

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Volunteerism for whom?
A Cape Town case study of who benefits most
from volunteerism in development

Reika Shucart

SHCREI001

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of
the degree of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies

Graduate School of Humanities

University of Cape Town

February 2013

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without help from various people this dissertation would not have been possible and I am grateful for all the constant support and understanding I received during the process.

I especially want to thank the following:

My supervisor Jacques de Wet was helpful for his expert advice, honest critique of my work and support throughout the process, especially during the crucial stages of my dissertation.

My father supported me unconditionally throughout my dissertation and also helped me enormously by editing my work.

Lucy Mills, who gave me the opportunity to work with Coaching for Hope for my dissertation on the International Citizen Service. She supported me throughout my dissertation even after she no longer worked for Coaching for Hope. She also gave me constructive feedback, good advice and a new perspective on my work.

International Citizen Service volunteers and the organisation staff from Amandla Edufootball, Marsh Memorial Children's Home, Making an Impact Through Sport and Streetfootballworld who participated in my research and allowed me to observe and interview them. Without these wonderful participants my research would have been impossible.

Keith Meyer, from Making an Impact Through Sport, for his help by giving me a ride to Mitchell's Plain for the interviews and for helping me connect with his community members.

ACRONYMS

CfH	Coaching for Hope
CV	Curriculum Vitae
DFID	Department for International Development
FA	The English Football Association
ICS	International Citizen Service
MITS	Making Impact Through Sport
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PCD	People Centred Development
SAFA	South African Football Association
UK	United Kingdom

University of Cape Town

ABSTRACT

Volunteer tourism is a recent phenomenon where tourists spend part of their holiday volunteering at a project aimed to help reduce poverty at their travel destination. This is increasingly popular among younger people from northern countries visiting countries in the global south. Volunteer tourism has gained popularity amongst gap-year tourists or simply tourists looking for an alternative way of travel. As a result of this phenomenon the non-government, government and profit-driven organisations participating in the volunteer tourism industry have increased rapidly worldwide. It is unregulated and therefore it is appropriate to assess the extent to which the various role-players benefit in order to see who benefits most from volunteerism in development. This thesis is a case study of the International Citizen Service (ICS) programme in Cape Town, South Africa, and it examines the perceptions by various key role players of how each group of participants in the programme benefits. The five groups of participants include the UK government, Coaching for Hope, the ICS volunteers, the partner organisations and the community members. The data was gathered by using a preliminary information sheet, documentary research, observations, semi-structured interviews and a structured question. The qualitative data was analyzed using Miles and Huberman's approach. Quantitative data was analysed using frequency counts. A People Centred Approach to development was used to evaluate the phenomenon of international volunteerism and post-development theories were used to critique the notion of development.

The major themes and patterns that emerged from the data include: the volunteers benefited the most, the UK government and the volunteers gained long-term benefits while the partner organisations and community members merely gained short-term benefits. The weaknesses of the ICS programme that were identified were: the inadequate recruitment process, the truncated length of placement, the misallocation of funds, and the lack of skill-transfer and sustainability. Another key finding was the existence of power-dynamics endemic to the ICS programme that could lead to the exploitation of role players from the host country. Based on these results, this study suggests that international volunteerism programmes should incorporate the people centred approaches to development so that the interventions are designed and then monitored to benefit volunteers and hosts equally.

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	2
ACRONYMS	3
ABSTRACT	4
Chapter 1: Introduction	7
Research Topic	7
Aims of Research	7
Central Research Question and Sub-questions	7
Sub-questions	7
Rationale	8
Methodology of the Research	8
Structure of the thesis	9
Chapter 2: Background on the Case Study	10
Skillshare International	10
Coaching for Hope	11
Sports for Development Approach	11
International Citizen Service - ICS	12
Figure 1:Key Players in ICS programme in hierarchical order	14
Debate over the ICS programme	16
Chapter 3: Conceptualisation of Research Questions and Analytical Framework	17
Conceptualisation of the Research Questions	17
Key Role Players.....	17
‘Perceptions’ of Benefits.....	18
Alternative Tourism.....	18
Volunteer Tourism	19
Analytical Framework	20
Critical Reflections on Volunteer Tourism in the Literature	20
People-Centred Development.....	23
Post-Development Theory	24
ICS programme in the context of Post-Development Discourse	25
Chapter 4: Methodology	28
Research Design	28
Choice of Case Study	29
Data Collection Methods	30
Open-ended Questions in Preliminary Information Sheets	30
Structured Questions.....	30
Interviews	31
Observation	33
Timing of the Data Collection	33
Data Analysis	34
Preliminary Information Sheets	34
Structured Questions.....	34
Interviews/Observations.....	34
Ethical Considerations	36
Chapter 5: Results	38

Benefits	38
British Government	39
Coaching for Hope	40
Partner Organisations	40
ICS Volunteers	41
Community Members	42
The Coin Exercise Results	43
Identified Weaknesses	44
Recruitment Process.....	44
Length of the Placement.....	46
Funding	48
Skills and Sustainability	50
Mutual Benefit	53
Power Dynamic	55
ITAD's Evaluation	58
Chapter 6: Discussion	60
The Winners: Long-term Benefits of Volunteers and UK Government	60
Volunteers' Personal Development.....	60
UK Government's Benefits	61
Coaching for Hope's Benefits	62
Losers: Partner organisations and Community Members	62
In the Context of Volunteer Tourism Discourse	63
In the Context of ICS Programme	64
Weaknesses	64
Short-term Benefit	65
Power Dynamics	66
Exploitation	69
Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations	72
Volunteer Tourism	72
Key Findings	73
Benefits.....	73
Power-Dynamics	73
Recommendations	75
Suggestions for Further Research	76
Bibliography	76
Appendix 1: Fairtrade Tourism Code of Good Practice	83
Appendix 2: Preliminary Information Sheet for the ICS volunteers	85
Appendix 3: Questionnaires Used for Semi-Structured Interviews	87
Interview Questions for partner organisations	87
Interview Questions for Coaching for Hope	88
Interview questions for ICS volunteers	89
Interview questions for community members	90
Appendix 4: Coin Exercise Results	91

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Research Topic

Encountering international volunteer tourists in the cosmopolitan city of Cape Town is becoming a common phenomenon. Volunteer tourism is a sub-group of alternative tourism, where tourists are more conscious of the environment and the culture of the destinations they visit (Wearing, 2001). Volunteer tourism creates a space where tourists can contribute their time to volunteer at a travel destination often in development projects. At first researchers focused on the positive impact brought about by volunteer tourism, but today the discourse has grown more critical of the phenomenon: “Challenging the ethical status of volunteer tourism rather than the previous passive acceptance of volunteer tourism as a ‘saving the world’ concept” (Benson & Wearing, 2012, p. 243). Research papers in the past focused on the benefits volunteer tourism had on the volunteers themselves and there was a dearth of articles on its impact on the hosts (Guttentag, 2009, p. 539-540). This research aims to view volunteerism from multiple viewpoints. I solicited the perceptions of a wide range of key role players including: the volunteers, the host organisations, the community-based organisations, and the community members’. All of the perceptions were equally valued. This research looks deeper into the perceptions of who benefits most from international volunteerism.

Aims of Research

This research aims to gather diverse perceptions on the core question: ‘Who benefits most from international volunteerism?’ By making my findings available to those included in the study as respondents I hope to help the key role players reflect critically on international volunteerism, the extent to which role players benefit unequally and whose interests are served.

Central Research Question and Sub-questions

In the context of development, to what extent do key role players benefit unequally from the ICS volunteerism programme in the context of development?

Sub-questions

1. What are the different perceptions about the extent to which the key role players benefit from the ICS volunteerism programme?

2. What do we learn about volunteer tourism and unequal benefits from the case study?

Rationale

The volunteer tourism industry is a growing phenomenon, but this industry is still in its infancy, therefore no regulations are in place. In the past, researchers concentrated on studying the volunteers' experience, with little attention given to the perspectives of the hosts. This study therefore aimed to incorporate different voices and their perspectives on an intervention that uses volunteer tourists. All the role players' voices, especially the hosts', are important in volunteer tourism and they need to be heard.

Methodology of the Research

In order to examine the participants' perceptions of benefits in a single development intervention, one international volunteer programme in Cape Town was chosen for this case study: International Citizen Service (ICS) programme. ICS was created by British Government and funded from international aid budget of DFID. ICS programme has a number of international NGO partners to operate the volunteer programmes. One of international NGOs chosen was Skillshare International. Coaching for Hope (CfH) became the host organisation for the ICS volunteers in Cape Town because CfH is one of Skillshare International's programmes.

A case study was chosen as the research design even though such research has been criticized in the past due to concerns regarding generalizability. Punch counter-argues this and states; "But it can certainly suggest such generalizability, putting forward concepts or propositions for testing in further research" (Punch, 2005, p. 146). Similarly Yin (2009) argues that case studies are still generalizable to 'theoretical propositions'. In addition, the study is descriptive for the reason that it looks at international volunteerism as a phenomenon and holistic perceptions of benefits from all levels or participants.

The data collection methods included: open-ended questions (which formed part of an information sheet sent to volunteers before they arrived in the host country), in-depth individual interviews, focus groups, direct observation, and structured question. The qualitative analysis was conducted using the Miles and Huberman's approach and the numerical data was analysed using basic descriptive statistics and Excel Software.

Structure of the thesis

The remainder of thesis unfolds as follows:

- Chapter two begins with the background of the case study. It starts with a history and description of Skillshare International, Coaching for Hope, then on to information about the ICS programme; it answers the question as to why the ICS programme was created and addresses the current debate over the efficacy of the ICS programme.
- Chapter three discusses the conceptualization of the central research question and introduces the analytical framework used in the study. The first half of this chapter defines the key terms used in the research question. The second half of the chapter discusses the analytical framework. It focuses on alternative tourism, the debate on volunteer tourism, people-centred development and post-development theory. The meaning of the power-dynamic in volunteer tourism is also discussed.
- Chapter four describes the research methodology.
- Chapter five presents the findings of the thesis.
- Chapter six discusses the key findings in context of relevant debates in the literature.
- Chapter seven provides a summary of the thesis, concluding remarks and some recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND ON THE CASE STUDY

This chapter provides background information on the case study of the ICS programme and the other organisations involved.

Skillshare International

Skillshare International is an international development and volunteer charity organisation, which is registered in South Africa as a section 21 company (2000/005113/08). Skillshare International works with locally based partner organisations in Africa and Asia “to reduce poverty, injustice and inequality and to further economic and social development” (Skillshare International). Skillshare supports its local partners by developing skills and sharing them across multiple countries, facilitating the changes that organisations and societies go through, and spreading awareness of development issues. Skillshare includes programmes that focus on five different areas: HIV and AIDS, gender equality, sports and development, sustainable livelihoods, and conflict transformation. Skillshare International supports the development of local organisations through the placement of international volunteers, developing strategic leadership skills in partner organisations, and providing financial resources.

The philosophy behind Skillshare originated soon after World War I with a Swiss national name Pierre Ceresole. Ceresole first called this organisation "Civil International", the core principles of the organisation now still resemble Ceresole's principle of volunteers sharing skills across frontiers. “Ceresole believed that the international voluntary work camp was a socially useful method of overcoming, albeit on a small scale, the ignorance and suspicions that kept nations apart and led to conflicts like World War I” (Skillshare International). In the 1960s, a British branch was established, and this branch focused mainly on long-term volunteer programmes to assist developing countries by providing skilled personnel (Skillshare International). Volunteers aimed to offer skills that were not locally available to help reduce dependency and increase employment opportunities for local populations.

In 1990 Skillshare Africa was established as an independent organization. It began to focus more on building local capacity for development. They did such things as appointing local staff to manage programmes and work was prioritized to benefit local communities. In 2000 Skillshare Africa was renamed to Skillshare International after joining with Action

Health, a development agency with a similar philosophy and strategy toward development.

In 2007 Skillshare International joined with Coaching for Hope to expand the sports and development sector of the organisation.

Coaching for Hope

Coaching for Hope (CfH) is not an NGO per se, it is part of Skillshare International's "sports for social change" programme. It aims to create a better future for young people from disadvantaged communities using the medium of football to promote positive youth development which helps young people to make positive decisions in life, avoid negative risk behaviour and contribute to their communities. It does this by supporting community-based organisations through coach training, technical support, consultancy, resource mobilization, and international volunteer placements. At coach training sessions, local coaches are trained to use football to teach life skills, address social issues that affect youth such as HIV/AIDS, substance abuse and gender inequality. These training sessions are developed by experts from the fields of football, education, health and international development. CfH encourages local organisations to include marginalized people, such as orphans, vulnerable and disabled children, women and girls, people living with HIV/AIDS and people living in poverty or conflict.

The CfH programme is an official charity partner of the English Football Association (FA) and is supported by a number of leading English professional football clubs. Therefore CfH organizes coaching courses with professional coaches from the UK to meet the FA standards. According to the CfH website so far about 50,000 children have benefited from football and HIV awareness sessions and over 1,000 coaches have been through the courses (Coaching for Hope, 2012).

Sports for Development Approach

CfH uses the sports for development approach by supporting community-based organisations through coach training, technical support, consultancy, resource mobilization, and international volunteer placement. The majority of CfH's partner community-based organisations are also sports for development organisations or

organisation with a sports programme. Therefore three of the partner organisations that participated in this research are sports for development organisations; Amandla Edufootball, MITS and Streetfootballworld, and Marsh Memorial Children's Home all have after school sports programmes. Each of these organisations' target groups are young people and at-risk children. The sports for development approach aims to use sports to get children off the streets, provide an alternative to crime and drugs, supply role models and support, and revitalize sports participation in the community and school. By fusing sports and education it tackles the problem of social inequality, raises awareness of social problems, fosters healthy individual development, teaches positive values and life skills, and overall improves children's lives.

Utilizing volunteers and local coaches who are closer to their age and can provide positive role models for the children, thus this is seen as an important component of sports for development. Children tend to listen more to someone closer to their own age. The children's parents and teachers tend to be seen as authority figures, therefore the volunteers and the local coaches' relationships with the children are the key for teaching life skills.

International Citizen Service - ICS

The International Citizen Service (ICS) is a new British programme launched by Prime Minister David Cameron, and funded by the Department for International Development (DFID). It began with an 18-month pilot period, and the first group of volunteers was sent overseas in June 2011. During the pilot stage of the programme a total of 1,216 volunteers were sent (ITAD, 2012). The ICS provides opportunities for young people from the UK between the ages of 18-22 to travel abroad and volunteer. These global volunteers come from all backgrounds, and the goal stated on their website is: "... make a real difference to some of the world's poorest people. [...] to serve in the fight against global poverty" (DFID, 2011).

The ICS programme was also created with the intention of tackling important issues involving youth in the UK such as: A rise in the Youth unemployment rate, less young people are becoming actively involved in politics and "many young people are not

developing the skills and capabilities they need in the transition to adulthood and to be competitive in the labour market” (Birdwell, 2011, pp. 17-18). Birdwell (2011) describes the reason for creating the government-run ICS programme in relation to the current social context in the UK; “This context suggests that the introduction of National Citizen Service and ICS is perfectly timed. There is clearly a need for structured learning opportunities available to young people that are exciting and also allow them to develop skills and do something ‘of value to society’”. The current recession in the UK has had a disproportionate impact on young people's employment prospects (Birdwell, 2011, p. 17). The unemployment rate for people between the ages of 16-24 has increased in the UK. According to the Centre for Economics and Social Inclusion, the number of unemployed under the age of 25 had reached nearly one million by the end of 2012 (Center for Economic and Social Inclusion, 2010). According to the UK Parliament website, the unemployment rate for 18-24 year olds was 18.4% in 2012 (Evans, 2013, p. 1). Rising unemployment among the youth could lead to long-term unemployment and various negative outcomes (Birdwell, 2011, p. 17). It was envisaged that those disadvantaged youths from the UK who are recruited for the ICS programme would be able to gain extraordinary experiences abroad, acquire proper training, learn new skills and have the privilege to come back to the UK with a unique addition to their CVs which would make them more employable.

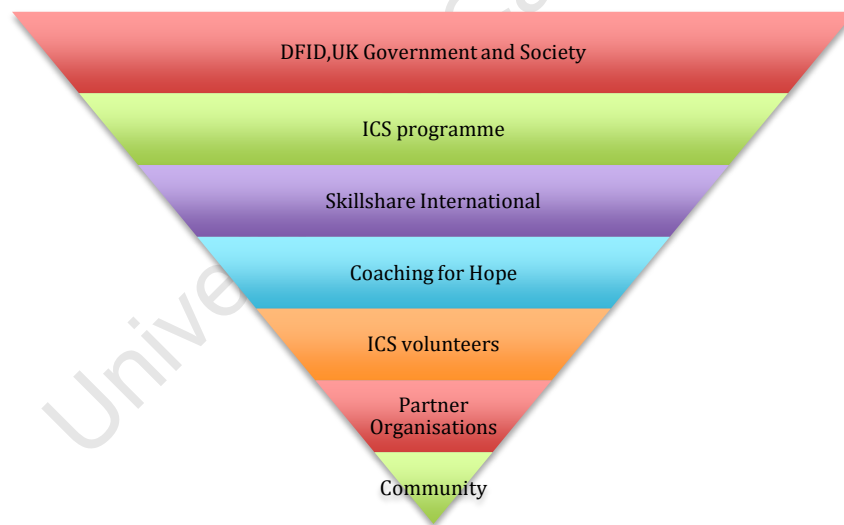
The ICS programme is expected to have an impact in three key areas: on the volunteers themselves, on the development outcome in the placement communities, and an increased citizenship in the UK (ITAD, 2011, p. 1). The ICS is structured for more than just volunteering; it also encourages learning and reflexivity. The ICS is based on the “...principle of guiding participants along a supported learning journey enabling them to develop knowledge, awareness and understanding of the processes involved in development and empowering them to make active choices in responding to the objectives of the programme” (ITAD, 2011, p. 2). The ICS programme includes recruitment and selection, placement matching and pre-departure training. On arrival at their destination, volunteers go through orientation training before starting their development projects. Three months later, after returning to the UK, they have a further training day that is part debriefing and part support for the next stage of active citizenship in the UK. “Every stage of this journey was designed to give the opportunity for volunteers to learn new life and

leadership skills” (ITAD, 2012, p. vi). Therefore the ICS programme offers more than just another exotic volunteer experience for youths, but also provides learning and self-development opportunities.

