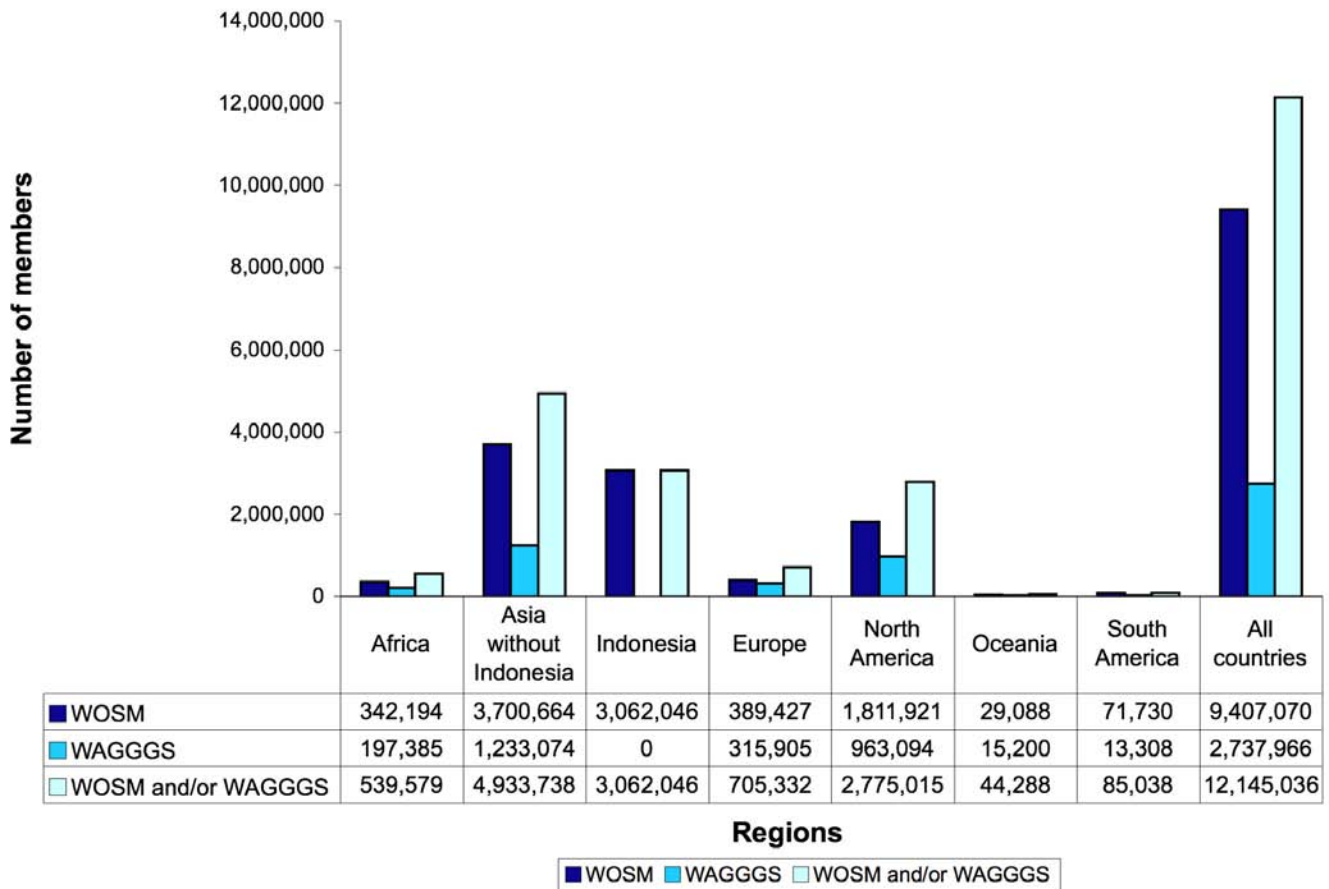
Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

For all countries taken together, the density of members aged 5 to 9 years (Figure 16a) is 126 WOSM members and 52 WAGGGS members for every 10,000 children aged 5 to 9 years. If we analyse the data by regions, we can separate Asia, Oceania and South America from the rest because the number of child WOSM members for every 10,000 inhabitants aged 5 to 9 years is greater than the number of WAGGGS members. The biggest difference is in Asia (103 WOSM members as opposed to 29 WAGGGS members, excluding Indonesia and China)²² and Oceania (147 WOSM members compared to 96 WAGGGS). The proportion of child members for every 10,000 inhabitants aged 5 to 9 years is very similar in the two organizations in Africa, Europe and South America, though WOSM still has more members. North America has more children for every 10,000 in this age range and more Scouts in WAGGGS than in WOSM. In figures, for every 10,000 girls and boys aged 5 to 9 years, 384 are members of WAGGGS and 304 are members of WOSM. We can therefore conclude that there are more children aged between 5 and 9 years in WOSM in all regions except for North America, where there are more children aged 5 to 9 years in WAGGGS.

