

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH ON THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTEERISM IN KENYA: PROVISIONAL RESULTS



Cover image: VSO Jitolee volunteer and colleagues. Photo: Lowell Traiso / VSO Jitolee

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Participatory Research on the Contributions of International Volunteerism

Introduction

The value of international volunteer-driven development is a question of debate and occasional scepticism. Proponents claim that international volunteer service is a practical way to promote global understanding, while making tangible contributions to the development of individuals, organisations and communities [1, 2]. Early studies suggest that international service enhances the education, employment and participation of citizens in host countries [3, 4]. Subsequent studies have sought to verify these outcomes, while uncovering additional positive benefits [5]. On the other hand, critics contend that many international volunteer programs are imperialistic, volunteer-centered and ineffective at tackling the real challenges of development [6, 7]. These contrasting views both have merit. In truth, the impacts of international volunteer service as a development strategy ultimately depend on whether programs recognise and implement effective institutional practices based on the outcomes they desire to achieve [5]. Unfortunately, research has not kept pace with practice, and effective institutional practices are not often associated with specific outcomes.

Over the past ten years, a handful of research studies have begun to link practices to outcomes for volunteers and host organisations. One of the first publications to link these areas, commissioned by United Nations Volunteers (UNV), found that volunteers make a more substantial contribution in rural than urban areas [8]. More recent research found that international volunteers may increase the capacity of host organisations, but their success is dependent on the volunteers' language capacity and the duration of the service placement [9]. Other research has found that service duration, cultural immersion, guided reflection and reciprocal partnerships are all associated with outcomes on volunteers and communities [10, 11]. Likewise, research using a rigorous quasi-experimental design has found that volunteers with significant previous international experience before volunteering return from service with higher international awareness, intercultural relations and international social capital [12]. Despite these recent developments, studies linking practices to impacts are still rare, and are only beginning to emerge as a priority for the field.

The purpose of this research is to explore the impacts of international volunteerism at the individual, project and program levels. The research will focus on answering three key questions. First, what are the perceived contributions of international volunteers to discrete development goals? Second, what are the "value added" contributions of volunteers to development projects and programs beyond other technical and managerial approaches? Third, what program components and practices seem to be associated with achieving these outcomes? Results from this study will illustrate the contributions and challenges of integrating international volunteers in development projects and programs, and will help to link the

practices of these projects and programs to development outcomes for host organisations and communities.

The research consists of two key methods. First, desk research compiling Forum member documents provides a foundation for understanding current program practices, and aggregate outcomes across Forum member organisations. Second, primary research in a single country reflects the voice of community organisations and the intended beneficiaries of these organisations. Although field research in a single country cannot be generalised to represent the programmatic impact of the sector overall, findings from the field research will be linked to aggregated desk research to clarify the broader implications of these findings for practice, policy and future research in the sector.

Research Design and Methods

Desk Review

In order to uncover research that IVCOs had previously gathered, a ten-question survey was emailed to Forum member organisations to solicit information about prior research studies and evaluations conducted internally or externally. The survey was administered online, and was approved and sent to members by the Forum Executive Coordinator. In total, 24 organisations were solicited for participation in the desk research. A total of 14 representatives of Forum member organisations responded to the survey. Eight organisations indicated that they had completed some research or evaluation in the past, and were willing to share these studies as a contribution to the review. Researchers received a total of 124 studies from these organisations in English, French, Norwegian, German and Spanish languages. The interpretation and summary of non-English reports was facilitated by UNV. A list of contributing organisations is included in the Appendix. In cases where organisations requested that reports remain anonymous, and where reports were less relevant, they are not included in this list.

To avoid duplication, researchers also collaborated with VSO/IDS *Valuing Volunteering* action researchers during the collection of materials from Forum member organisations. It was agreed that the literature review from the *Valuing Volunteering* study would focus more on public and published literature, while this review would focus on “grey-literature”, or information that has not been widely published or disseminated. Consequently, this review is mostly a summary of non-public reports and documents, including internal evaluations, partner and beneficiary assessments, and third-party studies. It includes information gathered from these sources to identify program-level interventions that have been associated with outcomes or impacts at the individual, project and program levels. The review draws out commonalities and differences among these various studies to produce a summary of research conducted by Forum members to date.

In addition to summarising these findings, the review also identifies the strengths and weaknesses of previous designs and approaches used across organisations. It also compares these approaches with similar research from organisations outside of Forum. In addition to

reviewing outcomes, the intent of the desk research is to compare the quality and quantity of member research with the expected standards in the fields, and to recommend potential changes needed to meet growing demands for accountability and measurable results from governments, funders, hosting communities or other stakeholders. While the desk review is published as a separate publication, it is listed as part of the methodology because it informs this report.

Single Country Research Study

As a global network of IVCOs, the International Forum on Development Service was well-suited to mobilise member organisations to engage in cross-comparative research on volunteer impacts. Using initial results from the organisational survey and desk review, researchers conducted primary research in Kenya to understand the impacts of international volunteers on individuals, projects and programs. Kenya was chosen as the site for the case study due to the high number of volunteers from Forum member organisations located in this country. It is also one of the countries included in the *Valuing Volunteering* action research study led by VSO. Researchers spent one month in country speaking with volunteers, program staff and intended beneficiaries. In order to triangulate findings and methods, meetings with stakeholders were a combination of structured interviews, participatory workshops and quantitative surveys.

Research Design

The research design was a retrospective case control study: measuring outcomes of sites receiving volunteers at one point in time and reflecting, post hoc, on the volunteers' contributions. Research occurred at 12 different placement sites across three locations in Kenya: Nairobi, Kisumu and Lari.

Because volunteers are hosted by an implementing partner or service organisation, direct attribution of development effectiveness to the volunteers is challenging. A lone volunteer program is part of the "messy reality in which a single intervention or program cannot be isolated from the various actors (e.g. partners, donors, government departments, communities) with which it will interact" [13]. As a recent DFID report concluded, "most interventions are a 'contributory cause' and part of a causal package, making it unusual for an intervention to cause a development effect on its own" [14]. Consequently, determining the contribution of volunteers requires a level of abstraction or indirect attribution, which can measure the volunteerism's credible association with organisational capacity, staff morale, skill development, resource acquisition, etc.

Because of the difficulty isolating discrete contributions of volunteers, the goals of the research design are to assess whether international volunteers make a difference, and whether they provide added value to the hosting organisations and communities beyond the direct service provided by partner organisations and other actors. Conceptual issues related to the attribution of development impact to international volunteers are addressed in the conclusion of this study, as they are best discussed in context of the findings. However, one method used to isolate added value is to directly ask intended beneficiaries to compare the contribution of

volunteers with the contributions of others working in the organisations (i.e. paid development workers or full-time staff). Subjective comparisons were assessed using surveys and participatory interviews with intended beneficiaries.

