Problems of instrumentation in cross-cultural survey research have been of increasing concern during the recent decade. Some of these problems are due to the unfamiliarity of populations of less developed countries (LDCs) with survey techniques, and to cultural variations which cause specific response biases (Brislin et al., 1973). These problems are more intense in studies concentrating on rural populations of LDCs, which require a greater sophistication in instrumentation. Solutions suggested in the past, such as the use of "story-like" items (Elder, 1973), have applied mainly to the measurement of general attitudes among rural respondents in LDCs.

This paper is concerned with the cross-cultural use of survey techniques for the assessment of organizational goals. The aim of the paper is to assess the goals of rural youth organizations in two African countries: Malawi and the Ivory Coast. Recent research on organizational goals has emphasized the study of "operative goals", the actual operating policies of organizations, in contrast to the classical focus on "official goals" (Perrow, 1961; Hall, 1977: 71-73). It has also been argued, that the determination of these operative goals should be based on interviews with the rank-and-file organization members rather than with its major decision makers (Price, 1972). In large organizations, such emphases on goal assessment clearly require survey data on members' evaluation of organizational activities and aims.

The above-mentioned instrumentation problems hinder the use of regular questionnaire items for determining the operative goals of rural organizations in LDCs. Respondents may be confused if asked to rank the importance or attractiveness of long lists of organizational activities and goals. Furthermore, such specified lists may increase the risk of social desirability (i.e., respondents could answer according to their perception of researcher's expectations). Consequently, response biases in the direction of official goals, rather than the desired operative ones, are quite probable.

This paper suggests, as an alternative technique, the use of photographs taken within the organization and depicting a variety of its activities. Organization members

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This paper is part of a larger research project on youth organizations in the Ivory Coast, Malawi and Togo. We are indebted to the Israeli government and to public officials in the above countries for their support. We would also like to thank Shira Tibon, Yariv Oren, Ayala Leizer and Shoshana Shiffel, who participated in the research on which this paper is based.

International Journal of Comparative Sociology XXIII, 3-4 (1982)
are asked to choose the photographs which describe the activities they either like most or consider most important for their organization. The operative goals of the organization are then assessed according to the number of times each photograph was selected. The present paper employs this technique for the assessment of operative goals of two rural youth organizations: the Young Pioneers of Malawi and the Civic Service of the Ivory Coast. We shall first discuss the different operative goals of these two organizations, in spite of their similar official goals. The postulated differences in operative emphases will then be verified by the rankings of photographed activities by members of the two organizations.

The Young Pioneers and the Civic Service: Para-Military Versus Vocational Training

The two organizations under study are part of a large number of youth organizations and service programs in African, Asian and Latin American countries. Such organizations (see extensive discussions in Rossillion, 1967; International Labor Organization, 1969; United Nations, 1969) are usually sponsored by the state, and operate in either rural or urban areas. The aim of these organizations is to provide agricultural and technical training primarily to out-of-school adolescents in their late teens or early twenties. Adolescents of both genders are recruited to the youth organizations either on a voluntary basis or as part of a compulsory military service. The training courses usually last up to a year and take place in special training bases. Graduates of such courses are sometimes employed as instructors for rural youth or are encouraged to establish cooperative model-villages in remote areas.

While the main purpose of these organizations is to solve employment problems of out-of-school youth, they also serve as agencies of political socialization. Their backing by the state make them ideal frameworks for generating support for the political establishment. The titles chosen for such organizations, e.g., "Young Pioneers" or "Civic Service", show that the trainees are viewed as spearhead in development projects, and not merely individuals in need of employment. The fact that graduates of training courses are frequently encouraged to work as rural youth instructors or to establish model villages, may indirectly increase support for the regime in remote areas. In some of these organizations, more direct support is sought through the training program. The latter includes, in such cases, para-military training in addition to the regular vocational education and the sports and recreation activities. Graduates are then expected to come to the government's aid in cases of severe internal problems.

Youth organizations which fulfill both the vocational and the political functions may have conflicting goals. While para-military and vocational training do not necessarily exclude each other, they certainly represent two separate and non-complementary activities. Emphasis of one goal may cause a partial neglect of the other. The different emphases given to each goal in various organizations therefore become an issue which deserves empirical assessment.

The two organizations under study are a case in point. Both the Young Pioneers and the Civic Service include in their course program agricultural and para-military training concommitantly. Yet, the two organizations seem to differ in the emphasis put on each of these activities.

The Young Pioneers, the national youth movement of Malawi, was established in 1963, and is directly supervised by the president of the country and his delegates. This movement emerged out of the Youth League, a wing of the only legitimate political body—the Malawi Congress Party. The official aims of the movement are to compen-