²² If we include the Indonesian Scout association and the population of China, the density figures are 149 for WOSM and 21 for WAGGGS.

b) Geographical Presence of the Population Aged 10 to 14 years by World Organization

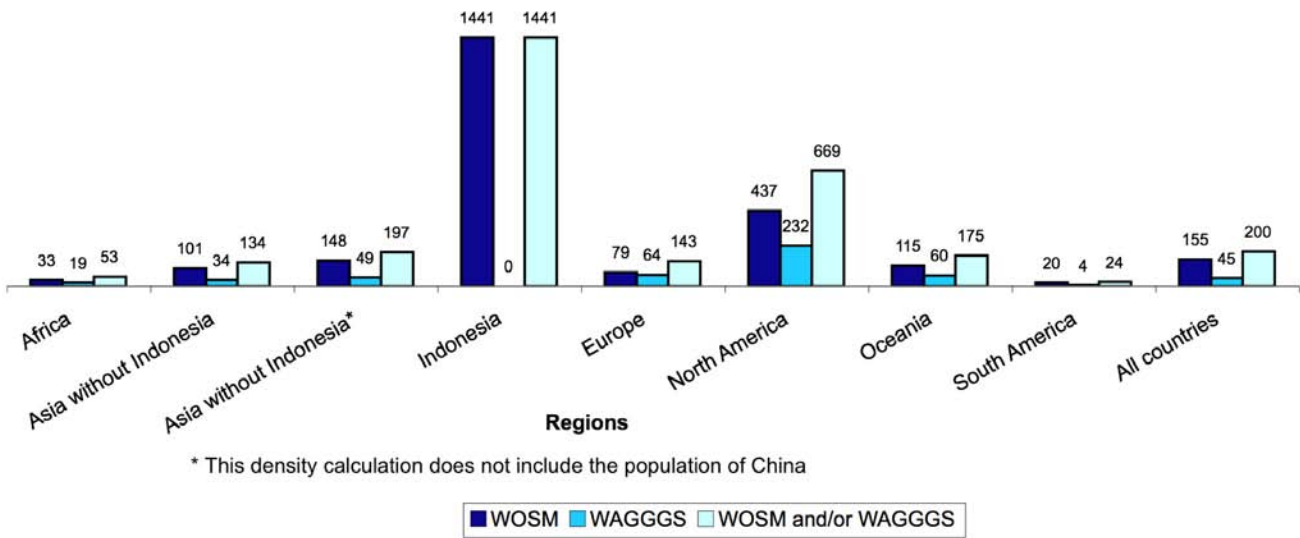
Figure 17. Scout census by world organization. Population aged 10 to 14 years



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 17 shows that the regions with the most Scouts aged between 10 and 14 years that are members of one or both of the world organizations are, in descending order: Asia with 7.9 million (3 of which are from Indonesia), North America with 2.7 million, and Europe with 705 thousand Scouts. The regions with fewest members in this age group are Oceania (44,288) and South America (85,038). In all regions, there are more boys and girls aged 10 to 14 years in WOSM. Asia and North America have the most: Asia has 1.2 million WAGGGS members as opposed to 6.7 million WOSM members between the ages of 10 and 14 years (3 million of which, as I have said, are from the Indonesian WOSM association) while North America has 1.81 million WOSM members and 963 thousand WAGGGS members. In the European region, the differences between the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses are less pronounced. In figures, in Europe there are 389 thousand young adolescents between the ages of 10 and 14 in WOSM and 315 thousand in WAGGGS.

Figure 17a. Density of members aged 10 to 14 years by world organization
(number of Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants aged 10 to 14 years)