The pilot stage of the ICS programme offered volunteer opportunities in 28 countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, through six agencies: VSO, Restless Development, International Service, Skillshare International, Progressio and THET. Through Skillshare International, CfH became the organisation to host ICS volunteers in Cape Town, South Africa. Once the pilot stage of the ICS programme started CfH became the volunteers' supervisor and CfH was also in charge of placing the individual volunteers with various sports for development partner organisations.

The *figure1* below demonstrates how the ICS programme and all the key players relate to each other hierarchically.

Figure 1: Key players in ICS programme in a hierarchical order



Taking off for a Gap Year is a popular phenomenon, especially in the UK. Young people often spend several months traveling around the world before going on to University, and, because of the general shift of interest from traditional tourism to alternative tourism (Wearing, 2001), the gap year market has shifted the focus onto the many organisations providing volunteer and internship opportunities as part of the gap-year experience. Traditionally a gap year has only been available to people who could afford adventurous and expensive travel. The average gap year traveler is young, relatively wealthy, and

Caucasian (Birdwell, 2011, p. 22). The ICS targets a different profile by providing an international volunteering experience for those who usually could not afford to take a gap-year, such as those from black and minority ethnic groups and those from low-income households. The target demographic area for recruitment was Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and, in England, Yorkshire and Humber (ITAD, 2012, p. 11). The aim is to provide British citizens with an equal opportunity to volunteer abroad with an intention of positive outcomes in return; those who experience volunteering abroad are more likely to make a positive contribution once they return to British society.

Technically the ICS cannot be included in the category of “Volunteer Tourism” due to the fact that the British Government and DFID fund the programme and that volunteers do not have to pay the cost of transportation or living expenses, although a financial contribution is encouraged. Therefore in this study the researcher will refer to the ICS volunteers as “International Volunteers” instead of “volunteer tourists”.

Before the ICS pilot project was launched, Demos undertook a comprehensive study of international volunteers in the UK in order to help with creating the most effective volunteer programme. In the literature review for this research, Birdwell repeatedly mentions how volunteering abroad has a positive impact on the international volunteers themselves, though the research also admits to be lacking information on the volunteers’ impact on the host communities. Therefore further research is necessary for the ICS pilot projects, especially since it is likely that this programme will expand in the future. Like Campbell and Gary point out; “while it is important to understand the volunteers, they represent only one half of the story” (Campbell & Gray, 2007, p. 464). It is important to focus not only on volunteers’ and British society’s benefits from programmes like the ICS, but also on the perceptions of host communities of the ICS volunteers and the programme.

The research that was conducted before the pilot stage of the ICS programme evidently lacks the voice of the host communities and how they perceive this project. Birdwell also points to the same disconnect; “These types programmes [volunteer tourism] are far too often driven by the needs and priorities of the sending countries rather than the needs of developing communities” (Birdwell, 2011, p. 60). My research will shift the focus from not only looking at the perceived benefits the volunteers gain, but it will also examine ICS

volunteerism from a more holistic and inclusive perspective which is promoted by People Centred Development thinking. Such a multidimensional perspective will encompass a look at who is benefiting from the ICS programme from four different levels and perspectives using “intersubjective dialogue” that brings together the views of Coaching for Hope (hosting organisation), four partner organisations, ICS volunteers, and the community members.

Debate over the ICS programme

The ICS programme can be beneficial because it gives disadvantaged young people an opportunity to experience International Volunteering. It gives them a new set of skills and experiences that will help toward self-development, and improves their employment opportunities after returning to the UK. It could also motivate alumni to continue volunteering, doing charity work, or becoming involved in community development in their local community.

Then, there are counter-arguments nicely summarized by journalist Andrew Gilligan’s Telegraph’s title; “Gap-year holidays that reveal the madness of overseas aid: Britain’s £7 billion aid budget is paying for unqualified teenagers to travel the world” (Gilligan, 2012). The ICS programme spends approximately £7,000 on each volunteer, thus it is debatable how well spent this investment is. Some think that, instead of spending the International aid budget to send young, unskilled volunteers abroad, the money would be better spent on sending professional development workers.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUALISATION OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

There are two sections in this chapter. The first section is a conceptualisation of the research questions which includes defining all the key concepts used in the research. It also provides basic background information on volunteer tourism and a discussion on the pros and cons of volunteer tourism. The second section of the chapter is devoted to the analytical framework. It focuses on post-development theory while incorporating the people-centred approach to development when looking at volunteerism. It will also consider the power-dynamics that exist in the field of international volunteerism using post-development theories.

Conceptualisation of the Research Questions

The research questions include the following key terms: key role players, perceptions of benefits and volunteerism programme in the context of development. Each of these key terms will be defined below.

Key Role Players

The key representatives identified for the data collection were Coaching for Hope, the four partner organisations where ICS volunteers were placed: Amandla Edufootball, Streetfootballworld, Homeless Street Soccer, Making an Impact Through Sport (MITS) and Marsh Memorial Children's Home; and the community members i.e beneficiaries or those members of the community where the ICS volunteers operated. In this case study these community members were two local coaches, a school teacher and a school principle. Amandla Edufootball and Streetfootballworld work in informal settlements all across Cape Town, MITS is based in a coloured community in Cape Town called Mitchell's Plain, and Marsh Memorial Children's Home is located in the suburbs of Rondebosch but they take children from all over the Cape Town area. The rationale behind choosing those specific representatives of the various organisations and communities was because they all worked closely with and have in-depth relationships with the ICS volunteers. Thus their attitudes and opinions towards the international volunteers are relevant to the research, and these people are best situated to provide data for this project.

Perceptions of Benefits

The key word in the research question is “perception”; according to Reisinger and Turner, this refers to the “process of attributing meaning to environmental stimuli, internal experience, impression, and interpretation of others’ behaviour. Perceptions are subjective and they differ from reality. [...] The concept of perception is important for social interaction” (Turner & Reisinger, 2003, p. 173). Therefore the perceptions mentioned in the research question include the respondents’ opinions, ideas, experience and the interpretation of their subjective realities. It does not necessarily refer to an objective reality that is applied universally to all human endeavors.

However, it does not mean that perceptions provide insufficient data for academic research. According to Habermas (2003), language becomes an instrument that people use to experience reality. In this context language becomes a tool for people to learn from each other about world. “People are able to articulate the reasons and motivations underlying their actions in their own words and ways of expression. [...] Researchers and educators should not ignore or dismiss people’s own explanations about their reasons to act as if they were nonscientific; rather, they should recognize them as the basis for their scientific conclusions” (Marti, 2003). Habermas’ intersubjective dialogue will be used to view objective reality by intersubjectivity constructing reality from as many subjective view points as possible (Habermas, 2003).

Alternative Tourism

Alternative tourism fully emerged in late 20th century when tourists began searching for new and exciting forms of travel as an alternative to mass-produced, pre-packaged tourism (Wearing, 2001, p. 6). Some of the examples of alternative tourism are: ecotourism, backpacking, adventure tourism, academic tourism, Fairtrade tourism, and volunteer tourism. Basically, alternative tourism was a reaction to traditional tourism, which tends to be associated with highly organized, pre-packaged travel, often utilizing tour buses and tour guides carrying flags and bullhorns. Over the years traditional tourism has been criticized for being both environmentally and culturally harmful to host countries. Alternative tourism came into being as a response to this criticism.

Alternative tourism is aimed at the more “experienced” tourists, those who do not require

guides or pre-packaged travel and who prefer more flexibility. This new breed of tourists is more conscious of other cultures, more environmentally aware, and they understand the local history and art. Alternative tourists tended to travel to more unusual locations compared to traditional tourists. Alternative tourists are often trying to find what they cannot experience at home. "Tourists looking for what they feel their own society has lost, nature, purity, wisdom or freedom" (Salazar, 2004, p. 91). Like most tourists, many come with the expectation of an idealized image of how the destination should appear, they possess a highly romanticized view of tourism.

Volunteer Tourism

Volunteer tourism falls under the general category of alternative tourism explained above. Wearing (2001) defines volunteer tourism as:

Volunteer tourism applies to those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment (Wearing, 2001, p. 1)

He goes on to say that volunteer tourism...

May involve individuals from Western countries paying to come to the Third World to assist with development or conservation work, as they desire to achieve something more meaningful than a pleasure-filled, self-indulgent holiday (Wearing, 2001, p. 23).

The altruistic idea behind volunteer tourism is for everyone to receive mutual benefit. The volunteers benefit by gaining unique experiences and a chance to build their CVs. The host NGO may profit from charging the volunteers for the experience and using that money towards funding development projects. They receive free labour from those who *could possibly* bring useful skill sets. The environment or community where volunteers work benefits by gaining new skills, free staff, and in some cases financial gain.

This form of alternative tourism has become so popular that even Lonely Planet Publications, the purveyors of the most ubiquitous backpacker bibles on Earth, devoted an entire guidebook to the subject: "Volunteer: A Traveller's Guide" (2010). Mintel (2008) estimated that the volunteer tourism market reached US\$150 million in 2006. TRAM stated that the volunteer tourism industry has been expanding since the 1990s and that there

were a total of 1.6 million people participating in volunteer tourism per year (TRAM, 2008, p. 5). This rise in popularity led to the creation of many profit-driven companies in addition to the non-profit organisations that organize and host volunteer tourists all over the world.

Typically volunteer tourists are from the Western middle classes seeking the opportunity to experience other cultures in developing countries (Salazar, 2004, p. 93). The generalization of white Western volunteers going to developing countries and whether this is another form of colonialism or whether this phenomenon is reinforcing the stereotypes has become a hotly debated topic.

Although volunteer tourism started as an altruistic alternative to hedonistic travel for pleasure where all participants can benefit, in the last decade it has been subjected to critical scrutiny.

Analytical Framework

Critical Reflections on Volunteer Tourism in the Literature

The volunteer tourism industry has grown exponentially in the last decade, as has the advertising budget of the industry. Volunteer tourism advertisements are generally slanted to sell the most romanticized image of this form of tourism. The manner in which volunteer tourism is advertised can partly be blamed for people holding such a distorted image of the experience. According to Kate Simpson (2004), poverty has become commoditized. Simpson provides examples from a gap year organisation's websites. These are the examples Simpson provided of linguistically-charged phrases that they use in advertisements to attract gap year students from the UK;

You will make a difference wherever you go (Teaching & Projects Abroad, 2001, p. 1).

Are you looking for a travel adventure with a purpose – one that gives you an experience beyond tourism and provides practical help to local communities? Develop people. Share cultures. Build futures (i-to-i, 2002).

SPW will not send you where you are not needed. You will not be doing a job that a local could do better than you (Student Partnership Worldwide, 2002).

Simpson makes the point that “development is seen as something that can be ‘done’, and specifically, by non-skilled, but enthusiastic, volunteer-tourists” (Simpson, 2004, p. 685). In

the gap year volunteer tourism literature there is a strong emphasis on how much the work of volunteers is *needed* by the target communities. The gap year industry's understanding of development is very simplistic; "Consequently, the industry aligns itself within modernist and westernization development models, encouraging the 'third world' to follow the west's example, and offering young, unskilled volunteers to set that example" (Simpson, 2004, p. 686). Although Simpson specifically focuses only on the gap year industry, she makes a good point about simplistic western perceptions of development as something that can easily be undertaken. She concludes her article by saying that the gap year experience is lacking in pedagogy for social justice. Participants legitimize the poverty and inequalities as 'bad luck' without asking *why* there are global differences in inequality, or *how* people's lives in different places intersect. Gap year students need to recognize the existence of inequality and then seek for social change (Simpson, 2004, p. 690).

Unfortunately the popularity of volunteer tourism has resulted in a surge in moneymaking schemes by many private organisations. A Google search using the words *volunteer/internship in South Africa* shows hundreds of websites for organisations which organize these pre-packaged volunteer trips. Most of these companies will require their clients to pay for the total package via an electronic transfer before proceeding with next step. Usually the package will include airfare, accommodation, food, transportation, insurance, special allowances, excursions...etc (details of what is actually included varies from organisation to organisation). This makes the whole process of volunteering abroad very convenient. It provides a comfortable safety net for volunteers who might feel nervous about stepping into an unknown and exotic country for the first time. Many volunteer tourism trips include excursions. These excursions are pre-planned mini-trips throughout the volunteer's stay and usually consist of typical tourist activities that you will most often find in a guidebook. This allows the volunteer tourists to experience both the *volunteer* aspects of their travel as well as the *tourist* part. Travel agents claim that their clients can experience the best of both worlds. This contradicts the very reason why alternative tourism was created in the first place: to distance itself from the traditional, pre-paid, packaged tourism experiences. Salazar (2004) claims these alternative forms of tourism are just the old tourism with new jargon (Salazar, 2004, p. 90).

The volunteer period of the tourists is usually short-term. It can range from weeks to

several months, and therefore, as a development intervention it is much too short a period to make any substantial impact. This is another perceived weakness of volunteer tourism. It is argued that short-term volunteers coming and going frequently can have a negative impact on the community where the volunteers work because every time new volunteers arrive the NGO and the community has to adjust to the new dynamic. This is especially the case for projects where vulnerable children are involved. For example, Linda Richter and Amy Norman are specifically concerned with the impact of volunteer tourism on AIDS orphans and other vulnerable children:

Unfortunately, many of the children they [volunteer tourists] leave behind experience another abandonment to the detriment of their short- and long-term emotional and social development. Inherently, the formation and dissolution of attachment bonds to successive volunteers is likely to be especially damaging to young children being cared for in such environments. The early adversity faced by young children with changing caregivers leaves them very vulnerable, putting them at greatly increased risk for developing disorganized attachments, thus affecting their socio-psychological development and long-term well-being. [...] Voluntourism is potentially exploitative of children suffering adversity as a result of poverty and HIV/AIDS. Thus far, no formal regulations exist in any sub-Saharan African country to protect children from such practices (Richter & Norman, 2010, p. 224-225).

Therefore short-term volunteers working with vulnerable children could be very harmful for the children in much the same way as McDonald's study (1996) of children in temporary or unstable foster care. McDonald indicates that repeated disruptions of attachment are extremely disturbing for young children.

Case studies by Salazar state that locals do not gain sufficient benefits from volunteer tourists, for them to make a significant and permanent impact (Salazar, 2004). According to Salazar tourists use representations of 'otherness' as an opportunity for self-reflection. Salazar (2004) states that people who choose volunteer tourism seem to be more preoccupied with their own personal development and self-realization than with the development of the communities they visit. These tourists may have learned more about the workings of international development aid projects, but this knowledge has little or no impact on their daily behaviour back home. Volunteer tourists' personal benefits appear to far exceed the benefit for those who reside in the destination.

Sin (2009), who conducted a study on volunteer tourism in South Africa, stated how this may “reinforce negative stereotypes of aid-recipients as inferior or less-able through the process of ‘othering’ by volunteer tourists” (Sin, 2009, p. 497). Instead of breaking down inter-cultural stereotypes Sin is concerned that volunteer tourism can reinforces the power-dynamic.

People-Centred Development

In this study I ask: “To what extent do key role players benefit unequally from the ICS volunteerism programme in the context of development?” and “who benefits most from volunteerism?”. My analytical framework is influenced by people-centred thinking. David Korten, the founder of the People Centred Development Network, describes development as embodying three key principles: justice, sustainability, and inclusiveness (Korten, 1990, p. 68). For Roodt, in people-centred development “the beneficiaries of any proposed development participate through their organisations in determining the type of development most relevant to their needs and may also participate in the implementation and subsequent running/monitoring of the development” (Roodt, 2001:471). The motto of People Centred Development perspectives (PCD) is *Development is about people*. This maxim implies that people (i.e. the intended beneficiaries of development, or insiders) should be at the centre of any development effort, and that the development effort should be *meaningful to them* (Davids, 2005, p. 23). According to Davids, while most theorists and practitioners may not agree on the definition of the word *development*, but they all agree on the principle that development is about people, their needs, their circumstances, and their efforts (p.23). So who are these *people* that Davids is talking about? According to Davids they are the “...millions of people who live in poverty and who experience inequality as far as access to economic, political and symbolic power is concerned. These people must be made the focus of development action and intervention” (Davids, 2005, p. 23). Viewed through the lens of PCD, the topic of this research - volunteerism in development - the priority should focus on what benefit it brings to the *people* i.e. the targeted beneficiaries of each partner organisation’s community for which the ICS volunteers are working. According to research conducted by Birdwell (2011), *only* 10 per cent of the UK public responded that the primary objective of the ICS programme should be international development (Birdwell, 2011, p. 24). This data clearly shows the UK public’s priorities when

it comes to International volunteerism.

Another important element of PCD points to the power of *people* themselves. “...people confronted with the message of development have the right to decide on it for themselves – what it means to them and whether they want it or not. [...] it grants people the right to reject any development proposal, programme or project if they perceive it as meaningless within the context of their changing reality” (Davids, 2005, p. 24).

According to Davids, relationships are a crucial part of development: “Human relationships are one of the main determinants of human development. A great deal of the world’s mis-development is the results of unfair or dysfunctional relationships at an international, national or community level” (Davids, 2005, p. 24). Such a dysfunctional power relationship between the stakeholders can be viewed as stemming from the unequal power relationship between the industrialized Western nations and the rest of the world, especially the Global South. In the case of ICS volunteerism, identifying the nature of the power relationship between volunteers from the UK and the beneficiaries can be a critical element for this research, because unfair or dysfunctional relationships can lead to that ‘mis-development’ mentioned by Davids.

Post-Development Theory

It was 1949 when US president Harry Truman introduced the notion that the more developed nations had a responsibility to help improve the living standards of those from the less developed nations.

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people... I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life... what we envisage is a programme of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing... Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge (Truman, 1949).

