1. Summary

This thesis focuses on the motivation of volunteers in the pacifist organization Service Civil International (SCI) in Switzerland. Its author studied the evolution of twenty-six important motivations between 1920 and 1990. To determine these motivations, the following camp reports were considered: SCI brochures from 1924 to 1934, and SCI bulletins between 1935 and 1990. In addition, inscription forms could be found for the years from 1955 to 1961 and 1988 to 1989. The motivations were then classified in a system of ideal typical motivations: there are cognitive motivations (to learn), cathectic motivations (to look for satisfaction), evaluative motivations (to choose between one and another) and values determined by society. These ideal types have led to a clear periodisation. The first period goes from 1920 to 1945, marked by the inter war years and by the Second World War. In these times, values determined by society, such as like pacifism and to "help the wounded" are the main motivations. The following period goes from 1946 to 1968, which is determined by the economic boom and the alternative youth movement of 1968. It is the most well-balanced period in which cognitive and cathectic motivations as well as the ones determined by society appear with the same frequency. The evaluative motivations are of no importance in either period. The third period goes from 1969 to 1990 and is marked by the new political and ecological movements as well as the upcoming of mass tourism. In these times, volunteers were mainly motivated by cognitive motivations; they wanted to travel and get to know other countries and societies.

These conclusions explain how particular motivations determined the fluctuation of participants in SCI camps. Secondly, they explain why a large number of new volunteers work for organizations like SCI each year. Thirdly, the conclusions show how the volunteers' motivation influences the organization's evolution.

1.1 Slow rise and fast decline of the number of volunteers 1920 - 1990

During the period of 1920 and 1945 the participation of volunteers was irregular. Their number depended on whether the founder of SCI, Pierre Cérésole, organized a camp and for what size it was designed. With its early aid to developing countries

outside of Europe and with its anti-militarist goals, SCI was a pioneer organization and only chose volunteers who lived up to its goals under difficult conditions. Even if some of the volunteers were motivated by pacifism and antimilitarism, most of them were apolitical and mainly wanted to help.

In the period between 1946 and 1968 the number of participants increased enormously. From an average of a hundred in the fifties, it mounted up steadily to more than four hundred at the end of the sixties. The rise in interest of the volunteers lies in the SCI's strategy of outing political statements, especially against atomic weapons, which gave it more publicity. The possibility of working in developing countries also attracted a large number of volunteers, and those who did not yet qualify for such a service could gain experiences in a first camp in Switzerland. The growing desire to learn made SCI drift away from its "pick and shovel"-philosophy, and it started to organize study services that devoted most of their time to discussions. In the sixties, the SCI's anti-militarist ideas attracted a growing number of volunteers. Inspired by discussions on anti-authority, the number of conscientious objectors increased in the same period. This motivated SCI to get more involved in one of its early goals: replacing military service by a civil service. This engagement attracted anti-militarist volunteers to SCI camps. The movement of 1968, with its anti-consumer attitude was an ideal period for SCI in which it expanded rapidly. Moreover, mass tourism expanded between 1960 and 1975 an increasing number of volunteers signed up for camps in exotic countries.

In the period of 1969 and 1990, a counter-evolution took place with a rapid decline of the total of volunteers engaged in SCI, mainly in the seventies: from four hundred and fifty in 1969 to less than fifty in 1978. Two factors that had been responsible for the ascent of the total of volunteers in two preceding decades were now suppressed: The pacifist movement was looking for new orientation, and development aid was increasingly provided by professionals, which lead SCI to turn away from it. The topic of conscientious objectors still mobilized volunteers, especially around the federal votings, but it was never as strong as the movement of pacifism, developing aid and travelling. To become a movement with a deeper meaning again, SCI reintroduced its "home rule" in 1970. This meant that only volunteers who had participated in a camp in Switzerland before were entitled to go abroad. But as this rule contributed to the

decline of the total of volunteers, SCI soon abandoned it. The new ecological and feminist movements in the seventies lead many volunteers to engage themselves in more specialized groups than SCI. Finally, tourism also declined in 1975 during the economic crisis. It wasn't before 1980, when the pacifist movement grew strong again, that the number of participants rose to a stable level of around a hundred participants per year.