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

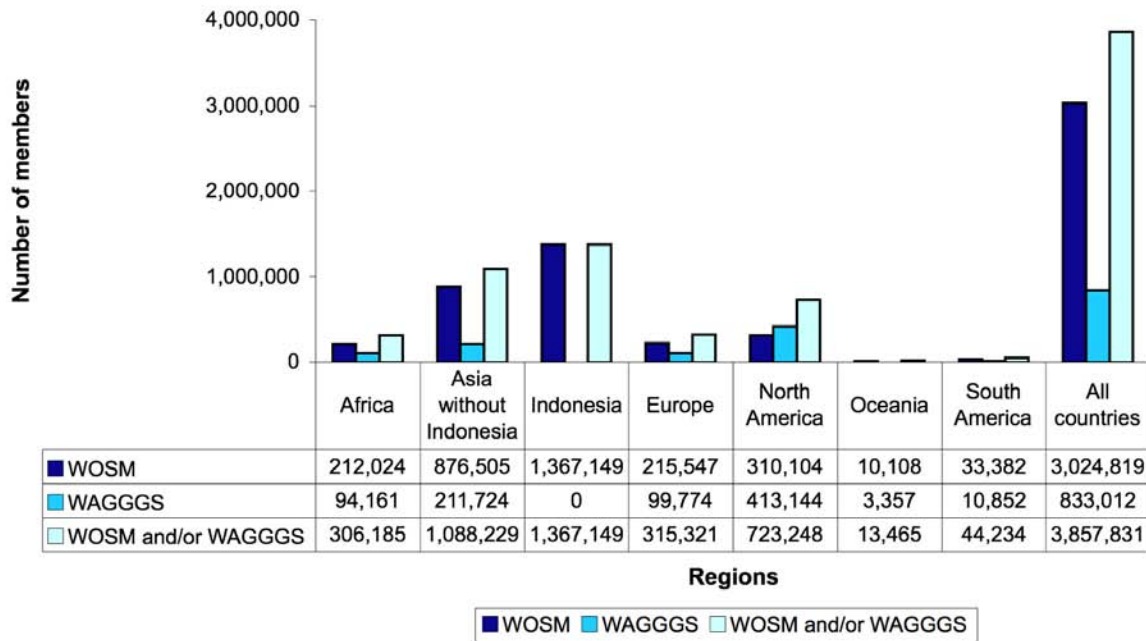
Figure 17a illustrates the density of the members of each world organization for the 10 to 14 age group. On the one hand, it shows that, for all countries taken together, 200 out of every 10,000 boys and girls of this age are World Scouting members, 155 of whom are WOSM members and 45 are WAGGGS members. Generally speaking, the number of WOSM members is higher than the number of WAGGGS members for every 10,000 boys and girls aged 10 to 14 in all regions.

If we analyse the results by continental region, we see that those with the highest and lowest densities are North and South America. More specifically, North America has the highest density in the 10 to 14 years age group: 437 out of every 10,000 inhabitants belong to WOSM while 232 belong to WAGGGS. South America, however, has fewer: 20 out of every 10,000 are WOSM members and just 4 are WAGGGS members. After North America, the regions with the highest densities are Asia and Oceania. In Asia (excluding the Indonesian association and the population of China), for every 10,000 boys and girls between the ages of 10 to 14 years, there are 148 WOSM members and 49 WAGGGS members²³, while in Oceania, there are 115 WOSM members and 60 WAGGGS members. These regions are followed by Europe, where 79 boys and girls out of every 10,000 between the ages of 10 and 14 are WOSM members and 64 are WAGGGS members. Africa and South America are the two regions with fewest Scouts aged 10 to 14 years out of every 10,000 inhabitants in this age range. The data on Africa indicates that 33 boys and girls out of every 10,000 aged 10 to 14 years are WOSM members and just 19 are WAGGGS members.

²³ If we include the Indonesian Scout association and the population of China, the density figures for Asia are 181 for WOSM and 33 for WAGGGS.

c) Geographical Presence of the Population Aged 15 to 19 years by World Organization

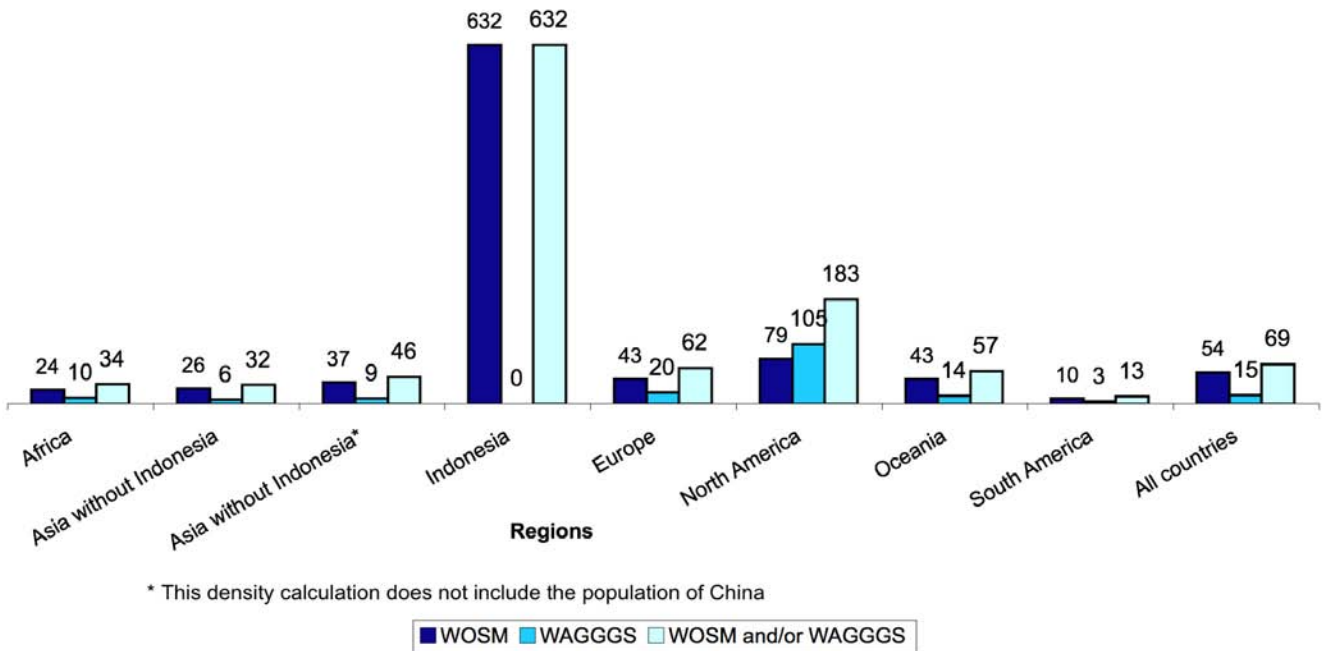
Figure 18. Scout census by world organization. Population aged 15 to 19 years