Truman’s statement became the philosophy behind the modern idea of development; i.e.

the Third World is backward and primitive and their problems can be solved by simply following the same development path that Western nations trod (Escobar, 1995, p. 6). From the late 1940s to the 1960s development promoted industrialization. In the 1970s, there was an attempt to promote development using the concept of fulfilling basic needs, and the 1980s saw the emergence of the neo-liberal welfare state that encouraged minimal economic intervention and supported the free market (Kiely, 1999, p. 32). Post-development theory argues that the above-mentioned attempts to “develop” the so-called Third World do not work. Not only does this form of development not work, but also those ill-formed attempts at development *are* the problem. Post-development theory views the act of reinforcing Western dominance in the Third World in the name of development as another form of colonialism. Post-development theorist Kothari (1988) states, “Where colonialism left off, development took over” (Kothari, 1988, p. 34).

Post-development theorists such as Escobar (1984, 1995) or Sachs (1992) have emphasized the power dynamics created in the field of development “Working in development inevitably positions us within a “development discourse”, where the North’s superiority over the South is taken for granted, and Western-style development is the norm” (Kapoor, 2004, p. 629). The People-Centred-Development approach emerged as a viable opposition to what is known as “the first development decade (the 1960s), those post-colonial countries that opted for a capitalist model of development adopted what has become known as the ‘modernization approach’ [...] attempt by Western governments and development agencies to set less-developed countries on the path of capitalist industrialization” (Roodt, 2001, p. 471). Kapoor and other post-development theorists (Escobar, 1995 Sachs, 1992, Spivac 1988 & Stiratt, 2008) believe that the PCD approach to development is just another form of exploitation in disguise. Approaches such as PCD make development appear noble and completely different from what came before, but this could just be an illusion and development itself has not changed. Kapoor shifts the focus back to the power dynamics of us/them that still exists in development discourse today (Kapoor, 2004).

ICS programme in the context of Post-Development Discourse

When “Western researchers” are replaced with “ICS volunteers” a similar pattern emerges. It is extremely important to study the phenomenon of western tourists coming to so-called

“south” to volunteer and how this could impact the perceptions of all the participants in the project. Volunteers hope to experience a new culture and society, but the way western volunteers understand the linguistic concepts “poor”, “underdeveloped”, or “third-world” is rapidly replicating various archaic forms of Western hegemonic power over indigenous cultures. Post-development theory posits the North’s moral superiority over the South and that is where Western-style development is the norm. “Development organisations or researchers may now call their subjects ‘beneficiaries’, ‘target groups’, ‘partners’ or ‘clients’, instead of ‘poor’, ‘underdeveloped’, or ‘disadvantaged’, but this does not by itself change the discourse that it becomes important in our encounters with the Third World to ask who represents, and what baggage positions us in this us/them manner” (Kapoor, 2004, p. 629). Similarly Stirrat (2008) argues that even though development practitioners may have changed the wording they are still practicing development focused on having power over those being ‘developed’. In that way he feels that not much has changed since the days of rampant colonialism (Stirrat, 2008). Kapoor agrees with Foucault (1980), Said (1978) and Escobar (1995) that it is never just knowledge that is always imbricate with power, meaning getting to know the Third World is also about getting to discipline and monitor it, to have a more manageable Other (Kapoor, 2004, p. 632). Therefore in post-development discourse development is still about one nation having power over another.

The ICS programme was created to give “disadvantaged” Britons the opportunity to volunteer abroad. The current recession in the UK has had a disproportionate impact on young people's future (Birdwell, 2011, p. 17). The unemployed rate for people between the ages of 16 and 24 has increased in the UK. According to the Centre for Economics and Social Inclusion, the number of unemployed people under the age of 25 had reached nearly one million by the end of 2012 (Center for Economic and Social Inclusion, 2010). According to the UK Parliament's website, the unemployment rate for 18-24 year olds was 18.4% in 2012 (Evans, 2013, p. 1). These numbers struck fear into many UK policy makers. Rising unemployment among the youth could lead to long-term unemployment and various other negative results (Birdwell, 2011, p. 17). Those disadvantaged youths from the UK who are recruited for the ICS programme will be able to gain extraordinary experiences abroad, acquire proper training, learn new skills and have the privilege to come back to the UK with a unique addition for their CVs which makes them more employable. This is what Spivac

calls “information retrieval”, with the Third World once again providing resources for the First World at the cost of poor people: exploitation. As mentioned above, a public poll concerning the ICS run by Demos demonstrated that “only 10 per cent thought that the primary objective should be international development” (p.24). According to Demos’ data collected from the UK public, “There is a clear emphasis on its impact on Britons rather than on the communities they work in. This may be expected in the current climate, with youth unemployment such a dominant concern among many communities in the UK” (Birdwell, 2011, p. 25). According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, the unemployment rate among young South African people between the ages of 15 and 24 is 51 per cent in South Africa. This is more than twice the national average of a 25 per cent unemployment rate (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2011). When comparing the unemployment rate of South African youths (51%) to the unemployment rate of UK youths (18.4%), it is plain to see that the disadvantaged South African youth may need the benefits that the ICS volunteers receive, such as ‘personal development’, ‘skills’, and ‘career and educational aspirations’, much more than these relatively well-off British ICS volunteers.

In volunteerism, especially in the case of the ICS programme, where, technically, British volunteers are being funded by the British Government for the benefit of British society, the question of who benefits, becomes rather complex. There are three main objectives to this development intervention, the ICS programme: the personal development of the young people, what is put back in the UK, and the impact on the partner organisations. The ideal win-win situation would be for all parties to maximize their benefit from the intervention, but that is also very difficult to achieve. One objective could possibly interfere with the others thus canceling any benefits ensuing from the same intervention. Post-development theories can be used to explain the phenomenon of the West exploiting the developing countries for their own benefit. Although it may appear from the outside that the West is engaging in an altruistic intervention to alleviate poverty by using politically correct development terms as “bottom-up”, “local”, or “grass-roots” to explain their actions, but in the end, like Salazar (2004) suggests, it could be just another form of colonialism in disguise.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This chapter will describe the methods used in conducting the research, why these methods were chosen, and how the analysis was conducted.

Research Design

The design of this research is a single case study that is primarily descriptive and uses mixed-methods. Yin (2009) defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2009, p. 18). The case study method was chosen because it has the advantage of extracting rich data by collecting multiple sources of evidence to gain a broader and more profound understanding of the social phenomenon being studied (Yin, 2009, pp. 9-10). Yin emphasizes how a case study must cover both a particular phenomenon and the context within which the phenomenon is occurring (Yin, 2009, p. 31). In the case of this research, the multileveled perceptions of who benefits most held by the key role players (phenomenon) as part of a North to South interaction in International volunteerism (context) is being studied.

The data will be collected from all four key role players in the ICS programme in Cape Town. Thus each key role player will assess the ICS programme from his or her own perspective. “The important aspect of case study data collection is the use of multiple sources of evidence – converging on the same series of issues” (Yin, 1993, p. 32). Habermas (2003) call this *Intersubjective dialogue*. In an intersubjective dialogue, each participant, whether they are in the majority or minority, powerful or powerless, all bring their own knowledge, opinions, beliefs, perceptions and experiences as part of their subjective reality. The “truth” can not be defined according to the reality of an single expert in the field, instead all of the participants involved will have a say in what the “truth” may be. After sampling the different ideas, beliefs, perceptions and experiences, the truth lays at the nodes where they all interconnect. This research will look closely at four different perceptions held by the stakeholders in single development intervention – the International Citizen Service programme. This social construction of “reality” will reside at that point where the web of the participants’ perceptions intersect.

The data will be used to discern patterns in the participants' thoughts, feelings, expectations and behaviour. The quantitative data collected will allow the researcher to create charts and graphs to analyze and compare different responses; observations and in-depth interviews will provide qualitative data that will be able to expand on the respondents' answers by providing context and explanations. Having both quantitative and qualitative data could also be used to double-check the veracity of the findings.

"Properly conducted case studies, especially in situations where our knowledge is shallow, fragmentary, incomplete or nonexistent, have a valuable contribution to make" (Punch, 2005, p. 147). Readers must keep in mind that this research is simply an in-depth case study of one of the many ICS programmes being globally operated. By using only three cycles of volunteers one cannot presume to generalize from this limited data conclusions that would universally apply to all ICS programmes.

Choice of Case Study

This research focuses on the ICS programme supervised by Coaching for Hope based in Cape Town, South Africa, along with four local partner NGOs where volunteers were placed: Amandla Edufootball, Streetfootballworld, Making an Impact Through Sport and Marsh Memorial Children's Home. All of the NGOs except for March Memorial Children's Home are sports based, in that they promote development through sports. Therefore all of the volunteers were expected to work in a sports environment and to carry out physical training sessions, facilitate practice training, organize and referee matches. The researcher chose to work with three cycles of ICS volunteers during the pilot stage of the programme; first group January–April 2012 (n=16), second group April–July 2012 (n=21) and the last group May–August 2012 (n=7). The reason for choosing these three groups of volunteers was the convenience of the timing. All of the ICS volunteers signed consent forms to participate in the research. All those who were interviewed were also given consent forms to sign. It is important to keep in mind that studying three groups of ICS volunteers from Cape Town cannot be generalized to apply to all ICS programmes worldwide. The researcher's previous internship experience working with Coaching for Hope smoothed the process of gaining permission to conduct this research on the ICS programme from Coaching for Hope, the volunteers and partner NGOs.

Data Collection Methods

Data was collected using the following methods:

- Preliminary information sheet
- Documentary Analysis
- Observations
- Semi-structured Interviews
- Structured questions

Open-ended Questions in Preliminary Information Sheets

Information sheets were collected from three groups of ICS volunteers prior to their arrival in South Africa or within the first week after their arrival via Email or hard copy. The sample size for respondents for preliminary information sheets was all the ICS volunteers from three cycles (n=44). The information sheets provided basic background information on each of the volunteers, asked open-ended questions regarding their expectations after arrival, ascertained the pre-existed image they held of South Africa and the respondents were asked to number their priorities from the list given, and number their vision of ICS's priorities for its programme. These information sheets provided the researcher with a general idea of each volunteers' pre-existing expectations and ideas about the services that they were going to perform. These information sheets also helped guide the individual, open-ended interviews that were later conducted with the volunteers. According to the specific individual's responses on the sheets, the researcher was able to customize the interview and ask specific questions tailored to each of the volunteers.

Structured Questions

The coin exercise came from Participatory Assessment of Development (PADev) methodology created by Professor Tom Dietz from the University of Amsterdam. PAdDev is a "toolbox of tools and methods that have been designed to get a bottom-up assessment of development" (Dietz, 2011). The idea of a coin exercise was derived from one of the tools in the "toolbox". This exercise worked perfectly for assessing the participants' perceptions of benefits.

For this exercise, the ICS volunteers were divided into smaller groups (5-7) according to

their organisation placement to perform the coin exercise. While representatives of CfH, the organisations, and the community members completed the exercise individually during the semi-structured interviews.

The objective of the coin exercise was to get an idea of the level of benefit that the ICS programme had on the different groups. This exercise can show which of the groups is perceived to be benefiting the most and the least from this development intervention. Each group of participants was given ten coins and a table with five squares representing each possible group of beneficiaries from the ICS programme; the British Government, Coaching for Hope, the ICS volunteers, the partner organisations, and the 'community'.

At first, the exercise was carefully explained to the participants with a demonstration using the coins. Participants were clearly told that we are assessing the amount of benefit that ICS programme brings to each group, *not* the number of people benefiting. So, for example, for those who think that ICS programme benefits all groups equally, then coins would be equally distributed among the squares (2,2,2,2,2). Once the group of volunteers agreed on the distribution of the coins, they were then asked to write the reasons why these choices were made. For the participants who conducted this exercise individually during the interview process, they orally explained the reasons for their distribution choices instead of writing it down.

The CfH, the organisations and the community members who participated in the semi-structured interviews were all asked to participate in the coin exercise. Since they distributed the coins individually, they did not get to discuss their choices with others, but they were given several minutes to finalize their coin placements. This allowed them to reflect on their choices and move their coins around until they came to a satisfactory distribution.

Interviews

The interviewees for this research comprised of sample of ICS volunteers (n=12), employees and ex-employees from Coaching for Hope (n=4), one representative from all five partner organisations involved in the ICS programme (n=4), and the community members from two different communities (n=4); the community members were beneficiaries of each of the partner organisations who experienced and worked closely

with the ICS volunteers, such as school teachers, fellow local volunteers, youth, and athletic coaches. A total of 24 interviews were conducted. Sampling of interviewees were selected using purposive sampling, which is a type of non-probability sampling technique. Purposive sampling is when researcher relies on his or her judgment when it comes to selecting the interviewees. This type of sampling is usually used when sample being investigated is quite small (Babbie, 2004, pp. 183-184). By interviewing such a multidimensional cross-section of people the researcher was able to gather a broad-spectrum of qualitative data encompassing the many diverse views and perspectives of the ICS programme in order to uncover potential patterns. The interviews enabled the researcher to come into direct contact with the participants and pose questions that required introspection in their responses, rather than quantitative single word, single sentence, multiple choice, or yes/no answers. This also enabled the researcher to probe for additional information when needed and to encourage more detailed responses from the interviewees. These methods were employed to capture a multiplicity of feelings, attitudes and perceptions (Kvale, 1997, p.198).

The types of interviews chosen for this study were face-to-face, in-depth, open-ended and semi-structured. All interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees. To make the interviewees feel as comfortable as possible, informal interviews were chosen; "It is a casual and relaxed form of interviewing that attempts to close the gulf between the researcher and the researched" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 164). The researcher met the volunteers at the beginning of each cycle of their service in Cape Town, attended a majority of their group meetings and dressed casually for all the interviews. Therefore the researcher was able to gain trust and create a more natural environment with the volunteers during interviewing. These tactics aimed to mitigate the power-relation between a researcher and the people being researched. When interviewing organisation leaders and community members, the researcher put emphasis on the fact that the researcher did not work for Coaching for Hope, the ICS programme or the UK government to re-assure them that the information they share would be kept anonymous and confidential. The researcher did not want the organisations to feel as though they had to answer in a way it would please Coaching for Hope. Semi-structured interviews are neither fully fixed nor fully free, and are perhaps best seen as flexible (O'Leary, 2004, p. 164). By 'flexible' O'Leary means the

interviewer prepares the key questions, but there are no limitations or strictures that the interviewer is required to follow; both sides were free to pursue any interesting tangents to their logical conclusions.

Observation

Observation is defined by O'Leary as "A systematic method of data collection that relies on a researcher's ability to gather data through his or her senses; to see, hear, feel, taste, and smell" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 170). The main obstacle to using observation as a social research tool is that the researchers' own socio-cultural background can affect the mental processing and color the data being collected. "Sensory input is then filtered and processed by a brain that has been socialized into thinking and understanding through very structured, defined, and indeed limited frameworks" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 171). Therefore the researcher must remain constantly vigilant so that the data will not be unduly influenced or biased, and must employ the observation method with as much of an open mind as humanly possible. The researcher was an observer during all workshops and meetings that took place throughout the three cycles of volunteers and also observed the volunteers' casual daily service; i.e. interacting with the placement organisations and the children. For this study, the researcher used non-participant observation, where the researcher does not participate in any of the volunteers' activities and simply watches the interactions of the volunteers during their daily activities in the field. "Observers are physically present but attempt to be unobtrusive" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 172). The researcher used candid observations; meaning people who were being observed were fully informed that they were being observed for the purpose of the study. O'Leary mentions several disadvantages to candid observation; it could be uncomfortable for those being observed and they might act less naturally (p. 173). It was an unstructured observation because the researcher recorded the data without predetermined criteria. "Observers either attempt to record all of their observations and later search for emergent patterns, or they make judgment calls on the relevance of initial observations and attempt to focus subsequent observations and reflections on those areas deemed most significant" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 174).

Timing of the Data Collection

Questionnaires for the volunteers were emailed to each participant before they arrived in South Africa. This allowed the researcher to acquire basic information on the initial

perceptions held by the volunteers. Interviews with individual volunteers were conducted toward the end of their 12-week stay, because time was needed to adjust to the new environment. The time period for conducting interviews with the representatives from the host NGOs, community members, and Coaching for Hope was towards the end of the third cycle of volunteers which was at the end of the pilot stage of the ICS programme.

Data Analysis

Preliminary Information Sheets

The majority of the data collected from the information sheets included open-ended qualitative answers that were later compiled in an attempt to locate the emergence of relevant patterns.

Structured Questions

First, the average number of coins was calculated from each group so the average perception of the benefits for each group could be calculated. Then the coin exercise data from all groups was combined to create an average of the perception of benefits held by each of the key role players and also an overall average perception of benefits. This data was then transformed into tables and charts to be able to visualize the data more easily and to do frequency counts. Through this process the differences in perceptions amongst different groups were compared. This exercise assisted with the core question of the research about 'who benefits?' from each of the role players' perceptions.

Interviews/Observations

The raw data was transcribed from recorded interviews and fieldwork notes from the observations. The recorded interviews were then transcribed word for word, because detailed raw data provides a richer database for the analysis.

The transcribed interviews were next organized into separate themes. According to Neuman (1997, p.421) "A qualitative researcher analyzes data by organizing it into categories on the basis of themes, concepts, or similar features", this is also known as coding. Codes are in the form of tags or labels that will be assigned to units of meaning within the descriptive or inferential information compiled during the study. They are attached to words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs as a way of subsequently organizing

and retrieving data, as well as categorizing all the various segments into clusters relating to particular research questions so that they can be easily located. (Huberman & Miles, 1994, pp. 56-57). Coding will enable us to identify reoccurring themes and patterns within the qualitative data.

The Huberman and Miles framework for qualitative data analysis was used in this research. Miles and Huberman called this the 'transcendental realist' approach, and it includes three components: *data reduction*, *data display*, and *drawing and verifying conclusions* (Miles, 1994). Punch explains that *data reduction* transpires throughout the analysis through editing, summarizing, coding and memoing. Later in the analysis reduction occurs by conceptualizing and developing abstract concepts (Punch, 1998, p. 198). Punch emphasizes the objective of data reduction "... is to reduce the data without significant loss of information" (Punch, 2005, p. 198). In the stage of *data display*, the data is organized, compressed and assembled (p. 198). Data display is a vital component in qualitative data analysis because this leads to the ultimate step of *drawing and verifying conclusions*. This conclusion will be in the form of a proposition, although, once the researcher acertains the proper conclusion from the data, it still needs to be verified. The first two steps, data reduction and data display, are conducted through coding and memoing. Miles and Haberman include three main operation in data analysis; coding, memoing and developing propositions (Punch, 2005, p. 199).