1.2 Evolution of volunteers' motivation in Switzerland : towards individualism

Apart from pacifist, social or anti-militarist attitudes, motivations that were influenced from outside were even stronger. As most SCI volunteers were new each year, they were more influenced by current affairs in Switzerland than by the organization's goals. General influences on SCI volunteers will be explored in the following chapters.

1.2.1 Volunteers follow current ideological movements that are close to the organization's goals

This thesis shows that volunteers follow ideological movements that are close to the organization's goals, as it was expected in the hypothesis. This can be demonstrated by the temporary importance of certain movements that also lead to an increase of participating volunteers. As early as the beginning of the thirties, around the disarmament conference in Geneva, the pacifist movement brought together many committed men and women. As a reaction to rearmament policies in the mid thirties, anti-militarist motivations rose as a sign of protest. During the war, only few camp reports could be found and the results provide, as a consequence, only little information. In the decade after the war, pacifist motivations still stayed strong, opposing the memory of war. This motivation rose again with the movement against nuclear weapons. At the same time, helping developing countries became a way of sharing the new wealth obtained by people in Western European countries. Until the seventies, SCI offered the possibility of being engaged in so-called third world countries for experienced volunteers. Then, this kind of work was professionalized. Anti-militarist motivations rose during the sixties as a sign of emancipation of

conscientious objectors in the era of anti authority. The new feminist and ecological movements did not mobilize as many volunteers as did pacifist and anti-militarist movements, because they weren't fundamental goals of SCI. Even though SCI offered political and ecological camps, it did not become the forum in which feminists and ecologists met and volunteers in those areas left to engage themselves in more specialized organisations. The upcoming of a new pacifist era at the beginning of the eighties as a reaction to NATO's decision of rearmament brought again an increasing number of volunteers to SCI. Generally speaking, only movements that were strong in Switzerland had an influence on the volunteers. The events of the cold war and anti colonial actions had no particular influence.

We can summarize that the more ideological movements were able to mobilize the Swiss population, the more volunteers seemed motivated by the same ideological reasons. These movements also lead to a rise in the number of volunteers who were prepared to devote their time to SCI.

1.2.2 The volunteers were influenced by current social and political issues

This thesis also shows that volunteers were influenced by current social and political issues, which often prompted volunteers to participate in a camp. This engagement was also promoted by SCI directly by organizing camps for specific target groups. For example, a social service to help victims of a natural catastrophe or an alternative service for conscientious objectors. But in all other cases, outside factors influenced the volunteers more.

As SCI used to be an apolitical institution until the fifties, it did not aim to have an influence on Swiss politics. Still, SCI's goal of being an anti-militarist organization was already widely known in the late twenties. As more and more volunteers had learned that Pierre Cérésole fought for replacing military service by civil service, they also declared their motivation to be anti-militarist. Direct influences of the Second World War are difficult to determine because sources are rare. The very first political actions supported by SCI were two motions (a political initiative taken by a member of the Swiss Parliament) in favor of a civil service, led by André Oltramare in 1947 and Georges Borel in 1955. However, as this was only discussed in Parliament and had

no influence on the wider public, volunteers also did not react to those motions. On the other hand, the constitution of the United Nations, a head organization of Swiss institutions for peace (Conseil des Associations Suisses pour la paix) and the proclamation of Stockholm ("Appel de Stockholm", petition against nuclear weapons led by communist interest groups) have increased pacifist motivations. Popular votings also made the pacifist and anti-militarist motivations rise, irrespective whether they were accepted or turned down. This can be illustrated by a voting on a constitutional interdiction of nuclear weapons in 1962, on the introduction of a civil service (initiative Münchenstein) in 1977, on a free choice between a longer civil and a shorter military service in 1984 and on abolishing the Swiss army in 1989. When the risks of the cold war were abandoned, the pacifist motivation also declined, as direct action against the threat of war seemed less necessary. While political events had an influence on the motivation of the volunteers, the economic situation had an influence on the number of volunteers but not on their motivation. For example, in years with a high unemployment rate, social motivations weren't particularly strong. Does this mean that in bad times people are not motivated by social factors? As volunteers were mostly well integrated in society and not for example unemployed it is likely that these volunteers were less influenced by economic problems and thus did not react. Therefore, ideological movements had a stronger influence on them than economic factors.

