Volunteers in Development

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During the past five years the use of volunteers as a form of technical assistance to developing countries has increased rapidly. There are now about 17,000—their cost is probably about £45m p.a. Nearly 1,000 of them come from Britain—their cost is over £1m p.a.—nearly half of it paid by Britain.

This survey looks at these volunteers as a form of aid. It considers how useful they are —and how useful they could be. It concentrates on the British programmes.

There is no doubt, it suggests, that under favourable conditions volunteers can be very useful indeed to developing countries. They can fill posts that would otherwise be vacant, and they can apply science and technology at the level where it is most needed.

But the survey is critical of the conditions under which volunteers from Britain work at present. The minimum period abroad should be two years (not one, as at present) and there should be more extensive training. The administration, both in Britain and overseas, should be improved. In Britain the present system of autonomous but co-ordinated programmes should be replaced by a single, but non-government programme. Overseas the British Council should continue to run the administration, but with the addition of regional volunteer field officers and full-time offices in some countries.

Appendices give details of the major volunteer programmes and the countries in which they are working. There are also notes about other opportunities in developing countries apart from volunteer-work.

The survey has been carried out by Adrian Moyes, who has worked with the ODI since it started work in 1961—with the help of Judith Wallis, who has worked as a volunteer in Thailand.

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Published by
The Overseas Development Institute Ltd
160 Piccadilly London W1
England

The author and the Overseas Development Institute wish to express their appreciation to the Freedom from Hunger Campaign (UK Committee), Oxfam and War on Want, whose financial and other support made it possible to carry out this survey.

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Corrections

Page 40	IVS Volunteers starting Sept. 1964 12–18 months — 11% (not 8%) 18–24 months — 17% (not 5%) This does not change the % of all vols.
Page 109	IVS was founded in 1934, the volunteer programme was founded in 1963
Page 120	There were five volunteers in Algeria under IVS in 1965, which makes the total six (not three)

Contents

Tables

Introduction

In the past five years volunteers have been used increasingly as a form of aid for developing countries. Existing programmes have been adapted and expanded, and new ones set up. By the end of 1965 some 17,000 volunteers were involved in about 160 programmes (see Box 1).

This survey examines the usefulness of volunteers in development, and how their value to developing countries can be increased. It looks briefly at most of the major programmes, but it concentrates on those from Britain; most sections, therefore, begin by considering volunteers in general, and then focus specifically on those from Britain.

In making suggestions for improvement, the survey gives greater emphasis to the weaknesses of Britain's programme than to its strong-points; there is some danger that this may result in giving an impression more unfavourable than is in fact justified. The theme of the survey is not that the programmes from Britain are without value—but that they could be much more effective.

Equally, by pointing to weaknesses in the programme, the impression may be given that the volunteers themselves are of low quality. There are of course some volunteers who are below the standard of the majority; this survey does not deal with them, but rather with the large majority who are respected for their ability, enthusiasm and hard work.

The survey considers volunteers only in terms of economic and social development, but this does not mean that other reasons for supporting the programmes or working as a volunteer are wrong or irrelevant; they are simply outside its scope.

The survey is based on work done during 1965 in Africa and Asia, supplemented by material gathered in Europe and Britain. Unfortunately it was not possible to include Latin America or the Caribbean. Such an extensive and rapid journey involves the danger of superficial research and comment, but it has the advantage of providing an overall perspective.

The ODI is neither a Government body nor a volunteer-sending agency.

There is no final definition of the term volunteer; in this survey it is used to describe people who work in developing countries under the same conditions as local people with similar qualifications, rather than to make money or found a career. The survey deals only with 'qualified volunteers'—and not with Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO)'s school-leaver and industrial volunteer schemes (described in *Appendix 1*): the aims, possibilities, limitations, and organisation of these programmes are rather different from those dealing with qualified volunteers. It includes, however, the French Militaires du Contingent, although this programme is an alternative to military service and is therefore perhaps not strictly 'voluntary.' Its work, aims, conditions and problems, however, are similar to other major programmes.

Much of the source material is in the form of unpublished reports, letters

from organisations and notes of interviews. Material that is not confidential is available at the ODI. Many of the published sources are likely to be of little interest to many readers and so they have been gathered together in *Appendix 8, Sources,* rather than in the form of footnotes to the text.

Many of the financial statistics contain estimates (for such things as accommodation) or are averages or projections. They have therefore been rounded fairly ruthlessly and they should not be taken as exact costs. The total number of volunteers in the field changes almost daily and so statistics have been taken for September 30th 1965 (unless otherwise stated). This date gives a somewhat high figure for some programmes (including those from Britain), because it includes some volunteers who will only be in the field for a few months of the 1965/6 volunteer-year.

Summary of Conclusions

Value

Volunteers can be a useful form of technical assistance for development. They can fill genuine and important needs in developing countries; they can provide a valuable and relatively inexpensive addition to other technical assistance programmes. They have in addition, a helpful effect on domestic public opinion about developing countries and they are likely to promote international understanding. Many of them subsequently continue to work for developing countries. From this survey several conclusions emerge for making the programmes from Britain more effective in terms of development.

Length

A one-year basic period of work is too short to do an effective job. It does not allow an adequate training period, it costs more to run a programme on a one-year basis, and it gives the impression that the programmes from Britain are amateur and less valuable than those from other countries.

A two-year period should be introduced abruptly so as to allow no choice; if volunteers are allowed a choice the majority will choose one year. A two-year basic period will reduce the number of people applying to volunteer, but perhaps not so seriously as some estimates suggest.

Cost

The principle that the volunteer's employer should pay full local costs sometimes prevents volunteers from being employed where there is greatest need. A more flexible approach is needed so that employers who cannot pay the full local cost are subsidised. Subsidies should also be used to ensure that no volunteer costs his employer more than a local equivalent.

Administration

The benefits of a unified programme administration in Britain outweigh the advantages of the present complex system involving several separate organisations. A single, but non-government, programme should therefore be set up. Existing organisations interested in volunteer-work could tap the interests of their own specialised publics on its behalf.

Administration overseas is best carried out by the British Council because volunteers from Britain are likely to continue to be distributed in a large number of countries in small groups which could not justify a full-time administrator. The British Council's administration should be strengthened

by the appointment of regional volunteer field-officers and by the establishment of full-time offices in countries where it is necessary to devise programmes and where the number of volunteers justify it.

Training

Volunteers from Britain need more training in language and in adapting their skill. There is also scope for experiment with an advance course, held a year early to introduce the volunteer to the region in which he will work, and for giving volunteers new skills which are only indirectly related to their qualifications.

1 Objectives

To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe, struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves for whatever period is required—not because the Communists are doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it can never save the few who are rich.

John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, 1961

It is possible to think of volunteer programmes in terms of sending philanthropic people to places where they can do charitable jobs—and maintaining them there at minimal cost. This basically is what volunteer programmes to developing countries originally were—and to some extent still are. The volunteers and their supporters included those who had religious reasons, those who believed in the value of voluntary work or international goodwill or international equality, those who felt they owed a debt to the world.

Since the foundation of Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) in 1958 and, more important, the US Peace Corps in 1961, volunteer programmes have increasingly come to be thought of in terms of three additional objectives; aid for development, public relations between countries, and a form of education for the volunteers themselves. The new programmes that have emerged in the past five years have grown rapidly; more and different people have become involved in their financing, their operation and their use. The objectives have become multiple, sometimes confused, not always compatible. Since the operation and effectiveness of a programme is dictated by what it sets out to achieve, this survey begins with a look at these objectives.

Contributors

Contributors to the programmes include both governments and private organisations such as Oxfam, Canadian universities or religious bodies. From the point of view of *governments*, volunteers provide a relatively inexpensive form of technical assistance. The volunteers are less well qualified and less experienced than other technical assistance men (TA-men*), but they do cost less. A Peace Corps volunteer costs the US Government rather under £3,000 p.a.; a US TA-man would cost nearly £9,000 p.a. A TA-man costs the French Government three times as much as a Militaire du Contingent or twice as much as a Volontaire du Progrès (details of these and other programmes are given in Appendix 1). In the case of the British Government the saving is less substantial, because although the cost to

* Known internationally as 'experts'. These people, however, are often expert only in relation to those they are trying to help—and not in the more precise English sense of being exceptionally highly skilled. An alternative term, Technical Assistant, is misleading and clumsy—and so this crude but convenient short-hand, TA-man, is used throughout.

Box 1
Volunteer Programmes

Size

Programmes sending volunteers to developing countries have grown considerably in size and number since the foundation of the US Peace Corps in 1961. There are now some 160 organisations sending about 17,000 volunteers. This figure is expected to increase to 30,000 by 1970.

The largest programme is (September 30th 1965) the US Peace Corps with over 12,000. There are 900 volunteers from Britain.* Details of some of the larger programmes are given in Pillargram 2. Their distribution by continent and subject is given in Piegrams 17 and 3.

Cost

The total cost of recruiting, training, transporting, and administering each volunteer varies between £1,000 and £3,000 a year—of which the developing country pays anything from a tenth to a half. The country employing a volunteer provides accommodation and sometimes food and occasionally pay (as for volunteers from Britain). The total cost *to all developing countries* is not available but the cost to some specific countries is given in Table 12. The cost *to the countries which* run some of the larger programmes is given in Table 11.

The cost of *volunteers from Britain* is shared roughly 40/60 between Britain and developing countries. Britain will contribute about £592,000 in 1965/6 for 900 volunteers—an average cost of about £660 each. The total average cost is about £1,200. Details of the costs of volunteers from Britain in specific countries are given in Table 13 and of all the major programmes in Table 12.

Qualifications

Volunteers are variously and flexibly defined. The majority of them at present have a university, professional or technical qualification but little or no practical experience; for most their voluntary job is the first after qualifying. The lower age limit is 20 or 21 (the latter in Britain); there is no rigid upper age limit, but most are in their early 20s. They usually work for a minimum of 2 years (1 year in the case of volunteers from Britain), 2–3 months of which is usually spent in training in their own country.

* Not including VSO's school-leaver and industrial volunteer programmes. These total 433. Further notes on them are given in Appendix 1.

Conditions

They work under a wide variety of conditions. They live in accommodation which ranges from a few literal mud-huts to fine modern flats. Their pay varies between £60 and £1,200 p.a. A high proportion of volunteers from Britain are well housed and well paid (£600–£700 p.a. and free or near-free accommodation).

Work

Volunteers are employed in almost every kind of job; there are amongst others teachers, foresters, surveyors, mechanics, chemists, nurses, commercial lawyers, cattle-ranching advisors, brick-bakers, librarians, broadcasters, builders, poultry-men, economists, university lecturers, refrigeration technicians, social workers, engineers, lobster-pot researchers, physiotherapists, oyster cultivators and ply-wood manufacturers.

British Programme

The British programme is run by 5 private organisations—though the Government pays nearly 80% of the cost. The remainder of the cost is paid by Oxfam, FFHC, Christian Aid, the Gulbenkian Foundation, etc., and the 5 organisations themselves. Further details are given in Box 14.

the Government of a volunteer is low (largely due to the contributions by private organisations and developing countries), the cost of most British TA-men is also low. Over 90% of British TA-men serve on the Overseas Service Aid Scheme (OSAS) at an average cost of £700* p.a. each; the Government contribution to each volunteer is estimated for 1965/6 at nearly £530.

Besides being less expensive, volunteers are also more readily available than TA-men. It is hard to persuade skilled and experienced people, often family men in mid-career, to change their job and residence to go and work in a developing country. To governments running aid programmes, therefore, volunteers provide a numerically substantial, if lower-level, addition to their ordinary supply of technical assistance. The number of US Peace Corps volunteers, for example, is (1965) about double that of US TA-men; the number of German Development Service (DED) volunteers is approaching half that of German TA-men. This addition is much less noticeable in the case of Britain, which has nearly 11,000 TA-men and 900 volunteers.

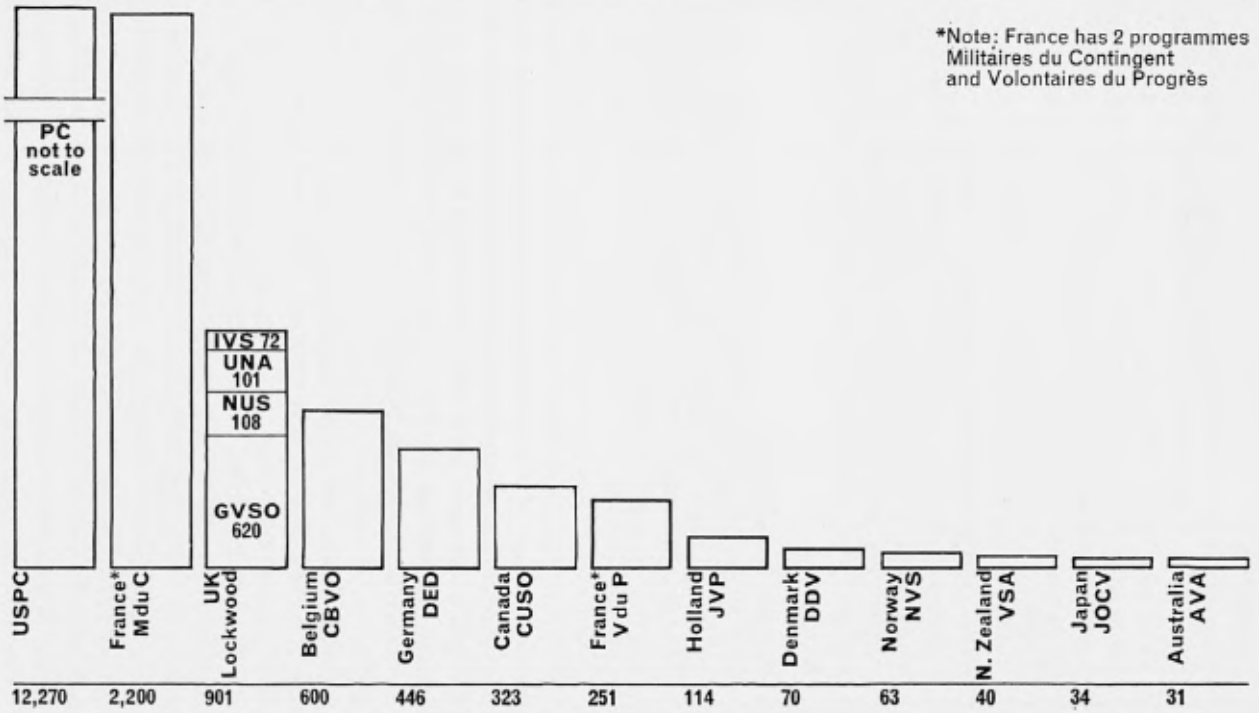
Governments sponsoring volunteer programmes also look on them as a means of projecting or improving their country's image in developing coun-

* Excluding recruiting and other overheads which would add perhaps £100–£150 p.a. to the cost.

Major Volunteer Programmes

Pillargram 2

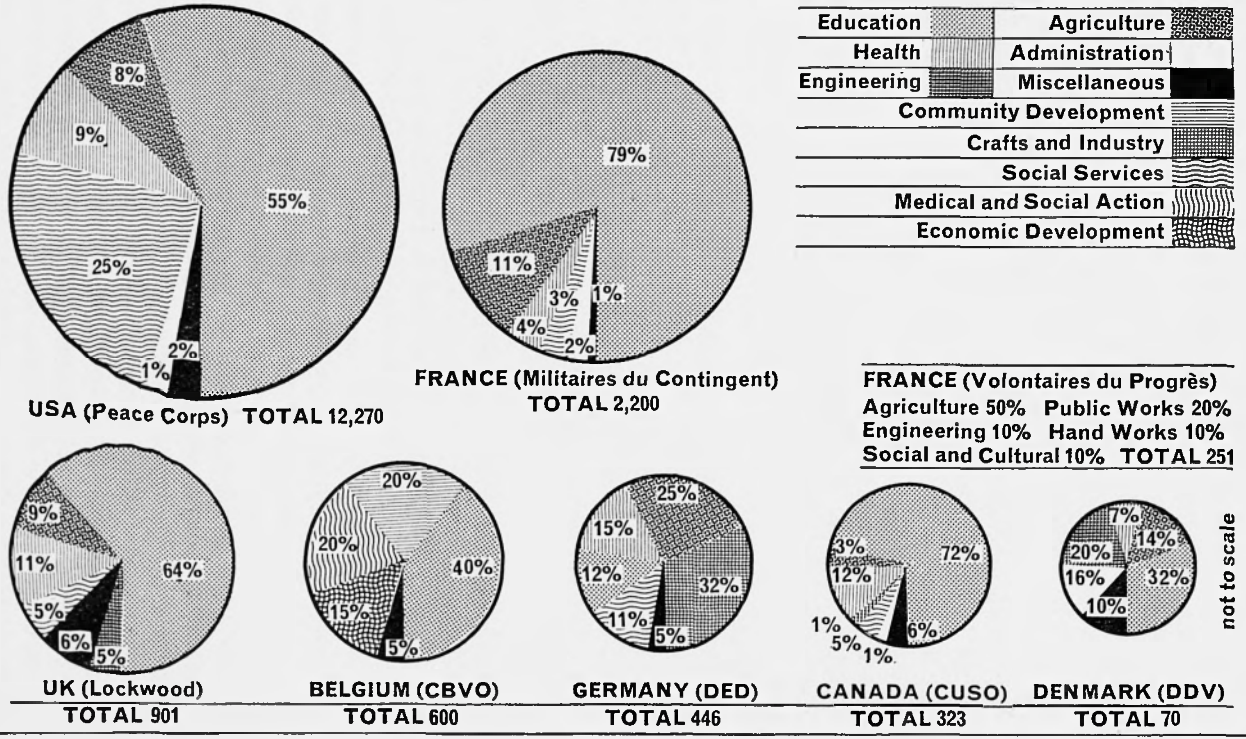
At September 30th 1965



Volunteers by Subject

Piegram 3

Major programmes 1965/6



tries. It is assumed that volunteers will help build up a picture of their home-country that is more favourable than that often held in Asia, Africa and Latin America; volunteers can demonstrate that Americans are not racialist warmongers, nor Britons latent colonialists. One of the three formal objectives of the US Peace Corps is to 'help promote a better understanding of the American people on the part of the peoples served.' When they work in schools and universities, volunteers are often in contact with people who are likely to hold important posts in the future; it is therefore hoped that if they can improve their own country's image, the effect will be lasting.

The British programmes are not run by the British Government (though they are largely financed by it) and they do not have official objectives in the same way as the US Peace Corps or other government programmes. Nonetheless the public relations effect may well have played some part in persuading the British Government to spend £470,000 on the programmes in 1965/6, and some Embassies and High Commissions judge volunteers largely in terms of the image of Britain they project. In a few countries, where there is no formal British representative, volunteers form a convenient 'British presence'.

Governments also look on volunteer programmes as a form of further education for the volunteers; they believe that people will be better citizens when they have spent a year or two working in developing countries. Sargent Shriver, former Director of the US Peace Corps, has written; 'Wherever they go they will enrich the life of their communities. They will help create an America more profoundly aware of world problems and world responsibilities.'

This supply of better educated citizens may also, it is hoped, have concrete effects. Returned volunteers are quite likely to turn into good exporters, good TA-men, good government servants in Departments of aid or foreign affairs. Table 4 shows the broad categories of occupation of British and American volunteers who have already completed their volunteer-work. Others may be useful indirectly. All the governments which support volunteer programmes also consider, for various reasons, that it is in their national interest to have an aid programme. These aid programmes, however, are often difficult to justify to domestic public opinion and during the past two years there has been growing opposition to them—first in the USA, France and Germany, more recently in Britain. During 1965 the main fund-raisers in Britain recorded falling receipts and there was increased criticism of the whole aid programme. Volunteers can do little about the causes of this disenchantment—domestic economic crises, racial and immigration problems, wars and revolutions in developing countries—but they can do something to counter it. While they are abroad they are bound to pick up some understanding of the problems of developing countries and almost always some sympathy for them, and this they can pass on—to their families and friends and colleagues and, if they take up teaching or journalism or politics, to a

much wider circle of people. Although not a large group statistically, returned volunteers are mostly highly educated and energetic; over a ten-year period, therefore, they could play quite a significant part in forming public opinion on development.

Private organisations which contribute funds to volunteer programmes run by others, share many of the aims of governments. They too support the programmes as a form of technical assistance—and the comparatively low cost of volunteers is an important attraction because these organisations feel they have a duty to spend the funds they collect from the public as economically as possible. They also are concerned with the effect of returned volunteers on domestic public opinion, since their whole work depends on support from the public. They are less interested, however, in the national public relations aspect of the programmes.

Volunteer programmes have another advantage for fund-raising private organisations; they provide a practical outlet for people who want to give service as well as money. This is particularly important in Britain, whose people provided a quarter of the total funds collected for World Refugee Year and who made Britain until recently the largest single contributing country to the Freedom From Hunger Campaign (FFHC). Fund-raisers often find it hard to give a positive reply to queries about personal service; it is important for them to be able to point to the volunteer programmes as a practical answer.

Most private contributing organisations have other aims besides that of promoting development in developing countries. Some give a high priority to relief work, some to helping a specific category of people, such as Christians (though few organisations confine their help to Christians), or children or the blind; some to promoting international goodwill and understanding. From their point of view, volunteers can be equally useful for these purposes.

Operators

Many of the operators of volunteer programmes are government-controlled agencies, such as the US Peace Corps, or the German Development Service. Many programmes, however, are run by private agencies, often alongside government programmes, as in Germany and the USA. In some countries private programmes are supported by government funds, as in Canada, Belgium, Britain, Denmark and the Netherlands, for example. (Details of some major programmes are given in *Appendix 1.*)

These private agencies have a wide variety of objectives in running volunteer programmes—in addition to that of helping to promote development. Many of them feel strongly that voluntary service is a good thing in itself, good for the people who do it and good in the results it can produce. Volunteers in developing countries can help to boost local voluntary organisations, or blaze a trail where none exist. International Voluntary Service (IVS), the British branch of Service Civil International (SCI), gives a high priority

to this view. Some organisations feel, like the US Peace Corps, that the programmes can promote international understanding; Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) for example, does not regard the volunteer's work as an end in itself, but as the means of entry into another society. Some organisations have religious aims—such as the Papal Volunteers or the international Catholic organisation, the Grail. Others aim to help a specific organisation such as the United Nations—as does the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UNA). One or two have what amount to political aims; Volunteer International Service Assignments (VISA) in the USA, for example, views its programme as a useful Quaker educational tool in promoting a peace policy for the USA.

Volunteers

The volunteers themselves also see the programmes from various angles. Probably the majority see them, at least in part, as a means of doing something useful in a world that badly needs a lot of useful things done. For many it is a time to think what to do next after leaving university, for some it is a job with travel thrown in, for a few it may provide experience directly useful in subsequent career or study—in foreign affairs, say, or surveying, or forest economics. There are also individual volunteers who share the special interests of the organisations which send them; religion, work-camps, or the UN. And there are a few who see the programmes simply as a means of escape.

Employers

Most volunteers are employed in developing countries by or through the local governments. These governments also have a variety of objectives in using volunteers. Initially, while some influential expatriates welcomed the idea of voluntary service, many Asian and African governments accepted the programmes not because they were convinced of their value, but because they were either very small or they were hard to refuse. It would have offended the Americans and created a bad impression on world opinion to have refused the US Peace Corps; it was easier to accept the volunteers, who were unlikely to do much harm and might perhaps turn out to be useful. This they have done; and increasingly they are being recognised and used as a genuine and practical aid to development. The Government of India (Planning Commission) for example, concludes its report on *The Peace Corps in India, 1961–5* with the words; 'It has been realised that this is not a juvenile experiment. Young Americans bring idealism, also science and technology. It is a genuine partnership for constructive work. Volunteers are engaged in productive activity. They go where there is a need, where there is a promise. . . .'

They can also perform a valuable public relations function for the country that employs them. If they take home with them some understanding of the problems of poverty and some desire to do something about them, then

Table 4
Occupation of Returned Volunteers

UK and US Peace Corps Volunteers.

UK Volunteers Finished September 1964	%	**US Peace Corps Volunteers** All vols completed by October 1965	%
Further education (in UK, USA and Canada)	17	**Further education**	37
Industry and Commerce	16	**Government** (Federal and State)	16
Teaching in UK	15	**Teaching**	16
Teacher-training	13	**Industry and Commerce**	10
Teaching (in developing countries)	9	**Social Work**	6
Missionary and Theological Training	6	**Other**	15
Social Work	5		100%
Agriculture (in developing countries)	4	=4,915 volunteers of whom 6% working in developing countries	
Other	15		
	100%		
=153 volunteers of whom 14% working in developing countries.			

Notes

1 The volunteer organisations in Britain do not all keep records of their volunteers' subsequent activities, and so the figures in column (a) are obtained from an ODI questionnaire, supplemented by information from GVSO. The questionnaire was sent to those who completed their volunteer-work in September 1964—and who had therefore completed a full year in subsequent employment or study when they answered the questionnaire.

There were 204 questionnaires sent out; 53% replied and information on some of those who did not was obtained from GVSO to produce a final response of 75% (153 volunteers).

2 The figures in column (b) include all volunteers who returned in 1963, 1964 and 1965. They are prepared by the US Peace Corps' Career Information Service.

they will form in their own countries what amounts to a pro-Nigerian lobby, or pro-Peruvian, or Indian or Thai. How likely or valuable such lobbies would be, can only be guessed at; but officials in several governments—those of Eastern Nigeria, Thailand, India, for example—think that this public relations aspect could be one of the most important benefits of volunteer programmes.

Key Objective

Many of these objectives are inter-dependent; volunteers will not promote goodwill, for instance, if they are not thought valuable and effective by those who employ them. Some suggest different priorities; relief work is seldom an effective way of promoting development. There is one objective, however, on which most of the others depend and without which the present programmes could probably not be supported or used. This key objective is development.

Volunteers use some of the resources of developing countries—money, accommodation and administrative time. It is wrong to use these scarce resources for anything other than the benefit of the countries concerned. Nor would governments in developing countries be so willing to spend their resources on programmes whose prime aims were, for example, public relations or the education of volunteers—though many of them are happy to see these objectives as useful by-products of programmes aimed at development. There is another point; both volunteers and those who pay for the programmes do so in the hope and belief that they are helping to promote development; it would be difficult to run programmes on the present scale without this support.

Many of the other objectives of the programmes depend on the main objective; if the programmes do not succeed in promoting development, then many of the other objectives cannot succeed either. If volunteers are not effective as a form of aid, they will not improve their own country's image—indeed they will damage it; they will not increase international goodwill or understanding—disillusion and bitterness set in very rapidly when a volunteer or his employer feels that he is not doing a useful job. This bitterness can be carried over when the volunteer returns home; he may become part of an anti-Peru or anti-Uganda lobby, he may contribute to anti-aid public opinion.

This does not mean, of course, that the non-development objectives are worthless, trivial or impractical—nor that volunteer programmes do not have the right to exist outside the context of development. But it does suggest that it is reasonable to consider the present major volunteer programmes in terms of their contribution to development. That is what this survey attempts to do. How far it is helpful to give a lower priority to this objective for the sake of improving public relations, promoting religion or helping the destitute, must be a matter for each individual and organisation to judge.

2 Technical Assistance

When St Paul's was being built, Christopher Wren used to visit the site and talk to the builders. One day he asked some stonemasons to describe their work. One said he was chipping a stone, another that he was earning a living. A third said: 'I'm helping to build a cathedral.' *Traditional Story*

Characteristics

To be accepted by the volunteer organisation, volunteers must have some technical, professional or educational qualification, usually at university level. This qualification may be directly relevant—it may be in accountancy, engineering, soil analysis or pharmacy. Or it may not be directly relevant —it may be a university degree in English literature or European languages.

The majority are fresh out of college (or equivalent); they have their degree, diploma or certificate, but no experience. Some of the programmes have been making big efforts to increase the number of professionally experienced volunteers; the US Peace Corps, for example, has raised the proportion of teacher-volunteers with teaching experience to 45%. But the majority are always likely to be those without experience; later in life, family and career pressures will deter all but a few from uprooting and going abroad for a couple of years on low pay. Lack of professional experience therefore, can be accepted as a characteristic of the majority of volunteers.

Volunteers are also for the most part young and enthusiastic and adaptable. They respond rapidly to intensive training and they are quick to pick up new jobs. Their object is not to earn money nor serve time—though some do both. They are prepared to work hard and under adverse conditions.

But they also have disadvantages. Besides their lack of experience, they come only for a short time. Most volunteers come for a basic period of two years; a few stay on for a third year and some for less than two years.The basic period for the French Militaires du Contingent, for example, is 16 months and for the programme from Britain one year. (Further details and discussion are given in *Section 3 Length.*)

Volunteers are often more easily discouraged than experienced TA-men. They hope for rapid progress and when they do not see it their morale is liable to fall and their effectiveness to decrease. Few volunteers have had any experience of working abroad before, and, like most foreigners, they have some difficulty in adjusting to the social and organisational setting; much of their background knowledge is irrelevant and many of the procedures, whether for filling in a form, applying for equipment, running a school class or keeping accounts, are quite different from those used at home. This applies less to volunteers from Britain in Commonwealth countries and French volunteers in countries that were formerly French.