Staff member interviews took place in participating organisations with staff members who could speak to potential contributions of volunteers at the project and program levels. Staff members who had frequent interaction with international volunteers were asked to provide their feedback to questions on a semi-structured interview guide. Interviews at each of the 12 placement sites consisted of between one to four staff member interviews, and lasted an average of 45 minutes to one hour. In total, researchers conducted 24 staff member interviews. Researchers also administered an equal amount of surveys to participating staff. All staff member interviews were completed by the principal investigator. The age of participating staff members ranged from 24 to 53 years old, with an average age of 37 years. Additional demographic characteristics of the staff member interviews are provided in Table 1. A list of participating partner programs is provided in Appendix A.

Table 1: Demographic statistics of staff member interviews (n = 24)

	Frequency	Percentage
City		
Nairobi	16	66%
Lari	4	17%
Kisumu	4	17%
Location		
Urban	14	58%
Rural	6	25%
Sub-urban	4	17%
Volunteer placement duration ^a		
Short-term	13	54%
Long-term	11	46%
Gender		
Male	13	54%
Female	11	46%

^a Short-term is defined as less than four months; long-term is one year or more. No organisations reported hosting a substantial number of volunteers that fell in the mid-range of four months to one year.

Participatory workshops with community members were also used to help understand anticipated and unanticipated outcomes of international service from the perspective of intended beneficiaries. By seeking the voice of community members, the research aims to inform a critical question often posed by critics of development programs: “impact for whom”? Previous research with community members has found that international service is frequently “supply-based” (from the Global North) rather than “demand-based” (from the Global South) [9, 15]. In consideration of Paris Declaration principles, research with community members seeks to clarify whether international service aligns with principles of ownership, alignment and

mutual accountability, where communities and partner organisations in the South are leading development efforts and priorities.

Participatory workshops with community members were conducted at seven different placement sites in Nairobi, Kisumu and Lari. The format of these workshops largely followed the UNV *Assessing the contribution of volunteering to development* methodology [16]. The schedule and activities of these workshops is included in Appendix B. Participating community members were chosen by the partner program based on the frequency of their interactions with international volunteers. In cases where other expats worked in a partner program with communities, researchers were careful to clarify these relationships at the introduction to the workshops, as well as when asking relevant questions that might elicit some confusion during the workshops. In two of the seven workshops, there was some level of initial ambiguity between full-time expats and international volunteers. In the remaining five workshops, these relationships appeared to be quite easily distinguished.

Due to occasional language barriers, a local research assistant was trained to help complete interviews and to co-facilitate the participatory workshops. A doctoral student from the United States also helped to facilitate participatory workshops with the local research assistant. The workshops lasted for three to four hours, followed by an interactive lunch discussion. Participating community members also received a short survey to measure respondents' perceptions of changes following the interventions of international volunteers. In total, researchers conducted 59 community member interviews (in workshop format), and administered surveys to an equal number of participants. The age of participating community members ranged from 18 to 61 years old, with an average age of 37 years. Additional demographic characteristics of the community member interviews are provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Demographic statistics of community member interviews (n = 59)

	Frequency	Percentage
City		
Nairobi	34	58%
Lari	12	20%
Kisumu	13	22%
Location		
Urban	24	41%
Rural	12	20%
Sub-urban	23	39%
Volunteer placement duration		
Short-term	36	61%
Long-term	23	39%
Gender		
Male	31	52%
Female	28	48%

Instrumentation

Researchers adapted existing qualitative assessment tools to assess the impacts of international volunteers on projects and programs. These tools were developed and refined through previous field research measuring the perceived contributions of volunteers to the development of hosting organisations and communities [9, 17]. They also aimed to measure variations in programs and policies that may affect outcomes. In respect for principles of ownership and alignment of evaluation results [see 18], researchers adapted versions of these instruments in collaboration with staff members from local partner organisations in Kenya. Before setting the final evaluation priorities and instruments, multiple versions of the survey tools and interview guides were drafted following feedback from local partners and the Forum Research Working Group.

Quantitative survey instruments were also developed based on previous research studies. These instruments were also adapted following consultation sessions with a handful of partner program staff from Kenya, as well as academic colleagues. Over the past ten years, a number of studies have qualitatively assessed the perceived contributions of international volunteer service but few have quantitatively measured volunteers' contributions to development. The surveys administered in this study seek to test the merit of previously identified contributions, with the aim of developing and testing potential hypotheses in future studies. Surveys were administered following the conclusion of staff interviews and at the midpoint of participatory workshops with community members. Although basic demographic data were gathered, all surveys were completed anonymously.

Analyses

Descriptive statistics were run on all survey data to understand how organisational staff and community members perceived the unique contributions of volunteers. Bar charts are presented in the Findings section of this report, along with descriptive statistics to better illustrate participants' perceptions. In each case where a statistically significant difference was evident by a program component (see ordinal regression methods, below) bar charts are presented separately according to this variable of difference. In cases where no significant difference is evident, bar charts are presented as a simple frequency of responses to the survey question.

Ordinal regressions (polytomous universal models) were run on each outcome to determine any significant differences by key programmatic elements. Specifically, the following variables were included as independent variables in these models: duration, location, gender of the respondent and age of the respondent. Duration was dichotomised by short-term (less than four months) and long-term (one year or more). No programs reported hosting a substantial number of volunteers that fell in the mid-range of four months to one year. Location was subdivided and dummy-coded into three categories: rural, sub-urban and urban, depending on where the partner program was operating. Results of the 33 regression models are not presented. However, areas of statistical difference are illustrated in the bar charts presented in the Findings section.