Coding takes place after the qualitative data has been transcribed. "Codes are tags, names or labels, and coding is therefore the process of putting tags, names or labels against pieces of the data (Punch, 2005, p. 198). This is the process of organizing the data into different themes which will help with identifying the patterns emerging from the data. For example, for this study, the initial transcription was divided into twelve themes; perceptions of benefits, expectations, funds, length of placement, recruitment process, mutual-benefit, relationships, skill-transfers, skills gained by the volunteers, sustainability, return to the UK, and power dynamics. The researcher then divided all the relevant quotations into these twelve themes. This step starts with basic coding then evolves into the next step - advanced coding. This involves labelling and catgegorizing the data at higher levels of abstraction (p. 199). Miles and Huberman (1994) distinguish two types of codes: descriptive and inferential codes. Basic coding is often identified with descriptive codes, and advanced

coding deals with the inferential codes; focusing on the emerging patterns at higher levels of abstraction. In this stage of coding, the researcher dug deeper into the data to seek emerging themes or links that were not visible on the surface. For example, in this stage of coding, researcher found a linkage between expectations and power-dynamics resulting in the reinforcement of stereotypes that shaped people's perceptions of benefits.

Memoing is conducted throughout the process of coding. This process refers to the researcher's memos of ideas while coding is taking place:

A memo is the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding ... it can be a sentence, a paragraph or a few pages ... it exhausts the analyst's momentary ideation based on data with perhaps a little conceptual elaboration (Miles, 1994, p. 72).

Memos can refer to any of the researcher's thoughts, ideas, theories, links and connections that surface during the coding stage. Memoing helps identify the emerging patterns and higher level/inferential coding. Memoing must not be a summarizing or simply describing the codes, it must provide conceptual content.

Ethical Considerations

The relationship between the participants and the interviewer is at least as important as the purpose of the research (Miller & Dingwane 1997). Therefore ethical considerations will be made regarding the research involving historically disadvantaged communities in South Africa, especially vulnerable children. This study aimed not to exploit these groups but rather to allow their voices to be heard. Everybody interviewed for this study was over the age of 18 therefore special consent form for guardians or parents were not necessary.

Although not all participants' first language was English, all spoke English fluently so there were no issues relating to the language barriers. Therefore translators were not needed in this study.

The principle of voluntary participation was employed; this advocates that the participants should not be coerced into participating in research. The purpose of the study was explained. Almost all the research guarantees the participants' confidentiality. The participants gave written permission via a consent form. The principle of anonymity was

adhered to, ensuring that the participants' name remained anonymous throughout the study, and this was made explicit to the participants. The interviews were only recorded with the consent of the interviewees.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

This chapter will present the data gathered from the observations, semi-structured interviews and the coin exercise. The data is separated into two categories: perception of benefits and identified weaknesses. The first section on benefits will have two parts: the participants' perception of benefits gathered from the semi-structured interviews and the perception of benefits gathered from the coin exercises. This section provides data to answer sub-question one about perceptions of benefits. The second type of findings is the identified weaknesses that emerged from the data; the problems with the recruitment process, the length of the placement, and the funding. These identified weaknesses raised some issues about the lack of skills-transfer and sustainability. This was followed by questions of mutual-benefit and power-dynamics in the context of volunteerism. The second half of the findings answers sub-question two by highlighting the weaknesses of the programme. This chapter includes quotations to illustrate the key findings.

For the purposes of confidentiality, the twelve volunteers who participated in the semi-structured interviews are referred to as *Volunteers 1-12*, Coaching for Hope staff interviews are *CfH1-4*, one representative from each of the four partner organisations interviewed are referred to as *Organisation1-4* and the four community members interviewed are referenced as *Community1-4*. The findings and quotes from different workshops will also be used; they are referred to as VW (Volunteer Workshops) 1-9.

Benefits

This section on benefits is sorted into the five groups of participants in the ICS programme: the British Government; Coaching for Hope; CfH's partner organisations (all based in Cape Town); the ICS volunteers; and those community members that each of the partner organisations cater to. I was able to interview representatives of four out of the five groups of participants identified above; Coaching for Hope, the ICS volunteers, four partner organisations, and four of the community members that are the beneficiaries of the partner organisations. In each interview I asked how each of the five groups of participants benefited from the ICS programme. This section will answer the first sub-question on the different perceptions of the key role players

concerning the manner in which each of them benefits from the ICS programme.

British Government

How does the British Government benefit? The British Government benefits by having skilled and experienced volunteers return to the UK after 3 months of volunteering. They have become more community-minded which results in ex-ICS volunteers engaging in the community and participating in volunteer work back in the UK (VW 3-4, 7-8; Volunteer1-3, 5, 7-8, 10, 12; CfH 1, 3-4; Organisation1-3; Community1, 3, 2012).

I think it's kind of just to meant to revive their motivation of some of the young people in very bleak areas. So I am sure they benefit in that way. And also they benefit long-term, you got these young people who have gone through with the programme and they start being positive contributor to society, so it's an investment in many young British citizens. Whether they go and work overseas, or whether they come back to the UK and apply these skills. And also the ICS programme can only be seen as a contributing factor in the development of these young people, I mean its only a 3 months spell in a young person's life, now for some of these young people its life changing, for others who have done well think it's only a part of their make-up. But I mean, I think it's an investment in younger generation of Britain, it must be (CfH4, 2012).

Another general belief was that the ICS programme has allowed an increase in the positive international reputation of the UK, by creating positive international relationships, networks, good investment for the future generations of British Youth, (VW 5-6, 8; Volunteer 6, 7, 10, 12; CfH 1-2; Organisation 1-2, 4; Community 1, 3-4, 2012).

The main thing for them (UK government) is, that it shows the rest of the world that they are doing something. It does help the government in that way (Volunteers, Workshop 5, 2012).

To summarize the perceptions of the British government's benefits; the UK is perceived to benefit from young people returning home with more maturity and with a better set of skills and experiences. Also, the UK government is perceived to receive a positive reputation-boost by giving aid to other countries.

Coaching for Hope

How does Coaching for Hope benefit? CfH was the only group that some people did not know or were confused about how they benefited (VW 2, 4-5; Volunteers 7, 11-12; Organisation 4; Community 1-4, 2012) or in some instance one respondent did not even know of their existence (Community 4).

What is Coaching for Hope? (Community4, 2012)

From the small number of respondents who were able to comment on CfH's benefits, the data was divided into two types of benefits. Firstly CfH benefited by gaining resources, for example staff, office and financial resources (VW 4; Volunteer 8 & 10; CfH 1-3; Organisation 4, 2012). Secondly CfH benefited by gaining a positive reputation, such as praise from international and national audiences, therefore raising awareness about what CfH does in South Africa, building deeper relationships with their partner organisations and with the UK government (VW 8; Volunteer 8-9, 12; CfH 2; Organisation 1-2, 4; Community 2, 2012).

I think one of the obvious ones is creation of employment for CfH because it provided salaries for some of the CfH staff. I think it also created awareness for what CfH does through the ICS programme because there is a lot of publicity. That also raises awareness for the programme. It feeds to what CfH does, reaching through sports, and the ICS programme has provided resources in terms of finances and manpower to make that into a reality. I has helped in that way (CfH2, 2012).

When comparing all the data on perceived benefits, the responses to CfH's benefits were definitely smaller compare to the rest.

Partner Organisations

How do the partner organisations benefit? One major theme that emerged from the respondents' assessment had to do with human resources. For example, more manpower, free labour, broadening of the organisations' outreach, and giving local caregivers, teachers, and coaches a respite from their heavy workload (VW 5; Volunteers 3, 5-7, 10, 12; CfH 1-4; Organisations 1-4; Community 1, 3-4, 2012). Due to the financial limitations of these small, community-based organisations, it is almost

impossible to hire qualified local coaches. Therefore the ICS volunteers became a source of free labour. The ICS has allowed them to have a broader reach and provide 'readily available coaches' to help their partner organisations.

Without a doubt they are enabling the partner organisations to deliver their programmes more effectively. And in terms of reach alone, these programmes are all dominantly about reaching the more people, and the fact that they are enabling the partner organisation to reach more young people. So from that point of view yes there is an impact (CfH1, 2012).

The next major benefit for partner organisations' was skills transfer. The ICS volunteers brought new ideas and skills to help educate and train locals; the ICS volunteers brought a new dynamic to the organisations (VW 1; Volunteers 5-6, 12; CfH 1-2, 4; Organisation 2-4; Community 1 & 4, 2012).

We gave them [organisation] new broad thinking, new ideas, new coaching stuff, we have given them more marketing strategies (Volunteer2, 2012).

Less frequently mentioned benefits include: improved reputation (Volunteer 7; CfH 2; Organisation 4; Community 4, 2012) as well as raising the profile of the organisation both nationally and internationally, and the creation of new relationships between multiple organisations in South Africa and volunteers from the UK (Volunteer 11; CfH 2-3; Community 2, 2012).

In conclusion, all the above-mentioned benefits for partner organisations from the ICS programme point to a general improvement in their human resources.

ICS Volunteers

How do volunteers benefit from the ICS programme? All 24 respondents stated that the volunteers benefited enormously by gaining new skills and experiences such as a range of life skills that increased their situational adaptability, improved their teamwork and organisational management. Also through their self-development, confidence, knowledge of their host country, awareness of social problems and global issues, they matured, learned how to budget, became more independent, gained a sense of responsibility, increased their patience, achieved a sense of direction for the

future and improved their CVs. These newly acquired skills imply that the volunteers' benefits are long-term benefits. They return to the UK more employable. Many respondents had the impression that the volunteers actually benefited the most from this experience (VW 1, 5; Volunteers 7-11; CfH 1-4; Organisation 3; Community 3-4, 2012).

In the long run, we are the ones who benefit the most, because we are learning from everywhere we go, as for these kids they are just having fun while we are here, and that is all they gonna remember. We are learning life skills, self-development, we are learning a new culture, we getting to know new places. For the kids, its just fun for them. But we are learning a lot a lot more (Volunteers, Workshop 9, 2012).

The volunteers believe they will return home with a better appreciation for their life in the UK, and also become more community-minded therefore more likely to volunteer or contribute to their local communities. The debate as to whether the ICS programme is a "free holiday" has come up many times during the volunteer workshops. One volunteer even admits to this stereotype.

We are [benefiting] the most, it's a free holiday. To be fair it is. I'm all for working on weekends but especially the last group it was play all the time (Volunteer3, 2012).

Community Members

How do the community members benefit? The major benefit for communities was that the ICS volunteers were bringing new values, knowledge and diversity to host communities. They brought such diverse values as sports knowledge, new skills, raising awareness of social issues, new ideas and experiences (VW 2, 4, 6; Volunteers 2-3, 5-8, 10, 12; CfH 2, 4; Organisations 1-3; Community 1-2, 2012).

They [children] have loved having the volunteers there, they have benefited from the input that the volunteers have given, whether it has been coaching, life skills, or just a general interaction and sharing of ideas I suppose. So there has been a great impact (CfH2, 2012).

Children were able to learn about another country, another culture and another demographic by interacting with the foreign volunteers (VW 2, 4-5; Volunteers 5-8;

CfH 2-4; Organisation 3; Community 3, 2012).

So the kids benefited from the interaction, because the world has become smaller for them. Most of them don't look beyond the area where they are staying. So having interaction with foreign coaches just make the world smaller for them. They realize that they can reach the potential. So the positive side is the whole adventure (Community3, 2012).

Other visible benefits were improved classroom behaviour in the children due to increased motivation and moral support from the ICS volunteers (VW 2-5, 7; Volunteers 2, 5-8, 10-12; CfH 3; Organisations 1-4; Community 1, 3-4, 2012). Examples of the improvement in children's behaviour from physical sport and training were more self-discipline, confidence, showing more respect, better concentration, and longer attention spans. Four volunteers and two community members who were interviewed believed that the South African community is the highest priority for the ICS programme therefore communities are benefiting the most (Volunteers 3, 7, 9, 12; Community 1-2, 2012).

The people who benefited the most, have to be my community(Community1, 2012).

The Coin Exercise Results

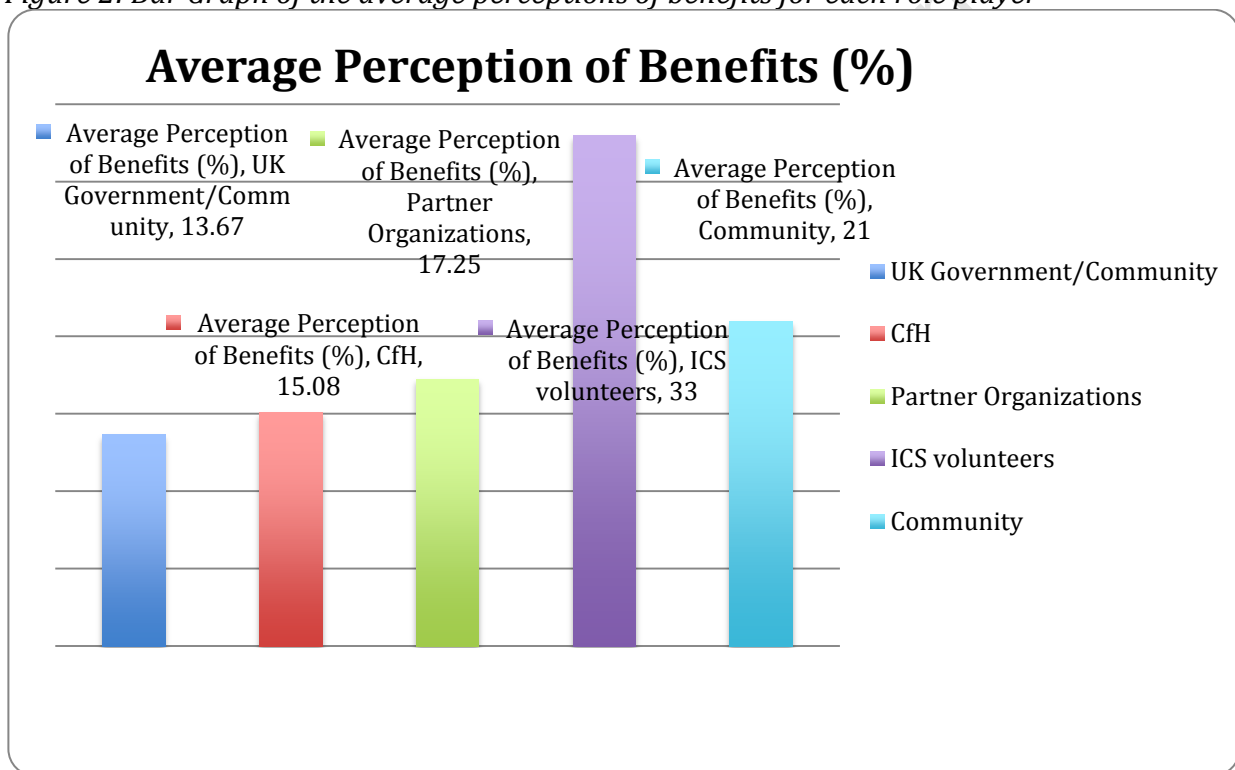
Table 1: Average perceptions of benefits

Who Benefits?	CfH (n=4)	Partner Org (n=4)	Volunteers (n=6)	Vol. Leaders (n=2)	Community (n=4)	Average
UK Government	1.75	1	0.833	2	1.25	1.367
CfH	1.75	1.125	1.666	1	2	1.508
Partner Organisations	1.5	2.125	2	1	2	1.725
ICS volunteers	3.5	2.25	3	5	2.75	3.3
Community	1.5	3.5	2.5	1	2	2.1

After compiling the average number of coins for each beneficiary, *Chart 1* was created to help visualize the average perception of benefits by the total number of

participants. Since there are a total of ten coins, each coin represents 10% (1/10), so the charts are labeled in percentages. As you can see in *Chart 1*, the average perception of the ICS volunteers' benefits was the highest (33%) while the perception of benefits accruing to the UK government (13.6%) was the lowest. When looking at *Table 1*, only the Partner Organisations' averages showed that they perceived the community's benefit to be higher than ICS volunteers. The most pronounced difference can be seen in the perceptions of the Volunteer Leaders, who felt strongly that the ICS volunteers were benefiting more than the rest of the participants.

Figure 2: Bar Graph of the average perceptions of benefits for each role player



Identified Weaknesses

Recruitment Process

Coaching for Hope in South Africa is the only programme participating in the ICS programme that is practicing sports-based development. Thus all the ICS volunteers going to Cape Town are placed with local sports-for-development organisations. The original recruitment plan for the South Africa's placement was 'Skills-based-recruitment' (ITAD, 2011, p. 3) where volunteers with sports-related skills were to be

recruited for placement in Cape Town, but that was not entirely how it worked out. Some volunteers did possess the skills needed for the placement; sports knowledge, coaching skills, maturity, leadership and motivated, but not all volunteers were suited for the placement position. Many respondents commented that some volunteers not only did not possess the skills needed for the placement, but they were also lacking in passion and commitment for the job (VW 5-7, 10; Volunteers 1-2, 4-5, 7, 9-10, 12; CfH 2-4; Organisations 2-4; Community 1-3, 2012). The recruitment process also revealed that not all volunteers possessed the skills required for the position. Some had never played sports, some had never coached a sports team before, and some were never even asked about their sporting experience during the interview.

It goes back to the recruitment process, they need to recruit people that are more appropriate, like recruit people who went to university and learnt sports and stuff. Rather than sending people who don't have any knowledge in sports (Volunteer10, 2012).

Many wished that the recruitment process were stricter. CfH and the volunteers both suggested that the ICS should require all the volunteers to raise half of their own travel expenses before coming to South Africa.