Volunteers know little of the local language on arrival. This limits places in which they can work effectively because it means they can work only where English, French or Spanish (or German or Portuguese) are understood—and this may mean they are unable to meet the most pressing needs. This characteristic applies, of course, to many other foreigners besides volunteers. (Language training is discussed further in *Section 9 Training*.)

All volunteers have some qualifications—but they are not always directly relevant to the work they are doing. In most developing countries qualifications are important—and accordingly a volunteer may not be allowed to do work of which he* is capable, but for which he is not qualified on paper. A graduate in English may not be allowed to teach maths, a surveyor to do anything but survey. In some cases such restrictions may be justified —as in the case of the Tanzanians turning down a geography graduate offered them in response to a request for a town-planner. But in many cases a paper qualification may be unnecessary and insistence on one may simply limit the effective use to which volunteers can be put.

The status of volunteers is often not yet clearly defined and this also may cause some limitation to their effective use. They are still fairly new to the international scene and their nature and position is often not clearly understood or laid down. Sometimes volunteers are employed in established government posts, sometimes they are put alongside established posts without actually holding them; sometimes they are employed by private organisations, sometimes they appear to be employed by their own organisations, especially in the case of the US Peace Corps. There is confusion about their liabilities and responsibilities—and this means they are not always given the status and authority required to do their job. They may not be allowed to handle money, for example, or take executive or disciplinary action—the exact rules vary from country to country. This may make it difficult to do the job; in Tanzania, for instance, labourers look with suspicion on a man who is not trusted to handle the money to pay them. This lack of clearly defined status and responsibility is not a fixed characteristic of volunteers; it is an ephemeral one that will disappear if regulations are adjusted to take volunteers into account.

It is sometimes claimed that volunteers are more enthusiastic, energetic, devoted, than ordinary TA-men or people on contract—who, it is supposed are in the business primarily to make money. Certainly TA-men do make money; starting pay for a French first-year teacher in Central African Republic is £2,600 p.a. with free accommodation; a teacher on a British Council scheme in Thailand earns £2,300 p.a. under similar conditions.

*In fact on most programmes between a third and a half of the volunteers are girls —but it seems simplest to stick to 'he' and 'his' throughout.

Both need qualifications only a little higher than a volunteer's.* But even though in some cases they are doing comparable jobs—as in East Africa and Northern Nigeria where volunteer teachers are working alongside TA-men, doing the same job under the same conditions in the same schools —there is no consistent evidence to suggest that one group or the other devotes more time, energy or enthusiasm to their work.†

As a form of technical assistance then, volunteers are less experienced and less skilled than ordinary TA-men. But they are also less expensive, they are adaptable, they are available and they are prepared to work under adverse conditions.

Needs

Developing countries' needs are many and various—but most of them are for skilled and experienced people. Since volunteers have a relatively low level of skill and little or no experience, they are unable to fill these needs. Many people in developing countries do not appreciate this as yet; they see volunteers as another technical assistance programme, which ought therefore, they assume, to be able to provide high-level experts. Volunteer programmes cannot do this—but they can fill some of the needs of developing countries. Volunteers can do jobs which nobody else is available to do, they can help train people who would not otherwise be trained; and they can help to apply the scientific and technical knowledge which is vital to development.

Many developing countries are short of people to fill existing posts. This is especially true in Africa, where independence has brought the departure of many expatriates and a large expansion in the field of government activity. Embassies and High Commissions have to be staffed, delegates sent to international bodies such as the UN and its Agencies; ambitious plans for expansion are set in motion—plans calling for increases in almost every field; more teachers, more agricultural officers, more engineers, more economists—and more administrators. As posts become vacant or are created, Africans move up to fill them—leaving a gap at the bottom.

Often this gap is quite large; in Northern Nigeria, for example, they will need about 250 *new* graduate teachers over the two years 1966 and 1967 —but the total output of all graduates from the university during that time

* The French have coined a phrase for making a lot of money on a technical assistance scheme: 'faire du CFA' (the CFA franc, used in most former French West Africa). An account of the French technical assistance programme is given in *French Aid* by Teresa Hayter, ODI Publications, 1966.

† In East Africa, however, there are claims that the volunteer programmes from Britain have been able to recruit noticeably higher calibre people than the teachers from Britain on the Teachers for East Africa (TEA) scheme. Such claims are hard to substantiate and it is difficult to know if they are generally justified.

will only be 300. These figures do not include the several hundred Northern graduates who may return from abroad (people from other Regions of Nigeria are not eligible)—but they do illustrate the problem—made more serious by the number of attractive non-teaching opportunities open to graduates. In Tanzania there were in 1965 over 1,000 known vacancies at graduate or higher level, most of them in government posts. By 1969, allowing for wastage, expansion and the departure of Europeans (but not their complete replacement by Africans), the number will have increased to 1,800.

In most African countries the shortage is particularly acute in education because so many people prefer the pay, glamour or power of other jobs. But it is not confined to teaching; in Tanzania there are 200 vacancies for agricultural field officers, 70 for medical technicians, 130 for other technicians (mechanical, electrical, etc.), 90 for various sorts of engineers. The shortage is also acute in 'new' subjects, including science and technology, for which little provision was made in colonially controlled education systems.

It is worth noting, however, that these shortages are not permanent. Massive education and training programmes will increasingly overcome them during the 1970s and most countries hope to eliminate them by 1980.

For the moment, however, they exist—and because on the whole the people who are available have the more senior jobs, they exist for the most part at the lower end of the scale. This is not a place where high-level experts are needed; one man, however highly qualified, cannot fill three posts. Often the need is for reliable and moderately qualified people, capable of straightforward teaching, of making sure that a soil survey is carried out accurately or that machinery is maintained. This is a level at which volunteers can well work, a need they can satisfy. They are doing so; the Ministry of Education in Northern Nigeria has noted, for example; 'The most significant addition to the teaching cadre in recent years has come from the US Peace Corps. Without them, schools would have had to close.' The need to fill vacant posts exists in Africa, but hardly at all in Asia, where vacancies are few and specialised.

Volunteers' willingness to work with their hands alongside local people and under isolated or adverse conditions enables them to fill another of developing countries' needs—the need for training by demonstration. They can help local people to build bridges or houses, make bricks, handle food, maintain machines, keep accounts. This is work which does not require a high degree of technical skill and on which it would be a waste to use a high-level, highly paid expert—but it is work which few local people are qualified or prepared to do. Yet the need for demonstrating new techniques is one of the most important of all; the application of the technical knowledge which already exists is one of the biggest bottlenecks slowing down progress. Often the technique is startingly simple; mixing concrete in the correct

proportions can double its strength and a properly laid brick wall can be four or five times stronger than a badly laid one made of the same bricks. The increased productivity in virtually every sphere than can result from the application of new but relatively simple techniques is one of the hopeful things in the otherwise depressing scene of world poverty and population increase. Volunteers can play a significant, and in some ways unique, role in demonstrating these techniques on a level that local people can understand and appreciate.

It is one thing, however, to demonstrate a technique—and quite another to persuade people to adopt it. Almost everywhere in developing countries there is traditional conservatism and reluctance to adopt new methods. This inertia, this resigned acceptance of one's lot, has many contributory causes, ranging over religion, social systems and fear of failed experiments. It is more serious and widespread in Asia than in Africa—and it is perhaps at its most extreme in India. In some countries it is coming to be leavened by an increasing number of people who are prepared to admit that change is possible and even desirable; this applies mainly to Africa, but also, for example, to Formosa and Pakistan. Agricultural extension services in Pakistan and Tanzania, for example, have difficulty in dealing with the requests from farmers for help and advice; in Pakistan the demand for fertiliser has produced a black market with prices up to three times the official price.

But for the moment, and probably for a long time to come, resignation and reluctance to change remain an obstacle to the acceptance of new techniques, a widespread and powerful barrier to development. It is asking a lot of anyone, especially a foreigner, to attack this barrier successfully. Volunteers have tried and have not always been successful. But in some cases they have made remarkable progress.

One of the US Peace Corps' most significant success stories involves using volunteers to help farmers in India to set up poultry units. Each unit contains between a hundred and a thousand birds (layers and/or broilers). The money is the farmer's—the volunteers help him construct the chicken-houses, inoculate the birds, apply for any grants for which he is eligible, and market the eggs or chickens. After two years they leave the farmer to carry on by himself.

This scheme is impressive to Indians because it is done by the farmer himself, on his own land, with his own money and equipment; it is not done on a course or on a demonstration farm. And it makes him money. Not surprisingly a lot of Indian farmers now want to start poultry units and a lot of Indian States are asking for US Peace Corps volunteers to help run them—one State even insists that only those farmers who have volunteer-help are eligible for grants to start the units.

As well as successes, this scheme has of course had a number of setbacks and failures—and when the volunteers leave a farmer, his productivity falls (it is too soon to say by how much, but first indications are that the

decline is not too serious). Nor are poultry units a new idea in India; they had been tried before—but though foreign TA-men had been able to show that they were theoretically feasible, they had not been able to persuade many Indian farmers to run them. And the Indian agricultural extension officers were more concerned with their paper-work than with advising or helping the farmers.

The difference between these two types of needs—between filling vacant posts and helping to apply science and technology—is an important one from the volunteer programmes' point of view. The administrative machinery required to place volunteers in existing posts is rather different from that needed to devise a new programme such as the US Peace Corps' poultry scheme. This point is discussed further in *Section 7 Administration.*

Volunteers' willingness to work under adverse conditions and for little pay fits them also for social and welfare work in slums, leper colonies and so on. The need for such work in developing countries is enormous; the scope for helping the poor, crippled, orphaned and diseased is very wide indeed. How far such help promotes development, however, is a more controversial question discussed in *Section 4 Contributions to Development.*

Voluntary Spirit

Volunteers have generally been less successful so far in persuading the more educated and qualified people in developing countries that practical and manual work is not degrading, that educated people can and should get their hands and feet dirty. Throughout Africa and Asia the idea is prevalent that it is not right or proper for a man with any kind of paper qualification to do anything but work in an office. The idea is to some extent strengthened by crowded and academic school and college syllabuses which allow little time for practical work. It is particularly unfortunate when held by such people as engineers, chemists or agriculturists.

Volunteers, it was thought, could do something by their example to persuade Indians, Nigerians, Thais that really educated people are prepared to apply their education even if it means working in fields or forests or factories. In some cases this has happened—in Mauritius and Algeria, for example; but sometimes volunteers have engaged in manual work like digging ditches or humping bricks for the sake of it—rather than because they had any particular skill to demonstrate. In Nigeria such people have been mistaken for prisoners and escaped lunatics. In India the local people have been more tolerant, and often impressed—but so far they have done little to follow suit. It may be, however, that they will eventually; plans for an Indian domestic Peace Corps, for example, are already leaving the discussion stage. Over the years volunteers will perhaps play an increasing part in persuading the more educated people in developing countries that a paper qualification does not entail exemption from practical work. If they do, it will be a valuable achievement.

In the earlier programmes, particularly perhaps those of the US Peace Corps, some priority was given to the voluntary spirit. Volunteers were thought of in terms of a people-to-people programme, of making friends and generating goodwill. To some extent this approach succeeded; David Wainright, in *The Volunteers*, quotes a Malawi administrator as saying: 'These are a new kind of European. We feel they are our friends.' But in many cases it was found that it conflicted with doing a good job—teachers tried to make friends with their pupils, engineers with their labourers, nurses with sweepers. Volunteers who did not do good jobs found they had no basis on which to build a people-to-people approach, no means of generating goodwill—and so increasing emphasis has been put on doing the job first, and making friends where possible because of that.

There was some tendency also in the earlier programmes to think that volunteers should only work under conditions where they could be truly 'voluntary,' where they could live at the same level as the local people and be their friends as well as their helpers. In practice this was taken to mean avoiding government posts, boarding schools and formal aid projects in favour of non-government bodies, leper colonies, orphanages, work-camps. Here too, however, it was found that these limitations did not add to the value of volunteers' work and they have been gradually dropped.

From the point of view of developing countries the fact that volunteers are 'voluntary' is not always evident, relevant or desirable. Volunteers are, by local standards, well paid, well housed, and well fed; they are already well educated and, because they have been to Europe or North America, regarded as well travelled. If there is an element of sacrifice in their work —and there is often not much; see under *Pay* in *Section 5 Conditions*—it is not apparent to the people in developing countries. Even those living visibly below the normal European standard, as are many in Asia, are assumed to be well paid for their trouble; and by local standards they are—each US Peace Corps volunteer gets $75 a month in addition to his pay and expenses on the spot—and this supplement is more than the *total* salary of a young graduate school-teacher in India.

In Africa there is some resentment if volunteers play up the element of sacrifice; it is, after all, somewhat insulting to an African to be told by a foreigner living at a standard of living well above the local average (as most volunteers are) that it is a sacrifice for him to be in the country at all. It is not surprising that volunteers who over-stress their voluntary spirit may arouse resentment, suspicion and mistrust; that in Uganda they are generally known as 'the so-called volunteers' and that in many countries those from the USA are mistaken for agents of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (volunteers' connection with politics is discussed in *Section 8 Politics*).

The governments of most developing countries regard volunteers as units of trained manpower. Many of them do not welcome do-gooders or people preaching the value of voluntary service. Non-government organisa-

tions often have a relatively low priority in the eyes of local governments —and voluntary work may not be the self-evident good that it is in Europe or North America. In many parts, for example, the family, which may include up to hundreds of people, provides its own substitute welfare system which it is important not to alter until there is a better system to replace it. In Africa most governments want jobs done, and only occasionally do they consider that voluntary work is the best way of doing them. It may be that in the long run, patient schemes to change attitudes and induce people to do things for themselves are more valuable; development, after all, is for and about people. But most African governments do not always see things in this light.

With some exceptions therefore—such as Algeria and Mauritius—the governments of developing countries are not particularly interested in the fact that volunteers are 'voluntary.' They are interested in them as aids to development and as a form of public relations when they return home. They would prefer them to be part of a regular technical assistance programme. From their point of view the voluntary spirit is a luxury; the idea of voluntary service is—or often appears to be—irrelevant. The volunteers' job is to get things done; he is often more valuable living in a modern flat than in a mud-hut. The volunteer may think it more glamorous to introduce backward natives to the Twentieth Century than to do an ordinary teaching job in a well-equipped school; he may find it more satisfying to work with lepers or set up work-camps. But in terms of development, these may be luxuries.

Contracts

An important side-effect of the volunteer programmes is the volunteer who returns or stays to work for a developing country on contract—whether or not on a technical assistance scheme. The governments of developing countries usually prefer people on contracts to volunteers—providing they do not cost significantly more. They feel that they are employing, and thus controlling, the contract-men more directly, and that they are likely to be more serious about their work than a volunteer who may have only taken it up for a year or two. From their point of view, volunteers are a substitute for contract-men.

This suggests that volunteers should be encouraged to take up a contract if they are qualified to do so—as some are—unless they particularly do not want to. There are certainly some volunteers who prefer to work under voluntary conditions, feeling that this is necessary to repay a moral debt, or serve mankind. But it is worth pointing out to those who are more interested in a job abroad than in working under voluntary conditions, that if they are qualified, most developing countries prefer them to come under contract. Some volunteer organisations already do this—notably perhaps CUSO (Canada) and the National Union of Students (NUS) (Britain)—and others

are doing so increasingly. But in the past some volunteers from Britain have not been aware of the alternative possibilities. If they had been, some would have taken them.

Those who are not sufficiently highly qualified to take up a contract post or who prefer not to, may turn to contract after their period as a volunteer. Several African countries have realised that they are going to need foreigners in operational posts for several years ahead. Volunteers provide a valuable source of such help; indeed the man who takes up a contract after he has been a volunteer is often more valuable than a man apparently better qualified. The volunteer has already worked in the country for a year or two; he knows something of the language and customs and he has experience of working under local conditions. His employers also know something about him; they have had what amounts to a two-year selection period.

A number of volunteers do already stay on or return to work for a developing country either on contract or as TA-men after their period as volunteers. This tendency is most marked in the case of volunteers from Britain; nearly 15% of 1963/4 volunteers were working in developing countries at the end of 1965—and 30% were taking further education or teacher-training courses in Britain, some of them with the intention of returning to a developing country when they had obtained the relevant qualifications. In contrast less than 4% of all former US Peace Corps volunteers were working in developing countries at the end of 1965—though a further 2% were working for the Peace Corps itself in developing countries and 1% were employed by the Agency for International Development (AID).

It is not always easy, however, for developing countries to employ former volunteers on contract unless they can be subsidised under a technical assistance scheme. This is often possible—especially in the case of Britain which has a wider variety of schemes than most countries. But volunteers are new figures on the aid scene and they do not always fit into existing schemes. It is worth going quite a long way to make sure that this valuable source of technical assistance is fully utilised, adjusting or devising schemes so as to enable developing countries to employ former volunteers. It is also important to make use of former volunteers in aid departments and international agencies. It may turn out that quite a large part of the overall value of the volunteer programmes depends on the effectiveness with which former volunteers can be used.

3 Length of Service

GVSOs [volunteers from Britain] are with us for only one year. This makes it difficult to employ them successfully in schools, particularly as their tour of service cuts right across our academic year.

Paper prepared by the Ministry of Education, Northern Nigeria, 1965.

One of the least favourable characteristics of volunteers is the shortness of their stay in developing countries. There is not much scope for persuading more than an exceptional few to stay for three or four years; most people will want to be starting careers and getting married* after two years. A two-year period must therefore be accepted as one of the limitations of volunteers. A one-year period, however, reduces a volunteer's value so seriously that it is arguable whether it is acceptable while there is any possibility of the two-year alternative. Only two major programmes have a basic period of less than two years—the French and British. The terms of the French Militaires du Contingent are tied to those of national service and the basic period of 16 months. This Section, therefore, is confined to the programmes from Britain.

The length of the basic period in Britain has been influenced importantly by two factors. One was Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), a programme started in 1958 and concerned mainly with school-leavers who had a year to fill in before going to university; this programme's success and prominence helped to set the pattern of thinking on voluntary work in developing countries in terms of a one year basic period. The other factor was the number of opportunities for people in Britain with qualifications only slightly higher than those of volunteers to work in developing countries—provided they were prepared to do so for two or three years. Volunteer programmes with a one-year period were designed to attract those who were not prepared to take a two-year plunge.

There are several justifications for a one-year basic period. If, for example, one of the main aims of the programme is to produce better educated citizens, then (provided the programme does not suffer) the more volunteers who pass through it the better; a one-year programme can handle twice as many people as a two-year programme of the same size. The same argument applies if the programme is regarded as an introduction to a contract job in a developing country.

It can be argued also that there are some jobs which can be done adequately

* Most programmes do not accept married volunteers unless both husband and wife are selected on their own merits. The US Peace Corps, however, has recently allowed doctors to take with them non-volunteer wives and children. This has resulted in a substantial increase in the number of volunteer doctors.

in a year and others in which it is unfair to ask a volunteer to stay for more than a year. There are certainly some jobs which are so well defined, so well supervised and which use the volunteer's existing skills so directly that they can be done satisfactorily in one year. Such jobs, however, are few; even where they exist a two-year period would almost always be more valuable —if only in terms of social relations. There are also only a few jobs which involve conditions so adverse that volunteers can only stand them for one year. The conditions may be physical—bad food, accommodation, enervating climate; or psychological—isolation, lack of progress, mistrust and suspicion from local colleagues. Something can be done to alleviate these conditions by generous local leave after one year and by ensuring that the volunteers have enough to eat to remain healthy—but probably the places in which volunteers really cannot work for two years are not numerous; other, two-year programmes send their volunteers to tough posts and they survive.

Recruitment

The most compelling justification for a one-year basic period, however, is that a two-year period would seriously reduce the number of people willing to volunteer. University Appointments Boards, which are in touch with many of the people about to leave university and thus a high proportion of potential volunteers, have recently suggested that recruitment might fall by as much as 75% as a result of a two-year basic period. The fall might be particularly marked for certain types of people, such as those with technical qualifications. Informal surveys carried out for the ODI in the London School of Economics and in the universities of Exeter and Sheffield confirm this estimate—though a small poll (57 people questioned) at Cambridge university pointed to a fall of only 25%.

Some of the reasons given by volunteers who stayed abroad for only one year—though they had the option of staying for two—are given in Table 5. The reason most often given (by both men and girls) was that further education had been arranged; a common reason given by men was fear of falling behind with their career, while girls were more often concerned with family ties or plans for marriage.

Some fall in recruitment as a result of a two-year basic period is of course acceptable. It is possible to maintain 1,000 volunteers in the field either by recruiting 1,000 one-year men each year or 500 two-year men. At present, nearly 20% of volunteers from Britain stay for more than 18 months. If the estimates of a 75% fall-off in recruitment are correct, then almost all the people who at present stay for only one year would be deterred from volunteering at all.

It is hard to know how accurate these estimates are likely to be, either in the immediate or the longer-term future. There is some evidence, both from the polls carried out for the ODI and from CUSO's experience in Canada, to suggest that a two-year basic period is a self-selecting device,

Table 5

Reasons for Staying One Year

UK Volunteers 1964/5

Reason	%
Further education arranged	39
Fear of falling behind with career	27
Family ties	20
Plans for marriage	20
Job arranged	14
Changed to contract or planning to return after obtaining better qualification	14
Had to decide after only 6 months	14
Desire to earn money	12
Did not like post—or not enough to stay two years	12

Volunteers polled were those who returned in September 1965 after one year abroad. The total questioned was 357 of whom 176 (50%) replied. Most people gave more than one reason and so figures do not total 100%.

Source: ODI poll.

weeding out the people who would have been rejected anyway; so that although the number of applicants may fall, the number recruited may not fall in the same proportion. Students, who include most potential volunteers, are susceptible to rapidly changing enthusiasms and trends; these could result in a turning away from the problems of developing countries —or they could result in an increased awareness of them, as people who have been affected by the school education campaigns of FFHC, Oxfam or Christian Aid move on to university and college. Apart from the prevailing feeling towards developing countries at any given time, two further factors are likely to affect the numbers of people wishing to volunteer—the public image of the programme and the attitude of employers.

Image

The public image of the volunteer programmes in Britain is not altogether a happy or accurate one. Partly because of the early (1958) and spectacular success of VSO's school-leaver volunteer scheme (details are given in *Appendix 1*), partly because there is no readily recognised name for the graduate volunteer programme, and partly simply because it is the glamorous and tough jobs which attract publicity, a somewhat distorted picture of a volunteer's work has gained some credence. This picture shows volunteers as gallant young people living in mud-huts on little or no pay and helping backward natives to emerge from the iron age. Others see the programmes as little more than a graduate extension of the school-leaver scheme—with volunteers as left-over graduates trying to prove themselves, or see the world while they work out what to do next. Although recruiting publicity in Britain takes some care to avoid contributing to this picture—both the recruiting leaflet *The Young Volunteers* and the film of the same name, go out of their way to describe a cross-section of volunteer-work, including some of the less exciting jobs; and some of the individual organisations' publicity material does the same—there are nevertheless many people in Britain who are surprised to hear that the majority of volunteers are doing rather ordinary jobs under rather ordinary, often quite pleasant, conditions, and at rather ordinary rates of pay.

Neither the extent nor the effect of this image—here set out in its extreme form—are easy to assess. It does not seem to prevail among major employers of former volunteers (see below), but it may be more widespread among parents and advisers of potential volunteers. Certainly there appears to be little tendency to regard a year as a volunteer in terms of a job. If the basic period were for two years, then it might be so regarded; the average graduate changes his job or employer twice or three times within ten years of leaving university, and a change after two years is common.

There is another point; if the basic period were for two years, the programmes would be able to project a less amateur and more professional image—and justifiably so. This might have a favourable effect on recruitment.

The public's image of the programme could also be improved in the names and initials of each of the five programmes which make it up were made rather more presentable. At present there is no single name for them; the volunteers tend to be known either as 'Lockwood Volunteers'—a term derived from the name of the first chairman of the Voluntary Societies' Committee for Service Overseas—or as 'VSOs'—a term which strictly applies to the school-leaver and industrial apprentice programmes (who are separate from the 'Lockwood volunteers'—see Appendix 1). There cannot be more than a handful of people in Britain who can tell the difference between VSO, GSO and GVSO (Voluntary Service Overseas (the school-leavers programme), Graduate Service Overseas (the volunteer programme of the National Union of Students) and Graduate Voluntary Service Overseas (the graduate programme run by VSO)).*

Nor are the terms used in the present names of the programmes entirely accurate. The word volunteer may tend to confuse when applied to people earning as much or more than they could in Britain (see *Section 6 Cost*) and it has sometimes unfortunate connotations in developing countries where it may be taken to be patronising or associated with the more military volunteers sometimes despatched by such countries as China, the USSR or Egypt. The term graduate is increasingly a misnomer. The proportion of non-graduates in the programmes was 15% in 1964/5 and over 30% in 1965/6.

The qualified volunteers need a readily recognisable name that is noticeably distinct from VSO, which is associated with the school-leaver programme. Other countries have Peace Corps, University Service, Development Volunteers, Youth Volunteers, Volunteers for Progress—but none of these is particularly suitable for a British programme.

From one point of view the image of a volunteer's work as tough and badly paid has advantages. One of the characteristics of volunteers is that they are prepared if necessary to put up with second-rate accommodation and living conditions. This advantage would be dissipated if they thought they were *entitled* to a fridge, a servant, a motor-bike. On the other hand, there is some danger that volunteers who are thinking in terms of working in mud-huts or long-houses may be disappointed to find they are living in a comfortable boarding-school teaching relatively rich and well-educated local people. It is quite difficult for them to see from the attractive school compound in Nigeria or Uganda that they are doing as much or perhaps more to help development than they could in an isolated village.

* VSO prefers not to use the term GVSO, but it is used throughout this survey to distinguish between the graduate and qualified 'Lockwood volunteers' (GVSOs) and the school-leaver and industrial volunteers (VSOs). The organisation is also referred to as GVSO for simplicity, although this is technically incorrect. NUS' programme, GSO, is referred to as NUS to avoid confusing it with GVSO. Details of the five programmes from Britain are given in Appendix 1, and of the organisation in Box 14.

It is not perhaps a serious danger—volunteers' disappointment need not affect their ability to do a good job—but it has led to suggestions that the volunteer programmes should be run as a two-part scheme; one part consisting in effect of junior TA-men, working as teachers, economists, or chemists, under reasonable conditions and with reasonable pay—and the other consisting of volunteers anxious to work at 'grass-roots' level, as close as possible to the local people, in community development and social work for example, and regardless of comfortable conditions or pay.

Such an arrangement, it is suggested, might improve recruiting figures by attracting people who are at present deterred from volunteering by the idea that they would have to work under 'mud-hut conditions.' A two part scheme could also have some financial and administrative advantages in developing countries. On the whole, however, it seems a cumbersome scheme to set up—and the advantages it might bring could probably be obtained in other ways. The financial and administrative points are discussed in *Sections 6 and 7*; if potential volunteers are in fact deterred by a 'mud-hut image,' then that could be cured by improved publicity in Britain.

Employers

The attitude of many major employers of graduates in Britain to former volunteers is extremely favourable. Those questioned for this survey were not numerous* but the trend of their answers is confirmed by the results of an ODI poll of volunteers who returned to Britain in September 1964. Only two of these thought that the fact they had been a volunteer had caused them difficulty in getting a job. Half the remainder thought it had been an advantage and half thought it had had no effect either way.

The main disadvantage of graduates direct from university is what employers describe as 'their sheer immaturity.' This seems to be accentuated by crowded syllabuses at school and college and it is most noticeable in those who go to university in their home towns. It has been a marked characteristic of graduates since the end of National Service. A year or two abroad, employers feel, is likely to develop and mature a man much more than the same period spent in a junior management post.

It is also a characteristic of many graduates that they are not sure what they want to do—partly because there are so many possibilities and partly because it is difficult to judge from outside what a job involves. As a result many firms train people who leave after two or three years. Some former

* They included: Barclays Bank DCO, Booker Bros., Confederation of British Industries, Courtaulds, De La Rue, Dunlop Rubber, Forestry Commission, Graduates Appointments Register, Hunting Technical Services, ICI, Imperial Tobacco, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM), Royal College of Nursing, Shell, Treasury (for home civil service), Unilever.

volunteers find it even more difficult to make up their minds on their return —but those who do join a firm are thought more likely to stay and give a return for their training.

There is not much fear that graduates will fall behind technically while they are abroad unless they are particularly specialised. Economists, foresters, engineers and nurses can fairly easily catch up—and they are likely to be given some training by their new employer in any case; but this does not apply to research scientists.

Most of the employers questioned make little distinction between a one-year and two-year basic period; they are more concerned with the effect on the man than on the time it takes to achieve the effect. A few, however, feel that a two-year period is more likely to benefit the man.