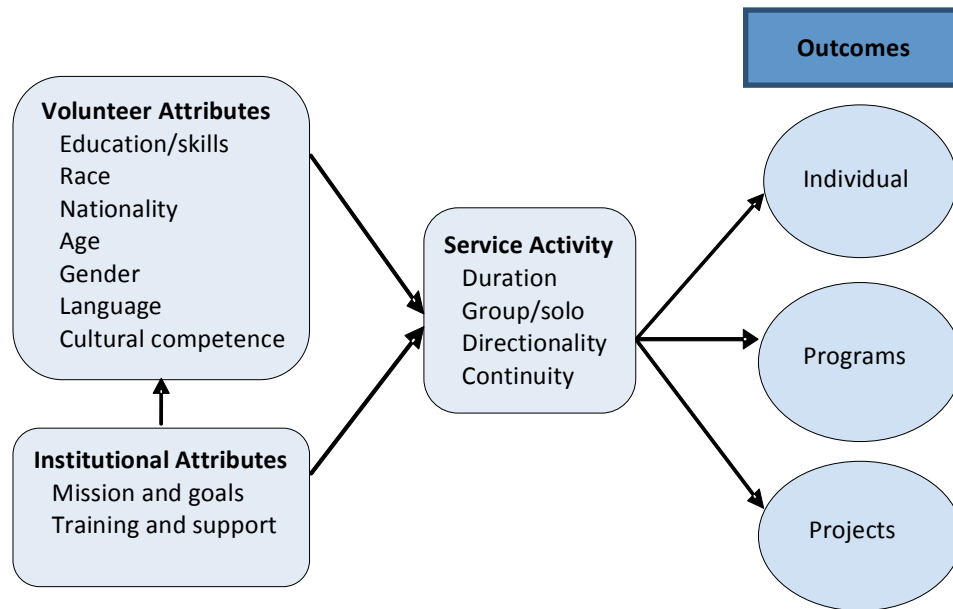
Transcription and translation of all digitally recorded interviews and participatory workshops were completed in preparation for qualitative analysis. For the most part, English was the primary language spoken during the interviews. However, participants in the workshops occasionally spoke in Swahili, which was directly interpreted by the local research assistant during the workshops. Two local consultants transcribed and translated all digital recordings.

Qualitative analysis has only just begun in preparation for this provisional report. Findings in this report are based on field notes of key points taken after each staff interview and participatory workshop. Coding of responses of the key questions from the interview guide provides a sense of direction. However, more formal qualitative data analysis is still under way. Initial coding of key responses was performed using NVivo, a qualitative analysis software package, to uncover key themes and frequencies of responses. All translated transcriptions and researcher field notes will be included in the final analysis. Although a coding plan of anticipated codes was initially developed, based on a limited number of previous studies on this topic, the final conceptual schema will be developed directly from the data post-hoc. Thus, qualitative analysis will be a mixture of coding down, based on information contained in research, and a grounded-theory (coding up) approach based on new ideas obtained from the interviews [19].

Findings and Discussion

As mentioned in the previous discussion on research design, a primary goal of this research is to assess whether international volunteers deliver added value to the hosting organisations and communities, enhancing the services already provided by partner organisations. Outcomes are assessed at the individual, program and project levels. In addition, the research seeks to link individual and institutional practices to outcomes in order to better understand how projects and programs can be structured to achieve these outcomes. A 2008 review of literature assessing the effects of international volunteering and service found that volunteer attributes, institutional attributes and variations in the service activity affect the outcomes of service in different ways [5]. Figure 1 provides a condensed conceptual model illustrating how different helping (or hindering) factors may affect outcomes.

Figure 1: Conceptual model linking attributes and practices with service outcomes



This Findings section begins below by describing volunteers’ key contributions to development projects and programs as articulated by the staff members of partner organisations. It then describes key contributions to the individual, family and community as articulated by members of the hosting communities. In order to better isolate the unique contributions of international volunteerism, it further explores the added value of international volunteers to development programs in comparison with full time development staff or local partner program staff members. Finally, it describes the various contributing causes or helping factors that seem to affect these outcomes.

Key Contributions

Staff members of partner programs outlined a large variety of potential contributions resulting from the work of international volunteers. Given the breadth of contributions, not all are covered in detail in this report. For the sake of brevity, only key outcomes—those that were mentioned in at least six (25 per cent) of the 24 interviews—are covered. These fall under the general categories of capacity building, resource acquisition and the achievement of development goals. Because qualitative data analysis is still under way, additional themes may yet emerge.

Capacity Building

Organisational capacity is defined as “management practices and organizational processes” that help volunteer hosting organisations accomplish their missions [20]. Building organisational capacity adds to the ability of development organisations to achieve their mission and goals, and to meet the needs of intended beneficiaries [21]. According to findings from this research,

international volunteers potentially contribute to these practices and processes in a number of ways. They help develop human capital and skills in communities and organisations; they promote a culture of professionalism and “time management” that appears to have value to hosting organisations; and they contribute resources directly or act as “bridges” to link people or organisations with external resources. The relationship-based engagement inherent in international volunteering has been reported as one of the most important factors contributing to the successful capacity development initiatives [11, 22].

In the Kenyan context, it is important to note that comments on capacity building were often embedded within a general discourse about the race and the nationality of volunteers as White Westerners. There seemed to be a strong belief from staff and community members alike that many of the ideas taught and modelled by international volunteers were not only new and innovative but were also perceived as “better”. The quote below illustrates this concept briefly. Although racial and North-South issues are covered in greater depth later under the discussion of volunteer attributes, it may be important to consider this lens as readers consider the following perceived contributions:

Westerners have different styles; the way of how they look at things....You find that we learn a lot of information from these outsiders. When they come, you listen to their topic....When we get people like the Whites coming to a country like ours, we think they are much better than us.

Research on international volunteer service has sought to identify whether volunteers fill gaps in local knowledge through technical or specialist expertise [16, 23]. Previous studies have found that volunteers may develop human resources by contributing skills, information and knowledge that may not otherwise be available in the hosting organisations and communities [24]. Nearly 70 per cent of community members agreed that international volunteers teach skills that would not otherwise be available in their community. An example below illustrates one of many such contributions:

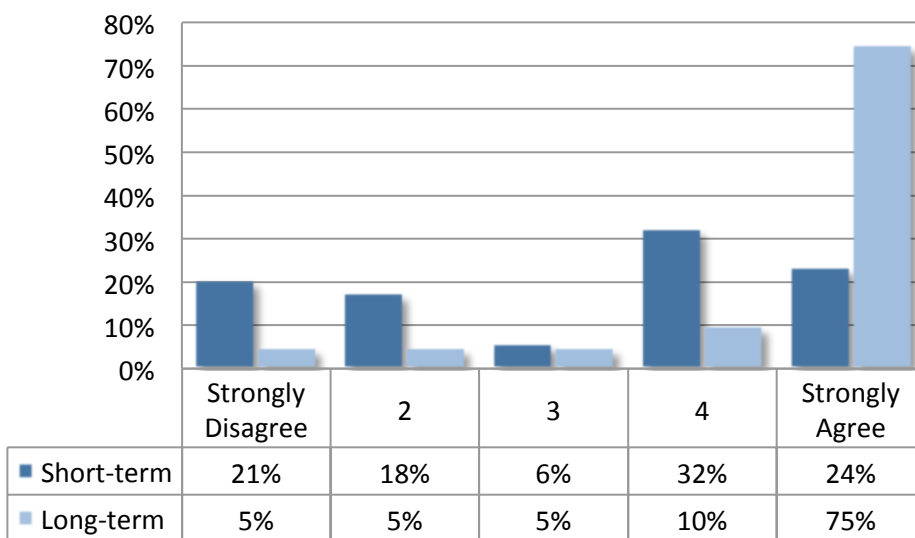
[Volunteers] have engaged the community in water projects. They use their technical expertise at the ground level to show people how to dig the canals; how to make the community based dams—and now people can irrigate their farms; people can grow food....[Referring to a close-by rural district] It was a barren land; now people are having a bumper harvest. So for a community that, two years ago, was being fed on relief food—currently as now we are speaking, it has a surplus whereby they are selling some of the bumper harvest to the other districts. So when it comes to poverty eradication, I think they play a big role when they engage their technical expertise.