We can summarize that the long term economic situation did not influence the nature of motivation. On the other hand, current events like natural catastrophes made the number of volunteers rise and also attracted volunteers that were socially motivated. The more the current political issues are urgent, the more they raise political motivations. Compared to ideological movements, current political issues only have a short term influence on volunteers.

1.2.3 Volunteers are sensitized by the changing mentalities

This thesis has also shown that volunteers are sensitized by the changing mentalities, and the hypothesis that the economic boom between 1945 and 1973 lead to a rise of "spare-time and travel-motivations" could be confirmed. With the

economic boom in the fifties, the rise of social security and the fall of daily working hours in the sixties, personal ideals have gone from the one and only goal "to succeed at work" towards "self-fulfillment in spare-time as well as at work".

For SCI, this change meant that the volunteers did not want to only work in camps to achieve a specific goal, but to spend their spare time doing something meaningful. From 1976, it wasn't possible anymore to organize camps lasting several years due to the lack of volunteers; SCI camps became a spare time activity among others. The multiplication of possible activities lead to less and less participating volunteers, even though the sort of camps, tasks and countries had been diversified. The large offer of exotic destinations made the volunteers want to get to know other cultures in camps far from home, and their goal changed from "travelling to work in a camp" to "work in order to be able to travel".

Opposed to the mass tourism that expanded between 1960 and 1975, SCI was seen as an alternative offering the possibility of expanding one's horizons. The generation of 1968 wanted to oppose the consumer society and was very active in SCI. But they didn't realize that their intellectual goals had the same consumptive effect. Instead of supporting the less privileged in an active way, they preferred to participate in camps to passively expand their knowledge. Following this change of mentalities, the desire to be useful became stronger again.

The motivation of expanding one's knowledge constantly rose until the late eighties and forms an expected part of the hypothesis. However what hasn't been confirmed is that these cognitive motivations were directed towards a professional career.

In opposition to organizations that depended on a stable number of volunteers during several years, SCI attracted many new volunteers every year. Their number wasn't directly related to the change of mentalities, but this evolution caused qualitative effects: we can summarize that the more society felt safe on an economical and social basis, the more the volunteers acted passively and at the same time their "desire to be useful" rose.

1.3 Growing influence of volunteers' motivation on SCI

SCI was also influenced by social movements and political activities, but here, particular influences that volunteers had on the evolution of the organization shall be reviewed. While SCI has kept its principal goals in its constitutions (to promote peace, offer volunteers' services, establish an alternative to military service and being a serious school for mutual aid) volunteers brought additional goals to SCI. These weren't necessarily adopted in an official way, but their influence can still be tracked, for example the goals of providing intercultural exchange opportunities in foreign countries and travelling. Finally, volunteers were responsible for making certain goals disappear, such as discipline and the girl's role as "sisters".

In order not to loose too many volunteers in times of growing competition, SCI eased the enrolment conditions in the sixties. Only two conditions were kept: professional knowledge and language skills. Twenty years later, these conditions were only applied to camp leaders. For regular volunteers, any volunteer experience in Switzerland qualified them for volunteer work abroad.

In the early fifties, only a small number of women were accepted in the camps to fulfill the role of "sisters" doing housework and their applications always outnumbered available places. Construction work was not planned for them. Therefore, SCI started to offer camps with social goals in the sixties in order to better integrate women. With the proceeding emancipation of women, their assignments approached men's.

Until the Second World War, volunteers had to present their qualifications and a camp was assigned to them according to their skills. With the upcoming of spare-time society the volunteers could freely choose their camp and SCI didn't resist. The reintroduction of the "home rule" in 1970 (meaning that a first camp has to be completed in Switzerland) was intended to lower travelling motivations, but failed.