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 18 shows the censuses for the population aged 15 to 19 years. Asia has the most young World Scouting members (WOSM and/or WAGGGS) aged between 15 and 19 (2.4 million, of which 1.3 are from Indonesia), while Oceania is the region with fewest youth members (13,465) of the total. If we analyse the global results for all countries, we see that most World Scouting members – over 60% – aged between 15 to 19 years belong to WOSM. This is true of all regions except for North America, which has more young WAGGGS members. The most pronounced differences between WOSM and WAGGGS youths are found in Asia, where, even if we exclude Indonesia, 80% belong to WOSM.

Figure 18a. Density of members aged 15 to 19 years by world organization
(number of Scouts per 10,000 inhabitants aged 15 to 19 years)



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

If we observe the densities of the two world organizations for all countries taken together (Figure 18a), we see that 69 out of every 10,000 boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 19 are World Scouting members. More specifically, 54 are WOSM members and 15 are WAGGGS members. When we analyse the data by regions, we find more WOSM members for every 10,000 youths between the ages of 15 and 19 in all regions except for North America, as occurs with the census. This region also has the highest regional density, with 183. In figures, 105 out of every 10,000 youths aged 15 to 19 years are WAGGGS members and 79 are WOSM members. South America, on the other hand, has the lowest density (13). The biggest differences between the densities of WOSM and WAGGGS in this age range are found in Asia where, even if we exclude Indonesia, there are 37 WOSM members and just 9 WAGGGS members – excluding the population of China.

1.4. Gender

This research draws on the fact that World Scouting is an educational movement with two organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS, that were founded on the same principles in order to group the two genders, male and female, and which remain separate organizations today, essentially because of differences in the way they work to create a society without gender discrimination. Since WOSM amended its constitution in 1977, it has gradually opened its doors to both boys and girls²⁴ and only 20 of its 155 associations are officially for boys only. Numerically, however, it is essentially male.

WAGGGS is an exclusively female organization, though 34 of its 144 member associations belong to both world organizations and are co-educational. In a bid to clarify its association profile, in 1997, at the height of the discussion on associations belonging to both WAGGGS and WOSM, WAGGGS agreed that no new associations with boy members could join after 1998. In 2002, it agreed to emphasize its role as a female association, in contrast to WOSM²⁵. Nowadays, only 17 WAGGGS associations among those that do not have double membership with WOSM are open to boys and girls.

Nonetheless, I would like to observe the impact on gender in World Scouting as a whole in order to determine whether its educational action is biased towards a particular gender, which is suggested by the fact that WOSM has more members than WAGGGS. As I have indicated, this analysis could only be carried out on the age ranges as a unit, as opposed to individually, because WOSM does not separate its data on gender into age groups. Also, as I have mentioned, WOSM's data was taken from an extra question on its censuses and we cannot know for certain whether the value zero meant that there were no girls or that the association had not counted boys and girls separately. Table 4 indicates the total number of child and young members of World Scouting broken down by gender in each of the world organizations that the associations belong to and by continental regions.

²⁴ 'Policy on Girls and Boys, Women and Men Within the Scout Movement'. World Scout Conference, Doc. No. 9, Durban, 1999.