You could require the volunteers to fundraise to come here, which might narrow down the candidates to more serious people. So people more appreciate it. Have them fundraise, say you have to raise £3000 in 6 months which is not an extra-large amount of money to fundraise. What we mean by that, it basically will show the commitment of a certain number of people to promote, to come over and someone who has the initiative and commitment of raising x amount of money before came out to versus to someone who come here without doing anything prior to the trip (Volunteers, Workshop 3, 2012).

If the ICS programme required the candidates to fundraise before traveling to South Africa, it would eliminate those who frivolously thought of it as a free holiday, and only serious, motivated, and committed volunteers would be offered a volunteer position.

Because the skills needed in the country were not matched with skills recruited, some partner organisations and community members (CfH 4; Organisations 2-3; Community 3, 2012) wished to be more involved in the recruitment process so they

could know in advance what type of volunteers were coming, and would thus be able to plan ahead. CfH expressed the idea that someone from CfH or someone familiar with the work on the ground in Cape Town should have been present during the recruitment process; otherwise there is a nearly insurmountable communication gap between the UK office and Cape Town on what types of volunteers needed to be recruited for specific positions.

So I think the biggest challenge for us personally is the selection of the coaches. We don't have input in their selection we don't know who they are before the time (Organisation-3, 2012).

The partner organisations had no idea how the recruitment process was conducted, or what types of volunteers they were getting, and they had no say in deciding which volunteers would be coming to work for them.

A pattern is easy to discern from the dissatisfaction everyone felt about the recruitment process - not all volunteers seemed right for the job; some lacked coaching and/or sports knowledge, some were too young or too immature for the job, and someone who understand the work in Cape Town should have been part of the recruitment process. Too many volunteers lacked the proper skill sets to match the needs of partner organisations in Cape Town.

Length of the Placement

Some believe that if the placement time is too short it could be harmful for vulnerable children because relationships that are constantly being built and then broken only bolsters the message that trusted people are always leaving (VW 1, 3, 10; Volunteers 1-2, 4-6, 8, 11; CfH 1, Organisations 1-2, 4; Community 1-2, 4, 2012).

You get this traffic coming in and out and you're asking for someone to be in a relationship with this person who is coming into the community, their community and then you have to deal with the fact that they gonna leave. That is a killer scenario (Community4, 2012).

Another concern was raised about the length of the placement. They felt that 12 weeks wasn't enough time to make any kind of substantial impact or difference. It could take anywhere from 2-4 weeks for each volunteer cycle to start working

efficiently for the organisations. (VW 2, 10; Volunteers 7, 9; CfH 1-3; Organisations 1-2, 2012).

Looking at ICS programme the person who is only placed for 3 months, first month you are still adapting to the environment and learning to know what is happening and when you are just learning what is happening you have to go back home. Because 3 months is really too short time to create any impact. I don't think it's sufficient enough (CfH2, 2012).

The issue of the timing of the placement also emerged (CfH 4; Organisation 1-2, 2012). In some cycles the volunteers arrived during the school holidays and did not start working for 3 weeks, therefore the timing of the ICS volunteer placement should be determined according to the partner organisations' needs.

I think the length could be determined on what the organisation want, whether it's according to the school's term. We have some placements that they start pretty much when the school holiday start which is absolutely useless for the organisation so I think if these local organisations are gonna get volunteers then they should have more say in not only in recruitment but also in duration and time(CfH4, 2012).

In contrast to the above statements, some respondents thought the length was perfect, not too short to make no impact yet not too long to get attached. New groups constantly coming and going brought excitement and a new dynamic each time they arrived. Also, some believed that meeting many different people from different parts of the world and then saying goodbye is a good life lesson for the children (VW 3, 8, 10; Volunteers 1, 10, 12; CfH 2-3; Organisation 3; Community 3, 2012). One volunteer (Volunteer 12) believed a placement for more than three months could cause volunteers to lose enthusiasm.

It's good because it's not long; it's not too long so you don't get, attached to local people. If I stayed much longer I wouldn't be able to leave ..., and there are always fresh new faces and kids getting to meet new people. But that's obviously only if the programme continues. It's enough to get close to them but not too much where it's hard to pull yourself back (Volunteer10, 2012).

CfH's perception of the placement length was that it depended on the individuals - for

some volunteers it was too short and for others it was just long enough (CfH 1, 4; Organisation 3, 2012).

For some of them it's long enough. I think for some of the volunteers, twelve weeks is long enough, so that's from volunteers' perspective. I think for the other volunteers, it could be a lot longer, I think 6-12 months would probably be better. They are those ones, more academically capable, and the ones who maybe sees themselves having a future in professional sport or sports coaching or even in international development I think they will benefit from being here longer (CfH1, 2012).

The partner organisations and community members were also concerned with the gap that was being created between the two cycles of volunteers (VW 10; Organisation 1; Community 2, 2012). One CfH interviewee also raised concerns about how this type of gap and short-term placement could contribute towards organisations becoming dependent on free labour of the volunteers (CfH 3, 2012).

Sometime we find it the programme is being bombarded at one time and then everybody's been taken away at one time. Which mean, maybe for the first half of the year everybody is around, schools get up to four, five coaches, then all of the sudden everything is missing. [Better] If it can be a continuous programme when it comes to schooling environment (Community2, 2012).

Funding

The emerging theme regarding the funding of the ICS programme was quite clear. First, many felt that the ICS budget for volunteers was too large; if less money could be spent on the comfort of the volunteers then more money could be spent for development in South Africa. Several respondents believed that too much money was spent in the UK and not enough in South Africa. The majority of the money was being spent on administrative staff salaries, airline flights, accommodation, and food for the ICS volunteers, and not enough money was being spent on the South African communities or organisations (VW 10; Volunteers 10, 12; CfH 3, 2012). Therefore some volunteers raised concerns about the unnecessary luxury offered to the volunteers by the programme. A training weekend is provided in the UK where transportation and accommodation were fully paid; free flights, free accommodation and a weekly stipend are provided in South Africa. Many volunteers felt that the

money could have been better spent on the South African host organisations or communities. Some wished that the partner organisations benefited financially from the ICS programme, due to the fact that most of these partner organisations involved in the ICS programme struggled financially (VW 3, 5-6, 10; Volunteers 2, 7-9, 12; CfH 2-3; Organisation 4; Community 2, 2012).

Finance wise they spent a lot of money on this pilot programme, so I would probably just say if they can handle the finance better, maybe spend a little less on accommodations, because I generally felt the luxury we had was far more than the organisation that we worked for. Accommodation we were given was 'five stars', so if we spend less money there perhaps utilize it somewhere else it would be better in that sense. Probably within the ICS programme, I would probably say they spend that money in our organisation for example (Volunteer7, 2012).

One of the better ideas on distributing funds in a sustainable manner suggested using a portion of the ICS budget for a training programme for locals to become qualified coaches or PT teachers (VW 3; Volunteers 9, 12; CfH 1, 3; Organisation 3; Community 3-4, 2012).

So if you have 10 volunteers, and it's a R1000 for argument sake, that you are giving to the programme that we can then pay a local person to be either trained, to the education if there is already a volunteer working, we would pay a local volunteer that would be working alongside the ICS volunteers. That's I think that's probably one of the thing I would change (Organisation-3, 2012).

One of the ideas that the volunteers and CfH brought up was requiring the volunteers to fundraise before coming to South Africa to help raise money that would go directly to the partner organisations. In that way the partner organisations would gain some direct financial benefit from participating in the ICS programme (VW 6; Volunteer 12; CfH 2, 2012).

I would maybe tailor the programme slightly differently, maybe get the volunteers to fundraise the money for the partner organisation that they would be placed in. So once they are here they can actually see the work that they will be doing and where their money will be going because they will be placed with that organisation and then the money that they fundraised will go directly to the volunteers and maybe a small percentage of that money that come from the ICS

programme can also go to the partner organisations. Because currently the way it is structured, everything is going towards the expenses of the volunteers and for the actual programmes, so it never even go directly to the partner themselves but the organisation of the programme. So I think that would be a greater use of money (CfH2, 2012).

In contrast, one community member (Community 3) felt that the ICS volunteers' weekly stipend was too low, although this comment came from someone who was not aware of the amount being spent on the ICS programme and on the volunteers.

Some of the coaches complained the amount of money that they had to spend, because some of them were quite poor. So amount that they had for spending money for the week was too little, I think it was R200 per week(Community3, 2012).

Skills and Sustainability

The final weakness identified from the data was on the topic of skills and sustainability. The ICS volunteers' lack of skills was made evident by comments from respondents from all groups. The skills that the partner organisation needed were in the field of sports. The volunteers should all have had an adequate level of sports knowledge plus experience as coaches or trainers. But not everyone had a background in sports, hence the issue of not all volunteers being qualified for the work (VW 6-7, 10; Volunteers 7-8, 12; CfH 2-3; Organisation 3; Community 1-3, 2012). However, a small number of respondents did express satisfaction with the skill sets of the volunteers (VW 3, 10; Organisations 1-3, Community 2, 4, 2012). This shows that some volunteers possessed the skills needed for the placement while others did not. The quotations below illustrate two contradictory experiences regarding the volunteers' skills.

Some of the coaches [ICS volunteers] weren't suitable for the task, if they were more suitable for the task then we would of benefited more(Community3, 2012).

The nice thing also is that these guys [ICS volunteers] are very knowledgeable in football, obviously the ones in [my organisation] that I can speak about. They were very knowledgeable about football and they were quite comfortable in dealing with young people around football training so that that took a huge amount of pressure

from the coaches because some of the coaches that we deal with they are not qualified coaches, they are just people with a passion for football, so now at least they have somebody alongside them assisting them (Organisation-1, 2012).

The second major concern was the lack of systematic skill transfer between the volunteers and the local South Africans. The majority of the time the volunteers were running PT sessions, coaching, or refereeing which meant that when they left after 12 weeks, no one had been trained to continue the work. This leads to concerns over sustainability.

I believe that if we came out here and instead of teaching the children if we taught some of the teachers or even the school coaches within school, also local volunteers, it would have been a better impact because they would carry that on after we've left. [...] Definitely one of the mistake that we made as an organisation was the fact that we could of trained up staff, teachers, or local people, to carry on because who does after we are gone? (Volunteer7, 2012).

Some volunteers were not convinced that schoolteachers could carry on with the PT sessions after they left. The volunteers realized that they had not transferred enough of their skills to the teachers or the local coaches for their work to continue after they left. Therefore the organisations would all have to scale down their outreach after the ICS volunteers left. Many children who were receiving PT lessons could no longer continue (VW 5, 8; Volunteers 1, 6-8, 10-12; CfH 1; Organisations 1, 3-4; Community 2-3; 2012).

At the moment we only got a couple of schools that are covered, there are six schools that are without any volunteers or coaches, the local or international coaches at the moment. So you have the challenge now that those kids are now going back to not doing anything. [...] So our kids that have progressed over the last couple of the months, sports wise, are now sort of being falling back because of, unfortunately because of a lack of ICS volunteers coming as well (Organisation-3, 2012).

Benefits to organisations and the communities were perceived to be of a short-term nature. Many agreed that the ICS programme provided these organisations with extra manpower and free labour that they otherwise could not afford, which allowed them a broader outreach. Although it provided workers, it was not sustainable due to the

lack of skill transfers between the ICS volunteers and locals; and lack of fund to hire locals to take over after the volunteers left (VW 3, 6, 10; Volunteers 2, 7-10, 12; CfH 1-3, Organisations 1-3; Community 3, 2012).

Without a doubt they [ICS volunteers] are enabling the partner organisations to deliver their programmes more effectively. And in terms of reach alone, these programmes are all dominantly about reaching more people, and the fact that they are enabling the partner organisations to reach more young people. So from that point of view, yes there is an impact. However, I feel that's not a sustainable impact, if you remove them, then that's not going to continue, so there needs to be a mechanism of transferring. For example if you are reaching more young people there has to be a way of sustaining that. And normally it is sustain that by transferring the responsibility if you like, through young volunteers from South Africa. So that takes me back to my other point about there needs to be more of a mechanism to reaching young people of South Africa, so this programme can become sustainable (CfH1, 2012).

Some organisations struggled after the ICS volunteers left because they had become dependant on the short-term volunteers. On the whole, the organisations and the communities gained more short-term benefits, than long-term (Volunteers 7-12; CfH 1-4; Organisations 1, 3; Community 304, 2012).

It was just a one-year pilot, so I wouldn't say it's a long-term impact (CfH3, 2012).

Besides a few exceptions, the majority of the work that was done by the ICS volunteers is likely to be of short-term benefit to the organisations and communities. The few examples of successful long-term benefits mentioned by CfH 3 and Organisation 2 were helping to develop websites, teaching the staff how to annually register for the South African Football Association (SAFA), brainstorming the idea of producing and selling wrist bands to raise money and awareness for organisation 3, teaching the children how to swim, and fundraising money to buy equipment.

It became obvious that some form of skill-transfer was needed for this type of volunteer programme to have a long-term benefit not only for volunteers, but also for the South African host organisations and communities.

Mutual Benefit

When observing how the funding of the ICS programme is structured, the inequality in who benefits most becomes clearer. The UK government and DFID's budget for the ICS pilot programme was £9,371,793 (ITAD, 2011, p. 2), and the programme paid for everything; i.e. the recruitment process, pre-departure training weekend (transport, food, accommodations), flights to and from the UK, and the volunteers' accommodations, food, transportation, and weekly stipends for 12 weeks, as well as paying the expenses for the host organisations (CfH) in each country participating in the ICS programme while partner organisations receive no financial benefit. All the major policy decisions were made at the UK offices. The communities in South Africa or the organisations where the ICS volunteers were placed receive no financial assistance. Thus their voices were not considered in planning the programme. There was no communication between the ICS offices in the UK and the organisations and the communities in the host countries. Therefore it seems as though the long-term benefit to the British volunteers and the UK government seemed to outweigh the benefits for South Africa or its people.

You wonder who this is for. Yeah I am sure, they (ICS volunteers) are the one that, that's what this sort of things are set up for [...] this is about activating those volunteers to run away and do something. If you are talking about development in the place where you want to activate change then you would look at this in a completely different way (Community4, 2012).

All four groups of respondents discussed ideas on how the ICS programme could be restructured to provide mutual and equitable benefit. Two very constructive ideas emerged from the interviews. The first idea was that if the ICS programme were arranged in such a way that the ICS volunteers were paired with locals and they spent 12 weeks working together and learning from each other, then there would be someone trained to carry on the work. The ICS programme could help with funding local youths during and after the skill-transfers between the British volunteers and South African volunteers. This would create a level of sustainability for the ICS programme on the local level after programme ends (Volunteer 12; CfH 1-3; Organisation 1, 3, 2012).

I think it will be awesome if local volunteers were trained alongside and got to know the foreign volunteers, if there was a lot of skill sharing going on, I would love to have local coach coming to us and us working together and just run sessions together because I have got experience in coaching but I am not an expert so it would have been great to pass things on to each other and ideas and stuff, I guarantee we both will learn loads from each other (Volunteer12, 2012).

The second idea that was brought up by respondents was to send South African youths from disadvantaged backgrounds to the UK for a 12 week volunteering programme. This would have considerable benefit not only for the South African youths, but also for the UK communities where the South African youths would be placed to volunteer.

I think if we gonna stay with the whole international volunteering thing, I think it needs to be more two-way. [...] I think the notion of global citizenship shouldn't be just one way venture, I think the UK communities in England will benefit hugely from having coaches from South Africa, Zambia, all the different countries that ICS works with, how fascinating for a young, inner city person to be coached by someone from the other side of the world. I think that is huge, would bring the benefit to the UK massively. To kind of negate discriminations and racism and various kinds of social tensions that are prevalent in some areas. Given Muslim communities and black communities in London, just having it more, being a genuine global citizenship international volunteer project where we have young people from these communities going up to the UK and teaching these kids, what it's like to grow up in these kind of environment and how they can teach these kids the life skills and all that kind of stuff. So yeah just making it a lot more two-way (CfH4, 2012).

Two types of ideas were raised by the respondents in an attempt to create a more mutually beneficial experience through international volunteerism. Firstly, international volunteers should each pair up with a South African volunteer during the 12 weeks stay, therefore once the ICS volunteers leave South Africa, there will be trained people to continue the work. Secondly, there was a desire from the partner organisations and the communities to see their young people traveling to the UK to have the same experience the ICS volunteers had volunteering in South Africa. If such an exchange programme were instigated, then that would be an example of true

mutual benefit accruing between the two countries, and it would lessen the inequality of the power dynamic between the so-called North and South. Based on the fact that there were two main ideas to improve the mutual-benefit of the programme, it shows that there is an unequal distribution of benefits in the ICS programme.

Power Dynamic

Many volunteers came to South Africa with preconceived expectations about their experience. The dissatisfaction experienced by the volunteers could be seen from observations of several workshops throughout their stay in Cape Town. For example some volunteers were not happy with their placement due to the fact that the work was not as they expected. Volunteers came with the expectation to “help” the children in Africa, and these idealized images were sold to them by the media during the recruiting process.

I thought I was gonna be living in the mud house, I didn't actually realize I will have roof over my head. So we have running water, electricity, we are quite lucky. [...] just the kind of picture of I guess you just get in your head like 'I'm going to Africa' (Volunteers, Workshop 1, 2012).

Even before the volunteers arrived in South Africa this unequal power dynamic had already formed inside their heads. During one of the workshops, the power-dynamic between the first-world and third-world was discussed. Some volunteers even came with the unlikely notion that the UK was the most powerful and important country in the world, and that it was their "White Man's Burden" to look after other countries.

But England looks after the rest of the world. The rest of the world looks at us and America to see what's right in the world. We take it on ourselves as our duty to protect [other countries] (Volunteers, Workshop 2, 2012).

The volunteers' ethno-centric attitude could be inferred from the workshop discussions.

For [Organisation 4] I have made it more efficient. Before I came to [Organisation 4], they haven't spoken to the schools, they haven't made any arrangements, we [ICS volunteers] took care of that. They have become a bit more, I don't wanna say 'British', but things have

become more organized (Volunteer1, 2012).

Some felt they were treated with undue respect or as a “novelty”, some even imagined that the locals worshiped them just because they were foreigners. The racial factor also played a role as these mostly white ICS volunteers worked in coloured or black communities.