Within organisations, volunteers were viewed as being helpful at teaching management, planning and marketing skills. Findings from other research corroborate these findings [25-27]. While there is no quantitative measure of skill-building at the program and project levels in this study, this outcome was highly evident in qualitative interviews with staff members. For instance, one of the most frequently cited contributions of international volunteers at the program level was instilling stronger expectations for “professionalism” and “time management” among program staff. Speaking with volunteers, this often seemed to be an

unintentional contribution, yet staff members cited the diffusion of a “Western culture of professionalism” as a prominent advantage of hosting international volunteers in their organisations. This finding may be unique to the conceptions of time usage in Kenya, and may not be viewed by some as a universal improvement. However, staff members maintained that this was a significant contribution to their organisations.

Community members’ perceptions about the utility of volunteers for skills differed significantly between shorter- and longer-term volunteers.¹ Nearly 85 per cent of community members interacting with long-term volunteers agreed that volunteers taught new skills, while only 56 per cent of those interacting with short-term volunteers agreed with this statement (see Figure 2). Interviews suggest that short-term volunteers were perceived as mostly effective when they had a specific technical skill to teach during a training session or workshop.

Figure 2: International volunteers teach skills that would not otherwise be available in community



*Note: placement duration is closely correlated with the age and skill level of volunteers

Examples of skills learned during workshops included topics ranging from bookkeeping to customer relations, marketing and fundraising. One focus group cited an example of a successful five-day intensive workshop on HIV/AIDS with students and teachers. They remarked that this information was offered in a new and exciting interactive format, and they witnessed students taking the information back to their schools to use in educating their peers. Others cited that volunteers taught innovative techniques for fundraising locally and abroad. There were efforts by some volunteers to build organisational capacity in the area of grant and proposal writing. However, there was no strong evidence to suggest sustainable improvements

¹ A number of additional attributes are closely correlated with the duration of volunteer service placements, including the age and educational/skill level of the volunteers, the funding policy of donors, etc. Thus, time length is not the only effect of difference when considering placement duration.

in this area when volunteers left. In fact, a number of staff and community members expressed anxiety that funding would dry up following the departure of volunteers. Train-the-trainer programs also seemed to be prominent capacity-building methods for local volunteers and staff members. These type of programs were particularly valued in rural areas where expertise in needed areas was low.

While many examples of skill-building were provided, the focus was often on “new” or “innovative” concepts and ideas. When asked whether people within their community or country could teach similar skills, some commented that this was possible but suggested that this would be expensive and would likely be rejected by community members. Three members in three separate workshops and locations cited a phrase from the Bible that, “A prophet is not recognized in his own land” (Luke 4:2), indicating that this is likely a common perception among community members. Communities seem to have a heightened interest in, and respect for, training by people from outside of their local community.

Financial management was another area where community members expressed a special appreciation for volunteers. Volunteers taught seminars on earning and saving money, and on the importance of budgeting and spending money on priority items. They also introduced new ideas such as micro financing and other entrepreneurial projects designed to increase the livelihood of community members. As one community member recalled, micro finance was a concept that she believed would not have emerged organically:

In 2006, we had a volunteer talking about how women can organize themselves to lend each other money. It was a very foreign thing here...After she had gone, there is tremendous progress in women this day. In the groups, women like it, and it is really improving the lives of women in the rural areas and in the town here...it is a very great thing volunteers have done.

Resource Acquisition

An oft-cited contribution of international volunteers was their ability to attract tangible and intangible resources, including money and aid, networks of support and concrete opportunities for collaboration [9, 28-31]. In addition, volunteers often pay from their own pockets to provide services when programs are unwilling or unable to help [32]. One staff member gave a personal example of how a volunteer provided resources when the organisation was not able to assist:

[The volunteer] took me as her own son, which the organisation did not do, and again she went to an extent of paying my rent for three good months and even my daughter could go to school because of her....Yeah, after she went back, in fact she was releasing money every month.

While other interviews did not cite a similar level of resource support from volunteers, many recalled receiving at least minimal resource support from volunteers, particularly from those who were only in the country for a short time. It is not clear whether these contributions can be considered developmental, as such contributions are often viewed as paternalistic and furthering a dependency mindset. While such contributions are charitable, they are not typically sustainable, and thus may not be considered a “development” impact.

In addition to resources donated directly by volunteers, they often used their “social capital” to leverage additional resources while in country and after they returned home. As a staff member explained:

A volunteer from Australia managed to get some consignment of used clothes....It was a lot and we spread it all over the country. Through that, we were able to tell [the community members], “you see, some of the volunteers we work with, when they go back to their countries, they see the challenges we go through and they are able to go lobby for support and whatever resources.”

Many community members also believed that volunteers could provide supervision of projects that the government would not otherwise fund. Thus, having a volunteer in the organisation may indirectly increase resources for the organisation. This is related to a perception of higher accountability and trust of international volunteers, which is described later in this report.²

To the degree that international volunteers provide resources and link partner organisations with additional sources of aid, they may contribute to development of the organisation. While it is unknown whether this leads to sustainable development over the long term, diversification of resources can provide greater flexibility and may help combat resource dependence [33]. On the other hand, when volunteers become a primary source of funding, partner organisations may become dependent, thus increasing reliance on continued philanthropy.

Volunteers were also viewed as a labour resource, and as a means of motivating citizens and local volunteers as human resources. As stated by the advocacy officer of an organisation that hosts young, short-term volunteers:

Because of Africa kind of perception, whenever you see a White, there is this feeling that probably...there seems to be a lot of enthusiasm and a lot of interest that is developed by communities to really learn, and also cooperate...so when we have someone extra come on board then that means we've increased the number of people working down the community. So we are able to at least increase the number of activities and programs we are running. So you get extra people and we are able to do a lot of work within a given period of time. That has been very critical in our work.