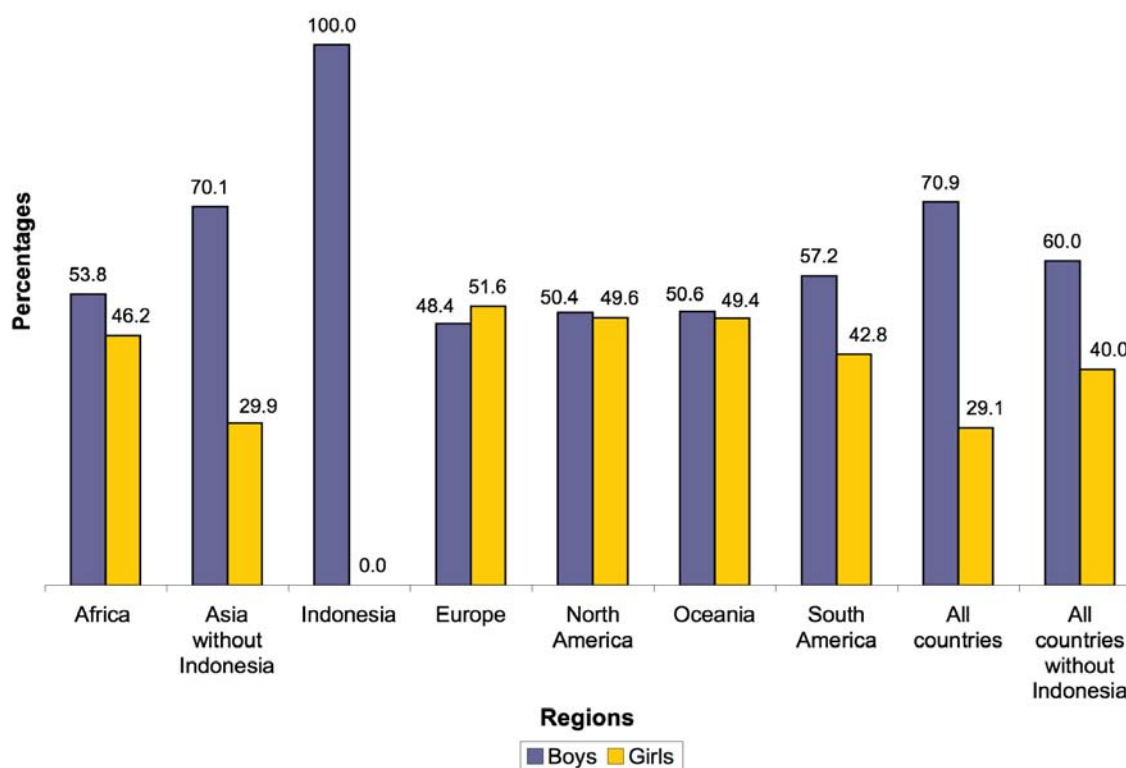
²⁵ WAGGGS Roma Statement, 1997; World Conference Report, WAGGGS, 2002.

Table 4. Number of child and young members of World Scouting, by gender, according to world organization and region

Region	WOSM			WAGGGS		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Africa	644,784	100,735	745,519	0	453,222	453,222
Asia without Indonesia	6,631,068	626,262	7,257,330	1,099	2,204,006	2,205,105
Indonesia	7,254,887	0	7,254,887	0	0	0
Europe	1,000,773	162,883	1,163,656	17,649	926,611	944,260
North America	3,234,322	174,437	3,408,759	479	3,003,312	3,003,791
Oceania	61,789	16,415	78,204	0	43,966	43,966
South America	112,142	51,084	163,226	2,054	34,249	36,303
All countries	18,939,765	1,131,816	20,071,581	21,281	6,665,366	6,686,647

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 19. Percentage of boys/girls in World Scouting (WOSM and/or WAGGGS)



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 19 indicates the percentage of girls and boys in World Scouting, obtained by adding the WOSM and WAGGGS censuses together, broken down by continental region. Surprisingly, boys and girls have a very similar presence in all regions, except for Asia, with the most equal gender ratio occurring in North America,

Oceania and Europe. In fact, the latter region is the only one where there are more girls than boys.

In North America, 50.44% of children and youth members of World Scouting are male and 49.56% are female. Oceania registers very similar percentages: 50.58% of the population under the age of 19 who are members of one or both associations are boys and 49.42% are girls. Europe, unlike the other regions, has a higher percentage of girls (51.6% compared to 48.4% boys), but the percentages are very similar.