I think for the kids it's good for having us there because it's such a novelty that they want to participate, they want to get involved, whereas with local volunteers they don't interest them as much, because it's just same old somebody who live down the road (Volunteer10, 2012).

Some volunteers had a pre-conceived image of Africa and the types of people they would be working with. So once placement work started, they showed dissatisfaction after realizing that volunteering in Cape Town did not exactly match their expectations and their idealized image of ‘Africa’.

So I think for us sometime we feel like the money spent sending us here, we could be working in much poorer community elsewhere. Sometimes, we feel here [Cape Town] is already quite developed. Maybe it's not the areas that will benefit so much. Especially for us being not sports trained. We feel like we can give more to somewhere else (Volunteers, Workshop 5, 2012).

In this discussion in Workshop 5, some volunteers felt that their work was needed more in black townships, such as Khayelitsha, rather than Mitchell’s Plain, the coloured community that they lived. Khayelitsha is the biggest informal settlement in the Western Cape and it appears to be much worse compared to Mitchell’s Plain, the coloured community where the ICS volunteers were placed.

I would've probably preferred place like Khayelitsha, when you think of the area, I think Khayelitsha would have been more... I would of felt like I was doing a bit more (Volunteers, Workshop 5, 2012).

One volunteer expressed distrust of South African organisations with respect to international aid. This volunteer believed that funds being channeled through British international volunteers is a better way to spend aid than money going straight to South African organisations.

[Organisation4] wouldn't know what to do with it [money]. They need an English approach, South Africans are so stubborn, schools won't chip and get an athletics stadium, all the schools fight and compete and want one at their school (Volunteers, Workshop 2, 2012).

In contrast to volunteers' expectations, some community members had the expectation that all the ICS volunteers would be skilled and qualified just because they came from the UK. Volunteers, especially Caucasian volunteers, were treated with automatic respect just by being from the UK.

The international guys they are different, they come with a more maturity a lot of them, they 18, 19 years old and a lot of them have seen the world so they kind of in different maturity whereas our [local] volunteers or the people from our community at 18 might not have been outside of Mitchell's Plain or outside of Cape Town, or outside of country so their experience is very limited, whereas outside volunteers would have physical education and athletes at their schools so they have the understanding of what the benefits are, they played at provincial or senior level as well so they understand the benefit of that (Organisation-3, 2012).

There exists another power dynamic where the local people simply cannot afford to volunteer because their survival comes first. If they could be earning money elsewhere they would definitely choose work instead of volunteering. So it is a simple fact of life that young people from the West, such as the ICS volunteers, can afford to donate their time to come to South Africa, also, specific to this case study, the British youths themselves did not have to pay a single cent to gain this experience. The notion of volunteering is understood very differently in the UK compared to South Africa.

If we think about why would someone who is unemployed and surviving on piece work, why would that person want to give up hours of their day to volunteer and do some coaching for young people? That's not their priority. United Kingdom or in Europe there is a massive army of volunteers, that's based on the notion that people are looked after their basic needs, they bring home salary, the pay for the mortgage, put food on the table, pays for the cars and fuels, pays for schooling and etc. so that person asks: "What can I give back to the community?" I like sports so I will give back to the community by being a volunteer coach, and for many their children

are involved in sports so that's another motivation to go and do that. So that's a volunteering in the so-called "rich north" (CfH1, 2012).

The notion of building relationships as the underlying key to development was emphasized over and over again by organisations and community members (Organisations 1, 4; Community members 2-4, 2012), but it was rarely valued or mentioned by either the ICS volunteers or CfH. For the community members and organisations, building relationships was a crucial part of the ICS programme, and that is partly why the issue of short-term placement was brought up as a negative factor.

You get this traffic coming in and out and you're asking for someone to be in relationship with this person that is coming into the community, their community, and then you have to deal with the fact that they gonna leave. That is a killer scenario. [...] It is about relationships and let's use this relationship, if you are not in relationships and you don't do anything really. You got to know who you dealing with. You gotta know the children you are dealing with. [...] My challenge to British government is to follow your money and find out where it's going. And stop funding short-term things. If you are not doing something that is based on relationships (Community4, 2012).

The power dynamics that exist in the ICS programme can have an effect on participants' perceptions on who benefits. These underlying power dynamics can drastically affect the outcome of the ICS programme. It could reinforce the negative stereotypes and power dynamics that are already imbedded in the minds of all participants.

The pilot stage of the ICS programme was completed at the end of 2012, CfH was informed that the ICS programme would no longer continue in Cape Town. The ICS programme is still operating in the rest of the participating countries, but due to a decision from the top, the ICS programme no longer chooses to work with Skillshare International, therefore CfH is no longer hosts ICS volunteers.

ITAD's Evaluation

Toward the end of this research, an evaluation of the ICS pilot programme was published (ITAD, 2012). This evaluation was conducted by ITAD and included

findings from the pilot stage of the ICS from around the world. That evaluation called attention to a number of weaknesses that coincided with the conclusions reached by this case study, such as the failure to match the right skill sets, the need for more skilled volunteers, time constraints, the lack of local partner involvement in the various stage of the programme, and the lack of local youths being involved in the programme.

In the report it became clear that during the pilot stage of the ICS programme, there were three main models of delivery tested; youth-to-youth where ICS volunteers worked alongside groups of young volunteers from the country in which they were based; youth-to-partner, where the ICS volunteers worked directly with the partner organisations; and reciprocal-international-exchanges, which combined elements of both of these models. During the pilot stage in Cape Town, the youth-to-partner model was practiced where volunteers worked directly with local partner organisations. The findings from ITAD stated that the youth-to-youth model showed the most relevance and added value to the programme therefore the ICS have decided to adopt this model for the full programme. "Working with National Volunteers (local volunteers) meant that the concept of citizenship was clearly focused on community engagement and active citizenship which would increase the sustainability of impacts both in the UK and in ICS programme countries" (ITAD, 2012, p. 8). ICS volunteers working with national volunteers not only helped with sustainability but it also enriched the experiences of both the ICS and local volunteers.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

This chapter is going to first analyze the perceptions about how the role players benefit from ICS and the unequal manner in which role players benefited. Who benefited the most? Who gained long-term benefits from the ICS programme *versus* who benefited the least? Who benefited only in the short-term? The data shows that the UK government and the ICS volunteers benefited the most in the long-term from the programme. Whilst South African organisations and community members perceived to have benefited the least - accruing mostly short-term benefits.

The second half of the chapter will discuss the power-dynamic that exists in the ICS programme. In this section, the findings will be analyzed using post-development theory such as; colonial mentality, neo-colonialism and the notion of 'othering' from Escobar (1995), Sachs (1992), Spivac (1988) and Kapoor (2004).

The Winners: Long-term Benefits of Volunteers and UK Government

The ICS volunteers and the British Government gained long-term benefit from the pilot stage. The volunteers gained new skills and experienced personal development that is going to have a long-term impact on their lives. The British Government will gain skilled and matured youths returning to the UK after the ICS programme, who are eager to get involved in their local communities and are ready to continue studying.

Volunteers' Personal Development

According to the data collected during this research, the volunteers' personal development was successfully achieved. The perception of benefits received by the ICS volunteers was the highest (33%) (*See chart 1*), the majority of those involved in this research believed that the volunteers were benefiting the most from this programme. The ICS volunteers gained various skills, such as coaching, teaching, communication, teamwork, sports, and positive changes; such as, they all exhibited an increased maturity. Along with an increase in maturity came an increase in confidence, responsibility, independence, adaptability, and commitment. This finding supports the volunteer tourism literature. Wearing (2001), Zahira and Mcintosh

(2007) also refer to the maturity of International volunteers 'consequent reflections on their own behaviour and attitudes during the service project and this enabled them to reassess and even identify their core values and assisted in their maturing process' (Zahira & McIntosh, 2007, p. 117). They also go on to explain how this type of International volunteering experience leaves a lasting impression on volunteers for the rest of their lives.

UK Government's Benefits

The ICS programme has not been operating long enough to conduct a longitudinal study of the returning ICS volunteers after their "life changing" experience. Although, from the data collected for this research and supported by the literature that the returned volunteers are most likely going to affect the UK community positively in the future. Palacios, who conducted ethnographical research on Australian University students volunteering in Vietnam, states that from the International volunteering experience, the volunteers become inspired about planning their careers and future volunteer opportunities regardless of short-term placement, it had a great impact on individuals (Palacios, 2010, p. 872). Similarly, the ICS volunteers interviewed also expressed their intention to volunteer further after returning to the UK. They expressed the urge to volunteer abroad again, and spoke of wanting to give back to the community in the UK. Many expressed how the ICS experience had given them a clearer direction for their future. In addition, returning to the UK with new experiences and a wider skill set to add to their CVs, makes them more likely to be employable. CfH and its partner organisations also mentioned how previous volunteers became ICS ambassadors, many pursued their studies in sports or International development, with some continuing to volunteer abroad, and even several ex-ICS volunteers chose to return to South Africa to continue volunteering. Therefore the UK benefited in the long-term by an increase in the number of employable young people with more motivation to study or get involved in their local communities. This is a result of donor driven development, the UK government has its own, secret agenda behind the seemingly generous amount of aid money being spent.

When conducting the coin exercise on their perception of the benefits, the

participants expressed a view quite the opposite to the one mentioned in the discussion above, i.e. that the British Government ranked the lowest (13.6%) on the average perception of benefits (*See figure 2*). The group that had the highest average number of coins on the UK government was CfH and they are the ones who had the strongest link with the British government and had the broadest overall view of the ICS programme. It seems as though the other groups interviewed were not looking at the bigger picture of how the UK government benefited beyond receiving a small increase in their positive reputation.

This finding from the coin exercise contradicts some of the qualitative data from the interviews and literature review. This is probably due to the fact that the UK government's benefits were not explicitly visible, as it will only become apparent in the future. Many participants could not grasp the macro picture of the ICS programme, where the UK government was one of the valuable key players behind the curtain.

Coaching for Hope's Benefits

Coaching for Hope was neither a net winner nor a net loser. CfH's benefits were small and the least visible to most respondents. Many could not perceive how CfH benefited and some respondents were not even aware of CfH's existence. Otherwise CfH benefited by gaining negligible financial assistance for running the ICS programme in Cape Town, as well as an increase in staff capacity and resources. CfH also benefited by gaining a minor increase in positive reputation and by building trustworthy relationships with their partner organisations during the pilot ICS programme. Although, now that the ICS programme has been discontinued, CfH could end up with a negative reputation from their partner organisations because they started a project that they could not complete.

“Losers”: Partner organisations and Community Members

According to the results of the coin exercise on the average perception of benefits (*See chart 1*), the perception of the community's benefits was the second highest (21%) followed by the benefits to the partner organisations (17.25%). This data

contradicts the qualitative data collected and critical literature written on volunteerism. I discuss this further below.

In the Context of Volunteer Tourism Discourse

Previously, the international volunteering and the volunteer tourism sectors have been viewed very positively. Researchers have identified a wide range of possible benefits accrued from volunteering; “the work that the volunteers achieve, the revenue that host communities or sending organisations can generate, the environmental conservation that the sector commonly promotes, the personal growth that volunteers may undergo, and the intercultural experience involving volunteers and hosts that can foster a better understanding between cultures” (Guttentag, 2009, p. 539). Volunteering abroad was seen to foster mutual benefits for both the hosts and the guests. However this is not the only view on the phenomenon today. Skepticism about the ethics of volunteer tourism has been on the rise:

A neglect of locals’ desires, caused by a lack of local involvement; a hindering of work progress and the completion of unsatisfactory work, caused by volunteers’ lack of skills; a decrease in employment opportunities and a promotion of dependency, caused by the presence of volunteer labour; a reinforcement of conceptualizations of the ‘other’ and rationalizations of poverty, caused by the intercultural experience; and an instigation of cultural changes, caused by the demonstration effect and the actions of short-term missionaries (Guttentag, 2009, p. 537).

Countless academics and journalists have raised concerns over volunteer tourism (Devereux, 2008; Gilligan, 2012; Benson & Wearing, 2012; Guttentag, 2009; Simpson, 2004; Salazar, 2004; Hall & Raymond, 2008; Fee & Mdee, 2011; Sin, 2009). All of the authors at some point state that the international volunteers leave the host country after receiving an enormous, long-lasting benefit, while ‘volunteered’ or host communities, do not gain much from the experience. A number of reasons contribute to this unequal state of affairs and often the volunteer programme is driven by profit motives, therefore local desires and needs are ignored. The way the industry uses slick advertising ploys can cause volunteers to have unrealistic expectations, which in turn leads to volunteering programmes being structured to please the volunteers’

idealistic image rather than striving for realistic outcomes (Irvin, 2006). Many unskilled volunteers are sent for short-term placement, as a result it does not promote sustainable development, even though volunteers return with a feeling of accomplishment, this is an egregious mismanagement of funding. The core principle of international volunteering - "mutual benefit" - seems to be overshadowed by other agendas.

In the Context of ICS Programme

What differentiates the ICS programme from other NGO programmes focused on volunteer tourism is that this is not a profit-driven programme and the volunteers do not pay exorbitant sums to participate in it. The British Government, through the DFID, sponsors the programme, therefore this fully paid volunteering programme utilizes UK taxpayer funds from the foreign aid budget. This has stirred debate over whether the ICS is a good use of the UK's international aid budget. Gilligan's (Gilligan, 2012) article on ICS criticism raised several concerns; the UK volunteers are becoming the main beneficiaries of the programme rather than the people of the developing world, the ICS has a budget of £7497 per volunteer being too much (ITAD, 2011, p. 2), the volunteers' feedback on feeling 'frustrated and aimless' due to 'lack of specific skills' and a feeling of being pampered and living in luxury. All the concerns raised by Gilligan were mirrored by the findings from the interviews.

Weaknesses

The main concerns raised in the findings were that the misuse of funding, the unwieldy recruitment process and the truncated length of placement led to a lack of sustainability and skill transfer. These concerns highlight the underlying dominance of the power dynamic in volunteerism.

Those who knew about the excessive ICS budget raised concerns over the amount of money being spent on volunteers and on the administration process in the UK, while no financial assistance or contributions were given to the partner organisations in the host countries. Some volunteers felt that their lives in the host country were too luxurious, and that the money could have been better spent elsewhere, for example,

on the placement organisations.

Every group interviewed raised concerns about the recruitment process. The volunteers felt strongly about the necessity of recruiting the right people; mature, committed and motivated people, while CfH, partner organisations and community members felt that volunteers with more appropriate skills needed to be recruited. For them, appropriate skills meant experienced or qualified sports coaches or trainers, since all placements required sports skills. This oversight was even a surprise to CfH who expected the recruitment process in the UK to only provide volunteers with the desired skill sets. The mere fact that many people raised concerns over the recruitment process signifies that the right people were not always recruited during the pilot stage of the ICS programme.

Short-term Benefit

Many agreed that the placement needed to have been longer to produce an adequate impact, and the short-term placement could even have a negative outcome. Community members and organisations more than volunteers or CfH stressed the importance of relationship building as a key to successful development. Davids Korten, the founder of PCD, also emphasizes the importance of relationships in successful development; “Human relationships are one of the main determinants of human development. A great deal of the world’s mis-development is the results of unfair or dysfunctional relationships at an international, national or community level” (Davids, 2005, p. 24). Many think a 12-week placement is not long enough to form genuine relationships. Another issue brought out was the timing of the ICS placement, because it did not coincide with the South African school schedules that the majority of the partner organisations adhere to.

The volunteers were underutilized as mere “free labour” or “manpower” for the partner organisations, which allowed them to have a broader outreach to schools and children. However in the current structure there is no skill transfer mechanism, therefore once volunteers leave there is no one to carry on the work. The organisations are then forced to scale-down their expectations and the children who

were positively affected for a short period of time are now on their own again. This led to many respondents noting only short-term benefit for the organisations and/or communities, while the volunteers and the UK government reaped the long-term benefits.

This raises the question of why did the participants perceive that community members were receiving a fair amount of the benefits, as shown by the coin exercise? The answer lies in power dynamics.

Power Dynamics

One of the CfH staff commented that trying to manage expectations from all sides was their most challenging task (CfH4, 2012). The media today provides a very specific representation of the “third-world”, the “poor”, or “Africa”, therefore advertisements for volunteer programmes focus on particular images and notions of volunteer work and the primitive destinations (Simpson, 2004). Fee and Mdee write “certain stereotypes and myths of the ‘underdeveloped’ are reproduced as market ‘hooks’ to draw in customers” (Fee & Mdee, 2011). Escobar calls this the *colonization of reality*; “how certain representations become dominant and shape indelibly the ways in which reality is imagined and acted upon” (Escobar, 1995, p. 5). Escobar argues that the idea of “the Third World as poor and how it is responsibility of the so-called West to help develop them” is a Eurocentric one, a form of cultural imperialism. This Eurocentric idea of development has led many to desire to live out the archetypical humanitarian dream, this can also be seen in the case study of volunteers from Habitat for Humanity South Africa conducted by Stoddart and Rogerson; volunteers, particularly the ones coming to Africa, came with a desire for “adventure in terms of traveling to the ‘dark’ continent’ and experiencing African culture ‘from within” (Stoddart & Rogerson, 2004, p. 316). The same stilted ideas clouded the minds of the ICS volunteers, many of whom came to South Africa with preconceived images of what life was going to be like in South Africa.

This type of preconceived notion of “Africa” has brought frustration and dissatisfaction to several ICS volunteers. Some volunteers complained about how

South Africa was too developed to have an ICS programme, they complained about the volunteers' lifestyle in South Africa being too luxurious, and they expressed a desire to live and work in a black township, such as Khayelitsha, rather than in Mitchell's Plain, the coloured community where they were residing. The ICS volunteers had a highly romanticized image of development.