Although they may be looked on favourably by recruiting officers, however, volunteers do not always benefit financially. In some firms pay is based entirely on merit; here the volunteer who has been away for one year or for two is at no disadvantage. In others, however, the job requires experience and knowledge which can only be learnt inside the organisation; here pay is based more on length of service—though often with an additional merit element. In such cases the volunteer may lose as much as £200–£300 p.a. for a year or two. Nurses also may suffer—they are liable to return to a lower rate of pay than they were getting before volunteering.

There is also likely to be some loss on pension schemes. In many concerns the maximum pension can be obtained provided the man joins before he is aged 25 (in some cases 23, in others 27); but pension schemes vary and the former volunteer joining a year or two later than he would have done had he not been a volunteer may incur a pension loss of up to 5% p.a. of final pension, depending on his age and the exact scheme. Many people change their employer during their lifetime however—and transferability is likely to be introduced well before any former volunteer draws his pension; most of the employers feel that actuarial calculations of this kind are not too significant.

Many volunteers like to try and secure a firm offer of a job before they go abroad. Most employers are reluctant to make a firm offer a year ahead; they feel that their own requirements may change and that so many volunteers change their minds while abroad that it is in neither party's interest to do so. They are even more reluctant to make an offer for two years ahead. Most, however, prefer to interview the volunteer before he goes abroad —and many are then able to give a fairly firm indication of their interest.

Volunteers with professional qualifications, such as doctors, architects, engineers are in a rather different category. It is important to them that their work as a volunteer should be counted towards their career experience; if it is not then they are liable to get a year or two behind and their promotion and pay may suffer accordingly. If these people are to be attracted into the volunteer programmes therefore, there is some need to integrate their work

abroad so that it forms a recognised part of their career experience. Some progress on these lines has already been made.

The attitude of many major employers of former volunteers then, is mildly favourable to a two-year basic period—though there are likely to be some cases where two-year men are at a financial disadvantage. And the public's image of the programmes is likely to be improved by the more serious and professional approach implied in a two-year basic period so that parents, tutors and advisers come to look at volunteer-work in terms of a job. It may be therefore that the estimates of a 75% fall off in recruitment if a two-year period were introduced are too high.

Two-year Period

Certainly the arguments in favour of a two-year basic period are important. They are principally; that one year is not long enough to do an effective job, either from the point of view of the volunteer or his employer, that such a short period reduces the possibility of giving adequate training, and that a programme with a one-year basic period gives a bad impression to employers, governments and people in developing countries.

Basically, one year is not enough for even adaptable and highly educated people to learn and do a new job effectively in a developing country. Glyn Roberts writes in his recent survey *Volunteers in Africa and Asia*: 'After two years one is only just coming to understand what is what, who is who, what is urgent and what is bluff. With only two years at their disposal, volunteers are anxious to see extra-quick results, but these are not always happy.' This applies, even more strongly of course, to a one-year period.

For most volunteers it is not a question of doing the same job in different conditions; it is the first job they have done at all (not always, it is true, a disadvantage; they have no preconceived ideas to discard). Even when they possess a skill directly applicable to the job, such as nursing or engineering, a great deal of learning and adapting has to be done. There are a few rare jobs which can be picked up in a few days or weeks, but the great majority of volunteers and their employers think it takes between three and six months for a volunteer to become effective.

It is not only a question of learning the actual job. Volunteers are foreigners; their way of looking at things is very different from that of those they are working for. It takes time for them to understand and appreciate the attitudes and sentiments of the people they are working for. Volunteers are not, simply because they are young and adaptable, immune to 'culture shock.' Like other foreigners, they are liable to start off with enthusiasm—and then find themselves disturbed by the lack of social bearings and indicators, their ignorance of the exact meaning of a smile, a grunt, a silence, a joke. Some of them react against their new country after a few months, despising what they see as the local people's poverty, cruelty and corruption. They require time (amongst other things) to pass out of this phase and

into a more balanced and useful phase—perhaps six months or a year.

In addition to the psychological adjustments needed, there are physical ones connected with food, climate and disease. Volunteers, however, are young and healthy and it does not take most of them long to adjust their bodies to the new conditions.

The tasks of learning a new job and adjusting to a new country and people mean, therefore, that few volunteers are fully effective in under three months and probably those outside English-medium schools in Commonwealth countries need up to six. In cases where language is important or the job consists of persuading people to do new things, as in agriculture, for example, or community development or social work, the time needed may be up to a year. Many employers regard much of the first year as training for the volunteer, a period during which the developing country is giving more than it is getting. Some developing countries are happy to help; but this does amount to a kind of technical assistance in reverse and contributes little towards development.

Employers are unlikely, if they can help it, to give new and inexperienced volunteers important jobs as soon as they arrive; often they are given the easiest and least important work until they have proved they can do it well. In a school this might mean teaching junior forms grammar and giving conversation classes. In other fields volunteers are given jobs to test their ability and give them experience. Only during their second year are they put on to more important, challenging work. Those who stay for only one year miss this. Sometimes, however, employers cannot avoid giving new volunteers important tasks; in Nigeria, for example, volunteers arriving in September find their first job is to take the final term of the final year of pupils sitting their university entrance exam, an exam even more important in Africa and Asia than it is in Britain. If volunteers from Britain stayed for two years, this sort of situation would not arise so often.

In education (64% of volunteers from Britain are in teaching) it is sometimes thought that the disadvantages of a one-year stay are not so important. Teaching, it is supposed, can rapidly be picked up by anyone who has been to university. The framework of the job is well-defined and the volunteer can be closely supervised. The language of instruction is English (volunteers who do not know the local language are confined to English-medium schools or English-medium classes). A volunteer from Britain, the argument goes, can easily fit into a British-based education system and rapidly become an effective teacher.

It is an argument accepted neither by the volunteers nor, more important, by their employers. Headmasters and Headmistresses say that during their first term volunteers are learning about their job and during the third they are thinking about leaving. Their value is further lessened by the fact that volunteers often do not arrive at the beginning of a school-year. Britain's volunteer-year begins in September, but in Nigeria and Uganda the school-

year begins in January. In India, the volunteers from Britain arrive in the middle of the first term of the school-year (in the plains—hill-schools have a different time-table). It is hard for them to learn or contribute much during the remainder of this term—and so it is not till towards the end of the second term that they are making an effective contribution—which they continue to make during the third term. There is then a long summer holiday before the start of the new term in July—half-way through which they must leave again on their charter-flight to Britain. Not surprisingly, many schools are reluctant to continue paying volunteers through the summer holidays just so that they can teach for six weeks of the next school-year.

The one-year period also contributes to the very rapid turnover of teachers in many developing countries. Teaching as a profession often does not enjoy high prestige—people use it, as in India and Pakistan, as a stepping stone to other things, as an interim job while they find something better. In Africa there are very few local graduates in teaching; out of 581 graduate teachers in Northern Nigeria in 1963, for example, only 42 were Nigerians; in Mali in 1963/4 there were 30 Malians out of 296 secondary-equivalent teachers. Most graduates feel they can do better elsewhere; those who do teach, leave if they get the chance. And the Europeans who make up most of the staff usually come for only two or three years at a time. The result is a very rapid turnover of teachers—a point illustrated vividly but not untypically, by a volunteer from Britain in Uganda who arrived in September 1964 and by June 1965 found herself the longest serving member of the staff apart from the Principal.

Many of the volunteers themselves find the one-year period unsatisfactory. They feel dissatisfied that they have to return just when they are becoming really useful. Often though, the realisation of the value of a two-year period comes only at the end of the second year. The volunteers find also that such a short stay does not encourage them to learn the local language or take the trouble to learn about the country in detail. Though some volunteers are not in fact deterred from making energetic and successful attempts to learn language, customs and history, those who do need an incentive find a stronger one in a two-year period.

Not only do one-year volunteers have less incentive to teach themselves, there is also more difficulty in giving them adequate training. It is not possible to justify anything but a very brief and inexpensive training programme for a volunteer who is only going abroad for ten or twelve months; while most other programmes give their volunteers between 2 and 3 months training, most volunteers from Britain get between 2 and 3 weeks. (The extent and type of training volunteers need is discussed in *Section 9 Training*.) This minimal amount of training both limits the effectiveness of the volunteer and contributes towards an impression of an amateur and unprofessional programme.

The disadvantages of one-year volunteers are quite noticeable to those

who employ them. Seen from developing countries, Britain's volunteer programme, the only major programme with a one-year period, often compares unfavourably with those of other countries. Although many of the volunteers are highly regarded as individuals, the programmes are often seen as less effective than others—largely because the volunteers leave just as they are becoming useful. There is also some possibility of accusations of arrogance and conceit; to Africans and Asians, understandably sensitive towards former colonialists, the short period and minimal training may be taken to imply that people from Britain think they do not need training or time to adjust.

Viewed against an acute shortage of volunteer-level people, one-year volunteers are better than nobody; and the fact that they are British may, politically or educationally, be some compensation for their short stay. The continuing and increasing flow of requests for them, even though they cost developing countries more than volunteers from other countries (*see Section 6 Cost*), illustrates their value under such conditions. But it is no argument for continuing to supply people who are not the most useful possible within their limitations.

The cost of maintaining a programme with a two-year basic period would be less than that of one of the same size consisting of one-year men. Only half the flow of people would be involved each year in order to maintain the same stock in the field and so administration would be less. Assuming that fewer people would apply to join if the basic period were two years, there would be less work of selection and handling applications. The amount of this work is considerable. There would also be savings in travel. These savings could be used to pay for better training.*

The change to a two-year period could be effected either by putting increasing pressure on volunteers to stay for two years, or by changing abruptly to a two-year period. The first method is to some extent used already. Volunteers who stay for two years are eligible for a Terminal Grant of £200 instead of £100 for one year, and the volunteer organisation pays the national insurance contribution of volunteers who stay for more than 18 months. Some posts are only available to volunteers who stay for two years. In countries where the school-year does not coincide with the volunteer-year, many volunteers stay for an extra term so as to fit in one complete school-year. This is not possible, however, for those (30% of 1964/5 volunteers) planning to undertake further education in Britain since they must be back by October.

Increasingly the volunteer-sending organisations in Britain point out

* A part would also go on higher Terminal Grants. At present volunteers are eligible for a maximum Terminal Grant of £100 after one year and £200 after 2 years; GVSO gives this automatically, UNA, NUS and IVS according to need. Details of other programmes' Terminal Grants are given in the last column of Table 8.

the value of two years; one of IVS' publicity leaflets, for example, states that 'volunteers are encouraged to remain for a further twelve-month period because of the greater contribution they can then make as a result of the knowledge and experience gained during their first year. . . . One-year volunteers frequently feel they could have achieved more had they planned on a two-year period.' Nearly 20% of volunteers from Britain already stay for more than 18 months and a further 10% for 12–18 months (Table 6).

It is possible for a volunteer to stay on for more than a year even though he originally said he could only manage one. In practice, however, it is often quite difficult to do this; family and marital pressures are hard to resist—20% of 1964/5 volunteers gave family reasons for wanting to return home after a year, and a further 20% that they had plans for marriage. Some of the volunteer-sending organisations in Britain encourage volunteers to arrange a job or further education before they go abroad; those who succeed find it difficult to persuade their employer or college to keep a post or place for a further year. The decision to change is made all the harder by the fact that the organisations, for administrative reasons, try to persuade the volunteer to make it by February—six months after his arrival and almost always at the lowest ebb in his morale, when he is aware of the difficulties and progress seems negligible or impossible. The answer to the suggestion that he should stay for a second year is at this stage very likely to be no. In some cases also, it is administratively inconvenient if a volunteer decides to stay on for a few months, because it is cheaper to transport him by charter-flight (used mainly by GVSO); charter flights involve all volunteers in a country or region staying 12 months or 24.

The other method—changing abruptly to a two-year basic period—has the advantage that it offers no choice. This is important—because if people are offered a choice, they will very often choose the shorter period; they do not know what the job will be like, whether they can do it, whether they really want to do it; parents, employers and advisers combine to produce pressure for the shorter period. By offering a choice, the volunteer-senders are in practice encouraging people to go abroad for only one year. And as we have seen, it is not always easy for volunteers to change their minds afterwards. This second method therefore seems to be the more satisfactory way of changing to a programme with a two-year basic period.

A two-year basic period is in fact a prerequisite of a productive and cost-effective volunteer programme. Although it would cost no more, it would give greater value; one two-year volunteer, employers say, is much more valuable than two one-year men. A two-year period would give the whole programme a professional basis and give developing countries better value in return for the resources that volunteers inevitably use—money, accommodation and administrative time. The case for two years is so strong that it would be worth making the change even if it involved, as it might at least temporarily, some reduction in the total size of the programme.

Table 6
Length of Service

UK Volunteers staying more than 12 months

	Vols starting Sept 1963		Vols starting Sept 1964	
	12–18 months	18–24 months	12–18 months	18–24 months
	%	%	%	%
GVSO	11	13	12	14
NUS	—	19	4	20
UNA	8	38	9	29
IVS	—	22	8	5
All vols	**9**	**22**	**11**	**18**

Source: Individual organisations.

4 Contributions to Development

Shortage of middle-level manpower affects economic development in two ways. At the outset it retards actual physical construction—the building of dams, plants, schools —and even the efficient handling of sheer paper-work connected with development programmes. Then, when any of these factories, hospitals, power-plants or transport systems are in fact completed, shortage of such manpower retards their operation, lowers the output and increases their maintenance and operating cost.

Francis W. Godwin (editor) in The Hidden Force—*report of a conference on middle-level manpower, 1962*

It is difficult to isolate the contributions that any particular resource will make to a complex process like development. The difficulty is increased when the resource is volunteers because they have not been in use for long enough in significant numbers to have produced assessable effects. This Section therefore is somewhat tentative. Many of the cases are examples of what could happen rather than what has already happened; even where volunteers have already had some effect on development, it is early to judge its significance or permanence.

Gaps

Volunteers can make a clear contribution to development by filling posts that would otherwise be vacant. This need, most marked in Africa, has already been outlined (p. 21); if it is not met, there is a danger that levels of administration, agricultural extension, teaching and public works will fall—and that there will be considerable difficulty in mounting the ambitious and necessary development plans. In order to avoid this danger sizeable technical assistance schemes have been set up; over 8,000 British TA-men were serving in Africa at mid-1965 and nearly 11,000 French.*

Most of these people are well-qualified and experienced; volunteer programmes have not been able to supply needs at this level—but they are approaching this scale; nearly 7,000 volunteers were working in Africa in September 1965 (distribution by country is given in *Appendix 3*)—the majority of them filling vacant posts. This means that public works can be carried out, schools can be kept open, agricultural extension continued —all to a greater extent than would otherwise have been possible.

Volunteers can also usefully fill 'gravy appointments'—posts which have a low priority on normal resources of finance and manpower because they are not absolutely essential to keep things going—but which can significantly

* In Africa south of the Sahara only; a further 24,000 were in North Africa.

add to the value of an organisation or service. A library is an example of something that can be kept going on a small staff with low qualifications; the basic necessity is for a caretaker to prevent the books being stolen. It requires somebody more, however, to turn the library into a useful educational tool, stocked with a relevant and well presented material. A volunteer can do this.

Expansion

Besides maintaining levels while Africans educate and train their own staff, volunteers can also help to staff expansion programmes. Uganda, for example, has ambitious plans for expanding secondary education; 24 new secondary schools were opened in 1965 and a further ten planned for 1966 (some of them upgraded from Junior Secondary status). The number of secondary school teachers is planned to double by 1970 and for most of the five years 1965–70 the demand for expatriate teachers will be 50% higher than in 1965. These sort of plans, combined with an existing shortage, mean that volunteers can make a valuable contribution towards making expansion possible.

The Rural Works programme in West Pakistan is another example; it has benefitted from the provision of 28 US Peace Corps volunteers working as engineers and 'construction aides' (semi-qualified volunteers working under the supervision of a fully qualified engineer). The malaria eradication programme in Thailand has been able to expand with the help of nearly 40 US Peace Corps volunteer assistants. In Tanzania volunteers are helping to staff a series of 13 rural building centres aiming to teach the local villagers how to improve the standard of construction of their houses. In East Pakistan they are used to help train the local construction officials in new methods. In Tanzania the feeder-road building programme has been helped by volunteers working on surveying and culvert-building.

Many of these jobs require patient help and on-the-spot supervison rather than high-level skill or advice. It would be uneconomic therefore, to employ an ordinary TA-man—who in any case might resent the under-use of his skill and the adverse conditions.

Changes

Volunteers can also help to produce changes—involving new methods of agriculture, construction, running libraries or teaching. Many countries feel that their education system, usually established by a colonial power, is not orientated to the needs of the 1960s and 1970s. The concentration on arts and European subjects (a concentration often enforced by the developing countries themselves because they fear that local or 'new' subjects would involve lower standards), has led to a lack of emphasis on science and technology and, in French countries, to the teaching of English as a dead language. René Dumont, in *False Start in Africa*, claims that Latin is the third most

taught language in Africa (after English and French). Education authorities are therefore everywhere trying to change the emphasis, teaching more of the 'new' subjects and revising the syllabuses. Volunteers can help to staff the new programmes of scientific, technical and vocational training; some of them, in Mali and India for example, have even helped to revise the syllabus. This kind of work in education is particularly valuable in that not all the existing education in developing countries helps to promote development. Some pupils emerge with an outlook in favour of the *status quo* and many despise the science and technology that are essential to development; and some teachers (understandably) put a higher priority on speaking perfect English than is justified in terms of development.

Improved Standards

Many of the volunteers are helping to improve standards. In East Pakistan there are volunteers working on new methods of brick-making (important because the nearest stone is 400 miles away, in India) and then teaching them to the local people. In Sierra Leone a volunteer is working to improve oyster cultivation in mangrove swamps; in Tanzania one is devising improved types of lobster pots. In Pakistan again, volunteers have produced construction manuals which explain with simple text and diagrams the basic methods of mixing concrete, building bridges, drains and roads. These manuals, originally produced for the East Wing, are being re-written for the West; they are being translated into Bengali and Urdu and if they are used as widely as the Pakistanis hope, they could play a significant part in improving the quality of thousands of local construction projects over the next 20 years. They also provide an example of the sort of work that volunteers can do uniquely well; the manuals are successful because their authors worked alongside the people who use them and could thus tailor the text and diagrams exactly to local conditions, knowledge, assumptions and ignorance.

Making bricks and concrete, building houses and bridges has been done before: volunteers are helping people to do it better. This also applies sometimes in education; in Tanzania the Ministry of Education claims that in schools where US Peace Corps volunteers have taught, there has been a measurable and sometimes marked improvement in results.

New Programmes

Some programmes have only been made possible at all by the supply of volunteers. The poultry scheme in India has already been mentioned (p. 23); another example is a school-meal and nutrition project, also in India. In this case the aim is to teach one member of staff in each primary school how to store and prepare and serve the food provided for the children's mid-day meal. The school meal is an important and fairly simple way of improving the children's diet at an age when they most need the better food. But much of the food is badly stored, badly cooked and badly served

so that its value is severely reduced. Under the programme, one member of staff attends a one-month training course at a local centre; a volunteer, who has already been trained, attends alongside him and helps him to learn how to store and cook the food, how to run the school kitchen—as well as basic hygeine and nutrition. Both staff member and volunteer then go to the school—and the volunteer stays there for a month, helping as necessary to set up a kitchen, store-house, washing facilities, etc.

The same sort of system is being used to introduce science teachers to new methods and techniques; here again the volunteer attends the same course as the teacher and then returns to his school with him to help put the new methods into practice. In this case, however, the volunteer stays at the school for two full school years. His presence is an important help towards putting into practice what the teacher has learnt—always a difficulty in the face of sceptical and conservative colleagues.

Under favourable conditions volunteers in all these kinds of jobs can make a clear and valuable contribution to development. But the programmes are not always successful. The main causes of failure seem to be lack of preparation, concentration or continuity. Careful preparation is vital to success (a point discussed further in *Section 7 Administration*); and the underdeveloped world is littered with projects that have petered out because resources were scattered too haphazardly, because the project was not continued for long enough. Individual volunteers each employed on a separate project may all do good and useful jobs within limits—but their effect on development is likely to be very much less than if they were used in a specific programme with defined and achievable aims. This does not mean they must be physically concentrated in a group—they can just as well be geographically dispersed but working on a related programme. A programme-approach is also more likely to increase the exemplary effect of volunteers' work, both by making it more visible and by concentrating it on those most likely to multiply it.

It would be wrong, however, to suggest that volunteers can only be useful if related to a definite programme. The contribution to be made by filling individual posts in Africa (which are in a sense part of a related programme) has already been mentioned; there is also a number of exceptional volunteers who are making exceptional contributions to development. They include a commercial lawyer who has revolutionised Tanzania's commercial agreements and regulations, an American girl who has set up a heart clinic in Chandigarh (India), an Australian cattle-rancher who has advised the Tanzanian Government on its ranching policy, an American ceramicist who has improved brick-baking techniques in East Pakistan, a British musician who has acted as conductor to the Bolivian National Symphony Orchestra.

Relief Work

The effect on development of volunteers in social and relief work is more

difficult to assess. There are so many poor and miserable people in the world that it is natural to want to help them—and help them today because they will be dead by the time the future comes. Unfortunately it is not always possible both to help the poorest people and to promote development at the same time. For they are the people who are least responsive to new ideas and techniques; any change could bring disaster and they have no spare resources with which to experiment. It is the richer and more progressive farmers who respond to the Indian poultry scheme and put up the £200 or so needed to start a unit. In southern India it is not the poorest fishermen along the coast who have responded to the Indo-Norwegian Project's plan to help them by providing motor-boats, insulated vans and ice-plants to enable them to preserve and market their catch. Although the Project is earning £3m. p.a. in foreign exchange alone, the poorer fishermen have hardly benefited at all—even though the Project was expressly aimed at helping them. They have proved unable to respond to the new ideas, unable to adapt to the new life necessary to take advantage of them.

The best way to help the very poor, it seems, is to concentrate on what amounts to relief work; social work in slums, giving the inhabitants some feeling of self-reliance, setting up small, but only marginally economic industries (like silk-printing or electro-plating needles), persuading the authorities to build public lavatories and set up clinics; or work in leper colonies, helping the lepers to grow their own food; work in refugee camps teaching the refugees a skill; work in blind homes, helping to build pig-sties or teaching rope- and chair-making. Such work need not be ephemeral —as the traditional soup-kitchen is; permanent improvements can be made so that dependence on outside support is reduced.

The effect on development, however, is small. It is true that by making slum-dwellers and lepers and blind people more productive, the country's resources are being increased—and social work is particularly important in the rapidly expanding urban areas where traditional social forms are weak or non-existent. Relief work also has a certain educational value in that it illustrates the possibilities of improving bad conditions—and it can raise minimum standards. But much of the work involves simple relief of suffering. When it does, it is worth remembering that the same resources could be used to prevent such suffering in the future, perhaps prevent a lot more; the same effort directed towards teachers, building instructors or farmers would yield much larger, if longer-term, results. This does not mean that contributors, organisations or volunteers who wish to do so, are wrong to give priority to relief work; but only that if volunteers are regarded as a form of aid, their employment on topical charity and relief work is not the most productive use in the longer-term. The object of aid, after all, is to 'anticipate charity by preventing poverty.'*

* The phrase is Maimonides' (A.D. 1135–1204).

Priorities

In theory it is for developing countries to determine priorities; it is for them to decide how many and what type of volunteers to request. In practice, however, with volunteers as with other forms of aid, it is possible and often desirable for donors to help assess priorities. It is now coming to be accepted that developing countries need help in deciding what they want aid for. The view is put forward as official British policy, for example, in the Ministry of Overseas Development's 1965 White Paper; 'Closely related . . . is the question of initiative in putting forward projects which might be suitable for British aid. Until now this initiative has usually lain with the developing country itself. We intend in future, to make a more deliberate effort to select, in agreement with the recipient country, the fields of activity or projects on which our aid should be concentrated.' The same reasoning can be applied to volunteer programmes. In the less advanced developing countries it is important therefore that donors should have enough knowledge of the country's needs to make their own suggestions for things to be done.

These suggestions, however, need to be made in very close co-operation with the developing country, for there is some danger of outsiders feeling they can improve on the developing country's own priorities. Volunteer organisations may feel that in a particular country social, medical or relief services are being 'neglected,' that here is a gap which volunteers can fill. They may be right—but often the developing country, faced with too few resources, has simply given these services a lower priority.

To some extent, however, the volunteer programmes are limited by the type of people they can recruit. Certain categories, such as midwives, vets, agriculturalists or electrical engineers, may be a high priority in a developing country—but only limited numbers of them can be recruited. The limited supply both of volunteers as a whole and of certain needed categories means that volunteer programmes must have a clear idea of developing countries needs and priorities, if they are to make the most effective use of an inadequate supply.

Priorities, however, cannot really be discussed in general terms. It is not possible to say with much meaning that agriculture is more important than education, that technical education is more valuable than teaching English. A whole field of theory has grown up over the last 15 years to explain the cause of underdevelopment; lack of education, lack of capital, of Christianity, of intermediate technology, of agriculture, of industry and of innate intelligence have all been blamed. But in general terms no solution has emerged. It is only when each country or area is looked at individually that it is possible to talk meaningfully about priorities.

Priorities vary considerably from country to country; inside each country they are disputable and disputed. Development plans sometimes indicate priorities, but their allocations depend very much on what has already been invested in previous years. Nonetheless it is possible to see that birth

control has been given a high priority in India but scarcely any priority in Africa; that education is high in Uganda and relatively low in Pakistan; that agriculture is India's chief concern, industry Pakistan's.

In some of these fields volunteers can play little part; in birth control, power or industrial construction, for example. In most plans, however, two fields in which volunteers can help are emphasised—education and agriculture. Education is widely held to be the basis for development as well as a human right. Development depends on people being able and willing to acquire new knowledge and this necessitates education, especially technical education. The development of agriculture is seen as important not only as a source of food but also as a means of preventing inflation and providing purchasing power; and about 80% of the population of most countries depend on it for a living and are likely to remain dependent for some years to come. Connected with agriculture are a host of other things —roads, irrigation, machines (and the plant to make them), fertiliser factories, processing and storage plants, power, and so on.

But the importance of agriculture and education does not diminish the importance of a dozen other things—public health, rural housing, small-scale industries for instance. Nor, since these two alone cover such a wide field, does it give a clear indication of the most useful contribution volunteers can make. That can only be decided in the context of each country. The governments of developing countries are usually short of planning time and expertise; it is therefore up to the volunteer organisations to make knowledgeable suggestions. This requires imagination and patient hard work, for the potential contribution of volunteers is not always apparent, nor are the apparent possibilities always practicable.

Potential Distortions

Like other forms of aid, volunteers must be used with care if they are to help development. Now that they are being used in increasingly large numbers and concentrations, it is becoming important to watch that they do not have distorting effects. In some cases, although the total number of volunteers in a country appears quite large, the number in any one profession is still small. There were nearly 600 volunteers in Tanzania in 1965, for example, but out of 690 nurses only 20 were volunteers and out of 1,350 junior agricultural field officers, only 50 were volunteers. But this is not always so; in Ethiopia 40% of teachers in grades 7–12 (approximately secondary level) were volunteers and in Northern Nigeria volunteers formed 25% of graduate teachers. In Tanzania nearly half the country's 90 surveyors were volunteers.

It is difficult to assess the effects on development of such concentration. —but clearly it is impossible to supply significant numbers of volunteers without having some effect on local plans, employment or wage structuress These effects may not necessarily be favourable; volunteers are just as liable to be misused as are other forms of aid.

Urbanisation

One of the problems that affects almost every developing country is the difficulty of persuading those with secondary or higher education to work in the countryside. For educated people the cities are very much more desirable places to live than the countryside; in cities there are better facilities (like electricity and movies), better pay, greater possibilities, excitement and power—in the countryside some professional people have to live separated from their families for lack of accommodation. It is not surprising that all who are able to, stay in the cities—even those who are unable to find a job they think is worthy of their educational qualifications prefer to stay and look for a job than to take one in the countryside.

The lack of trained people in rural areas leaves the countryside backward and hopeless. Volunteers are willing to work in the countryside; they do not mind the adverse conditions—indeed many of them prefer them. They can make a useful contribution, therefore, providing they are not reducing the pressure on local, qualified people to work in their own countryside, providing they are not simply encouraging people to be 'applicants' for jobs in the towns and thus misusing the country's resources of educated manpower.

There is not much evidence that this is in fact happening yet—though it may do in the future. In Africa there is no serious surplus at volunteer-level (i.e. graduate-level), even in the towns of southern Nigeria, although the forecasts estimate there may be soon. In India, where there is already a surplus of low-level graduates, the numbers of volunteers have not so far been large enough to have any effect on what pressure there is for graduates to work rurally. But the possibility is certainly there—and it is worth considering whether a successful scheme like Iran's Literacy Corps would have been set up if there had been large numbers of volunteers available to teach in rural areas.

It is encouraging that under some conditions volunteers can be used not to aggravate the problem of urban drift, but to solve it. For there are signs that a volunteer's presence in a village sometimes has the effect of persuading the younger local people to remain or even return there. The volunteer acts as a symbol to suggest that the village is not a backwater, that somebody in the government and the outside world cares about it. Sometimes he may introduce machinery—which often has enough status to persuade a boy who would not follow his father into agriculture to stay in the village.