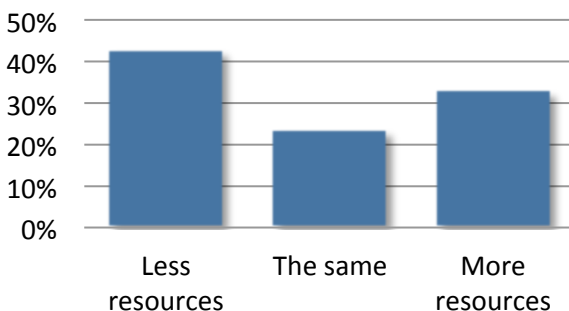
Despite the perceived value of volunteers as generators of resources, only 33 per cent of staff members believed they had greater access to resources than paid development workers (see Figure 3). Thus, resource contributions from volunteer service were not necessarily viewed as offering greater value than standard development programs without volunteers. This may be a positive finding, however, as it may help to promote local ownership. As Devereux (2010) explains:

² Social capital is listed as a sub-concept of resources because social capital is often associated with resource mobilisation, and the economic value of these networks as “capital” is related to volunteers’ ability to coordinate action and generate additional resources.

IVCOs have frequently used a community development model of having a volunteer within a local organisation but not with power over what that organisation does. This potentially provides good levels of local ownership and accountability...This also means the volunteers are at the mercy of local resource, management and other constraints over which he or she has very little, if any, control.

This suggests that, although the slower pace of volunteers may lead to greater trust and sustainability, they may also have less power and fewer resources to drive change [2]. Perhaps as a result, this may promote local change, ownership and home-grown capacity development [3]. In addition, many respondents recalled contributions made by volunteers after they returned home, which was not mentioned when describing the benefits of paid development workers.

Figure 3: Compared to paid development workers:
How many resources are available to international volunteers?



Community members expressed some frustration that volunteers were not able to provide or obtain access to needed resources. A number of community members remarked that they had asked volunteers for assistance in finding donors and funding, or for providing resources directly. However, comments suggest that volunteers were not always meeting their expectations in this regard, as the following comments illustrate: “If volunteers can have a way to help the groups to have donors because we...we would like to have the donors because we rely on ourselves”; “I would also like to all those groups coming to be remembering girls in the school providing sanitary towels all the on behalf of all the girls”; “We would like more groups to come to support the hand work craft work, please.”

These expectations seem to pose a challenge for partner programs. Many expressed concern that members of the community often lose trust in staff members who work closely with volunteers when they fail to produce money or resources when solicited. Staff members often have to work hard to manage the expectations of community members:

When somebody sees a White—this is how we call them, *mzungu*³ and that means a White—so the community expects to be given, to expect some payments, some money or a lot of handouts from these Whites. Or maybe whenever we call for a meeting, there is a belief that all those guys have come with a lot of cash, so you need to give us money. As the organisation we have grapple with it a lot.

Although the perceived value of volunteers' resource contributions was a significant outcome in both the staff interviews and community workshops, they consistently asserted that many of the contributions of international volunteers cannot be measured monetarily. In fact, one of the questions posed to staff members in the interviews was, "Given the choice between: (1) receiving an international volunteer or (2) receiving development aid that would otherwise be used to support the volunteer, which would you prefer?" Every staff member interviewed (100 per cent) stated that given this choice, they would choose a volunteer (although actual amounts of aid disbursements were not indicated). When asked why they would make this choice, some believed that volunteers could leverage additional money, which would likely exceed the initial allotment. However, many also stated that the relationships, capacity building and learning received from international volunteers is hard to put a value on.

The interviews also asked about the challenges of hosting international volunteers. Previous research suggests that hosting volunteers requires training, support and resources, and therefore may consume scarce organisational resources and time [34]. Staff members indicated that some volunteers did come without means of support. Hosting these volunteers appeared to require extra organisational or community resources:

At times we are forced to stretch, because at times—they come as volunteers as you understand—and they have not been allocated some funds to help them in movement and maybe in transport and maybe lunch any other things. So we are forced to really dig into our pockets and to really chip in and support them. Ah, that again has been a very big challenge to us.

In addition to financial resources, organisations also reported challenges with allocating staff time to support volunteers, as each new volunteer requires orientation, training and greater attention. Because organisations hosting longer-term volunteers did not cite these challenges, this may be particularly applicable to organisations hosting shorter-term volunteers. This is not an exclusively negative finding, however. Organisations that contribute some resources may have greater buy-in to development projects, leading to more locally owned efforts.

Development Goals (MDGs)

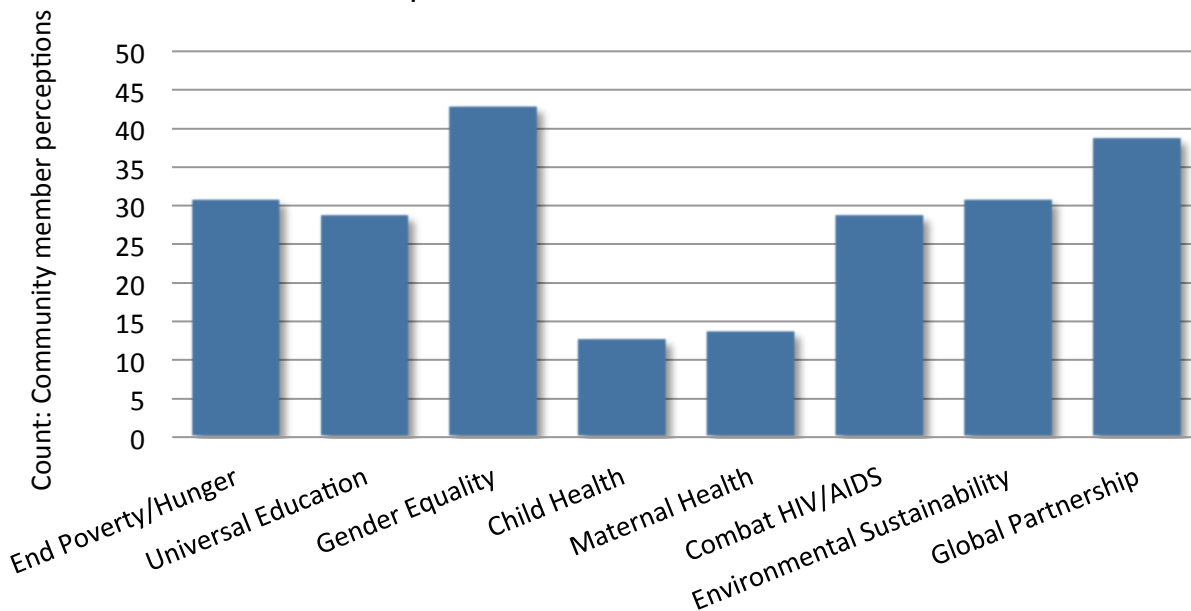
As stressed in a recent DFID report, "there is a trade-off between the scope of a program and strength of causal inference. It is easier to make strong causal claims for narrowly defined interventions and more difficult to do so for broadly defined programs" [14]. As described earlier in the research design, the broad variety of programs sampled, in combination with the