Just as Said expressed with his concept of *Orientalism*, the Western media has constructed a "National Geographic" image of Africa as the "other"; undeveloped and primitive, something different from the developed and superior West (Said, 1978). The ICS programme advertises on its website: "International Citizen Service (ICS) is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to learn new skills and fight global poverty by volunteering overseas on projects that really *need* your help" (International Citizen Service, 2012). The way the ICS is advertised in the UK supports the findings from Simpson. As Simpson (2004) explains, the international volunteerism industry uses the concept of how poor people from third-world countries are in "*need*" of the services from the young, unskilled Western volunteers. Therefore these volunteers arrive feeling that they are "needed", and they entertain a simplistic view of development as something that can be easily done (Simpson, 2004, p. 685). The ICS volunteers also expressed similar naive notions that they were going to be needed, they were going to make a difference, to contribute, to teach and to empower the local people. The main threat of having these types of expectations is that the volunteers will develop neocolonial attitudes; they fall for the dominance myth endemic to European discourse. The threat of having a neocolonial mentality when interacting with organisations and community members is crippling to successful aid projects. Such an example can be seen below.

The neocolonial mentality of the volunteers can create an "us and them" dichotomy or a "self and others" mentality (McEwan, 2008, p. 125). The volunteers are not solely to blame for this reinforcement of neocolonial attitudes; the expectations from the organisations and communities also play a major role in shaping this stereotype.

On the opposite side of the coin, the organisations and community members'

expectations also shaped this stereotype. The “colonial mentality” automatically expects that International volunteers are skilled, experienced, and knowledgeable. Palacios describes the same phenomenon in his ethnographic research on volunteer tourism with University students volunteering in Vietnam. He explains how the Vietnamese staff expected the volunteers to be experts just because they were Australian University students. “The perceptions of these students held locally that they were representatives of superior Western Knowledge led many of the volunteers to feel probably welcomed and empowered. [...] There were probably some negative feelings too among the local staff, such as disappointment, after realizing that our academic-oriented feedback would hardly ever be as relevant as their own experience” (Palacios, 2010, pp. 869-870). Palacio’s findings can be translated to the ICS programme. The partner organisations and communities expected the ICS volunteers to be experts just because they were from the UK, whereas many volunteers did not have any background in sports whatsoever, which led to many disappointments. Similar to Palacio’s case, the ICS volunteers automatically experienced a high level of respect only because they were White Europeans.

The volunteers held an idealistic image of Africa and a simplistic vision of development where they romanticize volunteering in the third-world, while local people also held an unrealistic image of wealthy and skilled British volunteers. The people of South Africa were expected to be humbly thankful that the volunteers even came to spend time in their community. The theory of this type of attitude being held by a previously colonized nation is called the “colonial mentality”.

When one has adopted the belief that the colonizers are superior and has begun to emulate the colonizers because of their alleged superiority, one may begin to view the colonizers as well-intentioned, civilizing, liberating, or noble heroes (David & Okazaki, 2006, p. 242).

This has led to the participants’ current perceptions of the community’s high benefits. These two types of expectations interact with one another and keep reinforcing the stereotypes.

Exploitation

The British Government and the DFID created the ICS programme by using funds from the International aid budget. Instead of International aid being spent directly on the recipient countries, an excessively large amount of the aid budget is spent on the UK youths or on administration and logistics within the UK. The ICS programme has three objectives: the personal development of UK citizens, the impact on the placement communities, and increased citizenship in the UK. From the findings it was evident that two of the above objectives were successfully achieved. The volunteers gain the most benefit and both the UK government and the volunteers gained long-term benefits. The South African organisations and communities only gained a short-term benefit, especially in the case of South Africa, since the ICS Cape Town programme was not extended. The development project was started in Cape Town, and the pilot stage exhibited many weaknesses with numerous suggestions to improve it in the future, but the project was never finished. In Cape Town, the ICS became just another horrible example of one of the many unfinished development interventions organized by foreign aid.

The partner organisations and communities only benefited while the ICS programme was running. They benefited in the short-term because as soon as the ICS volunteers left, they lost all of their benefits. There was no sustainable mechanism in place for *organisations* and community members to continue benefiting. There was no financial investment in the local community such as training the local coaches. There was no budget allocated towards the South African organisations. The majority of the budget was spent on the volunteers. Even though one of the ICS programme's objectives was to have an impact on the placement communities, the programme seemed to be structured solely to benefit the volunteers and the UK government.

One of the chief reasons for creating the ICS programme in the first place was to tackle the high youth unemployment rate in the UK stemming from the recession. This was achieved once the volunteers completed the programme and returned to the UK with a higher chance of employability. The UK was able to *use* South Africa as a tool to improve their economic situation. UK youths *extracted* skills and experiences

from South Africa and returned home *richer* (new skill sets and new experiences to help them gain better jobs or continue studying). This is merely another form of exploitation, and supports Spivak's argument on the exploitation of knowledge production. She used Western university researchers as an example, with the researchers going to the South to do fieldwork and collect data driven by their own personal or institutional interests. After *extracting* the data needed for their study, the researchers returned to their Western university to compile their findings and to publish their work. For Spivak, this is just another form of imperialism, the Third World once again providing "resources" for the First World (Spivak, 1988, p. 290).

Post-development theorists such as Escobar (1995), Kothari (1988) and Rahnema (1997) also believe that development is another tactic for the Western world to control the ex-colonies. "Development as a new form of justification of Western Exploitation of the Third World" (Kiely, 1999, p. 35). This form of modern exploitation can be found not only in the ICS programme, but also in the whole industry of volunteer tourism, especially in the cases of profit driven volunteer tourism companies (mostly owned by Western corporations). Unfortunately this form of exploitation is hidden by the masquerade of altruism.

Volunteer tourism, which prides itself on being a different form of tourism and opposed to traditional mass tourism, turns out to be a Trojan Horse, and, in reality, it is "just the old tourism in new jargon" (Salazar, 2004, p. 90). The same thing can be said about the notion of "development". In opposition to the top-down economic focused approach to development, new approaches emerged, such as: "participatory development", "bottom-up", "grass-roots" or "people-centred development". The terms being used might have changed, but Stirrat (2008) and Escobar (1995) argue that the underlying notion of development has not changed. It is still another form of one nation having power over another. Escobar agrees with Foucault and argues that this notion of power exists because the notion of development exists. "There is no power relation without the correlative construction of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations" (Foucault, 1977, p. 27).

Therefore, as long as development exists, the unequal power-dynamics between the so-called developed and under-developed will also exist. As long as volunteer tourism exists there will be an exploitation of the host country. As long as the ICS programme exists, there will be an unequal power-dynamic between the volunteers and the host organisations and communities.

In the report it became clear that during the pilot stage of the ICS programme, there were three main models of delivery tested; youth-to-youth where ICS volunteers worked alongside groups of young volunteers from the country in which they were based; youth-to-partner, where the ICS volunteers worked directly with the partner organisations; and reciprocal-international-exchanges, which combined elements of both of these models. During the pilot stage in Cape Town, the youth-to-partner model was practiced where volunteers worked directly with local partner organisations. The findings from ITAD stated that the youth-to-youth model showed the most relevance and added value to the programme therefore the ICS have decided to adopt this model for the full programme. "Working with National Volunteers (local volunteers) meant that the concept of citizenship was clearly focused on community engagement and active citizenship which would increase the sustainability of impacts both in the UK and in ICS programme countries" (ITAD, 2012, p. 8). ICS volunteers working with national volunteers not only helped with sustainability, but it also enriched the experiences of both the ICS and local volunteers.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Volunteer Tourism

This thesis has shown that dissatisfaction with mass tourism has led to the creation of various forms of alternative tourism with volunteer tourism as one of the sub-groups of alternative tourism. Today, volunteer tourism is a growing phenomenon where tourists spend part of their holiday volunteering at a project aimed to help reduce poverty at their travel destination. This is increasingly popular among younger people from northern countries visiting countries in the global south. Volunteer tourism has gained popularity amongst gap-year tourists or simply tourists looking for an alternative way of travel. As a result of this phenomenon the non-government, government and profit-driven organisations participating in the volunteer tourism industry have increased rapidly worldwide. It is unregulated and therefore it is appropriate to assess the extent to which the various role-players benefit in order to see who benefits most from volunteerism in development. In the beginning, the literature on volunteer tourism focused on the positive impact of the phenomenon, but currently the amount of critical literature is on the rise.

This study was a case study of the International Citizen Service (ICS) programme in Cape Town, South Africa, and it examined the perceptions of various key role players on how each group of participants' in the programme benefits. The five groups of participants include the UK government, Coaching for Hope, the ICS volunteers, the partner organisations and the community members. The data was gathered by using a preliminary information sheet, documentary research, observations, semi-structured interviews and structured questions. The qualitative data was analyzed using Miles and Huberman's approach. Quantitative data was analysed using frequency counts. The People Centred Approach to development was used to evaluate the phenomenon of international volunteerism and post-development theories were used to critique the notion of development.

Key Findings

Benefits

The major themes and patterns that emerged from the data include; the volunteers benefited the most, the UK government and the volunteers gained long-term benefits while the partner organisations and community members merely gained short-term benefits.

All of the key role players interviewed agreed on the huge benefits reaped by the volunteers and the majority ranked the volunteers as benefiting the most. Although further research is still needed to fully evaluate the impact the ICS will make on the UK government and society, it is evident that the personal development of the volunteers will have a positive impact on the UK upon their return.

The local organisations and community members may have the opportunity to gain sustainable benefits for those countries that are still participating in the full ICS programme. For them, the results are yet to be seen. The identified weaknesses of the ICS programme in Cape Town were: the inadequate recruitment process, the truncated length of placement, the misallocation of funds, and the lack of skill-transfer and sustainability. In the case of Cape Town, identified weaknesses of the ICS programme plus the discontinuation of the programme, left no prospect for sustainable long-term impact on the South African organisations and community members.

It could even be harmful to initiate programmes like the ICS then abruptly terminate them because the partner organisations are going to suffer while readjusting to operating with no ICS volunteers, and it could reinforce the negative stereotype of the inconsistency of foreign aid.

Power-Dynamics

Another key finding was the existence of power-dynamics endemic to the ICS programme that could lead to the exploitation of role players from the host country. From the creation of the development discourse, the notion of “us and them”, “North verses the South” and “developed verses under-developed” became reality. The

development discourse plus the inaccurate media representations of the Third World have created the unrealistic expectations held by people on both sides of the development discourse: romanticized “other” and consequently reinforced the power-dynamics. This form of power-dynamic not only exists in the ICS programme but it is ubiquitous throughout the volunteer tourism industry (Salazar, 2004, Simpson 2004, Sin, 2009 & Guttentag, 2009).

The findings from the case study on the ICS programme revealed the existence of an inequality of benefits in international volunteerism. It is another form of the North taking advantage of the South for its own benefit. Rahnema (1977) argues that development is another form of exploitation by the former colonizers to the former colonized; in the case study of Cape Town, this is the perfect metaphor, as the British are the former colonizers of South Africa; “As to the former colonial masters, they were seeking a new system of domination, in the hope that it would allow them to maintain their presence in the ex-colonies, in order to continue to exploit their natural resources, as well as to use them as markets for their expanding economies or as bases for their geopolitical ambitions” (Rahnema, 1997, p. ix). Similarly Simpson makes the connection between the international volunteers and the previous colonialists; “Where once these people were missionaries and soldiers, colonialists and explorers, teachers and entrepreneurs – now they are international volunteers” (Lonely Planet, 2010, p. 10). During the era of colonization natural resources were being exploited, today it is people.

Based on these results, this study suggests that international volunteerism programmes in the context of development should incorporate a people-centred approach where interventions are designed and then monitored to benefit volunteers and hosts equally.

Is international volunteerism in development another form of exploitation hiding behind the mask of philanthropy? Is there an alternative approach to volunteerism in which exploitation does not exist or can be minimized? These questions will be discussed in the next section as well as recommendations.

Recommendations

Simpson, who wrote a section of the Lonely Planet guide to Volunteerism (2010), advises international volunteers to have the right attitude when going into the placement.

If volunteers travel in the belief that they have little to learn and a lot to give then they do risk being little more than 'New Age colonialists'. No-one becomes an international volunteer for purely altruistic reasons: they also do it because it is exciting, because they might learn something, because they want to meet new people who live differently and because, just maybe, they might have something to offer. By acknowledging why you volunteer, you are telling our hosts that they are people you can learn from and with, not that they should be the grateful recipients of your altruism. You ask them to be your teachers, instead of forcing them to be your students. [...] Then question yourself. Be open about why you want to be an international volunteer and what you have to learn from those you visit (Lonely Planet, 2010, p. 10)

Beginning volunteer work with the right attitude is important, but also the right type of support to aid the learning process of the volunteers during the volunteer placement is equally as important. Similar to the service-learning process, skilled facilitators could guide the volunteers through the volunteer experience, which also allows space for the discussion of poverty and international development so volunteers could step back and view the global issues.

One of the recommendations raised by the participants in this case study become a reality after it was implemented by the full programme. It was to involve local volunteers in creating sustainability and attempting to have a greater impact on the local communities. Although Cape Town is no longer participating in the ICS programme per se, this addition is going to help the rest of the ICS participating countries. This strategy can be beneficial to all volunteer tourism projects worldwide to gain the core objective of mutual benefit in development.

Another way to improve international volunteerism is to create regulations that all organisations are required to obey. At the moment, the volunteer tourism industry is unregulated, so having stricter regulations may reduce the amount of exploitation

that occurs in this industry around the world. Fairtrade Tourism has already started this initiative by creating The Code of Good Practice (*appendix 1*). This Code of Good Practice utilizes a people-centred approach to volunteer tourism.

Suggestions for Further Research

Questions such as whether or not the involvement of national volunteers in volunteer tourism projects has a long-term positive impact, should be asked. How does involving national volunteers change the inequality of benefit existing in volunteer tourism? What is the volunteer tourism programmes' impact after incorporating the Fairtrade's Code of Good Practice? Will following these types of regulations assure that a people-centred approaches to volunteer tourism changes the power-dynamic that currently exists in volunteer tourism? Further study of these questions needs to be explored.

University of Cape Town

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Babbie, E. (2004). *The Practice of Social Research* (10th Edition ed.). Belmont, CA, USA: Wadsworth/Thompson Learning.

Benson, A., & Wearing, S. (2012). Volunteer Tourism: Commodified Trend or New Phenomenon? In E. O. Moufakkir, & P. Burns, *Controversies in Tourism* (pp. 242-254). Wallingford, Oxfordshire: CAB International.

Birdwell, J. (2011). *"This is the Big Society without boarders...": Service International*. London: DEMOS.

Campbell, L., & Gray, N. (2007). A Decommodified Experience?: Exploring Aesthetic, Economic and Ethical Values for Volunteer Ecotourism in Costa Rica. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 15 (5), 463-482.

Center for Economic and Social Inclusion. (2010, February). *Labour market statistics: February 2010*. From CESI:
www.cesi.org.uk/statistics/previous_months/statistics+feb+2010

CfH1. (2012, August 1). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

CfH2. (2012, August 3). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

CfH3. (2012, August 15). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

CfH4. (2012, August 29). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Coaching for Hope. (2012). *About Us*. Retrieved February 9, 2013 from Coaching for Hope: <http://www.coachingforhope.org/>

Coaching For Hope. (2011). *Coaching For Hope-UCT Research Internship*. Cape Town: Coaching For Hope.

Community1. (2012, August 21). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Community2. (2012, August 21). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Community3. (2012, August 21). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Community4. (2012, September 12). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

David, E. J., & Okazaki, S. (2006). The Colonial Mentality Scale (CMS) for Filipino

Americans: Scale Construction and Psychological Implications. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 53 (2), 241-252.

Davids, I. (2005). Development theories: Past to present. In F. T. Ismail Davids, *Participatory Development in South Africa* (pp. 4-29). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Devereux, P. (2008). International volunteering for development and sustainability: outdated paternalism or a radical response to globalisation. *Development in Practice*, 18 (3), 357-370.

DFID Department for International Development. (2011, March 3). *International Citizen Service*. Retrieved November 17, 2011 from DFID Department for International Development: <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/ics>

Dietz, T. (2011). *Manual, Participatory Assessment of Development*. Participatory Assessment of Development Guidebook. http://www.padev.nl/other_output/PADev_guidebook_2013.pdf

Escobar, A. (1995). The Problematization of Poverty: The Tale of Three Worlds and Development. In A. Escobar, *Encountering Development: Making and Unmaking of the Third-World* (pp. 21-54). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Estrella, M., & Gaventa, J. *Who Counts Reality? Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation: A Literature Review*. IIED.

Evans, J. (2013, January 23). *Parliamentary Business-Publication & Records-Research Publications*. Retrieved February 4, 2013 from UK Parliament: <http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/sn05871>

Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa. (2010). *Voluntourism*. Retrieved February 4, 2013 from Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa: http://www.fairtourismsa.org.za/projects_voluntourism.html

Fee, L., & Mdee, A. (2011). How does it make a difference? Towards 'accreditation' of the development impact of volunteer tourism. In Benson, A. M. (Ed.), *Volunteer Tourism: Theory Framework to Practical Applications*, (223-239). New York, NY: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish*. London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Gilligan, A. (2012, February 12). Gap-year holiday that reveal the madness of overseas aid. London, UK.

Guttentag, D. (2009). The Possible Negative Impacts of Volunteer Tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 11 (6), 537-551.

Habermas, J. (2003). *Truth and Justification*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA: MIT Press.

- Hall, M. (2003). *Boundary Institutions: Universities and Social Change*. University Of Cape Town. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Huberman, M., & Miles, M. (1994). *Data Management and Analysis Methods*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- International Citizen Service. (2012). *International Citizen Service*. Retrieved January 28, 2013 from About ICS: Why ICS: <http://www.ics-uk.org.uk/about/why.asp>
- Irvin, K. (2006). *Volunteer Tourism and Development: An Impact Assessment of Volunteer Tourists from Two Organisations in Cape Town*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- ITAD. (2012). *Evaluation of DFID's International Citizens' Service (ICS) Pilot Programme: Final Project Completion Review*. London: ITAD.
- ITAD. (2011). *Final MID Term Review: Evaluation of DFID's International Citizen Service (ICS) Pilot Stage*. London: UK Department for International Development.
- i-to-i. (2002). *Home page*. Retrieved October 20, 2002 from Travel Worlds: Journeys in Contemporary Cultural Politics: <http://www.i-to-i.com/home.asp?pg¼1&hier¼1>
- Kapoor, I. (2004). Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'other'. *Third World Quarterly*, 25 (4), 627-647.
- Kiely, R. (1999). The Last Refuge of the Noble Savage? A Critical Assessment of Post-Development Theory. *The European Journal of Development Research*, 11 (1), 30-55.
- Korten, D. (1990). *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary action and global agenda*. W. Hartford, USA: Kumarian Press.
- Kothari, R. (1988). *Rethinking Development*. Delhi: Ajanta.
- Kvale, S. (1997). *Interviews: An Introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Lonely Planet. (2010). *Volunteer: A Traveller's Guide to Making a Difference Around the World*. London: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd.
- Marti, T. S. (2003). *Editor's Review of Jurgen Habermas' Truth and Justification*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- McDonald, T. (1996). *Assessing the long-term effects of foster care: A research synthesis*. Whild Welfare League of America. New Jersey: Edison.
- McEwan, C. (2008). *Postcolonialism and Development*. London: Routledge.
- Miller, G., & Dingwall, R. (1997). *Context and Method in Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications.