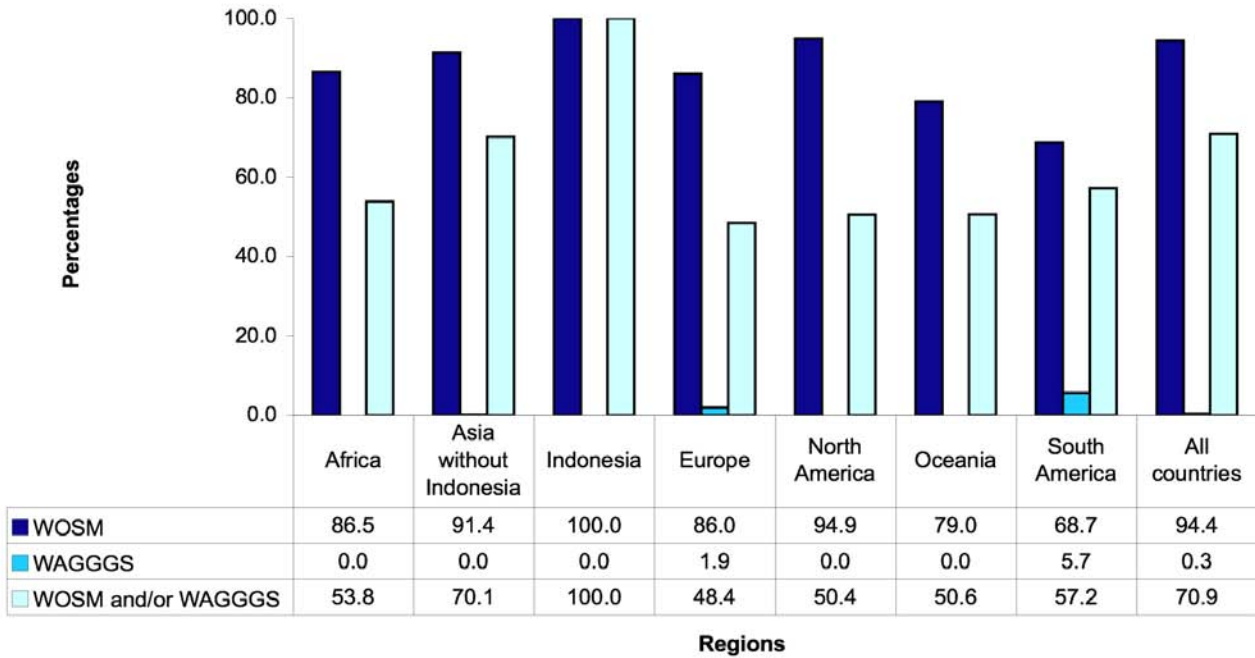
The percentages are slightly further apart in Africa and South America but still fairly similar: In Africa, 53.79% of Scouts are boys and 46.21% are girls, while South America has 57.23% boys and 42.77% girls. The biggest difference is in Asia, excluding Indonesia²⁶ – which states that it has no girls in its WOSM census, though it must have because it was a member of WAGGGS – where 70.1% of World Scouting members are boys and 29.9% are girls. We must therefore find out whether this potential existence of undeclared girls also occurs in other WOSM associations in Asia, which would explain the gap between it and the other regions.

1.4.1. Presence of Boys and Girls in WOSM and WAGGGS

Having dealt with the global distribution of gender in individual members of World Scouting, I will now break down the results for each of the organizations, WOSM and WAGGGS. I will use two approaches: firstly, I will compare the percentage of girls and boys in each of the world organizations, and secondly, I will indicate the ratio of boys to girls in WOSM and the ratio of girls to boys in WAGGGS, since, as I have said, there are still many more boys in WOSM and WAGGGS is practically exclusive to girls.

²⁶ If we were to include Indonesia, the figures for Asia would be much more unbalanced: 83.1% of boys compared to 17.0% of girls.