³ Literally translated as an "aimless wanderer", but typically referring to White person or a person from the West.

small *n*-size of these programs, makes it difficult to assess the contributions of volunteers to discrete development goals. However, in order to better understand the potential contributions of international volunteers, community members were asked to subjectively rank volunteers' contributions to the Millennium Development Goals (see Appendix B, full group exercise D: international volunteers' contributions to development). A list of the 15 participating programs is provided in Appendix A. Considering the stated goals and priorities of these organisations, reviewing this list may help illuminate why certain goals were ranked higher than others.

Findings from the sample of programs included in this study suggest that volunteers contribute the most to promoting gender equality and empowering women (73 per cent) and developing a global partnership for development (66 per cent)—see Figure 4. Community members' perceptions of these goals are described in greater detail below. Apart from specific MDGs, volunteers also contribute to peace building initiatives in Kenya. Additional contributions will likely emerge from participatory workshops following in-depth qualitative analyses of these data.

Figure 4: Perceived Contributions of International Volunteers to Millennium Development Goals*



*These rankings are not considered generalisable. They represent the opinions of a sample of 54 community members served by seven partner programs.

Poverty and hunger

Although volunteers' contributions to poverty reduction came up frequently, it was typically couched within a discussion of capacity building or resource acquisition (see above). It was also frequently linked to one or more of the other development goals. For instance, community members described how volunteers would facilitate or teach workshops related to agribusiness

or would help support microfinance or entrepreneurial enterprises. Others described how education enhances possibilities for employment and livelihoods.

Situations where poverty reduction was described in isolation referred to workshops or trainings about self-reliance. For instance, one community member stated, “When you teach people how to depend on themselves you eradicate poverty from them. That is why I give [the volunteer] this point—because she has taught us how to manage yourself; how you can rely on yourself without searching for other help from outside.” Comments such as this one were not common, however. It was more customary for community members to associate international volunteerism with receiving additional resources from the outside, thereby helping to address poverty and deprivation. As discussed earlier, while such resources are viewed as helpful, their contributions to development are suspect.

Primary education

Teaching children in schools was commonly referenced in relation to volunteers’ contributions to primary education. However, many of the comments in this area also referred to volunteers’ abilities to garner resources to support schools and students. Some spoke of fundraising efforts of volunteers after they returned home, while a handful provided examples of volunteers assuming financial responsibility for a child. As one community member illustrated, “They also sponsor some children in their own capacities, you see. They give promises and then they work on those promises...so that is also for the uplifting of universal primary education.” Thus, volunteers’ contributions to primary education seem to be direct—as educators and helpers in schools—as well as indirect—as patrons/sponsors of schools or school-aged children.

Gender equity

As noted in Figure 4, gender equity was viewed as one of the greatest contributions of volunteers to MDGs. Volunteers seem to promote gender equity by both instruction and by example. A number of community members stated that they learned much from volunteers about “not discriminating against women”. They gave examples about how their perceptions of what people of different genders can or should accomplish had changed following their interactions with volunteers. As one community member stated, “On promotion of gender equality, volunteers come in both genders, and that makes us believe that both can do the same...and then we are empowering women because, I’ll say that what a man can do a woman can do.” Other descriptions were given about how male international volunteers performed what is traditionally considered “women’s work”, thereby challenging stereotypes and traditional gender roles.

In addition to affecting opinions and perceptions about gender roles and capabilities, the work of volunteers may also change behaviours as they push for gender equity. A description from a male community member below describes how his behaviours changed following interactions with international volunteers:

At our grassroots level we live in a men dominated society, so the majority of our engagement we used to overlook [women]....now it came to engagement with the

volunteers...they used to insist, where are the women? Where are the ladies? So I had to engage the ladies in whatever activity that we were doing....so since then, whatever we do you hear that people calling and consider gender...there is nothing we can do without balancing gender.

Interestingly, there was some concern that volunteers' emphasis on equity for women might actually be swinging too far, thereby unbalancing gender equity for boys and men. As described by one community member, "because women are now over-empowered the men are left behind. This is another issue that is coming. A majority of the girls are so empowered and we have forgotten the boys...". This sentiment was expressed by three different community members in two separate workshops. Therefore, further investigation may be needed to better understand how international volunteers teach and portray gender equity.

Health

Health impacts appeared to be the lowest area of contribution by international volunteers among the sampled programs. As mentioned earlier, this finding may only validly apply to the partner programs covered in this study. On the other hand, this may also reflect volunteers' training, skills and priorities. One community member remarked how their organisation places a focus on health but suggested that volunteers with little health training could not contribute substantially to this goal:

Most volunteers we get from Europe are students. They are specific to a particular area, like social work. In social work, you'll find that they only focus on two of these millennium goals. Like maybe to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger [and] gender equality and empowering of women. But things to do with reduction of child mortality, improved maternal health care...even though the organisation is prepared to go with those millennium goals...[volunteers] are not positioned [to help] according to the careers that they have taken.

In situations where volunteers did promote health, however, they seemed to prioritise the following areas: HIV/AIDS, malaria, hand washing, sanitation and drug use/abuse. Again, however, this may be related to the programs sampled and thus may not be generalisable to all international volunteer programs in Kenya. Volunteers taught about communicable diseases, provided trainings on the use of "condoms for women and men", the danger of used needles during drug use, sexual abstinence, and other issues related to prevention and spreading of disease. Much of this education appeared to take place in schools, though some were also organised in community forums and places of business. A few people commented on how volunteers were helpful in confronting cultural issues or traditions that often prevented people from getting tested for HIV/AIDS or other communicable diseases.

Environment

Environmental sustainability was a core mission of one of the partner programs participating in this study. Thus, many examples were given about volunteers' contributions to the environment through tree planting, forest management, community trainings, etc. However, it was not clear how the efforts of volunteers were different from other paid staff or development workers.