- Mintel International Group Ltd. (2008). *Volunteer Tourism-International-September 2008*. London: Mintel International Group Ltd.
- Neuman, W. L. (1997). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (3rd Edition ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- O'Leary, Z. (2004). *The Essential Guide to Doing Research*. London: Sage.
- Organisation-1. (2012, August 6). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.
- Organisation-3. (2012, August 16). Individual Interview. Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.
- Palacios, C. M. (2010). Volunteer tourism, development and education in a postcolonial world: conceiving global connections beyond aid. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* , 18 (7), 861-878.
- Punch, K. F. (1998). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publication Inc.
- Rahnema, M. (1997). Introduction. In R. A. Bawtree, *Towards Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, A New Language and New Paradigms* (pp. ix-xix). London: Zed Books.
- Raymond, E., & Hall, C. (2008). The Development of Crosscultural (mis)understanding through volunteer tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* , 530-543.
- Reisinger, Y., & Turner, L. (2003). *Cross-cultural Behaviour in Tourism*. Butterworth-Heinemann: Oxford.
- Richter, L., & Norman, A. (2010). AIDS orphan tourism: A threat to young children in residential care. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies: An International Interdisciplinary Journal for Research, Policy and Care* , 5 (3), 217-229.
- Roodt, M. (2001). Participation, civil society, and development. In J. K Coetzee et al. *Development: Theory, Policy, and Practice* (pp. 469-481). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Sachs, W. (1992). *The Development Dictionary*. London: Zed.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. United States: Vintage Books.
- Salazar, N. B. (2004). Developmental Tourists vs. Development Tourism: A Case Study. *Tourist Behaviour: A Psychological Perspective* , 85-107.
- Simpson, K. (2004). 'Doing Development': The Gap Year, Volunteer-Tourists and a Popular Practice of Development. *Journal of International Development* , 16 (5), 681-692.
- Sin, H. L. (2009). Volunteer Tourism- "Involve me and I will learn"? *Annals of Tourism*

Research , 36 (3), 480-501.

Skillshare International. (n.d.). *Skillshare International*. Retrieved January 23, 2013 from About us: <http://www.skillshare.org/content/aboutus>

South African Institute of Race Relations. (2011). *One in Two Youths Unemployed*. South African Institute of Race and Relations. South African Institute of Race and Relations.

Spivak, G. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? (C. Nelson, & L. Grossberg, Eds.) *Marxism and Interpretation of Culture* , 271-313.

Stirrat, R. L. (2008). Mercenaries, Missionaries and Misfits. *Critique of Anthropology* , 28 (4), 406-425.

Stoddart, H., & Rogerson, C. (2004). Volunteer tourism: The case of Habitat for Humanity South Africa. *GeoJournal* , 60, 311-318.

Student Partnership Worldwide. (2002). *Why SPW?* Retrieved November 2002, 4 from Student Partnership Worldwide: <http://www.spw.org/whyspw.htm>

Teaching & Projects Abroad. (2001). *Teaching & Project Abroad*. West Sussex: Teaching & Projects Abroad.

Tourism Research and Marketing (TRAM) . (2008). *Volunteer Tourism: A Global Analysis*. Barcelona, Spain: ATLAS Publications.

Truman, H. (1949). *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*. Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Volunteer1. (2012, March 31). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteer10. (2012, July 29). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteer12. (2012, July 29). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteer2. (2012, March 31). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteer3. (2012, March 31). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteer7. (2012, July 29). Individual Interview. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteers, I. (2012, May 3). Workshop 1. (R. Shucart, & L. Campbell, Interviewers) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteers, I. (2012, February 21). Workshop 2. (L. Mills, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteers, I. (2012, June 27). Workshop 3. (R. Shucart, & L. Campbell, Interviewers) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteers, I. (2012, July 9). Workshop 5. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa.

Volunteers, I. (2012, January 19). Workshop 9. (R. Shucart, Interviewer) Cape Town, South Africa.

Wearing, S. (2001). *Volunteer Tourism: Experiences that Make a Difference*. CABI International, Wallingford, UK.

Yin, R. (1993). *Applications of Case Study Research* (Vol. 34). London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Yin, R. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Fourth Edition ed.). California: SAGE Publications.

Zahira, A., & McIntosh, A. (2007). Volunteer Tourism: Evidence of Cathartic Tourist Experiences. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 32 (1), 115-119.

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX 1: FAIRTRADE TOURISM CODE OF GOOD

PRACTICE

1. Having a long-term relationship and agreement in writing with the host community.
2. Programme outputs must be determined by and with the community, for example, via a needs analysis, collective consultative meeting.
3. Having a shared vision with the community/project on the role played by volunteers.
4. Volunteers must not be taking the place of local employees.
5. Where overseas placement organisations are used to source volunteers, these organisations should be charging fair prices in a transparent way.
6. Volunteers must be screened for personal references and criminal records.
7. Volunteers' skills/interests/hobbies must be matched to the programme needs.
8. The community or programme must have final right of acceptance or rejection of applicants. Automatic acceptance should not be the norm.
9. Volunteers must be provided with a written Task Description outlining project duration, resources, supervision, reporting structures and final objectives/measurable outcomes.
10. Volunteers must transfer skills to the community.
11. Volunteers must be orientated effectively prior to arrival and on the programme.
12. Volunteers must be self-funding so as not to burden the host community.
13. Volunteer programmes must be financially transparent by giving volunteers access to information on the breakdown of their fee and what amounts go into the community.
14. Volunteers must be effectively managed on the ground (assistance, guidance, supervision) by programme co-ordinators, so as to ensure community and volunteer gets value from placement.
15. Volunteers must abide by a written code of conduct.
16. Volunteer programmes must carry volunteer specific insurances (legal compliance).
17. Volunteer programmes must carry PDP permits and relevant insurances when charging volunteers for transfers/transportation.
18. Volunteering management companies/ agencies must adhere to basic legal requirements of their specific sector of the industry and laws of South Africa.
19. Volunteer project must have a Responsible Tourism Strategy that addresses economic, social and environmental policy.
20. Volunteer programmes must have a structure/system for monitoring feedback and de-briefings with the volunteer.
21. Volunteers should be advised what form of post volunteering support the programme can offer with regards to continued communications, fundraising, awareness issues.

22. Volunteer programmes must have a reporting process back to the sending organisation, where applicable.
23. Volunteer programmes must have a reporting process back to the community that allows for community participation.

APPENDIX 2: PRELIMINARY INFORMATION SHEET FOR THE ICS VOLUNTEERS

Name:

Age:

Sex: Male Female

Town/City:

Native Language(s):

I am a currently: A) Student B) Working-part-time C) Working Full-time D) Between jobs

1. What is your highest educational qualification?
 - a. GCSEs
 - b. A Levels
 - c. Diploma/Advanced qualification
 - d. University Degree
 - e. Master's Degree
2. If you are/were/ intend to be in University/college, which institution and what subject?
3. Have you ever traveled overseas? If so to which countries?
4. Have you ever lived outside of UK? If so which country? For how long and what were you doing?
5. Have you ever volunteered? In UK/overseas? What type of volunteer work did you do?
6. What is your image of South Africa? Describe.
7. Why did you decide to become ICS volunteer?
8. How do you think you can make an impact on South Africa as ICS volunteer?
9. How do you think you will benefit personally from ICS programme?
10. How does South Africa benefit from the ICS volunteer service?
11. What activities (besides ICS) do you wish to do in South Africa?
12. Do you have knowledge about South African culture/history(apartheid etc)/languages/people? (circle one and elaborate below)
 - a. I have strong background knowledge about South Africa (eg. I have been before/ have South African relatives/took classes)
 - b. I have some background knowledge about South Africa (eg. I chose to read book(s) in preparation/know of someone from South Africa)
 - c. I have no background knowledge about South Africa
13. Do you have knowledge about international development? (circle one and elaborate below)

- a. I have strong background knowledge about international development (eg. I have worked in the field/studied the subject at University level)
 - b. I have some background knowledge about international development (eg. I have read books/articles/news on the topic)
 - c. I have no background knowledge about international development
14. Number your priorities of your time in South Africa below. (1 as most important)
- a. ICS Volunteer work
 - b. Personal development
 - c. To gain new skills
 - d. To gain new experience
 - e. To find myself
 - f. To learn about South African culture/history/language/people
 - g. To travel/Sightseeing
 - h. Socializing/Party
 - i. To meet new people
 - j. To contribute to poverty alleviation
15. What do you think is the main objectives of ICS? (1 as most important)
- a. The personal and social development of participating UK young people
 - b. Easing youth unemployment in UK by helping young people from the UK build their skills and experience in order to help them in the competitive labour market
 - c. Creating more globally minded young people
 - d. Intercultural dialogue between British young people and young people from other countries
 - e. To give thousands of young people in UK the opportunity, especially for those who couldn't otherwise afford it, the chance to see the world and serve others.
 - f. Achieving the UK's international development goals in poor and developing countries
 - g. To make a positive impact on the host community where ICS volunteers will be working at
16. What do you expect to gain from this experience? How?
17. How do you think the community in which you are going to volunteer is going to gain from ICS volunteers?

Optional: Feel free to add anything below about this survey or your upcoming trip to South Africa (comments, thoughts, feelings, concerns...etc).

APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONNAIRES USED FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Interview Questions for partner organisations

1. How does your organisation benefit from the ICS programme? (emphasis on short and long term benefits)
2. What do you think is the strength of the ICS programme?
3. What do you think is the weakness of the ICS programme?
4. What do you think are the opportunities of the ICS programme? For your organisation, for you, for the people involved?
5. What do you think is the biggest threat to/of [Which one is threatening? Something outside that is a threat TO ICE? Or is the ICE programme the threat OF something else?] the ICS programme?
6. What kind of work did the volunteers do for your organisation?
7. Did their work have a positive outcome? How?
8. Have you noticed any changes [be more explicit - what kind of changes are you referring to? Changes in the volunteers? Changes to the project? Changes to the organisation?] while the ICS volunteers have been working for your organisations?
9. How is the ICS programme beneficial to you?
10. How is the ICS programme beneficial to CfH?
11. How does the ICS programme help your beneficiaries?
12. How is the ICS programme beneficial to the ICS volunteers?
13. How is the ICS programme beneficial to British Government/society?
14. Who do you think is benefiting the most? And the least? (activity)
15. Do you think having short-term volunteers is positive or negative? Do you think it's sustainable? Harmful?
16. Do you have any local volunteers?
17. What is the difference between having local and foreign ICS volunteers? Which is better?
18. If you were in charge of the budget of ICS programme, would you have done it differently? If so how?
19. What do you think is the main objective of the ICS programme?
20. Do you have input in choosing which volunteers are assigned to you? Do you wish you had a greater say in the matter?
21. How does the ICS fit into your organisation's mission and objectives?
22. Do you think the ICS volunteers made a greater short-term or long-term impact?
23. Do you think the ICS programme as a whole has a greater long-term or short-term impact?

Interview Questions for Coaching for Hope

1. What do you think is the greatest strength of the ICS programme? [maybe 3, rather than one?]
2. What do you think is the biggest weakness of the ICS programme? [3?]
3. What do you think are the best opportunities of the ICS programme - For your organisation, for you, for the people involved?
4. What do you think is the greatest threat of the ICS programme? [see above - ambiguous, I don't know what the question really is!!!]
5. Do you think the work they do will have a positive outcome? Positive impact? Negative outcome? Negative impact? [what's the difference between outcome and impact? explain!]
6. Have you noticed any changes in your partner organisations since the ICS programme started? [example? What kind of change?]
7. How does CfH benefit from the ICS programme?
8. How do YOU personally benefit from the ICS programme?
9. How is the ICS programme beneficial to your partner organisations?
10. How is the ICS programme beneficial to the communities?
11. How is the ICS programme beneficial to the ICS volunteers?
12. How do you think the British government/society benefits from the ICS programme?
13. Who do you think is benefiting the most? Least? (activity)
14. Do you think having short-term volunteers has positive or negative impact? Do you think it's sustainable in the long run? Harmful?
15. What do you think is the biggest difference between local volunteers and ICS volunteers? Which are better?
16. If you were in charge of the budget of ICS programme, would you have done it differently? If so how?
17. Would you rather give money to your partner organisation or give British volunteers every 3 months?
18. What do you think is the main objective of ICS?
19. Do you have a part in choosing which volunteers work for your programme? Do you wish you had?
20. Do you think the ICS volunteers make a short or long term impact?
21. Do you think this ICS programme as a whole has a long term or short-term impact?

Interview questions for ICS volunteers

1. What is the greatest strength of the ICS programme? (before and after arriving)
2. What is the biggest weakness of the ICS programme? (before and after arriving)
3. What do you think is the opportunity of the ICS programme? (to all participating groups) [What does this question mean? I can't tell, so I doubt that the volunteers can answer this question, either!]
4. What do you think is the biggest threat of the ICS programme? [Again, I can't tell if the ICS program threatening to others or is being threatened by other. Make this question clearer]
5. Have you noticed any changes in your organisation or community members since you have been there? [what kind of changes? Give examples, the question is too fuzzy]
6. Do you think you have made a positive impact? [too fuzzy! Impact on what???]
7. How do you think your organisation benefits from the ICS programme? Explain.
8. Do you think CfH benefits from the ICS programme? Explain.
9. Do you think the community members benefit from the ICS programme?
10. How do volunteers (you) benefit from ICS programme?
11. How do you think the British government and British society benefits from the ICS programme?
12. Who do you think is benefiting the most? Least?
13. Do you think having short-term volunteers is positive or negative? Do you think it's sustainable? Harmful?
14. Did you encounter local volunteers at your organisation?
15. What do you think was the difference between ICS volunteers and local volunteers?
16. Did you feel that you have made a long term or short-term impact?
17. What would you do differently if you could do it all over again?
18. What are your plans after you get home? Did the ICS have an impact on your life? Future plans?
19. If you were in charge of the budget of ICS programme, would you have done it differently? If so how?
20. What do you think is the main objective of the ICS?
21. How did the work you did fit in to the organisation's mission and objectives?
22. What do you take home from this experience?
23. Do you think this ICS programme as a whole has a greater long term or short-term impact?

Interview questions for community members

1. What is the strength of the ICS programme?
2. What is the weakness of the ICS programme?
3. What do you think is the opportunity of the ICS programme? [Huh? I don't understand the question]
4. What do you think is the biggest threat of the ICS programme? [see above!!]
5. Have you noticed any changes in the community members/children since ICS volunteers have been there?
6. Do you think they [They? Who are 'They'? I can't tell from the question!] have made a positive impact/difference/changes? How so?
7. How did you personally benefit from having ICS volunteers?
8. How does your community benefit from having ICS volunteers?
9. How do you think the volunteers benefit from this experience?
10. How do you think the organisation benefits from having ICS volunteers?
11. How do you think CfH benefits from the ICS programme?
12. How do you think the British Government/British society benefits from the ICS programme?
13. Who do you think benefits the most? The least? (activities)
14. Do you ever encounter local volunteers?
15. What is the difference between local and foreign (British ICS) volunteers?
16. Which do you feel is more beneficial? Why?
17. Do you think the short-term placement of the volunteers is harmful or beneficial?
18. Do you think the ICS volunteer programme is sustainable?
19. Do you think they have a long term or short-term impact on your community?
20. If you were in charge of the budget of ICS programme, would you have done it differently? If so how?
21. What kind of work did the ICS volunteers do? Can that work be done more effectively by anyone else?
22. What do you think is the main objective of the ICS?
23. Did you have a decision making part in choosing the volunteers? Do you wish you had a bigger part in the process? Why?
24. How does the ICS fit into your organisation's missions and objectives?

APPENDIX 4: COIN EXERCISE RESULTS

Coaching for Hope's Perceptions of Benefits

	CfH 1	CfH 2	CfH 3	CfH 4	Average
UK Government	1	2	3	1	1.75
CfH	2	1	1	3	1.75
ICS Volunteers	2	2	1	1	1.5
Partner Organisations	3	3	4	4	3.5
Communities	2	2	1	1	1.5
Total	10	10	10	10	10

Partner Organisations' Perceptions of Benefits

	Org. 1	Org. 2	Org. 3	Org. 4	Average
UK Government	1	1	1	1	1
CfH	1	1	1.5	1	1.125
ICS Volunteers	2	1	2.5	3	2.125
Partner Organisations	2	3	3	1	2.25
Communities	4	4	2	4	3.5
Total	10	10	10	10	10

ICS Volunteers' Perceptions of Benefits

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	Group 6	Average
UK Government	0	1	1	1	1	1	0.8333
CfH	1	2	2	3	1	1	1.6667
ICS Volunteers	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Partner Organisations	2	3	2	1	2	2	2
Communities	4	1	2	2	3	3	2.5
Total	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

Community Members' Perceptions of Benefits

	Comm. 1	Comm. 2	Comm. 3	Comm. 4	Average
UK Government	2	1	1	1	1.25
CfH	2	2	1	2	1.75
ICS Volunteers	1	3	2	3	2.25
Partner Organisations	2	3	2	3	2.5
Communities	3	1	4	1	2.25
Total	10	10	10	10	10

ICS Volunteer Leaders' Perceptions of Benefits

	Leaders
UK Government	2
CfH	1
ICS Volunteers	5
Partner Organisations	1
Communities	1
Total	10