Figure 20. Percentage of boys by world organization

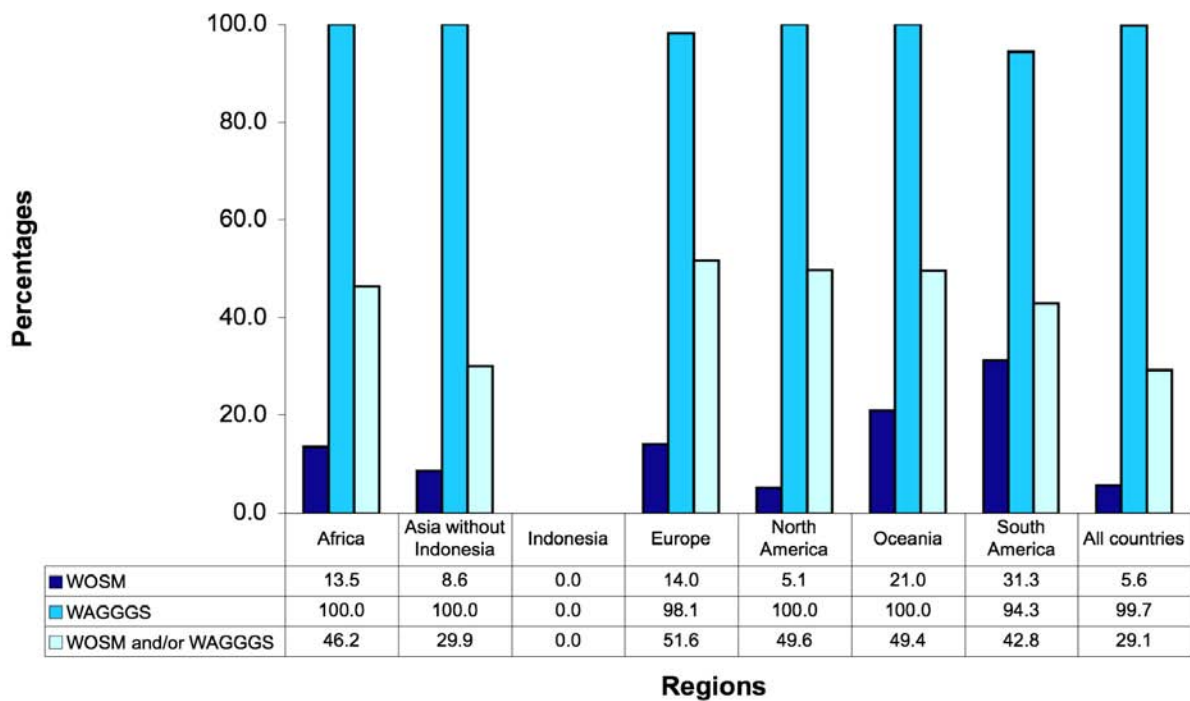


Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

Figure 20 indicates the percentage of boys in each of the world organizations in each region and in World Scouting overall (WOSM+WAGGGS). The percentage remaining, therefore, is the percentage of girls. When we analyse the presence of boys in each of the organizations, we see that it is higher in WOSM for all regions and countries. Specifically, 94.4% of all WOSM members are boys, while just 0.3% of WAGGGS members are boys.

North America has the highest percentage of boys in WOSM (94.9%), followed by Asia (91.4%, increasing to 95.7% if we include Indonesia). We also see that the percentage of boys in WAGGGS in these two regions is less than 1%. There are no male WAGGGS members in the regions of Africa and Oceania. The regions with the highest percentage of boys in WAGGGS are Europe and South America. In figures, South America has 5.7% and Europe has 1.9%. However, if we take the two organizations together, we see that around 50% are boys in all regions except for Asia, which has 83.1% boys. The reason for this difference is because the gender imbalance in one organization is compensated by the imbalance in the other, so they actually complement each other.

Figure 21. Percentage of girls by world organization



Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

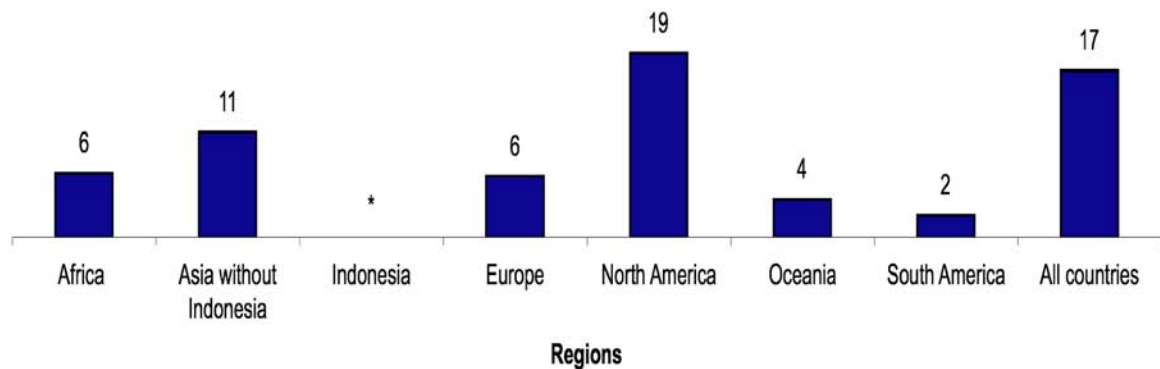
When we analyse the presence of girls in the world organizations (Figure 21), we find that the WAGGGS percentages are even higher than those of boys in WOSM. Of the total members of WAGGGS, practically 100% are girls in Africa, Oceania, North America and Asia. In Europe and South America, the percentage of girl WAGGGS members is over 90% (98.1% in Europe and 94.3% in South America).

If we look at the percentage of girls in WOSM by regions, we see that 30.3% of WOSM members in South America are girls. At first sight, this may suggest that there is more uniformity between sexes in WOSM in this region than in the others. However, we also need to bear in mind that some associations are members of both organizations and hence, split their censuses: boys are reported to WOSM and girls to WAGGGS. This is the case of many European associations and it also occurs in India, for example, which is one of the biggest in the world. In Oceania, Europe and Africa, 21%, 14% and 13.5% of WOSM members, respectively, are girls. Asia and North America on the other hand have the lowest percentages of girls in WOSM (4.3% and 5.1%, respectively). Generally speaking, the percentage of girls in WOSM is higher than the percentage of boys in WAGGGS across all regions, which is logical if we remember that WOSM is open to girls while WAGGGS is essentially girls-only. Nonetheless, the numbers of girls in WOSM are still very low.