Employment

Volunteers may also have some effects on employment in developing countries. Employers may be tempted to use them in place of their local equivalents if they cost less. This does not apply to volunteers from Britain who usually cost the developing country as much or more than a local man (see *Section 6 Cost*)—but some employers prefer volunteers even when they are more

expensive than their counterparts. They think that a volunteer is more valuable. Schools are particularly prone to this preference, not only because of the real advantage of having an English-speaker, but also because of the prestige attached to the presence of foreigners on the staff. If volunteers are used in this way, when a local equivalent could have been employed instead, they may distort the structure of employment.

It is a basic tenet of technical assistance that a TA-man should not displace a local man. Most countries have fairly stringent 'localisation' policies and impose a variety of measures to make sure that local people are always given priority. Even if the volunteer can do the job better than a local and available man, it is arguable whether he would really be benefiting the country which employs him; it is probably more important for development in the long run that at volunteer-level a local man should do the job than that it should be done as well as possible.

Salaries

Volunteers' salaries may involve them in comparisons with local rates and potential disputes. Their salaries can be used as an argument to keep local wage rates either down or up. In Uganda teachers insist that volunteers are paid the normal local rate (£720 p.a.) because if they were paid less it would imply that Ugandan teachers could also be paid less. In Thailand, on the other hand, volunteers' pay is used as an argument against a pay-rise; for if foreigners are content on the present rates (about £200 p.a.), then the pay is high enough for Thais.

From the point of view of development the optimum wage-structure in any particular country is a matter of opinion. It can be argued, for example, that the teacher's pay in Uganda is already too high in relation to unskilled and semi-skilled rates; that in Thailand the low government pay rates encourage corruption and avoidance of government service. Volunteer programmes cannot usefully contribute to this kind of debate—but it is worth noting that volunteers can be used, deliberately or not, as 'whitelegs' —a role in which they are likely to generate some resentment.

Volunteers do not in practice appear to have produced any distortions yet. But as their numbers increase, so does the possibility that they will. As with other forms of aid, their most effective and rational use requires careful planning. A policy of simply using volunteers to fill gaps may only allow a developing country to avoid its responsibilities instead of strengthening its development effort.

5 Conditions

Volunteers must go where they can give of their best, not to countries or to institutions which will simply 'absorb' them. The social and economic future of communities cannot be played with to provide a 'rewarding experience' for vast numbers of European and American youth. Each and every volunteer must pay his way, in terms of productiveness, otherwise he is a deadweight on the people he means to help.

Glyn Roberts in Volunteers in Africa and Asia.

Although volunteers are versatile and adaptable, they need suitable conditions if they are to make the best contribution to development. One is that they need a job. At first it was thought possible simply to send a volunteer to a village in a developing country and he would be able to find himself something to do. Experience has shown, however, that such volunteers and situations are rare. Most volunteers are more effective if they have a specific task or job—or at least a framework in which to work. Even when it is part of a volunteer's task to find himself a job—to decide, for example, which farmers will be most responsive to his help—some guidance or framework is usually needed.

There is some dispute as to whether agricultural and community development work can provide suitable conditions for volunteers. There is a feeling, on one side, that work of this kind is ideal for volunteers—it involves working alongside the local people at what is known as 'grass-roots' level, changing their attitudes and introducing new techniques and ideas. Volunteers' youth and enthusiasm, it is thought, their open and humble approach, fit them well for these tasks. Some people argue, however, that the work is too difficult for a volunteer; he is a foreigner, ignorant of the language and local methods and fears and superstitions. He has little experience of human relationships, little knowledge of what is needed to induce a group of people to adopt a new idea. And he is impatient for some visible progress within a year or two.

Experience suggests that volunteers can do useful work in agriculture provided they are well selected and well trained—and provided the job is carefully prepared. Not everybody is temperamentally suited to do this kind of work—and those who are require training in language and techniques. Under suitable conditions, however, volunteers can do (and have done) useful work in agricultural extension, public health and nutrition programmes, rural works and forestry.

Volunteers also need a good employer—who understands both their limitations and advantages. Without a good employer it is very hard for a volunteer to do effective work. In former French West Africa there are teachers who regard volunteers as amateur English teachers and who therefore give them neither responsibility nor trust. In East Pakistan volunteers were set to work under junior local officials who feared the volunteers had come

to take their jobs, or at least to spy on them and show up their inadequacies. They therefore gave them trivial tasks and treated them as enemies.

Some of those who have been quickest to appreciate volunteers' potential and limitations have been English or English-educated employers. Private schools in India, for example, have on the whole made better use of volunteers than have State schools—a fact that has led to some criticism that volunteers (especially those from Britain) are being used to back up British and British-type people and organisations.

Adequate medical facilities are required if a volunteer is to function effectively. These facilities usually need to be better than those provided for local people—many of whom are less effective because of their bad health. Volunteers are used to good medical facilities, and they are more likely to need them than local people—and if they are not provided, the effect on parental opinion at home could prove unfortunate for future recruiting.

Many government posts carry free medical treatment with them; some programmes guarantee treatment to their volunteers—the US Peace Corps, for example, has its own doctor in each country. Some programmes, however, including those from Britain, expect a contribution from the employer —though treatment is not dependent on this contribution. Where the contribution expected is higher than the cost of the facilities normally provided for local people, there seems to be a good case for a subsidy.

Pay

Volunteers must be enabled to live at a level which allows their job to be done properly. In order to make the best use of their qualifications, they are often employed in professional-level posts and this means that it is inappropriate for them to live as close to subsistence level as possible. It is inappropriate, for example, for a teacher or university lecturer, an Assistant District Officer, a pharmacist or an economist in a Ministry, to live in a mud-hut. Such people are most effective if they live at the same level as their local equivalents —and they need the pay to do so.

One of the legacies of colonialism is that pay and conditions for professional-level people are often quite high—particularly in comparison with those of other people in developing countries. In Africa especially volunteers' level of living is generally high—with adequate accommodation (usually government or school), a steward, reasonable food, often a motor-bike. Pay averages around £600–£700 p.a.—sometimes rising to as high as £1,200 p.a., as in some former French West African countries.

This is usually gross pay and volunteers have to spend varying amounts from it for rent (usually subsidised to cost not more than £60 p.a.), tax (from which they are often exempted), electricity, water, steward and food. Net pay is therefore likely to be around £200–£300 (see Table 8). In Asia both gross pay and expenses tend to be lower and so net pay is usually

Box 7
Volunteers' Pay

Methods

Volunteers from Britain and Canada are paid by their local employers or local governments in developing countries, sometimes at the local rate for the job, sometimes at a higher or lower rate agreed with the volunteer organisation. In a few cases, where the employer cannot afford what is thought to be an adequate salary, it is topped-up by the volunteer organisation; both CUSO and GVSO do this in India, for example, and volunteers from Britain in grant-aided dependent territories are paid by the British Government (ODM).

Volunteers on other programmes are usually paid by their own organisations at a rate agreed with the local government. This rate is often based on the local scale.

Amounts

Pay rates are difficult to compare; some are net and some gross and some half-way. Some volunteers pay for accommodation (often subsidised), some for food and utilities (electricity and water). Some pay tax; some get free extras such as hair cuts, laundry, stationary.

Net pay varies considerably—some examples are given in Table 8. In general most programmes aim to set pay rates as low as possible without reducing volunteers' effectiveness. They have varying success. The Lockwood Committee in Britain suggests net pay of £150 p.a. but there are wide variations in practice—British volunteers in Mali get £500–£800 p.a. net; others in India, £40 p.a. net. Some volunteers send money home, while others can only exist with the help of money from home.

Most volunteers get a terminal, or resettlement, grant at the end of their job, often calculated as a payment for each month of service satisfactorily completed. It ranges from £100–£300 p.a.—see last column of Table 8. It is usually an automatic payment, but a few organisations make it according to need.

£150–£250 p.a. Out of net pay they must buy clothes; although they get a £40 clothing allowance reasonable clothes are important in many countries, and they must be replaced quite often because of frequent washing. Volunteers also like to return hospitality.

Not all volunteers are paid at these general rates. There are wide variations not only between continents and countries, but also between different volunteer programmes. US Peace Corps volunteers in Nepal, for example, have much less net pay than those in India, who in turn have less than those in Africa. In India, IVS volunteers from Britain get under £40 p.a. net, while GVSO volunteers, also from Britain, get £180 p.a. net. While the majority of volunteers are able to maintain an agreeable standard of living, a number are living at a much lower level and on little pay; even those who are well paid may have difficult or boring jobs.

Many volunteers from Britain have a higher standard of living than they would at home in their first year after university or college. Common pay of a graduate in Britain during his first year after university or college is £850 p.a.; of this, all but £200–£300 is likely to go towards taxes, rent, food, transport to work, necessary clothing (volunteers get an allowance). Accommodation abroad is often more spacious than they could afford in Britain—and a high proportion of volunteers in Africa employ servants. Expenditure on such things as postage or colour-films is higher, but since there are often few opportunities for spending on non-essentials at their place of work, many volunteers find it relatively easy to save for holiday travel.* Comparable figures for volunteers from other countries are hard to obtain; French, Germans, Norwegians, Danes and Canadians all claim they would be noticeably better off at home—Americans are compensated by a higher Terminal Grant than other programmes (see Table 8).

Volunteers are not paid as highly as other foreigners—whose pay includes an inducement to take on the job and compensation for moving and disruption of career. A young, but qualified, teacher from Britain on the Teachers of English Overseas (TEO) scheme would get £2,300 p.a. with free accommodation in Thailand, for example; in Mali, a British Council recruited teacher would get £2,200 p.a. also with free accommodation. Volunteers are able to do their jobs effectively on pay much less than this; they are in fact paid considerably less, but even so there is some feeling that their pay is higher than necessary.

Most of the higher rates are not set by the volunteer organisations but by employers and governments in developing countries. These claim that to pay less would be administratively difficult and would create problems of 'whiteleg' labour (already discussed on p. 48). If the first of these claims

* A few remit savings to Britain. In theory this has an adverse effect on the developing country's balance of payments; but the number of volunteers who do this and the sums involved are unlikely to have a serious effect.

Table 8

Volunteers' Pay Gross and Net 1964/5 £s p.a.

	Nigeria		Mali		Uganda		Tanzania		Thailand		India		Pakistan		Terminal Grants
	gross	net	g	n	g	n	g	n	g	n	g	n	g	n	
UK volunteers‡ ...	600 to 720	200 to 300	760 to 1200	500 to 800	720	300	660	250	60* 240†	50* 120†	180 (GVSO) 40 (IVS)	180 40	200	180	1 yr—£100§ 2 yrs—£200§
US Peace Corps ...	640	150	—	—	570	200	510	200	300	200	235	135	350	180	2 yrs—£643
CUSO	690	200	—	—	—	—	660	250	—	—	200	100	—	—	2 yrs—£180
Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (DED)...	—	—	—	—	—	—	580	300	—	—	n.a.	n.a.	—	—	2 yrs—£430
Danish Development Volunteers	—	—	—	—	—	—	450	150	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 yrs—£320

	Nigeria		Mali		Uganda		Tanzania		Thailand		India		Pakistan		Terminal Grants
	gross	net	g	n	g	n	g	n	g	n	g	n	g	n	
Norwegian Peace Corps ...	—	—	—	—	570	200	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 yrs—£300
Militaires du Contingent (France)	—	—	1260	800 to 1000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nil

n.a.=Not available.

* Chiengmai, † Bangkok.

‡ There are often quite wide variations in rates of pay for volunteers from Britain within each country. These are the most common rates (not average).

§ Maximum figures—not all volunteers get this. IVS pays National Insurance and reduces grant accordingly.

Note: Some volunteers do private teaching and thus increase net pay.

is true, then it must be accepted; there is no point in saving small sums on lower pay if a big administrative re-organisation is needed to do so. But it is not a very convincing reason and several countries (such as Mali, for example) have found it quite easy to arrange a separate pay scale of volunteers, even for those in government posts.

The fear that volunteers would be regarded as cheap labour if they were paid less than others doing the same job is one that must be accepted if it is put forward. In some cases, after all, it is the employer who is paying the salary (as for British, Canadian, and some American volunteers); it is in his interest to reduce it if he can.

If volunteers' pay were reduced to the minimum necessary for the job to be done effectively, it would often be substantially lower than the salaries now being paid in Africa to volunteers from Britain. In Uganda the US Peace Corps and the Norwegian Volunteer Service (NVS) estimate that a volunteer needs £570 p.a. gross, while a GVSO volunteer is paid (by the Ugandans) £720 p.a.; expenses are perhaps £50 p.a. higher for the Americans and Norwegians. In Tanzania a volunteer from Britain (UNA) is paid £610 p.a. (net of tax) by the Tanzanians, while a US Peace Corps volunteer is paid £510 p.a. (no tax) by the Peace Corps. The Americans and Norwegians have taken some care in working out these rates; they have obtained them by adding together actual expenditures on a number of different items. By British standards, they are quite generous. They suggest, therefore, that in some cases volunteers from Britain are being paid more than is strictly necessary. A saving of £100 p.a. per volunteer could often be made—but only if the developing country is prepared to make it.

There are several possible ways of reducing volunteers' pay; one is to persuade the employer to pay less—but this is not always practicable (see above). Another is to arrange for the salaries to be paid to the volunteer organisation—which can then pay the volunteers at a lower rate and use the difference in the country to pay for staff and administration or to subsidise volunteers for whom local costs are not otherwise available. This method is used by the US Peace Corps in Uganda—but it is not entirely satisfactory because many Ugandans resent helping to pay for the Peace Corps' administration and doctor (whose roll of 50 patients compares with the average of one doctor per 16,000 people in Uganda).

Another method is for the volunteers themselves to contribute to a project or charity. Some do this already, and with encouragement probably a lot more would contribute £5–£10 a month towards a project on which perhaps other volunteers could work and with which volunteer-teachers could help during school holidays. Encouragement is needed though; giving to charity is always difficult and even though pay may be more than is strictly necessary for volunteer life, it is nonetheless all too easy to spend. But it should surely be encouragement and not compulsion—a give-as-you-earn scheme and not a private tax.

In many jobs it is possible to take advantage of volunteers' willingness to work for low pay. In leper colonies, for example, or ashrams* on community development and some argicultural schemes, it is possible to live cheaply. Often is is also desirable, for success may depend on the volunteer living as closely as possible to the people he is working with and it would be harmful and embarrassing to have higher pay. Even here, however, low pay is not a good in itself; effective work does not depend on great sacrifices. It does not add to a volunteer's effectiveness if he has to depend on local people's hospitality, nor if he economises on food to pay for postage home.

Fortunately most volunteers do not seem to mind about uneven rates of pay—even within the same programme in the same country. This is convenient because the optimum level varies with the job. It can be defined as the lowest rate that permits the volunteer to do his job effectively. Any departure up or down is a luxury or a waste.

Framework

Volunteers also need a suitable framework to function effectively. The remainder of this Section looks at the frameworks provided by non-government organisations in developing countries, the UN and its Agencies, official aid projects, and commercial projects.

Non-government Organisations

In some ways non-government organisations in developing countries can offer a very suitable framework for volunteers. They may provide opportunities for close mixing with the local people, for developing self-help schemes and for humanely filling the gaps that are inevitably left by a hurriedly put together and ambitious development plan. It can be argued also that these 'fringe' areas are the right place to use volunteers, because for more important tasks the country should get better qualified people; but this argument ignores the fact that in most cases if a country could get better qualified people, it would.

One of the advantages of non-government bodies is that they may be able to get things done when ponderous government bodies would not. There is a fear that volunteers working for governments may be given little or irrelevant work to do, that they will be lost in a bog of ill-conceived plans. This fear is particularly strong and particularly justified in India and some of the other older-established bureaucracies in Asia; a great deal of the resources (men and money) that are put into governmental machinery in India appear to be lost without result. Non-government bodies, being smaller and more flexible, can sometimes move more quickly and effectively.

Non-government bodies have some disadvantages, however. One is that

* Ashrams are Gandhi-inspired communities in India whose members live among and help the poor people. Life is communal.

not all governments give them a high priority; this means that they may not be able to get either permission, or money, equipment or personnel, all of which are in short supply. The volunteer, therefore, may be able to achieve less than if he were doing work to which the government gave a higher priority.

Local attitudes towards non-government bodies may be a further disadvantage. In some countries non-government bodies may be regarded as politically suspect—especially those with overseas connections; refugee organisations and Anglo-Indian establishments are two examples. Others, such as religious bodies in a religious state like Pakistan or some Middle Eastern countries, are liable to become the target of popular indignation.

Not all private bodies are devoted chiefly to promoting development; their aim may be to relieve poverty rather than prevent it, or their primary aims may be political or religious. Volunteers from Britain work in a hospital in Thailand, for example, which concentrates its public health work on Christians because it is financed by Christians in the USA who want to help their fellow-Christians in Thailand.

There is another problem; much of the work that voluntary agencies in developing countries undertake involves either field-work at village level or high-level organisation. It is often difficult for volunteers to do field-work, which requires a close knowledge of local conditions, customs and language. And they generally lack the experience required at the higher levels. In Pakistan, for example, a number of voluntary agencies have been unable to find work for volunteers.

Some private agencies do not provide a suitable framework because of the personalities of their officers. A report on *Long-Term Volunteers in India* states; 'they are often very ingrown, with complex stories of personal struggles for office, political tugs-of-war and so on. Many people angle for office for the sake of the prestige it brings. . . . A volunteer is inevitably caught up by embarrassing tensions and cannot take much initiative for himself or produce much effective work.'

Non-government bodies then, only sometimes provide a suitable framework for volunteers. They are not inherently better than official bodies —nor is the work they can offer necessarily more productive or more closely related to local needs. Where neither government nor private bodies offer an entirely satisfactory framework, it is necessary, as usual, to strike a balance —something like that suggested by a team of Australians who investigated the possibilities of volunteer work in India. They noted that '. . . red tape and corruption inhibit progress severely. These are signs of India's immaturity and they present frustrations and difficulties to any foreign aid that hopes to work in close alliance with the Government.' Schemes should therefore be adapted, they suggested, so that the Government finds them acceptable 'and is willing to co-operate where possible even though basically the scheme is not dependent on the Government for its support.

Un Agencies

The idea of young people from the world's richer countries helping to fight world poverty under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) is an attractive one. Multilateral aid has many supporters, particularly among developing countries who look upon it as a form of 'true aid' undistorted by political and commercial interests of bilateral donors. In the richer countries too there are many who see the UN's aid programme as a practical step towards a better world and a world order. It is not surprising, therefore, that there have been moves to use volunteers to support the UN's programmes.

The possibility of an international, UN, Peace Corps, either as an addition to existing programmes, or as a replacement, has been examined by the UN—but so far it has been found to be impracticable. It would need complicated international arrangements on nationality quotas, recruiting, pay and administration, to which all members of the UN would have to agree. It might attract little support; the present volunteers are supported by governments for their own reasons (see p. 14)—they would be less interested in an international programme whose benefits to themselves would be less and which might be used by their political rivals. The international whole might be less than the sum of its national parts. Finally, the UN's Agencies have been unable to agree on a common basis for a UN Peace Corps. Under these circumstances it has been felt better not to start such a programme and have it fail—for failure would damage both the UN and the concept of volunteers as a form of aid.*

Volunteers recruited on existing programmes have, however, been employed by the UN's Agencies for use on specific projects (see Box 9)—often with some success. But there are a number of practical difficulties, such as pay rates, duty-free privileges, immunities and so on, to which ordinary expatriate UN staff are entitled, which take a lot of time and energy to work out. These can be justified if there is a real need—but UN Agencies rightly try to employ local people whenever they can so that they can benefit from training. In Asia local people at volunteer-level are often available—and even if they are not in practice quite so useful as volunteers, they rightly get priority. In Africa, however, local people are not always available and so volunteers can play a useful role—though project-directors often find the higher-level Associate Experts (see Box 9) more useful even though they are more expensive. Volunteers can only be used on UN projects with the agreement of the developing country's government; this agreement may not always be forthcoming—there are often acute shortages of volunteer-level people in other areas and UN projects may not have a high priority in the eyes of local officials.

* A Commonwealth Peace Corps was proposed by Ghana in 1964. Investigations on the desirability and feasibility of this idea are being carried out by the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit, which will report back to the next Commonwealth Education Conference, scheduled for 1967.

Box 9

Volunteers and the UN

Volunteers have been used for work with the UN since 1961. The aim is to provide young people with opportunities to work for economic and social development on non-political terms. The majority work with FAO or another of the Specialised Agencies. Some 30 work on a different scheme for the UN Development Programme. The Associate Expert scheme is not a volunteer programme—but it is sometimes confused with one and so a note on it is included here.

Volunteers with Specialised Agencies

Some 50 volunteers worked with three of the UN's Specialised Agencies in 1965; 25 with FAO, 12 with the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and the remainder with the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Nearly half of them were from Britain, recruited by UNA. Those with FAO are directly supervised by UN experts. Costs and pay vary with Agency and country.

UN Development Programme Volunteers

Thirty volunteers work as assistants to Resident Representatives in the UN Development Programme (formerly Technical Assistance Board) offices in developing countries. They are employed as if they were local staff members. They help with administration, checking projects, preparing reports and statistics, formulating requests for aid, etc. They need knowledge and experience of economics.

Twelve of them are from Britain, sent by UNA. The minimum period for these posts is two years. They are in Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazza), Eduador, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Kenya, Pakistan, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda.

Their cost to UNA is the same as an average volunteer. The basic salary is paid by the UN Development Programme. Financially the developing country is usually a net gainer from this scheme because it receives rent. Pay varies according to local conditions; it is likely to range around £1,000 p.a.—out of which food and accommodation must be found.

Associate Experts

Under the Associate Experts scheme donor governments pay for junior TA-men to work with the UN. Associate Experts are not volunteers; they have higher professional qualifications than most volunteers and they are regarded as UN staff members and paid on

UN rates. The scheme suits donors because it enables them to contribute to the UN and at the same time give some of their own people useful training; and it suits the UN and the developing countries because they get free assistance.

Size and Contributors
Between 1958, when the scheme started, and mid-1965 there were nearly 60 Associate Experts—provided by Belgium (1), Germany (5), Netherlands (27), Norway (3), and Sweden (16). Denmark has also joined the scheme. If requests can be met, it will double in size during 1966.

Cost
Donors pay the full cost of the Associate Expert—up to £4,300 p.a.

Length
Associate Experts can serve for less than 6 months—but about half stay for a year and a further 40% for a second or third year.

Work
Over half have been in economic planning and surveys or in Community Development—the remainder in a wide range of jobs. Many Associate Experts are used to work alongside a senior UN expert. Only a few have so far become UN experts.*

* Further details of this scheme are given in *Technical Assistance Activities of the United Nations*, E/4016, prepared for the 39th session of Ecosoc, May 1965, pp. 37–43.

Another scheme enables some 30 volunteers (12 of them from Britain) to work in the offices of Resident Representatives of the UN Development Programme (formerly Technical Assistance Board). Although the UN pays the volunteer's salary it saves money because it pays less than the normal expatriate rate. Recruiting, travel costs and sometimes a salary top-up are paid by the volunteer organisation; this means that in the case of Britain UNA and the Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) (through the Lockwood Committee) are contributing indirectly to the UN. The object of the scheme is not to improve recruiting—there is no shortage of economics graduates in Britain wanting to join the UN—nor does it save the UN a great deal of money, nor, with salaries averaging around £1,000 p.a. is it a noticeably 'voluntary' form of service. But it associates the UNA with the activities of the UN and it is working well.

Official Aid Projects

Volunteer programmes have always been keen to dissociate themselves from what they have seen as less pure forms of aid, 'tainted' as almost all official aid is, with political and commercial considerations. Even these programmes whose motivation is basically political have been anxious to use idealists and philanthropists as volunteers. There has been a feeling also that volunteers should work on a more personal level than was possible on official aid projects; as one US Peace Corps administrator put it: 'It's difficult to personalise a road'—and there was some initial reluctance on the part of professional aid-men who did not want to employ people they regarded as amateurs. Most programmes, and particularly the US Peace Corps, have therefore been reluctant to involve themselves with official aid programmes.

This reluctance on both sides, however, is now wearing off; aid-men are coming to see the potential of volunteers, and the volunteer programmes feel themselves well enough established to co-operate. In Tanzania US Peace Corps volunteers are helping to man rural building centres and install culverts for a road-building programme—both financed by AID. Without the help of the volunteers either the culverts would not have been used or much more expensive engineers would have had to be employed.

The value of this kind of work is clear. One of the biggest difficulties in running a successful aid programme is putting it into practice, getting the equipment used, maintained and understood. It is this difficulty which has led in part to the concentration of aid programmes on big 'easy' projects such as dams and power stations, and the neglect of agriculture and rural projects which require a lot of small-scale operations, installations and demonstrations. The use of volunteers can to some extent reduce this difficulty by providing at a reasonable cost people who are able and willing to work patiently on a small scale in country areas.

Volunteers on aid projects, however, need to be used with care so that there is no ground for suspicion that they are being used as spies, reporting to the donor on abuses of aid. It should be clear, for example, that the local government controls and employs the volunteers.

Commercial Projects

A number of commercial concerns run development projects in developing countries. In some cases they are paid to do so by the developing country, as are Hunting Technical Services on the Lower Indus Project in West Pakistan; others undertake the projects because of the goodwill generated and because they hope that eventually development will lead to better markets for their products, if only by increasing the spending power of local people. Examples are Shell's agricultural projects in Africa and Hindustan, Lever's cattle project in the Punjab. These schemes, run by commercial concerns are very much to the benefit of the people in developing countries.

Since they could provide a good framework, it has been suggested that volunteers should be used to help them.*

The disadvantage of this proposal is that the volunteers would in effect be subsidising the commercial firm; for if volunteer-level people are needed, then they can presumably be recruited on commercial terms. A volunteer would allow the firm to do the job more cheaply.

Private contributors in Britain might be reluctant to see their funds go to a commercial firm, even if the result successfully promoted development; but neither the Government nor volunteers would be thus inhibited, and the commercial firms themselves might be prepared to contribute (some already contribute to the programmes, but not for volunteers on their own projects). The disadvantage is not a serious one therefore and the proposal seems worth further discussion.

* This is a different suggestion from David Rockefeller's proposal that US businessmen should form a Peace Corps (unofficially known as the Paunch Corps) to help businesses in developing countries.

6 Cost

We should seek out forms of aid not solely on the basis of their usefulness to the receiving countries, but also think actively about the convenience of the donor countries. . . . My point is that if we are guided solely by the preferences of the receivers of aid and fail to think seriously about the problems of convenience to the donor countries, the total amount of aid that will in the end be made available during the period ahead is likely to be far too small.

Andrew Shonfield in Second Thoughts on Aid.

The total cost of most volunteers is between £1,500 and £3,000 p.a. each. In a few cases the total cost is as low as £1,000 p.a. Volunteers from Britain are usually at the lower end of the range—though there are some exceptions, as in former French West Africa. Some details on costs are given in Box 10 and Table 11. The Table also shows how the total cost is shared between the country which sends the volunteers and the country which employs them. Most volunteers from Britain and Canada cost developing countries more than those from other countries.

This means that developing countries sometimes pay as much or more for a volunteer as they do for a junior TA-man. Pakistan, for example, pays £600 p.a. for a volunteer teacher but only £450 for one recruited (and subsidised) by the British Council. To India, the cost of each is the same —£500; to Mali the volunteer costs only £200 p.a. less than a British Council recruited teacher. On some technical assistance schemes the developing country makes no contribution to the cost apart from accommodation; thus an agricultural chemist from Britain costs Nigeria £200 p.a., while a volunteer costs £850. In some cases, however, there is a very substantial saving; in Thailand a British Council recruited teacher costs the Thais £2,000 p.a. while they pay only £350 for a volunteer from Britain. Further examples are given in *Appendix 7*.

Unfortunately there is no evident relationship between cost and effectiveness. The total cost of CUSO volunteers is £1,000 p.a. less than those of the US Peace Corps in many countries—but there is no evidence to suggest they are less effective. The cheaper programmes do not skimp their training (both CUSO and VISA have quite extensive training programmes)—nor their representation in developing countries (both CUSO and VISA have full-time administrators where they have sizeable numbers of volunteers).

The possibilities of reducing the total cost are not examined in this survey because they depend very largely on the internal financial and administrative arrangements of the volunteer-sending organisations. It seems unlikely, however, that recruiting, administration or transport costs could be significantly reduced without a reduction in effectiveness also; indeed in some

cases effectiveness might be improved by increased expenditure on administration. It might be possible in some cases to reduce costs by lowering volunteers' pay (see p. 56). It would also be possible to employ volunteers in places such as slums or leper colonies where the needs for pay and accommodation are less—but this would not necessarily be the most effective way of using them.

Returns

It is difficult to calculate the financial returns on any kind of service work —and particularly hard in the case of volunteers, who hope that the effects of their work may be more far-reaching than the immediate returns. Volunteers hope that the poultry units they help to establish will make money —but they also hope that the farmer will be encouraged to adopt other new practices, that others will copy, that people will set up plants to produce egg-packing material and that a whole sequence of changes, in jobs, money, nutrition and attitudes will result. Volunteers who are teachers hope, often in vain, to do more than get their pupils through exams.