Members from other organisations that were less focused on the environment stated that they also learned about the importance of environmental issues from international volunteers. One community member explained how the volunteers encouraged her to “reduce, reuse, and recycle”, later describing how she reused lard buckets for other tasks around the home. Another described how volunteers would organise and implement trainings on environmental issues and community clean-up campaigns. One community member described one of these trainings:

The volunteers come with vast knowledge on issues of environment...They come with different technologies to train our community members on issues of sustaining our environment...So for a long time Kenya has not had environmentalists to work in our country. It is major area and they have helped us, the volunteers.

Global partnerships

Volunteers’ contributions to global partnerships for development were the second most frequently cited contribution to development. Partnerships were often viewed as important for the bridging social capital they provide, as described above under the discussion of resources. Community members viewed partnerships as closely connected resources, as described by a few community members:

Definitely we need the partnership [with volunteers], it is very important for us to develop; because without it there is so much that we may not be able to address; because some countries [i.e. Kenya] lack resources. So that partnership is very important as the resources it ties to us....When they engage their fellow foundations within their countries to come and work with us, that’s a global partnership that builds capacity!

Volunteers occupy a somewhat unique position in the development sector. They are connected to development organisations while also working directly with community members and local organisations. Because of this position, they often serve as linkages between these two stakeholders, communicating the interests and needs of communities at the grassroots level to governments or other funding organisations. The comment below illustrates that community members recognise and value the volunteers’ roles as intermediaries:

Through a volunteer in the community grassroots level we were able, or she was able, to bring Germany government delegation...in a position to fund, to send their money knowing that wherever the money is going it is going for a noble cause. So when it comes to Kenya and German partnership, it was a plus through the efforts of a volunteer at the grass root level.

As described in greater detail below, many staff and community members believe that having a volunteer work in the organisation or community increases external trust of the program and project. Consequently, they believe funders are more likely to support projects and programs that involve volunteers. Whether or not this is true empirically, this seems to be a common perception among those interviewed.

To assess the counterfactual, researchers asked how things would be different if volunteers had not come to the organisation. In response, many people said there would be a feeling of isolation and less “life” in their projects and programs. As one community member articulated:

If I hear there are no volunteers, it would impact me and feel like, “Oooh, now we are left alone; we don’t have any friends; we don’t have nothing”but when they are here, I see them working. I feel, “Ooh we still have friends somewhere.”

Individual and organisational partnerships between volunteers and their hosts seem to reach beyond the instrumental value they might provide as social capital. They appear to provide a feeling of global solidarity and connection that has real value to host communities and organisations. They encourage international understanding as they share technical advice and expertise.

Peace and conflict-resolution

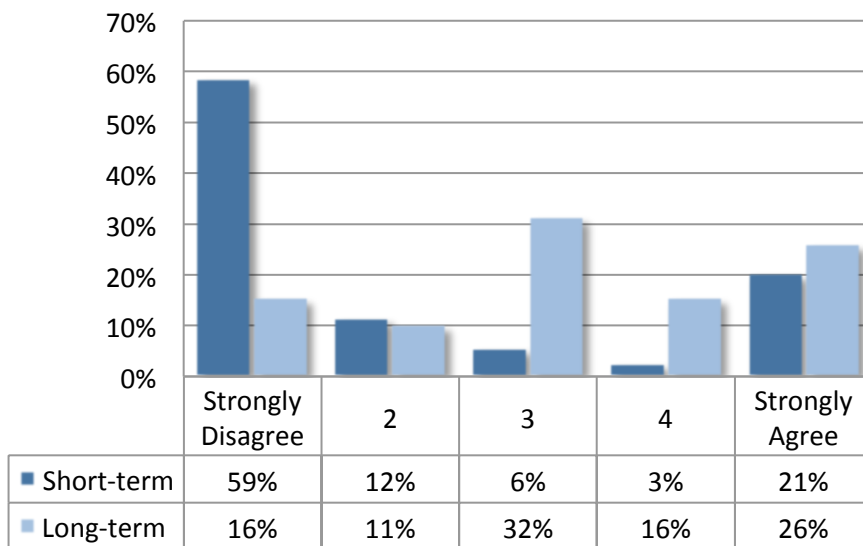
In addition to the MDGs, community members were asked whether volunteers contribute in other substantial areas of development. Volunteers’ contributions to peace building were discussed a few times by community members participating in this study, though this was only a key objective of one of the sampled programs. In cases where peace building was mentioned, volunteers’ contributions were most evident when discussing the post-election violence in 2008. One community described how volunteers are engaged in areas where ethnic conflict may make it difficult for native Kenyans to mediate conflict: “Volunteers in violent hot spots are engaging the NGOs in the community in conflict management and peace resolution mechanisms, and they are doing a commendable job.”

The involvement of volunteers in peace and conflict is also frequently mentioned in other research, which suggests they may play a neutral or unbiased role in conflict situations, and may reduce conflict by bringing diverse groups of people together. This has also been documented in recent research on volunteerism in Eastern Africa [35, 36].

There also seems to be a link between volunteers from the North and education for peace building. As one community member stated, referring to volunteers from Germany and the United States specifically, “Since our nation went to some violence, into post-election...we’ve seen international organisations who bring in volunteers to promote and educate especially the communities on how to live peacefully and harmonious with each other.” Because volunteers do not have strong biases for a preferred ethnic group, they may be able to speak more objectively about issues of conflict between groups.

Quantitatively, peace building was not a major contribution compared to other areas, particularly for shorter-term volunteers (see Figure 5). However, around 40 per cent of members working with longer-term volunteers agreed that international volunteers help to solve ethnic disagreements in their community.

Figure 5: International volunteers help to solve ethnic disagreements in community



Community members provided examples not only of how volunteers contribute to inter-ethnic peace within the region, but also how they contribute to global peace as people from diverse nations come together. As one community member stated, “Apart from being volunteers, they are also ambassadors of their countries because we tend to know more about their countries through them—so it also creates that partnership”. Another recalled how his perceptions were changed through his direct interactions with White international volunteers: “We were told that many Whites are racist. But when [volunteers] come here, I don’t see that in them. What we eat is what they eat, what we do is what we do. So the perception is taken away.”

Volunteers’ promotion of, and engagement in, sports was also brought up often in community workshops. Although sports may not stand out as a significant contribution, they were often described as potential avenues for peace building. Interpersonal contact through sports can be a precursor to mutual understanding, as people from different backgrounds come together. As a community member described, “Sports can be used as an avenue to reach [peace]....People were fighting in 2007...football is something that can bring people together and not just football but entire sports.” Other community members cited how volunteers helped to organise “runnings, marathons, things like these activities that bring communities together.”