Volunteers also contributed to the democratization of SCI. Up to the end of the forties, military discipline in the camps was normal. After all, SCI wanted to show that their camps could be a considerable alternative solution to military service with social goals. In the following decade only self-discipline was still demanded from the participants. The abandon of this term lead to controversial discussions among former and new volunteers. But at times of anti-authority, it was clear that the new volunteers would get their way.

In its early times SCI had tried to achieve the goals of moral aid and social justice by a large number of non-qualified volunteers with good will. In the sixties, SCI was seen as an organization for development aid, and it tried to attract skilled long-term volunteers. A decade later, professional organizations for technical cooperation fulfilled such needs and SCI withdrew its activities, mainly due to a lack of long-term volunteers. The organization came back to its initial method of working with non-qualified volunteers and increased the number of short-term camps.

Since the end of the fifties, SCI tried to get rid of its image as an alternative travel agency. But, as the majority of volunteers participating each year didn't know SCI's goals, the motivation of being able to travel continued. To come back to its deeper goals, SCI offered more and more study camps, which was convenient for volunteers who wished to expand their knowledge in a camp of civil service. In the eighties, SCI defined itself as a youth exchange organization. This enabled SCI to combine the volunteers' desire to travel with its own goal of calling for more understanding between peoples.

While SCI stayed close to its pacifist and anti-militarist goals, it became more and more difficult to pass them on to the volunteers, the reason being that many were newcomers who had a perception of SCI that differed from the organization's. The more the number of new volunteers rose and the more it dissociated from the basis, established by founder Pierre Cérésole, the less volunteers practiced SCI's goals.

We can summarize that the more SCI grew and the more it became anti-authoritarian, the stronger grew the volunteer's auto dynamism.

1.4 Perspectives

To understand the system of motivations in a more profound way, it would be useful to compare them with studies on other countries that are still to write. How did motivations influenced by political activities develop in a country whose democracy is less direct than in Switzerland, where it isn't possible to interfere with political petitions, initiatives or referendas? How have motivations changed through ideological movements in communist countries? And how is it in societies where the working society has stayed the main collective goal? The motivation to do volunteer

work has up to now not been analyzed in its historical perspective, and it's still open to scientists to complete this history of mentalities in the twentieth century.

Figure 1, Total of volunteers from 1920 to 1990

(lack of sources in 1924, 1927, 1929, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1948, 1949, 1962, 1974)
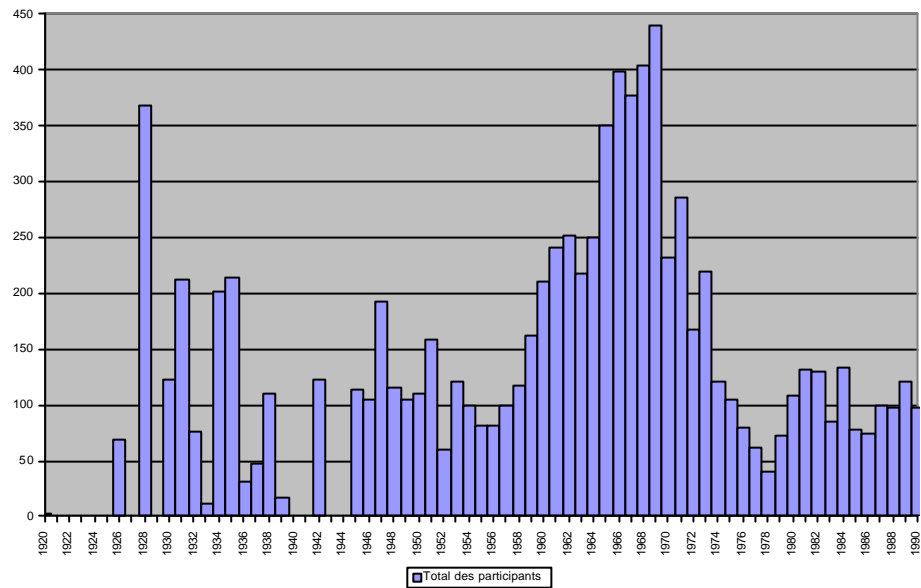

Figure 2, Ideal types of motivations from 1920 to 1990