Most often, however, it is simply not possible to work out the return—on surveying work, on agricultural extension, law-tutoring, cattle-ranching, malaria eradication, machine maintenance. By their advice or their maintenance or their introduction of a new method, volunteers may save developing countries many times over their cost; but it cannot be calculated.

In a few cases some returns can be calculated and they give an indication of the returns that volunteers are capable of bringing. Sometimes volunteers can provide a straight saving over other methods of doing the same thing. In Tanzania 6 volunteers are being used on a USAID project at a cost to AID of $100,000; to have done the same job with ordinary TA-men would have cost AID $300,000. The Indian poultry scheme has already been mentioned (p. 23); allowing one volunteer per unit (though he may in practice help set up more than one), the US Peace Corps is putting in about £6,000 (the cost of one volunteer for two years). After a short period to allow for repayment of the farmer's capital (£100–£200), the unit brings him a net profit of about £650 p.a.; this is a return of over 10%. It does not allow, however, for the fact that not all units are successful, nor for the likelihood that the profitability of chicken-farming will decline in the future. In East Pakistan volunteers have saved the Government some £49,000 on the production of construction manuals (see p. 43); these would have cost £52,000 to produce commercially, but with volunteer help they cost only £3,000. (This does not include the cost of the volunteers to the USA.)

Local Costs

Volunteer programmes from Britain and Canada expect developing countries in most cases to make a substantial contribution to local costs (see Box 10 and Table 11). There are several justifications for this—not all of them valid.

Box 10
Cost

The cost of most volunteers is borne primarily by the donor. The developing country pays for accommodation and a few minor facilities such as bicycles, conference accommodation, transport to place of work, etc.—amounting to about 10% of the total cost.

For other volunteers the developing country makes a substantial contribution to the cost, paying all or part of the salary (and/or food costs) in addition to accommodation. This may amount to 50% or 60% of the total cost. This method is used for most volunteers from Britain and Canada.

Table 12 shows the cost of various volunteer programmes in four countries. Tanzania is fairly typical for Africa—and India for Asia; but Thailand and Central African Republic illustrate the wide variations that exist on either side of the typical figures. No single country is in fact typical and even inside a specific country costs sometimes vary widely according to a volunteer's employer and job.

Part of the cost has to be estimated. Administration by Embassies and High Commissions is particularly hard to cost; Embassies are very expensive and they would cost the same whether or not they administered volunteers. Nevertheless it seems reasonable to attribute some cost to the work they do.

Accommodation is also hard to cost. Many volunteers are housed in government or institutional accommodation and the opportunity cost is not necessarily realistic. These estimates are between the opportunity cost and the subsidised rent. Allowance has also been made for the difference between town and country rents; also for the fact that some volunteers live in very cheap accommodation. But the result is still a guess.

There is also a concealed element in the cost of volunteers to donors —the loss of talent while they are abroad. Resources have been put into the volunteer's education and training—and, from the donor's point of view, the volunteers are giving no direct return while they are in developing countries—apart from their contribution to the donor's aid programme. The importance of this loss depends largely on the supply of trained people in the donor country; a doctor, for example, is a greater loss to Britain than a forester. The cost of this loss of talent is very hard to put into figures and it is ignored throughout these tables.

Table 13 gives a break-down of the cost of volunteers from Britain. Here again there are wide variations and rather than give potentially misleading figures for specific countries, two sets of common figures are shown—column (a) applying more to Africa and column (b) more to Asia. Even so, many actual cases fall outside this range; in former French West Africa, for example, volunteers from Britain cost over £2,500 p.a.—while IVS volunteers in India cost little more than £600 p.a. (UK £450, India £150). And in some countries (mainly grant-aided territories) Britain pays the local costs.

The total cost of most volunteers from Britain lies between £1,100 and £1,500 p.a.

Table 11

Donor Element

Estimated cost to donors of major volunteer programmes 1965/6

Country	*Total* £'000*s*	*Govt.*	*Other*	*Av. cost to donor per vol. p.a.** £
USA Peace Corps	32,400	100%		2,750
France M. du C.	2,500	100%		1,510
V. du P.	730	100%		2,160
Germany DED	890	100%		2,100
UK Lockwood Vols.	592	80%	20%	660
Netherlands JVP	550	100%		1,750
Canada CUSO	534	80%	20%	1,400
Belgium CBVO	430	25%	75%	720
Norway NVS	79	100%		1,875
Japan JOCV	75	100%		930†

* This column shows only the donor element—not the **total** cost per volunteer. Some examples of total costs in selected countries are given in Table 12.
† Excluding travel costs—perhaps £100.

Source
Individual organisations.

Table 12

Cost of Volunteers 1964/5 Selected countries, major programmes £s p.a.

	Tanzania			Central African Republic			Thailand			India		
	Tan	Donor	Total	CAR	D	T	Th	D	T	I	D	T
UK volunteers	830	620	1,450	2,140	630	2,770	250[a]	550	800	GVSO		
Graduates							500[b]	550	1,050	490	570	1,060
										IVS		
										140	480	620
US Peace Corps	260	2,750	3,010	—	—	—	145	2,750	2,895	105	2,750	2,855
CUSO (Canada)... ...	830	1,200	2,030	—	—	—	—	—	—	400	1,200	1,600
Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (DED) (Germany)	200	2,100	2,300	—	—	—	—	—	—	150	2,100	2,250

Danish Development Volunteers (DDV) ...	280	1,255	1,535	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Militaires du Contingent (France)	—	—	—	1,200	1,510	2,710	—	—	—	—	—	—
Volontaires du Progrès (France)	—	—	—	nil	2,160	2,160	—	—	—	—	—	—
VISA (USA)	100	1,140	1,240	—	—	—	—	—	—	140	1,140	1,280

Notes

(1) All average figures—exact figures depend on accommodation and pay-scale. Cost to donor is based on world-wide average figures; in practice cost of transport varies quite widely.

(2) All based *on full year*—some, especially UK teacher volunteers, stay 9, 10 or 11 months and thus cost less in practice.

Source

Material gathered from individual volunteers and organisations.

a Chiengmai b Bangkok.

Table 13

Cost of UK Volunteers

Common range

	(a)	1964/5 (b)	£s p.a.
UK Contribution			
UK element†	520	470	
Overseas Administration	60	10	
Total	**580**	**480**	
Developing Country's Contribution			
Pay	620	180	
Accommodation	200	100	
Food	*	150	
Utilities...	*	50	
Internal Transport	10	10	
Total	**830**	**490**	
Total	**£1,410**	**£970**	

† Includes cost of recruiting and administration in Britain, as well as travel and terminal grants—but not overseas administration, nor ODM's contribution towards local costs.

* Volunteer pays out of salary.

Note
Some teacher volunteers stay less than a full year and thus cost less in practice.

Source
Material gathered from individual volunteers and organisations.

One is the alleged 'rationing effect'—employers are less likely to use volunteers wastefully if they have to pay for them. There is little evidence, however, that this is true in practice. Volunteers from Britain have on occasion been as badly misused by developing countries as those on other programmes which cost their employer less. They have been requested for jobs which did not exist, they have been ordered in bulk by Ministries which made no plans for using them until after they had arrived in the country. The fact that they had to be paid for appears to have had no influence on their effective use. What rationing effect there is appears to be caused by the shortage of accommodation (all programmes expect accommodation to be provided except for the Volontaires du Progrès, whose volunteers build their own).

Another justification is based on the fear that volunteers may be regarded as another form of neo-colonialism. By demanding a substantial contribution it is hoped to avoid giving the impression that volunteers are being thrust at developing countries against their will.

It is important that volunteers should be employed by the developing country—and should be seen to be and feel themselves to be. If they are not, there is wide scope for bad feelings and difficulties; a frequent criticism made of the US Peace Corps is that its volunteers appear to be employed not by the developing country but by the Peace Corps. If a volunteer is paid by his employer, then he is more likely to appear to be and to feel himself to be employed directly by the developing country. It is perfectly possible, however, to give this same impression by paying a volunteer *through* his employer, but not necessarily *by* him. It is not therefore a very strong argument in favour of local contributions.

The final justification, however, is a valid and decisive one; many employers in developing countries are able to make a contribution and would like to do so; they do not like accepting charity—they would prefer to pay at least a part of the cost. Even in India where, in contrast to most parts of Africa, lack of money is a serious bottleneck, there is a willingness to make some contribution; a Planning Commission report on *The Peace Corps in India, 1961–5* notes: 'It is imperative that we should step up our contribution to the operation of the Programme. We are aware that other countries receiving Peace Corps volunteers have made much more substantial contributions.' Indeed the US Peace Corps, which originally provided volunteers entirely free apart from accommodation, is gradually increasing the contributions it expects from developing countries. Thailand, for example, has agreed to contribute about £17,000 p.a. towards the cost of 405 Peace Corps volunteers. Agreements with other countries are being re-negotiated on similar lines.*

* Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania pay the local costs of US Peace Corps teachers—but for a different reason; the agreement is part of a complicated and rather unsatisfactory deal in which the Peace Corps undertook to supply the American component of the Anglo-American Teachers for East Africa scheme.

Contributions towards the cost of the Canadian and British programmes are more substantial; developing countries contribute about a third of the total cost to CUSO's programme and about a half to Britain's. If they contributed only accommodation and if there were no increase in the contribution from Britain, the British programme would have to be cut by 30% to 40%.

The premise that developing countries should contribute to the local cost of volunteers is a sound one in general—but there are a number of cases where the rigid application of a demand for full local costs may have adverse effects.

If full local costs have to be paid locally, then volunteers can only be used where there is an employer both willing and able to pay for them. It can be argued that ideally a developing country allocates its resources according to its needs and that therefore money will always be available if there is a real need. In practice, however, ability to pay and greatest need are not usually linked and accordingly volunteers for whom full local costs are expected are not likely to be allocated as effectively as possible. In Uganda, for example, the volunteer-level posts in community development carry a government salary of £12 per month with free accommodation but no food. This is too little for a volunteer to live on and so the post cannot be held by a volunteer from Britain who is not subsidised. In Eastern Nigeria the Ministries of Agriculture and Community Development do not use volunteers from Britain because their value to Nigeria does not justify the administrative time and paper-work needed to convince the Treasury of the need to pay their salary of £600–£700 p.a.—especially since there are other volunteers (in this case the US Peace Corps) who require no more than accommodation.* Sometimes the only way to obtain money for a volunteer is to set up a new established post—and this developing countries are understandably reluctant to do. Wherever government-paid work does not have adequate money already attached to it, volunteers from Britain can only be used after applications for authorisation have been made to the Treasury and/or establishment office. The scope for delay, wasted time and negative replies is considerable.

In India and Pakistan the cost of a volunteer from Britain may be over twice that of a local equivalent (see Appendix 7). Local private organisations and missions which laboriously collect their funds from members of the public can hardly justify to their various supporters expenditure at this level—especially when other volunteers are available at much cheaper rates. Nor can such costs be justified by government departments in the face of repeated calls to cut expenditure. As a Note prepared by the British Council in India (which administers one of the programmes from Britain) puts it: 'When these (terms) are very high by local standards and when

* The Ministry of Community Development does in fact employ two volunteers from Britain who were fitted in to vacant posts for which money was already available.

other volunteers are available at nominal rates, it is not easy for the head of an institution to justify taking on an invariably inexperienced Englishman even if he would wish to do so; only those already persuaded of the value of young British assistants are likely to apply.'

The result is that almost the only employers prepared to pay for volunteers from Britain are rich private schools, many of them Anglo-Indian establishments. It is arguable whether such organisations are those that most need volunteers' help—and since many Indians and Pakistanis regard the private schools as old-fashioned and reactionary, the public relations effect of the programme is not entirely favourable.

There are two cases therefore when it is not helpful to expect the volunteer's employer to pay the full local cost; one is when for some reason, there is a difficulty in obtaining the money to pay for work that nonetheless needs to be done—and the other is where volunteers are so expensive that only relatively rich organisations can afford to pay for them. This latter case suggests that no volunteer should cost his employer more than a local equivalent.

Both Canadian and British programmes (the only ones which expect substantial contributions towards local costs) already subsidise a number of posts. CUSO in India, for example, subsidises volunteers in posts which need them but cannot afford them, while other employers are expected to contribute up to the full local cost; each employer is assessed individually in what amounts to a means test. GVSO (from Britain) has adopted a slightly different approach in India; employers either pay the full local cost or they get a full subsidy covering everything except accommodation and in some cases food. There are, however, only 12 of these somewhat bizarrely named 'non-pocket money posts.' Britain also subsidises the local costs in dependent territories and in a few other countries (Niger and Bolivia for example) at a total cost in 1965/6 of £53,000.

The Canadian system appears to be more satisfactory because it is more flexible. There is some danger that individual assessments could lead to ill-feeling if one employer were asked to pay the full cost while another in the same area were subsidised—but CUSO appears to have operated the system satisfactorily to date without such difficulties, and so, presumably, could the British programmes.

The cost of subsidising a job that really needed doing but for which no local costs were available, could be as much as £500 p.a. Some jobs, however, would need only a partial subsidy and so £300 could be taken as a generous average. The same figure would be needed in India and Pakistan to bring the cost of a volunteer down to that of a local equivalent. The total cost to Britain, if half the present programme needed subsidies, would therefore be about £135,000 p.a.—or £82,000 more than the present ODM subsidy. This would not be an increase in the total cost of the programme—there would be a direct saving of £82,000 to developing countries. Such a subsidy

would considerably extend the range and value of the programmes from Britain because it would enable volunteer posts to be selected according to need and suitability and not according to employer's ability to pay.

7 Administration

The general pattern to date seems to be for teams to start off with a minimum of administration, to realise how complicated relations are with host country officials, and to increase the percentage of administrators per team.

Glyn Roberts in Volunteers in Africa and Asia.

The administration of a volunteer programme involves recruiting suitable volunteers, finding, and if necessary devising, suitable jobs and schemes where they can do productive work, getting them there, and maintaining them under conditions which allow them to work effectively. It may also involve raising all or part of the money to do this. The administration therefore is the key to an effective programme. No matter how many willing and able potential volunteers there are, no matter how desperate the needs of developing countries, success depends on getting the right people to the right places to do the right work.

Administration in Britain

The present arrangement in Britain is outlined in Box 14. The three major groupings are the contributors, the volunteer-senders and the Lockwood Committee which co-ordinates the programmes. The aim of this arrangement when it was set up was to provide a channel for 'de-odorised' Government money and to enable the four agencies which sent volunteers to retain their own programmes, each with its own philosophy and attraction.* It was thought that the sum of the four programmes, both in terms of the money they could raise and the volunteers they could attract, would be greater than a single programme. They would be able to operate with the sensitivity and flexibility appropriate to the needs of volunteer programmes. There was some antipathy also to the idea of a British Peace Corps, and a four-part scheme was seen as a convenient alternative to a national programme. The Lockwood Committee would co-ordinate contributors and operators, standardise terms of service and act as a clearing house—but leaving the four agencies in executive charge of their programmes, their independence unjeopardised by Government finance.

The size and scope of the programmes have increased considerably since the Lockwood Committee was set up in 1962; their number also will shortly be increased—probably to seven in the near future and perhaps to more. Discussions on change have therefore been going on and it is worth taking

* In addition The Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) is starting a programme during 1966 and there are plans for the Co-operative Union and the European Working Group to run their own programmes. The Lockwood Committee does not co-ordinate VSO's programmes for industrial and school-leaver volunteers (see Appendix 1). They are excluded from this discussion—as throughout this survey.

Box 14

Organisation in Britain

1965/6

Five organisations from Britain run volunteer programmes. They are co-ordinated in the *Lockwood Committee*, which is assisted by the *Council for Volunteers Overseas*. This Council has an advisory function and meets only once a year. The programmes are financed partly by the sending organisations themselves (and those who contribute directly to them), and partly through the Lockwood Committee by the Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM), Oxfam, the Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC) and others.

The Council for Volunteers Overseas acts in a general way as an advisory board for all bodies concerned with sending volunteers overseas. It meets once a year and receives reports from the Lockwood Committee and the organisations which run the programmes. Its function is to advise the Ministry of Overseas Development and the voluntary organisations, through the Lockwood Committee, on matters of policy affecting the programmes, and on ways of stimulating public interest in the organisations.

President: HRH the Duke of Edinburgh. Founded 1964.
Secretary: Philip Zealey. Members: see Appendix 5.

The Voluntary Societies' Committee for Service Overseas (Lockwood Committee) aims to co-ordinate the work of the voluntary organisations sending graduates and other qualified people overseas, to increase the numbers of volunteers abroad, and to keep in contact with universities, colleges, industry and commerce so as to encourage potential volunteers to apply for service. It runs a clearing house for the five sending organisations, and provides a link with volunteer movements overseas. There is a Projects Sub-committee which meets whenever necessary. The Committee does not send any volunteers—nor does it deal with VSO's school-leaver and industrial volunteer schemes (see Appendix 1).

The Secretariat is provided by the National Council for Social Service with grants from the ODM and the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust. Sir John Lockwood, who gave the Committee its informal name, was Chairman until his death in 1965.

Acting Chairman: Peter Mason. Secretary: Philip Zealey.
Founded 1962. Member Organisations: see Appendix 5.

Contributors

The Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) makes several contributions to the volunteer programme. The largest is a commitment to meet 75% of the cost to the volunteer-sending organisations in Britain. If the cost to Britain is close to the estimated £530 per volunteer, this commitment will involve £358,000 for the 1965/6 programme. This money is channelled through the Lockwood Committee. In 1965/6 the ODM will also pay the British Council about £56,000 for acting as overseas administrator of the programme from Britain, and a further £5,200 to the Secretariat of the Lockwood Committee and the Council for Volunteers Overseas. In addition about £52,600 has been provided in the Ministry's Vote for meeting the local (*i.e.* overseas) costs of 'Lockwood volunteers' in the grant-aided dependent territories and certain other developing countries. The ODM's total contribution will therefore be about £471,000 in 1965/6.

Oxfam and FFHC contribute varying amounts each year. In 1965/6 they are £40,000 from Oxfam and £25,000 from FFHC. These contributions are in the form of lump sums and not up to now strictly as a percentage of the final average. Together they form about 11% of the total in 1965/6. This money has to be spent on volunteers doing work which comes within the terms of reference of each organisation. It is channelled through the Lockwood Committee.

Various other organisations channel money through the Lockwood Committee; for example, the Gulbenkian Foundation and Booker Brothers, McConnell Ltd. This money may or may not be earmarked for specific posts or work.

The Secretariat of the Committee is financed by the ODM (£5,200 in 1965/6) and the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust (£2,000).

Christian Aid finances volunteers directly through GVSO (and not through the Committee). In 1965/6 it is contributing towards the cost of 46 volunteers at a cost of £11,500—but this may be increased to 60 volunteers at a cost of £15,000. The volunteers sponsored by Christian Aid are sent to church-related posts, but their work is not confined to Christians.

The volunteer-sending organisations provide the remainder of the cost—probably about £39,000 or 7% in 1965/6—from their own funds, contributed by individuals, firms, etc.

Contributions (estimated)

ODM

£358,000* 75% of final cost to British sending organisations—paid through the Lockwood Committee.

56,000 to British Council for administration in developing countries—not through Lockwood Committee.

53,000 for local costs in dependent territories and certain other developing countries—not through Lockwood Committee.

5,000 for Secretariat of the Lockwood Committee.

£471,000 (79%) **Total**

Oxfam

£40,000 (7%) through Lockwood Committee.

Volunteer-sending organisations

£39,000 (7%) raised from own sources.

FFHC

£25,000 (4%) through Lockwood Committee.

Christian Aid

£15,000 (3%) direct to GVSO—not through Lockwood Committee.

Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust

£2,000 for Secretariat of Lockwood Committee.

Total £592,000

* Part of this sum, particularly that for Terminal Grants, is not paid until 1966/7. In the ODM's estimates, therefore, a lower figure appears—which includes Terminal Grants for 1964/5 volunteers (many fewer).

Sending Organisations

The five sending organisations—the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) (formerly Sword of the Spirit), International Voluntary Service (IVS), National Union of Students (NUS), United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UNA) and Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO)—each run their separate programmes. All the organisations apart from VSO have other interests besides volunteers. CIIR began its programme late in 1965, and plans to send up to 50 volunteers during 1966. Potential volunteers apply either direct to the organisations or to the Lockwood Committee which passes them on to an appropriate organisation. Most terms and conditions are standardised and a volunteer rejected or accepted by one is considered to be rejected or accepted by all. Fund raising and most publicity, however, are carried on separately.

None of the organisations maintains staff overseas—though IVS has fellow-branches of Service Civil International (SCI) in some developing countries. The British Council acts as 'overseas arm' for GVSO and in a few cases for the other organisations. It is extending this service to volunteers sent by NUS and UNA to those countries where it has branches.

In order to simplify things from the point of view of developing countries, the world has been divided up so that only one organisation sends volunteers to each country. In practice there are some exceptions to this—caused by UNA and its posts with the UN, and IVS and its international links. Thus India has volunteers from GVSO, UNA and IVS. Countries have been allocated as follows:

VSO (GVSO) 69% of total volunteers	**NUS** (GSO) 12%	**UNA** (ISD) 11%	**IVS** 8%
B. Guiana (20)	Afghanistan (4)	Argentina (3)	Algeria (2)
B. Honduras (67)	Basutoland (12)	Bolivia (11)	Bechuanaland (11)
Brunei (3)	Bolivia (10)	Brazil (5)	Cameroons (21)
Colombia (3)	C.A.R. (2)	Congo (2)	India (7)
Ethiopia (2)	Chad (1)	Equador (1)	Mauritius (10)
Fiji (1)	Congo (2)	Iran (2)	Seychelles (3)
Gambia (5)	Ethiopia (1)	Ivory Coast (10)	

VSO	NUS	UNA	IVS
Ghana (52)	Gabon (1)	Jordan (1)	Swaziland (11)
India (44)	Guinea (3)	Malagasy (5)	Thailand (7)
Jamaica (19)	Korea (3)	Mexico (1)	
Kenya (39)	Mali (3)	Peru (17)	**CIIR**
Laos (2)	Niger (2)	Tanzania (5)	
Libya (10)	Rhodesia (9)	Turkey (2)	Costa Rica
Malawi (34)	Senegal (2)	Uganda (1)	El Salvador
Malaysia (46)	Venezuela (4)	Uruguay (1)	Guatemala
Nigeria (101)	West Indies (43)	W. Pacific (6)	Honduras
Pakistan (44)		Also 38 in UN	Nicaragua
Philippines (2)		Positions	Panama
Sierra Leone (49)			
Sudan (11)			
Tanzania (38)			
Thailand (2)			
Tunisia (6)			
Uganda (35)			
Zambia (35)			

a fresh look at the advantages of the Committee to see whether this rather complicated arrangement is still justified.

Individual Philosophy

Two of the four organisations have specific philosophies which may appeal to separate sections of the public; UNA aims to help the work of the UN (although only about a third of UNA's volunteers work with the UN), and IVS has a philosophy of international friendship and co-operation closely linked with the work-camp movement. Neither NUS nor GVSO has a similar individual philosophy—though NUS is in touch with a large number of potential volunteers through its membership, and GVSO is the best known programme because of its size and its association with the well-publicised school-leaver programme. The Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) and the Co-operative Union can attract the support of other sections of the public.

In theory therefore, the separate organisations may well be able to tap a larger pool of potential volunteers than could a single programme; but this is a guess—the attraction of a single, unified programme in Britain is not known. But it is worth noting that it is not necessary to run a volunteer programme in order to attract volunteers; UNA, GVSO and NUS could well draw the attention of their own particular publics to the existence of a single programme without actually running one themselves.

The existence of separate organisations does not mean that volunteers are offered much of a choice; a man primarily interested in being a volunteer (and not, for example, in the UN or work-camps), has little to gain by going to one organisation rather than another. Conditions and terms have been standardised by the Lockwood Committee and selection standards are, as far as possible, the same.* Although the proportions of categories such as public-school people, Oxbridge graduates, girls, agriculturists, etc., vary between programmes, there is nothing to suggest that these differences are the result of any deliberate policy; all the programmes are basically the same.

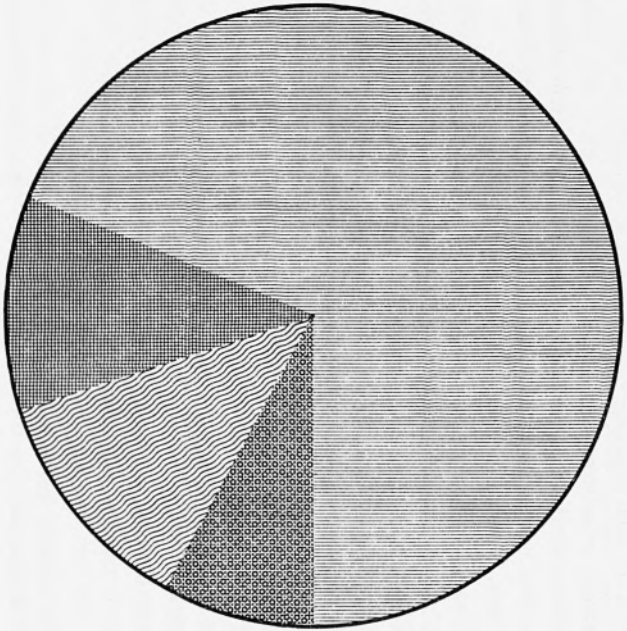
The main difference between them is the countries in which they operate. When the Lockwood Committee was formed, the four programmes were already operating in a number of countries. It was thought confusing to have more than one programme from Britain operating in any one country and so the world was divided up, in delightfully Nineteenth Century fashion, into spheres of influence. The division was based on overseas contacts and the programmes that existed at the time and not made according to rational or geographical regions. It has not always been rigidly applied; volunteers from three of the organisations are operating in India for example, and several countries have volunteers from two. Probably few people applying to become volunteers know about the system, or, if they do, which countries are served by each organisation. They are thus unable to select an organisation sending volunteers to a country of their choice—nor indeed are they allowed much choice inside each programme; the volunteer-organisations send people where they think their talents can be used most effectively, rather than where the volunteer wants to go.

Not many volunteers in fact distinguish between the programmes. A number apply first to the Lockwood Committee and are passed on to what the Committee thinks is an appropriate volunteer programme. Many apply to the only organisation they have ever heard of; others are convinced that the only volunteer programme is GVSO—and that the others are simply recruiting agents for it. In 1965 the Lockwood Committee issued a publicity leaflet entitled *The Young Volunteers* which gave each organisation a page in which to describe itself; the results, however, scarcely provide enough distinctive information on which to base a rational choice. The existence of several separate programmes, similar, apparently, in name and aim, may even have an adverse effect on recruiting—by giving potential volunteers, their parents and advisers, an impression of muddle and inefficiency.

* There is a general rule that a volunteer accepted or turned down by one organisation is accepted or turned down by all the others. This causes some ill-feeling among those who have been rejected and who would like a second chance. They ask what is the point of having separate organisations, if they act as a cartel. But if even a fairly small percentage of those rejected re-applied to one or all of the other organisations, the extra administrative work involved would be considerable and the number of additional volunteers gained would hardly justify it.

UK Volunteer Programmes by Sending Organisation 1965/6

Piegram 15



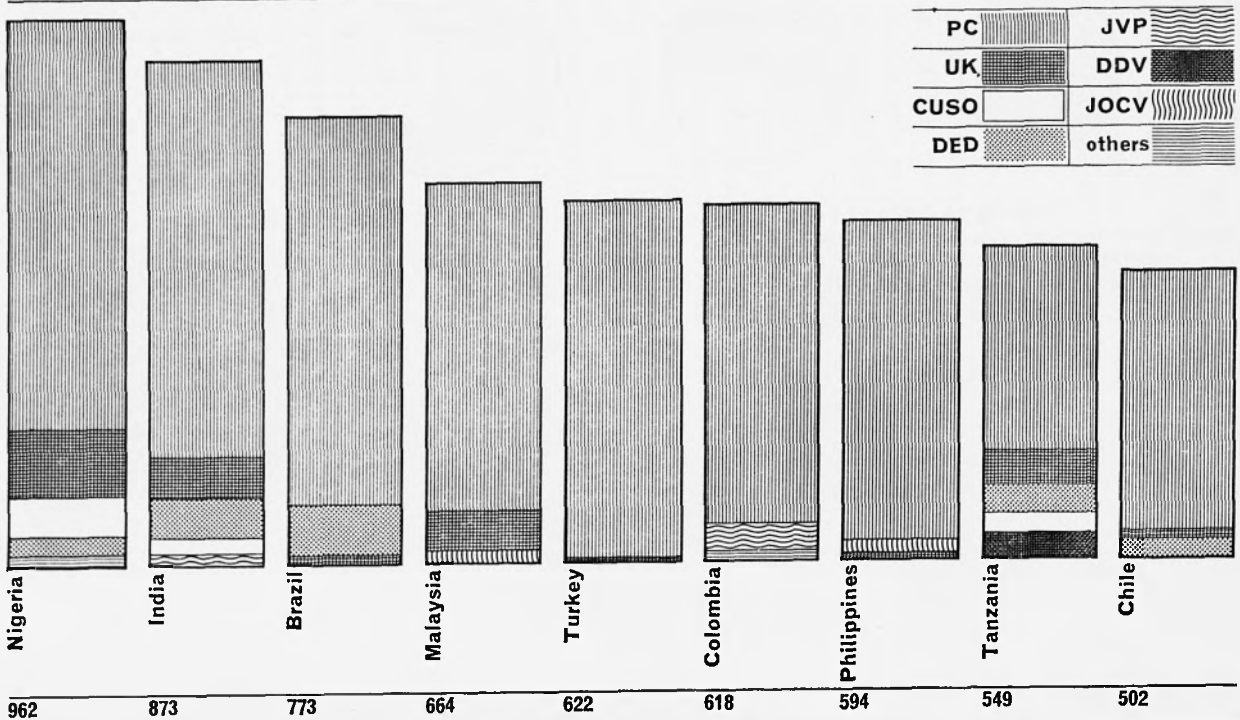
GVSO	69%	620
UNA	11%	101
NUS	12%	108
IVS	8 %	72
TOTAL		901

Note:
These figures are for 30th September 1965 and they therefore include some volunteers who stayed on for a few months after the end of their first year.
By December 1965, for example, GVSO's total was 584—but the September figures have been used throughout for convenience.