1.4.2. Relationship between Girls and Boys in WOSM and WAGGGS

For a clearer picture of the distribution of the two sexes in WOSM and WAGGGS, I will indicate the ratio of boys to girls in WOSM and the ratio of girls to boys in WAGGGS, given that WAGGGS is virtually all-girls while WOSM, though co-educational, is still a very male-dominated organization. The ratio indicates the number of times that the number of boys exceeds that of girls, and vice versa, for each region.

Figure 21. Relationship between the number of boys and girls in WOSM
(Ratio of girls to boys = Number of boys for every girl)

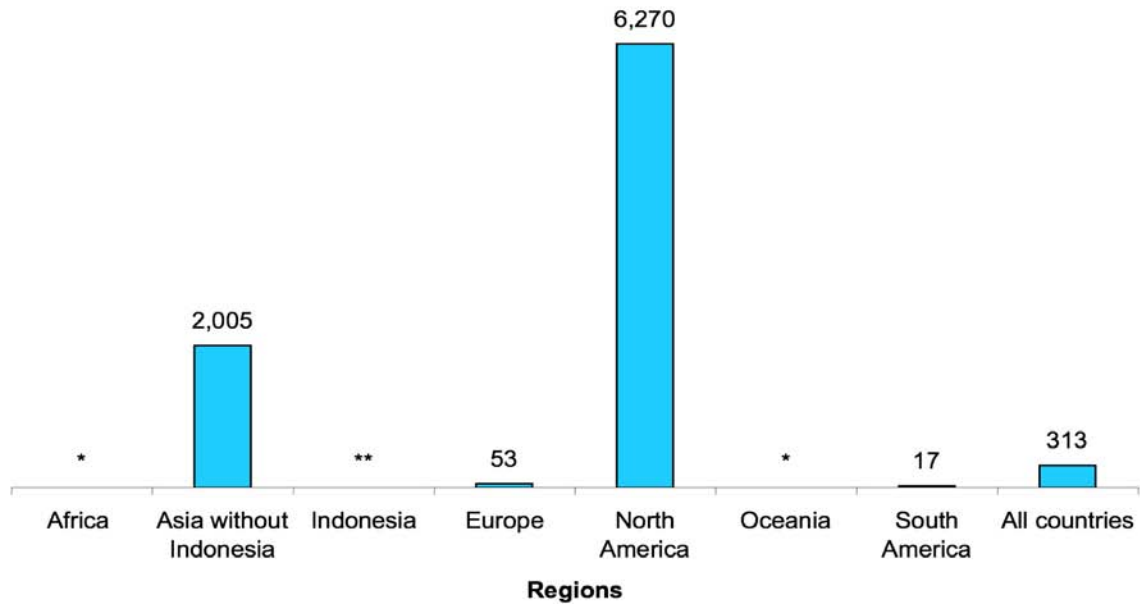


* Indonesia does not count girls in its WOSM census

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

The analysis of the data on WOSM (Figure 21) shows very clearly that the number of boys is greater than the number of girls, as was the case when we added the two organizations together. In figures, there are 17 boys for every girl in WOSM in all countries. Analysing the results by regions reveals that there are considerably more boys than girls in North America (19 boys for every girl) and Asia (11 boys for every girl, 22 if we include Indonesia). The results for the other regions are less than the total of all countries. Thus, Europe and Africa have ratios of 6 while in Oceania and South America, the ratio of boys to girls is lower and hence there is a greater gender balance in WOSM: 4 boys for every girl in Oceania and 2 in South America. However, we need to bear in mind, particularly when analysing figures for Europe, that there are associations in which the boys are members of WOSM and the girls are members of WAGGGS, as I explained earlier.

Figure 22. Relationship between the number of boys and girls in WAGGGS
(Ratio of girls to boys = Number of girls for every boy)



* There are no boys in WAGGGS in Africa and Oceania

** WAGGGS does not exist in Indonesia

Author's own work. Source: World Scouting 2003 Data Set

With WAGGGS, the gender distribution is the exact opposite to WOSM. Figure 22 shows that the number of girls in WAGGGS is overwhelmingly higher than the number of boys. In two regions (Africa and Oceania), there are no boy members at all and, hence, the ratio is zero. In figures, the number of girls in WAGGGS is 313 times greater than the number of boys in WAGGGS in all countries. That is to say, there are 313 girls for every boy. If we analyse the data by regions, we see that the most marked differences arise in North America and Asia, which have ratios of 6,269 and 2,005, respectively. In North America, this is because of the sway of Girl Scouts of the USA, which represents 42% of young WAGGGS members and has a strict policy of not accepting boy members. A long way behind are Europe and South America, which have 52 and 16 girls for every boy, respectively.