Volunteers by Country

Pillargram 16

Countries with the greatest number of volunteers serving at 30th September 1965.
For full details of all countries see Appendix 3.

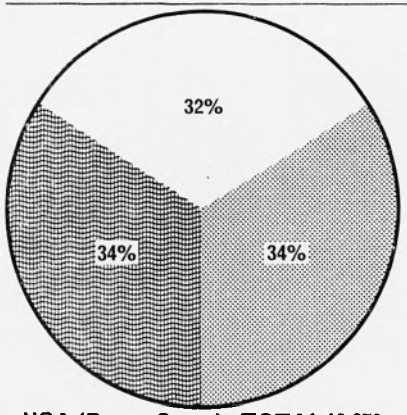


	Nigeria	India	Brazil	Malaysia	Turkey	Colombia	Philippines	Tanzania	Chile
TOTALS	962	873	773	664	622	618	594	549	502

Volunteers by Continent in which serving

Piegram 17

Major programmes, 1965/6



USA (Peace Corps) TOTAL 12,270

AFRICA	
ASIA	
LATIN AMERICA	

FRANCE Total 2,451

Militaires du Contingent Africa 100%
Volontaires du Progrès Africa 100%

DENMARK (DDV) Total 70

Africa 94% Asia 4% Latin America 2%

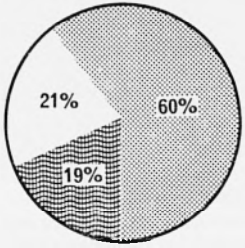
NORWAY (NVS) Total 63

Africa 79% Asia 21%

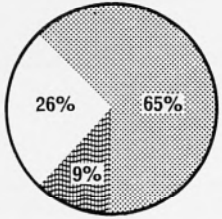
TOTAL all major programmes

Africa 39% Asia 34% Latin America 27%

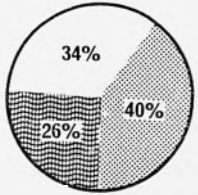
LATIN AMERICA includes W. Indies
AFRICA includes Mauritius and Seychelles
ASIA includes W. Pacific



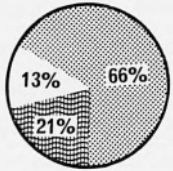
UK (Lockwood)
TOTAL 901



BELGIUM (CBVO)
TOTAL 600



GERMANY (DED)
TOTAL 446



CANADA (CUSO)
TOTAL 323

circles not to scale

Public Support

The involvement of separate programmes may increase the amount of domestic public support for the volunteers. UNA and IVS both have a number of active local branches, NUS has a wide membership and GVSO has its own VSO-groups in many areas. CIIR and the Co-operative Union also have their own supporters. These links with various active sections of the public are an important feature of the present arrangements. Besides support, these sections of the public also contribute some funds. Although the programmes' main contributors—the ODM, Oxfam, FFHC and Christian Aid—would probably continue to contribute to a single unified programme, some individual supporters of UNA or IVS, for example, might withdraw their support if their own organisation was not running a programme. If all these sources were to be withdrawn they would reduce the total funds available by some £40,000, or 7%.

Efficiency

On grounds of efficiency it can be argued that several small organisations can be more flexible and less cumbersome than a single larger one—or, since they are doing almost identical work, vice versa. The smaller organisations can claim to operate on a more personal level with their volunteers; but neither Canada's CUSO with 300 volunteers nor GVSO with 600 appear to suffer in comparison with the smaller programmes of around 100 people. Small organisations are liable to sudden upsets if a key figure is withdrawn from the administrative staff. This has in fact happened to two organisations and resulted in serious dislocation of their programmes. There is also the need to spend time co-ordinating and standardising the four programmes, a lot of which would be unnecessary under a single programme.

The difficulties of co-ordination are aggravated by the size of GVSO's programme in relation to the others' (it handles nearly 70% of all volunteers from Britain). GVSO is also the only single-purpose organisation; the volunteer programmes of UNA, IVS and NUS are only departments of organisations whose aims and activities go much wider. Although links of this kind may produce a useful interchange of ideas, this arrangement means that there is some limit to the amount the programmes can be expanded without distorting the aims and balance of the organisation as a whole. IVS faces a double difficulty in that it is also part of an international organisation, Service Civil International (SCI); by expanding its volunteer programme it has already cast some strain on the international body, upsetting both the balance between various activities and the amount that various different countries contribute to it.

There is also the probability that inefficiency will increase with the number of organisations involved. The British system involves quite a large number. The authorities and agencies concerned with the 23 volunteers from Britain in Uganda in 1965, for example, were; in Britain, the ODM, the Lockwood

Committee, GVSO, UNA (both of whom send volunteers to Uganda), and the British Council (GVSO's overseas administration); in Uganda, the Ugandan Government, the British Council, the British High Commission and the actual employer (Headmaster, hospital Principal, etc.). Where volunteers work for the UN a further agency is involved and where IVS volunteers are employed the international and regional branches of SCI are also brought in. In India, for example, a total of 6 authorities in Britain and 6 in India are involved in a programme of 52 volunteers (1966).* A certain number of authorities are inevitably concerned; but the British system does little to minimise them and it is not surprising that people in developing countries find the arrangement cumbersome and confusing. It is confusing also to British Embassy and High Commission officials who are often bewildered by the letters and instructions they get from different agencies. To make such a complex system work smoothly on a sizeable scale requires a high degree of administrative efficiency.

Overseas Contacts

The existence of several separate organisations enables each of them to make use of their own overseas contacts to advise them on needs and help select suitable posts. NUS has student contacts in many developing countries;† IVS is part of an international organisation with branches in a number of countries; UNA is in contact with the UN and its Agencies; GVSO has contacts built up since the start of the school-leaver programme in 1958.

These contacts, however, are becoming increasingly irrelevant as governments in developing countries insist on a growing measure of control over the use of volunteers. The idea of each organisation using its own contacts also conflicts with the Lockwood Committee's principle that only one organisation shall operate in any one developing country (see above). It is likely that more than one organisation will have good contacts in any given country; but only one can make use of them. This conflict is seen at its most absurd in the case of the new Catholic volunteer programme (CIIR); despite world-wide Catholic contacts, its operations are confined to Central America, Malta and the Cayman Islands.

In its present form, therefore, the British arrangement has the worst of both worlds; in attempting co-ordination it sacrifices the advantages

* ODM, Lockwood Committee, GVSO, UNA, IVS, British Council in Britain; British Council, British High Commission, UN Development Programme, SCI (India), Government of India and the volunteer's actual employer, in India. The Government of India may be involved at both Central and State level, thus adding one further authority.

† NUS' contacts are not always able to be helpful; students and student organisations in developing countries are often thought to be subversive and their members imprisoned or otherwise restricted.

of a programme composed of several individual and distinctive parts—and in attempting to retain individual separate programmes it sacrifices the advantages of a single organisation. It would seem sensible, therefore, either to make fuller use of the separate programmes, or to unify them into a single programme.

Fuller use could be made of the separate organisations, each with its own source of funds, support and volunteers, its own groups of overseas contacts, if more were encouraged to run genuinely different programmes —and run them in any country where they have good contacts. This would involve perhaps 10 or 12 volunteer programmes in Britain, with 4 or 5 operating in any one developing country. In Thailand, for example, there could be GVSO volunteers in education, IVS volunteers in the SCI projects, UNA volunteers with the UN and CIIR volunteers on Catholic projects. This arrangement would take full advantage of the capabilities and potential of each organisation—but it would seriously increase the administrative complexity, not least from the point of view of developing countries.

A unified programme on the other hand, would reduce the complexity and make it easier for developing countries to use the volunteers. It would also present a less confused image to the public in Britain (see p. 32)—and individual organisations could channel their support and knowledge of conditions overseas through it, without running their own programmes. A unified programme might thus be able to attract the support of both specialised groups and the general public. It need not be run by the Government. A rationalised single programme might also be more effective than several separate ones; if it were, it would be taken more seriously by developing countries—and more seriously perhaps by potential volunteers and their employers in Britain. It would be easier to operate, easier to understand, to work for, to use. It would give better value to its users, its supporters—and the volunteers.

Administration in Developing Countries

The job of the volunteer administration in each developing country is to act as a welfare agent, making sure that conditions are suitable, health maintained, salaries paid, work permits obtained and so on, and to find the jobs in which volunteers can make a productive contribution to development. Sometimes (mainly in Africa) this involves placing them in existing, but vacant, posts; sometimes (mainly in Asia) it involves devising new programmes. A more elaborate administration is required for a programme-approach—but both types require considerable preparation.

Lack of preparation has perhaps been the most widespread cause of unsuccessful posts and projects. Running a successful programme is neither easy nor obvious. It requires imagination to see the possibilities and a lot of patient hard work to see if the possibilities are practicable. It requires careful evaluation of past schemes and posts—and lengthy negotiations

and detailed co-operation with the local authorities, without whose help and enthusiasm little is likely to be achieved. It is important that volunteers should not involve developing countries in too much administrative work; the administration's job, therefore, is to make them both as useful and as easy to use as possible. It is easy, however, to overdo this; the line between making volunteers useful and interfering (or appearing to interfere) is easy to cross.

The importance of programme preparation and job selection are now coming to be recognised more fully than when the programmes first started. There is a tendency, therefore, to move away from the approach of sending a volunteer anywhere he can be fitted in, towards the establishment of full-time administration which can devote the time needed to run an effective programme.

At present, four main types of volunteer administration can be distinguished;

Minimal. Where a programme has only a few volunteers in a country, there is usually very little formal administration. Posts are arranged indirectly or through personal contacts or during a brief visit by a man from headquarters. Welfare is done by an Embassy or High Commission.

This method has been used by, for example, UNA, NUS and CUSO —though CUSO appoints one volunteer to be Co-ordinator. His volunteer-work is organised to give him time to look for new posts, check up on old ones and do any welfare work that is needed.

Local Organisation. A few programmes make use of local organisations in the developing country. This is done by IVS, whose volunteers are administered either by the local branch of SCI (as in India) or, where there is no local branch, by the regional secretariat.

Full-time Administration. The most usual form of administration involves a full-time staff employed specially to run the programme. Most organisations allocate one full-time administrator, to 40 or 50 volunteers, depending on their geographical distribution, the US Peace Corps averages 35 volunteers to each staff member. Some, such as the Norwegian Volunteer Service, arrange their programmes only in groups large enough to justify a full-time man. Others, such as CUSO, use one only when their programmes are large enough to justify the cost (only two cases in 1966). The cost of maintaining a full-time expatriate with supporting services is around £7,000 p.a. and so the cost per volunteer of this kind of administration is about £150 p.a. Some programmes also use volunteers to help their administration; CUSO volunteers are expected to help find suitable posts and the US Peace Corps uses volunteers who have already been working in the country for nearly two years to test out new jobs to see if they are really valuable. The Peace Corps also uses some volunteers full-time in administration.

British Council. A unique form of volunteer administration is carried out for the programmes from Britain by the British Council. This organisation is financed largely (95%) by the British Government—but it regards itself

as a non-government and unofficial body. Its function is to teach English and make available British culture; increasingly it is concerned with the award of scholarships for study in Britain and the provision of British TA-men to developing countries. It estimates that some 80% of its £10·5m. budget is spent in or for developing countries.

It ran one of the pioneer volunteer schemes which was later merged with the VSO school-leaver scheme (see *Appendix 1*). It administered the whole of the GVSO programme in Britain as well as overseas, until August 1964 and since then it has acted as the overseas administration for both (GVSO and school-leaver and industrial volunteer programmes). In 1965/6 this service was extended to the other organisations. It is paid for by the ODM —at a cost of £56,000 in 1965/6—an average cost of about £80 per volunteer.

British Administration

The programmes from Britain have so far been concerned almost exclusively with placing volunteers in existing posts; there have only been a few cases where jobs or projects have been specially devised. This is similar to CUSO's approach, but in contrast to that of the US Peace Corps or the German Development Volunteers or the French Volontaires du Progrès. It is not necessarily a permanent feature. What is more likely to be permanent is the wide distribution of volunteers from Britain; because of Britain's numerous connections and responsibilities, there are 55 countries with less than 10 volunteers from Britain. This may not be the most effective possible way of running a programme (optimum size is discussed in *Section 8 Politics*), but because withdrawing aid of any kind can cause serious resentment, a more rational distribution is unlikely to be achieved and the present distribution will probably continue.

This suggests that the programmes from Britain require an administration able to handle numerous small groups of volunteers, to place them in useful posts, and, increasingly as the posts are filled by local people, to devise projects. Local organisations, such as SCI branches, have the advantages of possessing local knowledge and involving local people—but they could not handle large numbers of volunteers from Britain easily without ceasing to be local organisations. Nor is minimal administration a satisfactory solution to the British programmes' needs. Successful volunteer posts require careful selection and detailed negotiation and they are thus difficult to arrange on a brief visit from headquarters, even with the help of volunteers. Welfare work can be done by one of the volunteers but this means he must have a job which gives him time to do it and it casts perhaps unfair responsibility on him if, as is bound to happen occasionally, a volunteer dies or gets arrested. Or the welfare work can be done by the British Embassy or High Commission; the view of these bodies, however, are often rather different from those of volunteers and their organisations, and their staffs are already overburdened with other work.

The two other possibilities are a full-time administration or the British Council. Neither provides an ideal solution. A full-time administration can concentrate wholeheartedly and professionally and full-time on running an effective volunteer programme that is easy for developing countries to use. It can help developing countries assess their needs and it can work out new posts and projects; it is thus particularly valuable in Asia. It would probably cost a little more than the British Council administration. It does, however, become uneconomic if it is set up for groups of less than 35–40 volunteers and this makes it unsuitable for a large part of Britain's programme. It also has some minor disadvantages; the work-load is unevenly distributed throughout the year and a single administrator might find himself overburdened at times—and lack of career structure might make it hard to attract suitable staff.

The British Council on the other hand, has already in existence nearly 100 branches in developing countries (though not everywhere there are volunteers from Britain) and so it is well fitted to handle the smaller groups of volunteers. It also has other advantages. It is separate from Embassies, High Commissions, Trade Commissions and British Information Services and so it can claim to be rather less political and commercial—though it is nonetheless regarded by most people in developing countries as a government body. It has a working and often close relationship with educational authorities and it is thus in a strong position to ensure the effective use of volunteers in education (64% of the total in 1965/6). Its contacts, moreover, go wider than education; its work in arranging scholarships and visits involves it in a range of subjects that include agriculture, social work, community development, town p'anning and technical training. These contacts do, however, depend to some extent on the interests of individual Council-men. The Council is also accustomed to handling the administrative work needed to maintain foreigners in a developing country. The Council itself also benefits from its work with the volunteers; they widen its range of contacts and bring it into closer touch with those fields where it already operates. From Britain's point of view as a whole, this stimulating effect on the Council is an important advantage.

But the British Council has drawbacks as well. The most important of these is that its aims, direction and interests—and those of many of its staff —are different from those of the volunteer programmes. It is not a voluntary agency and it is only partly an aid agency. Although there is an increasingly clear distinction between the English-language teaching and the general work, many individual Council-men understandably consider other aspects of their work more important than volunteer administration.

The Council's involvement in the volunteer programmes adds to the complexity of the arrangement—which at its simplest would consist of a unified programme in Britain with its own overseas administration. Many officials in developing countries find it hard to understand why the programmes

from Britain should need a separate 'overseas arm.' Nor is the Council's role as a non-policy-making agent an entirely happy one; it has little control over the numbers or qualifications of the volunteers it administers, nor over the terms on which they serve. Some tension between headquarters and field staff is inevitable and probably desirable; but it is more likely to be productive inside one organisation than between two (or more) separate ones—and the fruitful effect of field staff returning to work in headquarters is lost because Council-men do not return to work for the volunteer organisation.

On balance, however, the British Council seems to offer the more appropriate administration for the programmes from Britain. In spite of the danger of relegating the volunteer programmes to a subsidiary and unimportant position if their administration is made simply another of the British Council's chores, the Council's existing framework and future potential provide a better basis for satisfactory administration than a full-time administration which, for all its advantages, could only deal with a part of the programmes from Britain.

The future potential of the Council is considerable. It was originally asked to take on the job because, with its many overseas branches it was the obvious choice. At the time this involved extra work for its staff but they were able to find generally useful work for the volunteers. The Council has only been doing something more than *ad hoc* administration for little over a year; some of the criticisms which are made now, therefore, may not be valid in a couple of years. The Council itself is well aware of the scope for improvement—and it is now beginning to take on ex-volunteers specifically to help with volunteer administration.

Besides improved efficiency, two further steps are needed. Firstly a regional volunteer field-officer could do much to help the British Council's work. His role would be to ensure that the volunteers were used effectively from the development point of view. He would help plan and evaluate the programmes—somewhat on the lines of Oxfam's Field Directors. The number of volunteers and countries he could cover would depend on distances, concentrations of volunteers, and variety of programmes. One could cover East Africa, perhaps, and another Nigeria or former French West Africa. If he covered 200 volunteers (perhaps an optimistic estimate) and he cost £10,000 p.a. to maintain (travel would be extensive), the extra cost would be £50 per volunteer. The advantage of this arrangement is that it would make full use of the British Council while at the same time introducing a full-time and professional volunteer staff to plan and assess the programmes.

The second step would be to set up a full-time volunteer administration where it was thought desirable to devise a programme rather than simply fill posts. The complexities involved in a volunteer programme and the large number of informed decisions that are continuously needed to ensure its success have already been mentioned; where volunteers are to be used

as part of a concentrated programme they require a full-time administration —and as time goes on, the programme-approach, already essential in many parts of Asia, will become increasingly important. It is important, therefore, to be working towards an administration which can increasingly cope with this sort of approach. An experimental office in Thailand or India could co-operate with the local government in working out an effective programme for volunteers as well as providing the basis for further such offices. Both the offices and the regional administrator could probably most conveniently be attached to the British Council.

An arrangement of this kind, based on the British Council and incorporating the two additions of a regional field-officer and a full-time office, is probably the most practicable proposal for Britain's programmes at this stage. Although it neither simplifies the existing complex machinery, nor provides a full-time administration for the majority of volunteers, nor makes provision for volunteers in countries where there is no British Council branch, it does provide for the administration of most of the numerous small groups of volunteers who are likely to continue to feature in Britain's programmes, it builds organically on existing knowledge and experience, and it offers opportunity for experiment and change.

Developing Countries' Administration

In many developing countries which employ large numbers of volunteers an impressive amount of thought and care has gone into their allocation and use. The arrangements vary widely both in detail and effectiveness. Tanzania uses the Establishments Division, Thailand the Department of Technical and Economic Co-operation, India the Planning Commission (and Development Commissioners in relevant States).

It is noticeable that most of the countries without such arrangements have either very small or ineffective programmes. This is understandable; effective programmes require close co-operation between the local government and the volunteer administration. If the volunteers are not taken seriously, if there is little attempt at co-operation, then an effective programme is unlikely to result—and the government will feel justified in continuing not to take volunteers seriously, which in turn maintains their ineffectiveness. Governments which do make administrative arrangements to co-operate with the volunteer administrations are much more likely to benefit.

Where the arrangements are bad or non-existent, volunteers can be seriously misused—as has happened, for example, in Tanzania and Pakistan. Misused volunteers are not only wasted resources; their discontent is liable to develop into cynical bitterness and disillusion, unfavourable alike to the whole volunteer programme and to the developing country's image. They may also have a negative effect in tying up or misapplying other resources, whether men or money.

Few planners in developing countries yet take volunteers into account

when assessing manpower supply. For the most part this seems to be because the actual and potential contribution of volunteers is only currently being appreciated. In some countries, such as Thailand, the manpower planning units are too new; in some they do not differentiate between forms of technical assistance—volunteers are treated as any other 'units of trained manpower.' As their contribution comes to be better realised and accepted, it will be desirable to incorporate them in some plans—though this will always prove difficult because it is not possible to guarantee an assured supply of volunteers, who, by definition, cannot be compelled to volunteer.

One of the difficulties in the way of easy and effective use of volunteers is that a number of different programmes may operate in a developing country, each with its own terms and conditions. In Tanzania, which uses 12 programmes from 7 countries, attempts at standardisation have been made. At one time it was thought that an international volunteer corps could be formed—but the same difficulties arose as over a UN Peace Corps (see p. 59) and the different philosophies and motives behind the various programmes made the idea impracticable. In its place the International Committee for Volunteers in Tanzania (ICVT) has been set up—aiming to make the volunteers easier for the Tanzanians to use and to standardise terms and conditions as far as possible. It has its own secretariat and it includes members of the Tanzanian administration as well as the volunteer programmes. It is too early yet to know whether it will turn out to be a really useful arrangement or just another committee—but if successful, it could profitably be imitated in other countries where the lack of contact between different volunteer programmes is often startling.

A different approach has been used in Thailand where a 3-year volunteer-level manpower forecast has been made, indicating the posts that could be filled by volunteers in the short-term future. Considerable difficulties were encountered in this exercise, but the experience is being used to prepare another forecast—all the more valuable now that the number of volunteer programmes in Thailand is increasing.

Non-Government Programme

The majority of major volunteer programmes are now wholly or largely financed by governments—although there is still a large number of smaller private ones which are not. The size and the cost of the programmes makes it likely that this situation will continue and in Britain at least the proportion of Government finance may well increase from the present 80% to 90% or even 95%. Under these circumstances the question arises whether it should remain a non-government programme, or whether Britain should join the USA, Germany, France, Norway and Japan in operating a governmental volunteer programme, perhaps in addition to private ones.

A government programme has the advantage that authorities in developing countries prefer to deal with an understandable and responsible agency.

The Malian Government, for instance, prefers to deal with the British Embassy than with NUS, which they only consider a responsible agency because of assurances from the British Embassy;* the Tanzanians prefer to deal with the US Peace Corps or the German Development Service than with the several organisations in Britain. This preference, however, does not necessarily point to a government-run volunteer programme. Provided that governments in developing countries feel they are dealing with a responsible and officially recognised agency, they are fairly content; thus CUSO, a non-government programme, is acceptable and so is the British Council once its role is clearly defined.

A disadvantage of a government-run programme is that it might have less public appeal in Britain. Although programmes in the USA, Germany and Norway do not appear to suffer from the fact that they are government-run, there is some evidence to suggest that in Canada there are people who join CUSO because it is non-government—even though they are qualified to serve on the Government's External Aid programme. The same could be true in Britain—where there is a long tradition in favour of private agencies and a long-standing distrust of government programmes. Many volunteers have philanthropic or similar motives; they might find it hard to believe that a government-run programme was not 'contaminated' by political and commercial considerations—even if in fact it were not. Its appeal to financial contributors would certainly be less; few people would give towards a government programme, and so the cost of the ODM would be about £120,000 more (on 1965/6 figures)—which probably accounts in part for the Government's championship of a non-government programme. The present private contributors to the programme would, however, almost certainly spend their money to help developing countries in some other way, and so the net outflow of aid funds would be higher unless the ODM reduced the number of volunteers or cut back on other aid expenditure.

A government programme is also likely to be more closely associated with the Government's policies in developing countries. When these are unpopular, as the USA's have been in Pakistan, or Britain's in India, Indonesia or Africa, there is a greater possibility that a government programme will suffer. Although most people in developing countries appear to assume that volunteers from Britain are approved, if not controlled, by the British Government, they nonetheless often allow them to continue working even when inter-government relations have been broken off. Under these conditions volunteers' value in terms of international goodwill becomes unusually important.

A non-government programme, therefore, seems the most appropriate for Britain; its domestic appeal would be greater than one run by the Govern-

* In late 1965 Mali broke off relations with Britain and the British Embassy was closed down. The NUS volunteers, however, remained. The value of this is discussed below.

ment and its value in developing countries more sustained. Since, however, it is bound to be run largely on Government money, it requires some 'de-odorising' device so that it can be genuinely independent of official control. The present programmes are operated with such a device and so there is no difficulty here.

About 20% (£120,000 in 1965/6) of the finance required for the present programmes is raised from non-government sources. If this proportion remains fixed, then the size of the programme is dictated by the funds that can be raised privately. Provided the programme is effective and provided the de-odorising device is successful in preventing Government control, it seems a pity to limit the programme's size by insisting on an arbitrarily selected proportion of privately raised money. The criterion should surely be the programme that can most effectively help developing countries; methods of finance should not be allowed to limit either quality or size.

8 Politics

They cannot understand how it is possible for us to take the trouble of trying to benefit them without some advantage, and as there is no overt advantage, they conclude there is a lurking, sinister motive in our acts.

Thomas J. Finnie in his Diary, *an account of an American technical assistance mission to India, 1846.*

Most government aid for development has some political motive. Many people regret this; they give development a higher priority than what are in their eyes short-term and short-sighted considerations. These people have looked to volunteer programmes in the hope they could be free of the taint of politics and commerce. To some extent this hope is unrealistic. Most of the major programmes are paid for largely by governments, and governments are political entities which support the programmes in order to promote their country's interests—to give aid, to spread a good image of their country, to build up a pool of knowledgeable returned volunteers, or to maintain contacts. These are all political reasons—and they may influence the size, the allocation, and the nature of the programme.

The allocation of volunteers between countries is basically a political decision; the non-political criteria offer such a wide range of choice that in the end it becomes a question of which countries each programme wants to help—and which countries want volunteers. The most obvious non-political criterion is need; according to this, volunteers should be sent where they are needed, regardless of country. This criterion is only useful, however, if the supply of volunteers is big enough to meet all needs; as soon as it falls short, other criteria are necessary. An alternative is to adopt the humanitarian approach of fighting poverty where it is most acute and/or most widespread; this would mean concentrating on Asia; it would mean particular emphasis on Afghanistan and Ethiopia (whose people have the lowest average income per head) and on India and Pakistan (where there is the greatest number of poor people).

The poorest people, however, are not usually those most likely to respond to help for development. It would perhaps be better therefore to concentrate on those countries with a good development potential. Such a potential is hard to assess, but it would almost certainly suggest a very different allocation from that given by the poverty criterion. It would put the emphasis on most of Africa (though not, for example, Central African Republic), and Thailand and Pakistan in Asia; perhaps India. A few countries can be excluded because they do not want volunteers; Pakistan, for instance, is cutting back on the US Peace Corps and does not give official recognition to the British programme. Ceylon is another example. Some countries also may be excluded on the grounds that they would not provide a productive

framework or background for volunteers—either culturally, as perhaps with American or British volunteers in former French West Africa, or politically, as with American volunteers in Cuba or British in Indonesia.

Allocation can also be influenced by the optimum size of a volunteer programme in any one country. The administrative convenience of a programme large enough to justify a full-time administrator has already been discussed (see p. 89); it suggests a minimum size of 35–40 and some volunteer programmes (the Norwegian Volunteer Service, for example) allocate volunteers in units of about this size. The maximum size depends on the 'saturation point'—of a country or a region or a subject. In Ethiopia there are 185 US Peace Corps volunteers in Addis Ababa; in the whole country they provide 40% of secondary-level school teachers. In some Northern Nigeria schools, volunteers make up 70% of the staff. At some point, concentrations of these intensities become undesirable. Volunteers tend to stick together and thus learn and contribute less; effectiveness does not increase indefinitely in proportion to numbers; and large numbers of volunteers (and their administrators) are very visible, and thus liable to be resented. The saturation point varies widely; Tanzania can absorb more volunteers than Kenya because places of work are more widely scattered; in Ethiopia the volunteers are concentrated in six towns which means the saturation point is lower than if they were distributed more evenly over the whole country; a small town can absorb more volunteers if they come from different programmes and if they do a variety of jobs, such as teaching, agricultural extension, construction, social work.

When the various criteria of need, poverty, potential and optimum numbers have all been taken into account, a very wide area of choice remains. According to the weighting given to each, all volunteers could be allocated to India —or all to Africa—or all to the Commonwealth—or none to the Commonwealth. The final choice remains political.

Although the programmes from Britain are not government-run, the allocation of volunteers is strongly influenced by the Government. Its criteria are largely political. Over 80% of volunteers from Britain are working in the Commonwealth; this is not an unduly weighted distribution because the Commonwealth contains 66% of the population of developing countries outside China and it can be argued that Commonwealth countries, with their familiar framework, offer suitable conditions for volunteers from Britain. The volunteers are very widely spread; in 1965/6 900 volunteers from Britain are working in 74 different countries or territories and only 15 countries have programmes of more than 15 volunteers. The British Government has less control over the volunteers once they are installed; the private volunteer-sending organisations in Britain have for the most part successfully resisted official pressure to withdraw volunteers on political grounds.

The volunteer programme most often accused of being motivated and

used politically is the US Peace Corps. This is not surprising; it is the biggest and best publicised—and in many cases it is successful. It is in the interest of those who are against the USA to discredit it. Attempts are frequent; in May 1965 for example, the communist controlled radio Voice of Thailand reported: 'The tenth batch of the American spy unit known as the Peace Corps arrived in Thailand on May 10th. . . . This batch has 90 members which were sent to carry out spying and controlling the people in various provinces. . . .' In West Africa, a booklet entitled *Peace Corps—agents of neo-colonialism* claims that 'the genuine role of the "Peace Corps" is to give the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] an opportunity legally to maintain an army of its secret agents abroad. . . . It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the equipment brought by the Peace Corps in Nigeria and Togo contained explosives and weapons.'

The Peace Corps has in fact managed to keep out the CIA—though with some difficulty* and it has taken some trouble to dissociate itself as far as possible from the US Government. So far it has had only partial success —there is a story that one Peace Corps volunteer was asked by some villagers to help organise an anti-American demonstration—but the majority of people in developing countries still have the impression that the Peace Corps is another and political arm of the US Government, an impression given weight by the extensive training given to volunteers on the USA's aims and role in the world. The power of the USA, the size of the programme and the publicity with which it has been run, make this impression to a large extent inevitable.

The US Peace Corps has had an unexpected effect on other aid-giving countries, stimulating them to tap their reserves of volunteer manpower. This has been true both of countries like Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands which had numerous small non-government private programmes before the foundation of the US Peace Corps in 1961, and of Britain where the example of the Peace Corps has provided a marked stimulus, even though a serious attempt has been made to avoid a close imitation. As yet, these other programmes are, even in total, much smaller than the Peace Corps, which has over 12,000 volunteers compared to under 5,000 others.

Volunteers are also accepted and used by developing countries for political reasons. Their motives for accepting them have been outlined already (see p. 16); their use, in a sense political, as 'whiteleg' labour has also been discussed (see p. 48). Northern Nigeria provides another example of political use; there the policy has been to employ expatriates in preference to Nigerians from other regions. The availability of volunteers makes their policy more practicable. Under such circumstances it is not possible for volunteer programmes to avoid having some effect on domestic politics.

Although many volunteers are thought of in political terms, their work

* An account of the struggle is given in *The Invisible Government*—see *Appendix 8—Sources.*

is surprisingly little affected. They appear to be able to work effectively even under adverse political conditions. US Peace Corps volunteers were able to carry on some useful work in East Pakistan in 1965, for example, even though the political climate was strongly anti-American. In Tanzania where the Congo airlift of 1964 and the Zanzibar phone-tapping incident of 1965 created a similarly unfavourable climate, the day-to-day work of the volunteers does not seem to have been seriously affected.* All foreigners are suspect at such times; it is not clear that volunteers, even those supported directly by the governments, are any more affected than others.

The volunteers themselves, however, dislike being thought of in political terms—which are in their eyes irrelevant to their work and aims. They are less likely to be attracted to a programme that is obviously political and they are less likely to work effectively for it. And, as with all aid, political considerations do not usually make for an effective programme. It is therefore worth taking what steps are possible to minimise the political element. While government money plays a large part in financing the programmes it is difficult to do this completely, but it is possible to separate their administrations from the genuinely political organs of a country. It would be unfortunate in Britain's case, for example, if administration overseas were handled by Embassies and High Commissions and recruiting in Britain by the Ministry of Overseas Development.

* Not even the work of one volunteer whose job was to teach politics and explain the one-party system in Tanzania to Chagga tribes-people who very much wanted to form an opposition party.

9 Training

As for the 'dedicated person' who wishes to help but has no special skill, I am extremely suspicious of him. It seems to me a contradiction in terms to find a 'dedicated but unskilled' volunteer. If the person were all that dedicated I would expect him to submit himself to a specialised training in order to be suitably equipped to render service.
A Ghanaian, quoted in Needs and Openings for Skilled Long Term Volunteers in the Developing Countries, *a UNESCO survey.*

Most volunteers start off by knowing little of any particular developing country or its language and many of them have a qualification that is not directly applicable to its needs. Most programmes therefore run two or three month training programmes during which volunteers learn something about the country they are going to work in, its local and often 'colonial' language (English, French, Spanish, etc.), first aid and hygeine—and often a new or adapted skill. This does not apply to volunteers from Britain whose training is generally fitted into two or three weeks.

Orientation

Orientation is basically a preparation for living in a new country. It provides an introduction to history, culture and social customs, as well as information on food, clothes, shopping and so on. Most of the necessary information can probably be imparted on a course of a few days; a longer and more detailed course may add little to a volunteer's effectiveness and may indeed reduce it by giving him the false impression that he is an expert as soon as he arrives in a country.

It is possible, however, to increase the value of an orientation course by holding it a year early. If a volunteer can be introduced to the country or region (such as West Africa, the Caribbean, the Far East) a year before he goes to work in it, he can teach himself about it during the course of the year—he can follow up reading lists, make contacts with people from the area in his town or college; he can take an intelligent and focused interest in news and magazine articles; he may join societies, read novels, attend lectures. For many volunteers it will be their final year before exams and the amount of time they can devote to such activities will be limited; nonetheless they are likely to achieve a depth and focus impossible otherwise.

There would be administrative difficulties in running such an advance course; it is not always possible to assess accurately the number of posts in a region, it would be necessary to make a preliminary selection of volunteers a year in advance—and there would be some fall out; the US Peace Corps, which is planning 15 such courses for 1966, experiences a 50% fall-out between the advance course and the ordinary course the following summer. These difficulties, however, need not prove decisive. Nor need the courses be

elaborate—even a week-end could do much to stimulate productive self-training.

Some orientation is best done in the developing country; volunteers find it hard to learn things in advance, especially shortly after their final university or college exams—it is only after a few weeks in the new country that they know what questions to ask. A certain amount of this is done by most programmes already—either immediately on arrival, or after two or three months. Many universities, institutes, colleges or other training centres in developing countries are eager to help train volunteers—though many of them would require the volunteer organisation to cover the cost—and it seems likely and desirable that this kind of training will increase.

In Britain, volunteers are given a one-week orientation course. Those who passed through the 1964 courses have been derisively critical of them; the information, they claim, was boringly presented, out-of-date and often inaccurate. This criticism is in noticeable contrast to the descriptions given by volunteers from other countries about their own orientation courses and even allowing for the difficulty in assessing afterwards how much accurate information was absorbed—it is the mistakes that are memorable, even if they are few in number—it is hard to believe that such widespread criticism is without justification. Improvements are in fact being made year by year and there is some evidence to suggest that the 1965 courses made greater use of returned volunteers and provided more up-to-date information.*

Language

The need for language training varies; it may be necessary for a volunteer to know only English or another colonial language such as French or Spanish; or the local language (or lingua franca, such as Urdu or Swahili) as well. In agriculture, community development or social work, the local language is essential—but it may be unnecessary for teachers in English- or French-medium schools, where the use of other languages is sometimes forbidden. Most volunteer programmes give language training to all volunteers. A. W. D. James, Director of NUS' volunteer programme, has recently reported to the Lockwood Committee: 'The standards demanded are surprising. Germany, for instance, teach their volunteers not only Farsi, Gujerati or Nepali but English in addition; the Americans not only Wolof or Jerna but French in addition, not only Aymara or Quecha but Spanish also. This is because it is felt that volunteers must be able to speak not only to the peasants among whom he may be working but to the authorities of the country as well.'

It is not possible to achieve fluency in a brief course, but experts claim that the use of modern techniques can give a solid grounding of most

* Volunteers do not always brief their successors accurately; one wrote to her successor from India telling her to 'bring everything'. So she did—two trunkfuls; soap, toothpaste and all.

languages in a few weeks—a grounding from which the volunteer can work towards fluency during his first months in the developing country. Some language training is given on the spot—as it is in Tanzania; but most is given in the volunteer's own country. The US Peace Corps employs indigenous speakers to devise and teach the languages; CUSO plans to ask people who obtain scholarships to Canada to spend their first two months teaching CUSO volunteers.

Ability to speak the local language widens the range of useful jobs a volunteer can do. Often where English or French is spoken already there is less need for volunteer-level help; in West Pakistan, for example, it is the Urdu-medium schools which need more help with English-teaching than the English-medium schools. Knowledge of the language also gives the volunteer greater confidence and sympathy—and it enables him to pass more easily through the stages of 'culture shock'. His closer contact and better understanding increase his value as a generator of goodwill and as a representative of his country—as well as his value on return home and in any work he does subsequently involving the country in which he has been a volunteer. These advantages hold good even when the language is not essential strictly in terms of doing the job.

It is unfortunate therefore that volunteers from Britain are, with a few exceptions, given no training in local languages and only brief refresher courses in colonial languages (volunteers who cannot already speak colonial languages are not accepted for countries where they are used). A. W. D. James, in the report quoted above, noted: 'There is, therefore, a danger that British graduate volunteers will soon find themselves serving in developing countries alongside volunteers from other developed countries who are as well qualified in their professions but have the added advantage of speaking the indigenous language and, in some cases, the 'colonial' language as well. In fact, by reason of their shorter period of service, British volunteers may come to be looked on as making a less effective, and therefore less valuable, contribution than their colleagues from any other country.'

Skill

Some volunteers do not need skill-training. They have a skill which is directly applicable to the needs of developing countries—dentists, for example, physiotherapists, teachers, economists, engineers, mechanics. Many, however, either have a skill that needs some adaptation to local conditions (such as agriculture, forestry, teaching English as a second language), or a qualification which is not itself relevant to the needs of developing countries at all (such as a degree in European history or Mediaeval literature). On the other side, there are some skills needed in developing countries which few elsewhere possess—such as brick-baking, well-digging, silk-producing. There are two parts to skill-training, therefore; one is adapting the skill a volunteer already possesses and the other is to give him a new one.

Opinions vary on adaptive training. Some claim that a very short course is enough and the rest is best picked up on the job; others support a more thorough training, of varying lengths. In Britain there is increasing and desirable emphasis on adaptive courses; their number and scope are being enlarged and volunteers are beginning to be brought into contact with relevant research in Britain, at organisations such as the Tropical Products Institute, the Pest Infestation Laboratory or the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering.

Opinions also vary on the feasibility of giving a volunteer a new skill. It is obviously impossible to teach some subjects on a crash course; dentistry, soil analysis or engineering for example. At the other end of the scale, there is wide agreement that a university graduate can be trained to teach English as a second language in a few weeks. In between there is a wide range of jobs for which the US Peace Corps has been giving volunteers new skills, which they did not possess before; poultry farming, malaria eradication, surveying, brick-baking, sericulture—though many of the volunteers were selected who had qualifications connected with the new skill, such as ceramics for brick-baking or maths for surveying. Training of this kind does not produce fully qualified experts, but if the job is carefully defined and well supervised, such volunteers have proved useful assistants to better qualified people. They have also provoked some criticism from people in developing countries who respect only more formal qualifications. Training of this kind has been carried out so far mainly by the US Peace Corps. Other programmes, including those from Britain, have concentrated on recruiting volunteers with qualifications more directly relevant to the needs of developing countries. There is thus some scope for expansion where experience has shown such training to be successful.

British Training

The training given to volunteers from Britain is very much less than that given to volunteers from other countries; generally 2 or 3 weeks compared to 2 or 3 months. Volunteers from Britain are particularly short on language and adaptive training. In part this is because many (80%) volunteers from Britain go to Commonwealth countries where English is widely understood and where much of the framework and procedures are British-orientated. In part it is because the basic period for volunteers from Britain is one year which means it is not possible to justify more than a brief training course. Although all volunteers from Britain have some qualification, their lack of training gives the programmes an amateur air, particularly when compared to those from other countries. The implication also, that volunteers from Britain do not need the training, appears to some people in developing countries as a manifestation of feelings of racial arrogance.

Adequate training courses can only be run if the basic period for volunteer-work is two years. If some adaptive and language training is included, it

is difficult to visualise an effective course of less than 6 or 8 weeks. Courses of this length would increase the cost per volunteer—but they would also increase both real and apparent effectiveness. They would also contribute to the idea that volunteer-work is a serious, professional, and worthwhile job.

Appendix I

Notes on some major volunteer programmes

There are about 160 organisations now sending volunteers to developing countries. This Appendix provides some notes on a dozen of the bigger ones. Details of most of the programmes not listed here can be obtained from the international organisations noted below. All figures refer to 1965/6 unless otherwise stated.

International organisations

Co-ordination Committee
for International Voluntary Service (CoCo)
6 rue Franklin, Paris 16, France.

CoCo is a non-government body, originally aiming to co-ordinate work-camp movements, but now increasingly concerned with longer-term volunteers. It aims to increase their effectiveness through co-operation, research and information. It has sponsored two studies on volunteers (most recently *Volunteers in Africa and Asia*, by Glyn Roberts) and it issues a regular news bulletin. It is financed by grants from UNESCO and voluntary agencies. The Lockwood Committee in Britain applied to join CoCo in 1965.

Founded 1948. Chief Executive: Jean Michel Bazinet, Director.

International Secretariat
for Voluntary Service (ISVS)
806 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20525, USA.

ISVS is an inter-government body which aims to disseminate information on volunteers, stimulate programmes and organise meetings. It was also intended to act as a clearing house for requests for volunteers, but on the whole requests continue to be arranged bilaterally.

ISVS was originally sponsored by the US Peace Corps and until 1964 it was called the International Peace Corps Secretariat (IPCS). It is now

financed by 10 governments—which form its governing Council. The British Government is not a member (there is no government volunteer programme in Britain).

Founded 1962 (as IPCS).
Chief Executive: William A. Delano, Secretary General.

Regional Conference on International Voluntary Service
27 rue Felix Keuster, Brussels 15, Belgium.

This is an European based organisation set up by some 20 non-governmental bodies following the Strasbourg Seminars of 1963/4. It is a service organisation seeking to provide joint facilities for its members in training (especially language training), insurance, banking, etc. It has also initiated a study into qualification equivalents and is associated with a project to advance modern methods of language training. It issues a bulletin for the exchange of experience in the development of volunteer programmes. The Lockwood Committee in Britain is not a member of the Regional Conference but is represented on its Committee by an observer.

Founded 1964. Chief Executive: André Louis, Chairman.

Volunteer Programmes

Belgium

Comité Belge du Volontariat Outre-mer (CBVO)
23 rue du Méridien, Brussels 3, Belgium.

The Committee is a co-ordination body for 20 private voluntary agencies which receive financial help from the Government towards the cost of sending volunteers to developing countries.

FINANCE The total budget for 1965 was £430,000—of which the Government contributed 25%. Average cost to Belgium per volunteer: £720 p.a.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 600	Africa	65%	Education	40%
	Latin America	26%	Community Development	20%
	Asia	9%	Medical and Social Action	20%
			Economic Development	15%
			Leadership training	5%

Minimum length 1 year. Minimum age 18. Most common age 20/25. Training period: variable.

Founded 1965. Chief Executive: André Louis, Secretary.

Britain

Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR)
(formerly Sword of the Spirit)
Hinsley House, 38 King Street, London WC2.
Temple Bar 1973.

The Sword of the Spirit was founded in 1940 to bring Christians of all denominations together to discuss a common basis for peace. The work involved education and social security and the idea of sending volunteers abroad grew out of this: 4 or 5 have been sent annually since 1960.

In 1965 CIIR joined the Lockwood Committee prior to sending 39 'Lockwood' volunteers in 1966—in addition to about 10 'private' volunteers. The 'private' volunteers tend to be Catholics working in Catholic institutions

but the 'Lockwood' volunteers will not necessarily be either. Initially the volunteers will be sent to Central America.

FINANCE CIIR's volunteer programme will be financed largely (about 85%) through the Lockwood Committee, the remainder coming from CIIR's own funds (the Bishops' Charity Fund and Catholic Fund for Overseas Development). The 'private' volunteers will continue to be financed entirely from CIIR's funds.

VOLUNTEERS Estimated total (1966) 39
Minimum length 1 year ('private' volunteers: 2 years)

Founded 1940 (as Sword of the Spirit).
Chief Executive: Miss M. Feeney, General Secretary.

Graduate Service Overseas (GSO)
National Union of Students, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1.
Euston 2184

GSO is the volunteer programme of the National Union of Students, an organisation which represents a quarter of a million students at universities, colleges and institutes in Britain. The volunteer programme aims to provide an outlet for qualified people working on a voluntary basis. A secondary aim is the promotion of student contacts.

FINANCE The programme is financed largely (about 85%) by funds from the Lockwood Committee (see p. 76); the remainder is provided through NUS' own funds. The total budget for 1965/6 is estimated at about £57,000.* Average cost to Britain per volunteer: £660 p.a.† Those employing volunteers are expected to provide accommodation, food, pay and most local costs.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 108	Latin America	58%	Education	58%
	Africa	35%	Medical	10%
	Asia	6%	Social Service	10%
			Engineering	9%
			Agriculture	7%
			Administration	5%
			Others	1%

Minimum length 1 year. Minimum age 21. Most common age 23/24.
Training period 1–2 weeks in Britain.

Founded 1962. Chief Executive: A. W. D. James, Director.

* Excludes cost of overseas administration through British Council and UK contributions towards local costs; these are paid direct by the ODM.
† Includes all costs (see previous footnote). Average cost to GSO: £530 p.a. (GSO hopes to reduce this estimate in practice.)

International Voluntary Service (IVS)
72 Oakley Square, London NW1.
Euston 3195

IVS is the British branch of Service Civil International (SCI), an organisation offering voluntary community service wherever it is needed. It has no political, racial or religious affiliations. Much of IVS' work concerns short-term volunteers in Britain and Europe. Volunteers in developing countries are sent to projects run by local branches of SCI where possible.

FINANCE The programme in developing countries is financed largely (almost 85%) through the Lockwood Committee (see p. 76); the remainder comes from subscribers to IVS. Total budget for 1965/6 is estimated at about £42,000.* Average cost to Britain per volunteer: £660 p.a.† Those employing volunteers are expected to provide accommodation, food, pay and most local costs.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 79	Africa	81%	Education	53%
	Asia	19%	Social Work	21%
			Medical	13%
			Agriculture	8%
			Others	5%

Minimum length 1 year. Minimum age 21. Most common age 22/23.
Training period 2 weeks in Britain (plus 2 weeks work-camp experience).

Founded 1963 (as SCI 1920).
Chief Executive: Frank Judd, General Secretary.

* Excludes UK contributions towards local costs; these are paid direct by the ODM.
† Includes all costs (see previous footnote). Average cost to IVS: £530 p.a. (IVS hopes to reduce this estimate in practice.)

UNA International Service
93 Albert Embankment, London SE1.
Reliance 0181

UNA is a non-government body, which was set up in 1945 to promote public interest in international affairs in general and in the UN in particular. Its International Service gives practical expression to these aims by providing opportunities for voluntary service. Since 1956 it has been running a work-camp programme in England and Europe, and it undertakes special projects in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. It uses shorter-term (i.e. 3 months) volunteers as well as the longer-term 'Lockwood volunteers'.

FINANCE The longer-term volunteer programme is financed largely (85%) by funds from the Lockwood Committee (see p. 76); the remainder is provided from UNA's resources (mainly the UN Fund). Total budget for 1965/6 is estimated at about £53,000.* Average cost per volunteer to Britain: £660 p.a.† Those employing volunteers are expected to provide accommodation, food, salary and most local costs.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 101	Africa	38%	Education	55%
	Latin America	34%	Social Service	14%
	Asia	28%	Agriculture	13%
			Administration	13%
			Medical	2%
			Others	3%

Minimum length 1 year. Minimum age 21. Most common age 23/24. Training period 1–2 weeks in Britain plus intensive language courses. Further 1–4 weeks training on arrival in some developing countries.

Founded 1962. Chief Executive: Hans-Peter Muller, General Secretary.

* Excludes cost of overseas administration through British Council and UK contributions towards local costs; these are paid direct by the ODM.
† includes all costs (see previous footnote). Average cost to UNA: £530 p.a. (UNA hopes to reduce this estimate in practice.)

Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO)
3 Hanover Street, London W1.
Hyde Park 0501

VSO is an independent voluntary organisation which recruits volunteers in three categories; school-leavers, development volunteers, and graduates (and graduate equivalents). It aims to provide both people useful to developing countries and opportunities for young people from Britain to work alongside local people under challenging conditions. It has no other aims and activities apart from the volunteer programmes. The British Council acts as VSO's 'overseas arm' in developing countries, for all three programmes.

(a) Graduate Voluntary Service Overseas (GVSO)

GVSO is the largest of VSO's programmes. It recruits volunteers under Lockwood Committee terms (see Appendix 2); they do not therefore need to be graduates.

FINANCE GVSO is financed largely through the Lockwood Committee (about 85%); the remaining 15% comes from direct contributions—of

which the biggest in 1965/6 is Christian Aid with about £15,000. Others include foundations and firms and individuals. The total budget for 1965/6 is expected to be about £329,000.* Average cost to Britain per volunteer is about £660† p.a. Those employing volunteers are expected to provide accommodation, food, pay and most local costs.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 620	Africa	69%	Education	69%
	Asia	24%	Medical	11%
	Latin America	7%	Agriculture	9%
			Engineering	7%
			Others	4%

Minimum length 1 year. Minimum age 21. Most common age 22/23. Training period 1–3 weeks in Britain; further 1–5 weeks in some developing countries.

Founded 1962. Chief Executive: Douglas Whiting, O.B.E, Director.

(b) Development Volunteers

This programme is for volunteers going to non-teaching posts who do not possess full professional qualifications, i.e. police cadets, young men from farm institutes, ex-apprentices with C. & G. or ONC, medical and other professional men and women with intermediate qualifications who have interrupted their training to volunteer. This part of VSO's programme is administered and financed in the same way as the school-leaver programme. In many cases volunteers from industry are sponsored by the firms which employ them and which agree to meet the cost of superannuation and national insurance payments and to keep the volunteer's job open for him. Those employing the volunteers are expected to provide food, pay, accommodation and most local costs. Average cost to VSO per volunteer: £420 p.a. The ODM also contributes to the cost of the programme through its contributions to the British Council for overseas administration and grants to cover local costs in dependent territories. The programme is not co-ordinated by the Lockwood Committee.

Founded 1959. Chief Executive: Douglas Whiting, O.B.E, Director.

(c) School-leavers

This programme is for volunteers leaving school and over the age of 18 with 'A' level passes in the GCE examination. The majority join it for a

* Excludes cost of overseas administration through British Council and UK contributions towards local costs; these are paid direct by the ODM.

† Includes all costs (see previous footnote). Average cost to GVSO: £530 p.a. (GVSO hopes to reduce this estimate in practice.)

year before going on to further education or training. Average cost to VSO per volunteer: £420 p.a. The ODM also contributes to the cost of the programme through its contributions to the British Council for overseas administration and grants to cover local costs in dependent territories. Those employing school-leaver volunteers are expected to provide food, pay, accommodation and most local costs. The scheme is not co-ordinated by the Lockwood Committee.

Founded 1958. Chief Executive: Douglas Whiting, O.B.E, Director.

Canada

Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO)

75 Albert, Ottawa 4, Ontario, Canada.

CUSO is a private agency aiming to provide developing countries with middle-level manpower and Canadians with opportunities for self-development. It also aims 'to be a good outward expression of the Canadian people.' It is national and non-denominational. A number of university and student organisations are members of CUSO. The majority of volunteers are university graduates.

FINANCE Though originally supported only by private contributions from its member organisations, business, foundations, individuals, etc., CUSO is increasingly financed by the Canadian Government. In 1965 the Government grant covered about 60% of the budget; in 1966 the share is expected to rise to 80%. Total budget in 1965/6 (March/March) was about £285,000; in 1966/7 (March/March) it is estimated at about £534,000. Average cost to Canada per volunteer: £1,400 p.a. Those employing volunteers pay most of the local cost as well as providing accommodation, though CUSO subsidises where necessary.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 323	Africa	66%	Education	73%
	Latin America	21%	Medicine	12%
	Asia	13%	Social Work	5%
			Agriculture	3%
			Others	7%

Minimum length 2 years. Minimum age 20. Most common age 22/23. Training period 4–7 weeks.

Founded 1961. Chief Executive: William McWhinney, Executive Secretary.

The Company of Young Canadians
The Company is a new organisation which aims to provide young Canadians with opportunities for making concrete contributions both in Canada and in developing countries. It plans to send volunteers overseas as teachers, nurses, technicians, etc. There will be no rigid age restrictions. The Company is to be financed by the Government.

Denmark

Danish Development Volunteer Service/Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke (DDV)

Kronprinsessegade 32, Copenhagen, Denmark.

DDV is a private relief organisation which began sending volunteers to developing countries in 1963. It remains a private agency although the Government contributes 50% of the costs of the volunteer programme.

FINANCE The programme is being reorganised at the end of 1965. There is a suggestion that the Danish Government should pay for 100% of the costs. For the moment it is not possible to give total budget or average costs.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 70	Africa	94%	Education	33%
	Asia	4%	Technical Trades	20%
	Latin America	2%	Administration	16%
			Agriculture	14%
			Medical	7%
			Others	10%

Minimum length 2 years. Minimum age 20. Most common age 24.
Training period 5 weeks.
Founded 1945 (volunteers 1963).
Chief Executive: C. Kelm-Hansen, Secretary-General.

France

Association Francaise des Volontaires du Progrès

9 rue Lincoln, Paris 8, France.

The Association is a private but government-sponsored agency which aims 'to prolong, rejuvenate and enlarge the traditional co-operation between

France and the African States and to canalise the movement which exists in France in favour of aid to developing countries.' A large number of the volunteers are farm people. A unique feature of this programme is that the volunteers often build their own accommodation on arrival.

FINANCE The Association is financed wholly by the French Government —at a cost of £730,000 in 1966. Average cost per volunteer: £2,160 p.a. The full cost of the volunteer is covered by France; the employer does not even provide accommodation.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 251	Africa	100%	Agriculture	50%
			Public Works	20%
			Engineers	10%
			Hand Workers	10%
			Social and Cultural	10%

Minimum length 2 years. Minimum age 21. Training period 6 weeks.

Founded 1964. Chief Executive: M. Laboreau, Chief Executive.

Militaires du Contingent

This programme consists of national servicemen who volunteer to work in developing countries as a form of technical assistance rather than as soldiers in the army during their compulsory service. It can be claimed, therefore, that it is not strictly a volunteer programme. It is run by the Ministry of Co-operation and the terms and conditions are geared to those in the army.

FINANCE The programme is financed wholly by the French Government —at a cost of £2·5m p.a. Average cost to France per volunteer: £1,510 p.a. Those who employ volunteers provide accommodation and most of the local costs, but the French Government subsidises the volunteers as appropriate.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 2,200 — Distribution by continent and subject not available.

Minimum length 16 months.
Training period 2–3 weeks.

Founded 1963. Chief Executive:

Germany

German Volunteer Service/Deutscher Entwicklungdie nst (DED)
Truchestrasse 100, 532 Bad Godesberg, W. Germany.

DED is a government-financed, but formally a private organisation. The Council for Learning and Helping Overseas participates in its work. It aims to contribute to the economic and social advancement of developing countries.

FINANCE DED is paid for wholly by the German Federal Government —at an estimated cost of £890,000 in 1965/6. Average cost to Germany per volunteer: £2,100 p.a. Those employing volunteers provide accommodation; DED covers most other expenses.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 446	Africa	40%	Crafts and Industry	32%
	Asia	34%	Agriculture	25%
	Latin America	26%	Health	15%
			Education	12%
			Social Services	11%
			Business	5%

Minimum length 2 years. Minimum age 21. Most common age 25.
Training period: 3 months.

Founded 1963. Chief Executives: Axel von dem Bussche and Johannes Reinhold, Managing Directors.

Japan

Japanese Overseas Co-operation Volunteers (JOCV)
Overseas Technical Co-operation Agency, Tokyo, Japan.

JOCV is a government programme set up by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and administered by the Overseas Technical Co-operation Agency. It aims to promote economic and social development and international friendship and understanding.

FINANCE JOCV is financed wholly by the Government – at a cost of £75,000 in 1965/6. Average cost to Japan per volunteer: £930 p.a. – excluding travel costs of perhaps £100 p.a.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 34	Asia	100%	Agriculture	54%
			Education	20%
			Construction	18%
			Industry	6%
			Health	2%

Minimum length 2 years. Minimum age 20. Most common age 25.
Training period 2–3 months.
Founded 1965. Chief Executive: Kimio Shinoura, Secretary-General.

Netherlands

Young Volunteers Programme/Jongeren Vrijwilligers Programma (JVP)
Bezuidenhoutsweg 153, The Hague, Netherlands.

JVP is a government body set up by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1965 it was joined by private organisations to form the *Foundation for Netherlands Volunteers* (Stichtung Nederlandse Vrijwilligers). The Foundation will run the programmes jointly, on Government money. So far only JVP volunteers have been sent.

FINANCE The Foundation is financed wholly by the Government—at a cost of £550,000 in 1965 (and £700,000 in 1966). Average cost to the Netherlands per volunteer: £1,750 p.a

VOLUNTEERS

Total 114	Africa	60%	*Mostly* Agricultural	
	Asia	15%	Nursing	
	Latin America	25%	Technical	
			Detailed distribution not available.	

Minimum length 2 years. Minimum age 21. Most common age 25–30.
Training period 3 months.

Founded 1963. Chief Executive: A. L. Schneiders, Secretary.

Norway

Norwegian Volunteer Service/Fredskorps (NVS)
Norsk Utviklingshjelp, Fridtjof Nansens Plass 6, Oslo DEP, Norway.

The Volunteer Service is a department of the Official Norwegian aid agency

NORAD. It was set up on an experimental basis and is now to be continued more permanently. Volunteers tend to be older and more professionally experienced than in other programmes.

FINANCE The Service is financed wholly by the Norwegian Government —at a cost of £79,000 in 1965/6. Average cost to Norway per volunteer: £1,875 p.a. Those who employ volunteers provide accommodation and Norway covers most other expenses.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 63	Uganda	79%	Distribution by subject
	Iran	21%	not available.

Minimum length 2 years. Minimum age 22. Most common age 29. Training period 7–9 weeks.

Founded 1963. Chief Executive: L. Aaslund, Director.

USA

US Peace Corps
Washington DC 20525, USA.

The Peace Corps is the largest volunteer programme. It is a government agency, aiming 'to promote world peace and friendship by making available to interested countries Americans who will:

1 Help the people of these countries to meet their needs for trained manpower.

2 Help promote a better understanding of the American people on the part of the people served.

3 Help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of the American people.'

FINANCE The Peace Corps is wholly financed by the US Government —at a cost of £32m p.a. Average cost to the USA per volunteer: £2,750

p.a. Those employing volunteers provide accommodation and the USA covers most other expenses. Contributions from developing countries are increasing, however, and are expected to total £1·5m in 1966.

VOLUNTEERS

Total 12,270	Africa	34%	Education	55%
	Latin America	34%	Community Action	25%
	Asia	32%	Health	9%
			Agriculture	8%
			Public Works	3%

Minimum length 2 years. Minimum age 18. Most common age 25. Training period 3 months.

Founded 1961. Chief Executive: Jack Hood Vaughn, Director.

Appendix 2

Conditions of Service for Volunteers from Britain

Conditions of service in Britain are co-ordinated by the Lockwood Committee so that there is little variation between the five volunteer-sending organisations. Below is given a typical example of outline conditions; exact terms can be obtained from the individual organisations (see Appendix 1).

1 The volunteer must have completed a course of higher education—for example at a Training College, Technical College or University—or have some years' technical experience.

2 A minimum of one year's service is required, and volunteers are encouraged, but not compelled, to serve for two. In some posts preference is given to those offering two years' service.

3 Board and lodging (or an allowance) is provided by the host institution and the volunteer is given the equivalent of £2–£3 per week pocket money. Volunteers serving on these terms are entitled to a Terminal Grant of up to £100 for one year, or £200 for two years, according to need, on completion of service.

4 A kit allowance of £40 is payable before departure.

5 Accepted volunteers are required to attend an orientation course in the summer, and normally leave in August or early September.

6 Medical requirements are in all cases a certificate of general physical fitness. Vaccinations, etc., depend on the country to which the volunteer is sent.

7 Volunteers are insured for the duration of their stay abroad.

8 Travel to and from the country concerned is provided at the cheapest rate possible.

9 A language qualification in either Spanish or French is needed by volunteers wishing to serve in Latin America or former French Africa. Most posts, however, are in English speaking regions.

Appendix 3

Number of Volunteers in Developing Countries

at 30th September 1965
(including those training)

	PC	VduP	GVSO	UNA	NUS	IVS	DED	CUSO	DDV	NVS	JVP	Total
Africa												
Algeria						2			1			3
Basutoland					12							12
Bechuanaland ...						11						11
Burundi				1				9				10
Cameroon	129					21	36				22	208
C.A.R.		35			2							37
Chad		28			1			1				30
Congo (Leo)... ...				2								2
Congo (Braz.) ...				1	2							3
Dahomey		44					12					56
Ethiopia	593		2	1	1							597
Gabon	57	45			1							103
Gambia			5									5

Number of Volunteers in Developing Countries

	PC	VduP	GVSO	UNA	NUS	IVS	DED	CUSO	DDV	NVS	JVP	Total
Ghana	122		52	1			14	49				238
Guinea	91				3							94
Ivory Coast	78	56		10				9			25	188
Kenya	239		39	3				13	20			314
Liberia	360											360
Libya			10				22					32
Madagascar								10				10
Malawi	321		34	1								356
Mali					3							3
Malagasy				5								5
Mauritius						10						10
Morocco	144		2						2			148
Niger	83	37			2							122
Nigeria	766		101				26	57	5		7	962
Rhodesia					9							9
Rwanda								13				13

Number of Volunteers in Developing Countries

	PC	VduP	GVSO	UNA	NUS	IVS	DED	CUSO	DDV	NVS	JVP	Total
Senegal	78				2							80
Seychelles						3						3
Sierra Leone	282		49									331
Somalia	89											89
Sudan			11									11
Swaziland						11						11
Tanzania	399		38	10			39	28	35			549
Togo	76	6					13					95
Tunisia	225		6	1			15					247
Uganda	57		35	2				14	2	50		160
Upper Volta								1				1
Zambia			35					11	1		10	57
Total (Africa) ...	**4,189**	**251**	**419**	**38**	**38**	**58**	**177**	**215**	**66**	**50**	**64**	**5,575**

Number of Volunteers in Developing Countries

	PC	VduP	GVSO	UNA	NUS	IVS	DED	CUSO	DDV	NVS	JVP	JOCV	Total
Asia													
Afghanistan ...	200				4		59						263
Cambodia ...												4	4
Fiji			1	1									2
Hong Kong ...				1									1
India	740		44	1		7	50	20	1		10		873
Iran	254			3			24			13			294
Jordan ...				8									8
Korea ...					3								3
Laos			2									10	12
Lebanon ...				1							1		2
Malaysia ...	605		49									10	664
Malaya ...	64												64
Nepal ...	212			3			18						233
Pakistan ...	78		44	1									123
Philippines ...	582		2									10	594

Sabah/Sarawak	82							23					105
Syria				1									1
Thailand ...	405		2			7			2				416
Turkey ...	621			1									622
W. Pacific ...				6									6
Total (Asia)...	**3,843**	—	**144**	**27**	**7**	**14**	**151**	**43**	**3**	**13**	**11**	**34**	**5,655**

Number of Volunteers in Developing Countries

	PC	VduP	GVSO	UNA	NUS	IVS	DED	CUSO	DDV	NVS	JVP	JOCV	Total
Latin America													
Argentina ...				3									3
Barbados ...	29							1					30
Bolivia ...	327			1	10		22	4					364
Brazil... ...	700			5			68						773
Brit. Honduras	50		17					1					68
Chile	475			5			22						502
Colombia ...	581		3	1				1			32		618
Costa Rica ...	96												96
Dominican Republic ...	111												111
Equador ...	288			1				1					290
El Salvador ...	75												75
Guatemala ...	76												76
Honduras ...	126												126
Jamaica ...	93		19					25					137
Mexico ...				1									1

	PC	VduP	GVSO	UNA	NUS	IVS	DED	CUSO	DDV	NVS	JVP	JOCV	Total
Panama ...	273												273
Peru	460			16			6	6	1				489
Trinidad ...					6			8					14
Uruguay ...	64			1									65
Venezuela ...	337				4								341
West Indies ...	20				43			18					78
Total (Latin America)	**4,181**	—	**39**	**34**	**63**	—	**98**	**65**	**1**	—	**32**	—	**4,530**
Others (Regional administration, etc.)	57	—	18	2	—	7	20	—	—	—	7	—	—
Grand Total	**12,270**	**251**	**620**	**101**	**108**	**79**	**446**	**323**	**70**	**63**	**114**	**34**	**14,478**

Figures for Militaires du Contingent not available (2,200 volunteers).

Appendix 4

Non-Voluntary Opportunities Overseas

Apart from volunteering there are a number of opportunities for newly qualified graduates from Britain to work in developing countries. For many of them the qualifications required are not much (if at all) higher than those expected of volunteers—though many of them do require two or three years of post-graduate experience.

In general the pay is somewhat higher than that for a similar job in Britain and there are allowances to take into account differences in the cost of living, accommodation, dislocation, etc. In some cases there is a terminal grant. Transport is free—for wives and children too.

The main recruiting channels are the Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) (Eland House, Stag Place, London, S.W.1.), the Crown Agents (4 Millbank, London, S.W.1.), the British Council (for teachers) (65 Davies Street, London, W.1.), and the High Commissions and Embassies of the countries concerned. The ODM both acts as a recruiting agent and runs a number of schemes to subsidise the cost of those they recruit. They include the Overseas Service Aid Scheme (OSAS) and Commonwealth Educational Co-operation (CEC); details are given in *British Aid—4 Technical Assistance* (ODI Publications, 1964, 7/6). There are, however, a large number of other organisations that send people overseas. A comprehensive list of them is given in *Work Overseas—a guide to opportunities in developing countries* (issued by Oversea Service, The Castle, Farnham, Surrey, 1964, 2/–). A list of other publications giving details of opportunities of all kinds (including those offered by commercial firms, missionary societies and voluntary bodies) is given in Appendix 6.

Study and Serve Overseas

A new scheme entitled *Study and Serve Overseas* subsidises students to carry out post-graduate work in a developing country—provided they follow it or combine it with some work for the developing country. Graduates may work for a further qualification for one year and then work for a year in the service of the developing country; or they can work part-time for two years, combining study and work by, for example, demonstrating or lecturing at the university. The ODM pays for the study part, the developing country for the work. The scheme is extremely flexible. Details are available from universities in Britain or from the Overseas Universities Registrar (Study and Serve Overseas), ODM.

Posts Available

The following list of posts available through the Ministry of Overseas Development gives an indication of the range and the qualifications required. It puts special emphasis on posts available to newly qualified graduates (it does not include high-level posts). It is not, of course, comprehensive; it puts special emphasis on posts to newly qualified graduates (it does not include high-level posts). There are, as noted above, many other recruiting agencies besides the ODM. References to where details of these and other posts can be found are given in Appendix 6.

Agricultural 200
Some countries in Africa will accept graduates with a degree in agriculture or horticulture and a sound agricultural background for direct appointments as Agricultural Officers. In the majority of cases, however, post-graduate training is required and those about to acquire a degree in agriculture or horticulture (or for specialist posts a Natural Science degree which includes botany) may apply for studentships for overseas training in tropical agriculture. In addition there are opportunities under the Study and Serve Overseas Scheme (see above).

Architects 40
Quantity and building surveyors 30
Town and country planners 20
Valuers and estate surveyors 24
Candidates are required to be corporate members of the appropriate professional institution, or be eligible for acceptance by it after graduating, and, in addition, post-qualification experience of at least one or two years is normally required. There are also opportunities for *Architects* under the Study and Serve Overseas Scheme (see above).

Chemists 20
An Honours degree in Chemistry, plus specialist qualifications according to each appointment and at least three years' post-qualification experience. Possession of the Fellowship of the Royal Institute of Chemistry in Branch E, plus some years' experience of the chemistry of food and drugs and water is required for certain posts.

Economists 20
It is rarely possible to consider for economist vacancies people who lack several years' post-graduate experience of applied economics. The demand is often in specialised fields (e.g. monetary, transport, manpower surveys, industrial project analysis, etc.). There are, however, opportunities under the Study and Serve Overseas Scheme (see above).

Educational 1,000
Graduates, men and women, who have taken a post-graduate diploma of education and who have acquired teaching experience in British schools are generally preferred, but there are some opportunities for new graduates.

Engineers—Civil 150
Engineering degree plus five years' post-degree experience on engineering works.

Engineers—Electrical and mechanical 40
Telecommunications 20
Appropriate engineering degree plus three years' experience.

Fisheries 20
Overseas vacancies occur for graduates with a degree in Natural Science (preferably zoology). Training may be given in Britain before going overseas. There are also opportunities under the Study and Serve Overseas Scheme (see above).

Forestry 50
There are some vacancies for graduates with a degree in Forestry; others call for previous tropical experience as well. In addition there are opportunities under the Study and Serve Overseas Scheme (see above).

Geology 60
A first or good second class honours degree in geology is generally required for appointment as a field geologist, but candidates with a lower second or third class degree may be considered, sometimes at a lower entry salary. Further opportunities occur for men with practical post-graduate experience on a higher degree. In addition there are opportunities under the Study and Serve Overseas Scheme (see above).

Land Survey 40
For appointments subject to professional training candidates must have a degree, preferably with Honours, in Engineering or Mathematics or Physical Science or Geography (Geography graduates should normally have a GCE 'A' level in Mathematics, unless their degree course includes instruction in Survey). Some overseas appointments are filled by the secondment of experienced surveyors from the Directorate of Overseas Surveys.

Legal 80
A law degree by itself is not a sufficient qualification for overseas appointments. Candidates must be barristers or solicitors with at least three years' experience after call or admission.

Librarians 10
For these appointments candidates must be A. or FLA, and have at least three years experience with public or university libraries.

Medicine 400
Doctors with qualifications registrable in the United Kingdom should normally have completed the compulsory pre-registration year but newly qualified doctors are invited to consult the Ministry of Overseas Development regarding further training.

Meteorology 10
A First or Second Class Honours degree in Physics or Mathematics, with some 2–5 years' meteorological experience sometimes including experience of tropical meteorology. Some vacancies filled by the Meteorological Office.

Mining 10
A diploma or degree in Mining plus some two years' practical experience.

Social welfare 30
A degree or diploma in Social Science with at least two years' experience in one branch of social welfare work.

Statisticians 20
An Honours degree in Statistics or Economics or Mathematics. There are vacancies for new graduates as well as for experienced statisticians, and at present more vacancies are notified than it is possible to fill. Interested undergraduates should write to the Ministry of Overseas Development during their final year. There are also opportunities under the Study and Serve Overseas Scheme (see above).

Veterinary medicine 90
Newly qualified veterinary graduates are eligible for appointment as Veterinary Officers overseas. Some assistance can be given towards the training of research workers prior to taking up an overseas appointment and there are a limited number of studentships available to enable graduates to take post-graduate courses before service overseas.

Zoologists 10
Vacancies occur for Zoologists to work in the Overseas Tsetse Control and Research Services. A degree in Zoology or Biology is essential. Candidates are not usually expected to have experience of Tsetse Control measures.

Appendix 5

The Council for Volunteers Overseas

President HRH Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh

Members

The Countess of Albemarle
James Blair Cunynghame
Professor Ritchie Calder
Lord Campbell
Lord Caradon
Miss Mary Carpenter
Jack Cooper
Earl de la Warr
Sir Berkeley Gage
Dr Michael Grant
Sir George Haynes
Sir John Hunt
Sir Maurice Laing
Miss Beryl Paston-Brown
Miss Rachel Pearse
Dame Barbara Salt
Sir Herbert Seddon
Dunstan Skelbeck
Wynford Vaughan-Thomas
Sir Peter Venables
Roger William Young

together with the Presidents or Chairmen of the volunteer sponsoring organisations, with six returned volunteers.

Observer representatives are sent by:
Ministry of Overseas Development, British Council and the United Nations Information Office in London.

The Voluntary Societies' Committee for Service Overseas

(Lockwood Committee)
26 Bedford Square, London, WC1

Member Organisations

Operating Organisations	*Contributors*	*Advisors*
VSO	ODM	NCSS
NUS	Oxfam	Scottish Union of Students
IVS	FFHC	ODI
UNA	Christian Aid*	Co-operative Union
CIIR		6 Members from:
British Council (overseas administration)		Universities, CATs, Schools
		Industry and Commerce
		Returned volunteers

* British Council of Churches and Conference of British Missionary Societies.

Appendix 6
Reading and Information

Reading

This list is intended primarily for readers in Britain and so it does not include the many books on the US Peace Corps. Nor does it include books on development in general; good bibliographies on development are given in *World III* by Adrian Moyes and Teresa Hayter, London, Pergamon Press for the Overseas Development Institute, 1964, rev. ed. 1965. xvi, 152 pp., tabs., bibl. 12s. 6d., which gives a list of further bibliographies; and *International Aid* by I. M. D. Little and J. M. Clifford, London, Allen and Unwin, 1965. 360 pp., tabs., bibl. 25s.

The Volunteers by David Wainwright, London, Macdonald, 1965. 160 pp., illus. 21s.

A short, readable and accurate account of the growth of Britain's volunteer programmes and some description of the work the volunteers do.

Volunteers in Africa and Asia by Glyn Roberts, for UNESCO, 1965. 60 pp., illus. 7s. Copies available from: Co-ordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service, UNESCO—6 rue Franklin, Paris 16, France.

A very important survey based on 18 months field work. It sets out clearly and authoritatively the possibilities and limitations of volunteers and makes important recommendations.

A World Elsewhere by Mora Dickson, London, Dennis Dobson, 1964. 216 pp., illus. 30s.

A very readable and vivid collection of volunteer stories by the wife of VSO's founder, Alec Dickson. There are extensive quotations from volunteers' descriptions of their work and their reactions to it.

The Young Volunteers, a COI pamphlet, London, HMSO, 1965.

A factual publicity pamphlet explaining volunteer work and giving brief notes on the organisation in Britain. A film of the same name has also been made.

Not by Governments Alone by Peter Williams and Adrian Moyes, London, Overseas Development Institute, 1964. 3s. 6d.

A short factual account of the major voluntary organisations in Britain —preceded by some comments. Not primarily concerned with volunteers.

The Far Province by Francis Cripps, London, Hutchinsons, 1965. 208 pp., illus. 35s.

A book about Thailand rather than volunteers. The author was a VSO School-leaver volunteer and the first part of the book describes his work as a volunteer teacher.

Sources of Information

on Volunteers

Information can be obtained direct from any of the organisations listed in Appendix 1.

on Development and Aid

Overseas Development Institute Ltd. (ODI), 160 Piccadilly, London, W.1.

Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC), 17 Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2.

Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford.

UN Information Centre, 14 Stratford Place, London, W.1.

Ministry of Overseas Development, Information Department, Eland House, Stag Place, London, S.W.1.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2 rue André-Pascal, Paris 16, France.

on Opportunities for Work in Developing Countries

Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM), Eland House, Stag Place, London, S.W.1.

British Council, 65 Davies Street, London, W.1.

Work Abroad

The following publications on work in developing countries are available: (Most non-government bodies charge postage.)

Opportunities Overseas—a General Survey

Also: *Opportunities Overseas*

—for Doctors
—for Geologists
—for Engineers, etc.
—for Nurses
—for Teachers
—in Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Farming and Fisheries
—in International Organisations

Issued by: Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM), Eland House, Stag Place, London, S.W.1. Free

Overseas Universities

(includes Vacant Posts)

Issued by: Committee for University Secondment

available from: F. P. Dunnill, Ministry of Overseas Development, Eland House, Stag Place, London, S.W.1. Free

Appointments

Issued by: British Council, Recruitment Department,
65 Davies Street, London, W.1. Free

Work Overseas

A Guide to Opportunities in the Developing Countries

Issued by: Oversea Service,
The Castle, Farnham, Surrey. 2s.

Why not Teach for a Time Overseas?

Issued by: National Council for the Supply of Teachers Overseas,
Department of Education and Science,
Curzon Street, London, W.1. Free

Voluntary Service: A Guide

Issued by: United Nations Students Association,
25 Charles Street, London, W.1. 1s. 4d.

Teachers for Africa

Issued by: UNESCO,
Place de Fontenoy, Paris 7, France. Free

Working Holidays Abroad

Issued by: Central Bureau for Education Visits and Exchanges,
55a Duke Street, Grosvenor Square,
London, W.1. Free

International Voluntary Service Organisations in Great Britain

Issued by: Coordination Committee for International Voluntary Service, UNESCO,
6 rue Franklin, Paris 16, France. Free

Missionary Societies

Most missionary societies issue leaflets about missionary work in developing countries. Details of the societies can be obtained from:

Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland,
Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate,
London, S.W.1.

Study and Serve Overseas

The pamphlet setting out details of the scheme—see Appendix 4.

Issued by: The Ministry of Overseas Development,
Eland House, Stag Place, London, S.W.1. Free

Other Useful Publications

Development Guide

A Directory of Development Facilities provided by non-commercial organisations in Britain. Though covering a wider field, the Guide also lists organisations concerned with overseas service. Allen and Unwin for the ODI—available through bookshops. 25s.

also:

British Aid—4 Technical Assistance 7s. 6d.

Both available from:

ODI Publications,
98 Kingston Road, Merton Park,
London, S.W.19.

Handbook of Commonwealth Organisation, London, Methuen and Co. Ltd., for the Federation of Commonwealth and British Chambers of Commerce, 236 pp. 30s.

Appendix 7

Comparative costs of UK Volunteers and UK TA-men

It is difficult to compare the costs of volunteers and TA-men because there are so many differences in skill and experience, so many different technical assistance schemes, so much variation in taxes, allowances, accommodation, etc. Nevertheless, Table 18 gives an approximate indication of the costs —together with those of local people with qualifications similar to volunteers.

Notes

1 All figures have been rounded to the nearest £50.

2 The UK TA-men are better qualified and more experienced than the volunteers and local people who are, in this Table, all newly qualified. UK teachers, for example, have teaching qualifications and very often experience of teaching as well. The Table includes only the most junior TA-men.

3 The cost of a UK TA-man is divided differently under different technical assistance schemes. Under OSAS (the biggest UK scheme) for example. the developing country (see Tanzania in the Table) pays the basic local salary and Britain tops it up and helps towards the fare and terminal grant, Under SCAAP and the Colombo Plan, Britain pays the full cost except for accommodation (see Nigeria—agriculturist, in the Table). Under a special scheme for Nigeria, Britain pays only a salary supplement.

4 The cost of recruiting and servicing UK TA-men is ignored throughout. It is divided between the ODM and British Council in Britain and the Embassies, High Commissions and British Council in developing countries. It would add at least £100–£150 p.a. to the cost.
Recruiting and administration overheads for the volunteers, however, have been included.

5 The presence of both volunteers and TA-men in developing countries can be said to cost Britain something in terms of lost talent. This cost does not appear in the Table.

6 Many of the local people cost less than volunteers because they do not get free board or lodging.

7 Local pay rates often vary between town and country and between different employers. The rates given in the Table are common but not universal.

Table 18

Comparative Costs

UK volunteers, junior UK TA-men and local people in selected countries

Nigeria

	To Nigeria	To UK	Total
UK-men			
UK volunteer	850	550	1,400
UK Teacher (with TT)	1,450*	600	2,050*
Agriculturist (chemist)	200*	2,600	2,800*
Nigerians			
Graduate teacher (no TT)	650		
Junior Agricultural Officer	550		
Chemist	700		

Tanzania

	To Tanzania	To UK	Total
UK-men			
UK volunteer	850	600	1,450
Agriculturist (OSAS)	1,200*	800	2,000*
ODI/Nuffield Fellow	1,100	700	1,800
Tanzanians			
Graduate teacher (no TT)	700†		
Junior Agricultural Officer	720†		
Engineer	720†		

Thailand

	To Thailand	To UK	Total
UK-men			
UK volunteer	350	550	900
UK teacher (with TT)	2,000	1,000	3,000
Thais			
Graduate teacher (no TT)	240		
Occupational therapist	400‡		
Nurse	350‡		

Pakistan

	To Pakistan	To UK	Total
UK-men			
UK volunteer	600	550	1,150
UK teacher (with TT)	450	2,600	3,050
Pakistanis			
Graduate teacher (no TT)	300		
Engineer	300		
Doctor	300		
Nurse	300		

India

	To India	To UK	Total
UK-men			
UK volunteer	500	550	1,050
UK teacher (with TT)	500	2,350	2,850
Indians			
Graduate teacher (no TT)	200		
Junior Agricultural Officer	250		
Engineer	350		
Nurse	200		

Mali

	To Mali	To UK	Total
UK-men			
UK volunteer	1,450	600	2,150
UK teacher (with TT)	1,650	1,350	3,000
Malians			
Graduate teacher (no TT)	850		

All figures net of tax unless otherwise stated.
TT=Teacher training.
* Includes estimated cost of accommodation—£200.
† Before tax.
‡ Includes board, lodging and utilities—estimated at £200 p.a.

Appendix 8

Sources

Much of the source material used for this survey is in the form of unpublished reports, letters from organisations and notes of interviews. Material that is not confidential is available at the ODI. The following list contains published sources only.

1 Objectives

p. 11 Figures on UK TA-men are given in *Statistics of Economic Aid to Developing Countries*, No. 3, Oct. 1965, Statistical Service Department, Ministry of Overseas Development.

Figures for other countries are given in *Development Assistance Efforts and Policies*, 1965 Review, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

p. 14 Sargent Shriver, in *The Hidden Force*, a report of the International Conference on Middle-level Manpower, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1962, ed. Francis W. Godwin, Richard N. Goodwin, William F. Haddad, Harper & Row, 1963, p. 109.

p. 16 *The Peace Corps in India 1961–5*, a report on its work, issued by The Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, 1965, p. 9.

2 Technical Assistance

p. 25 'We feel they are our friends'—quoted by David Wainwright in *The Volunteers*, Macdonald, 1965, p. 129.

3 Length

p. 37 Figures on teachers in Northern Nigeria from *Classes, Enrolments, and Teachers in the Schools of Northern Nigeria 1964.*

4 Contributions to Development

p. 41 Quotation from *The Hidden Force*—see above.

p. 41 OSAS is described in *British Aid—4 Technical Assistance* by Peter Williams, ODI Publications, rev. ed. 1964, p. 62.
French technical assistance is described in *French Aid* by Teresa Hayter, ODI Publications, 1966.

p. 42 *False Start in Africa* by René Dumont, Andre Deutsch. 1966.

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p. 47 Some examples of education which does not help development are given in *The Coefficient of Ignorance*, the Bulletin of the Institute of Economic Statistics, Oxford 25:2, pp. 99–107.

5 Conditions

p. 50 Quotation from *Volunteers in Africa and Asia*, see above, p. 53.

p. 58 *Long-Term Volunteers in India* by Glyn Roberts, published May 1965 as a supplement to Bulletin No. 2 III, Co-ordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service.

6 Cost

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7 Administration

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8 Politics

p. 96 Quotation from Thomas J. Finnie, quoted in *Agricultural Advisers, 1840 style*, an article by Dr. Frenise A. Logan in *Span*, September 1964, published by USIS, New Delhi.

p. 98 *'Peace Corps' Agents of neo-colonialism* issued by the Revolutionary Council of the Nigerian Youth Congress, p. 6.

p. 98 Footnote. *The Invisible Government* by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, Jonathan Cape, 1965, Chapter 19.

9 Training

p. 100 Quotation from *Needs and openings for skilled long-term volunteers in the developing countries*, a UNESCO survey, UNESCO, 1963, p. 39.

Appendix 9

Glossary of Abbreviations

AID	Agency for International Development
CBVO	Comité Belge du Volontariat Outre-mer
CFA	Communanté Financière Africaine
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIIR	Catholic Institute for International Relations
CoCo	Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Service
CUSO	Canadian University Service Overseas
DDV	Danish Development Volunteer Service (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke)
DED	Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (German Development Service)
FFHC	Freedom From Hunger Campaign
GSO	Graduate Service Overseas (NUS)
GVSO	Graduate Voluntary Service Overseas
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
ICVT	International Committee for Volunteers in Tanzania
ISD	International Service Department (UNA)
ISVS	International Secretariat for Voluntary Service
IVS	International Voluntary Service
JOCV	Japan Overseas Co-operation Volunteers
JVP	Jongeren Vrijwilligers Programma (Young Volunteers Programme)
NCSS	National Council of Social Service
NUS	National Union of Students
NVS	Norwegian Volunteer Service
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
ODM	Ministry of Overseas Development
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSAS	Overseas Service Aid Scheme
SCAAP	Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan
SCI	Service Civil International
TA	Technical Assistance
TEA	Teachers for East Africa scheme
TEO	Teachers of English Overseas scheme
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation
USA	United States of America
USIS	United States Information Service
VISA	Volunteer International Service Assignments
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas

A. Quick & Co. (Printers) Ltd., Clacton-on-Sea

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