Added-value of International Volunteers

Isolating the development impacts to international volunteers is difficult. The areas listed above were frequently cited as key contributions. However, they are not necessarily distinct from the contributions of development organisations that do not use volunteers. Using only the information above, it is unclear whether the contributions of volunteers as human resources would differ if they were paid staff rather than volunteers. Although interviewing comparison

organisations to assess counterfactual evidence might help, this issue is not necessarily solved by comparison, given that programs are likely to have distinct operations and practices. This section attempts to isolate the contributions of volunteers by directly asking intended beneficiaries to compare the work of volunteers with the work of full-time development workers or full-time staff. While this method is not a strong means of determining attribution, it can help identify areas where more rigorous investigation may be fruitful.

All else being equal, most staff members⁴ reported that they would rather have a long-term international volunteer than a “paid development professional”. A distinction between long- and short-term volunteers is necessary because most of the staff members working with short-term volunteers did not view them as comparable with development workers.⁵ Given stark differences in the activities performed by paid development professionals and short-term volunteers, many staff members marked this question as “not applicable”. Despite these differences, staff members were able to list a number of distinct advantages that volunteers bring to development projects, regardless of the duration of their service.

Previous research has identified a number of areas where volunteers hypothetically provide “added value” to development projects [9, 11, 37]. Based on prior research, survey items were used to verify and measure the strength of prior hypotheses. Additional areas that were not measured quantitatively emerged during the initial qualitative coding. The main areas of volunteers’ contributions (in comparison with paid development or local project staff) include greater trust, accountability, ownership, creativity, optimism, an increased motivation for local volunteers to engage, greater diversity in project management and administration, a stronger human rights orientation, relative cost-effectiveness of development projects, and slightly higher sustainability of their work.

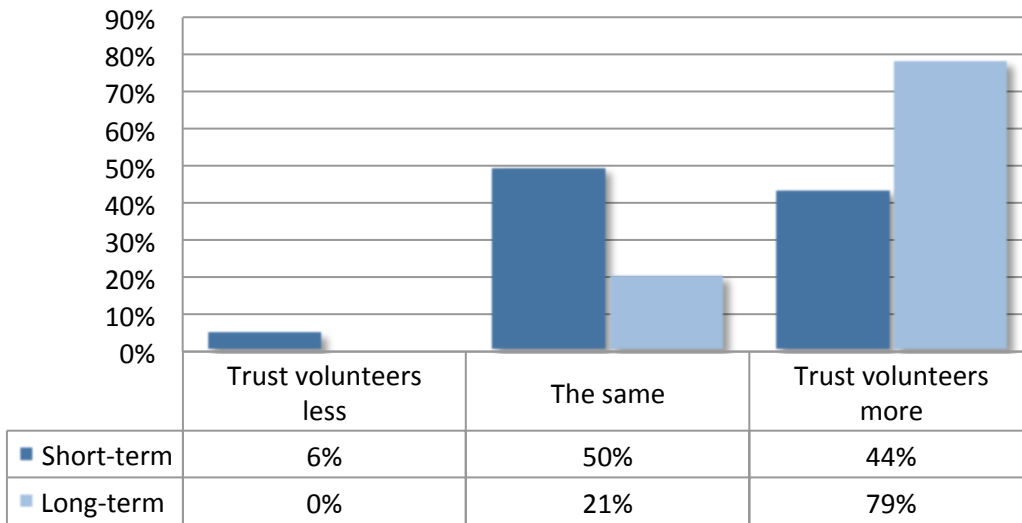
Trust

Greater trust was one of the most frequently referenced contributions of volunteers. Nearly half of the community members indicated having more trust of international volunteers than paid development workers or local project staff. Research on volunteers has observed similar outcomes, particularly for volunteers who live in close proximity with the community, and who speak the local language [11, 38]. While paid development workers are reportedly more likely to speak Kiswahili, they are perceived as preferring to work in offices and with programs, rather than directly with community members. They also tend to live outside of the community, where volunteers are more likely to reside in home-stays with community members or to live in close proximity.

⁴ Although field notes indicate near unanimous agreement on this point, the precise percentage will not be known until completion of qualitative analysis.

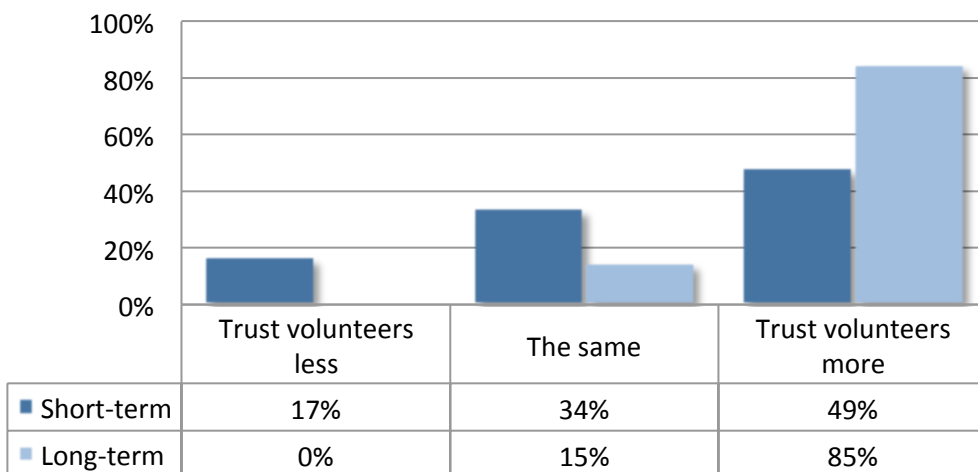
⁵ As described earlier, age and education/skill level of the volunteers is closely correlated with the duration of volunteers’ service. Thus, differences extend beyond service duration and may reflect volunteer capacity.

Figure 6: Compared to paid development workers:
How much do you trust international volunteers?



Interviews suggest possible reasons why there may be lower trust among shorter-term volunteers (see Figures 6, 7). As noted in findings on resource acquisition, community members often expect resources and contributions that tend to be forthcoming from short-term volunteers. When these expectations are not met, community members may come to trust volunteers and partner programs less. On the other hand, volunteers who stay in the community long-term are reportedly less likely to provide resources directly, and have more time to manage the expectations of community members and to build trust. Interviews suggest that this expectation is not as high among longer-term volunteers because people learn not to expect resources as they come to know volunteers over time.

Figure 7: Compared to local project staff:
How much do you trust international volunteers?



Higher trust for international volunteers over local staff seems to be correlated with high relative poverty. According to respondents' perceptions, some community members believe that local workers may be more prone to petty corruption, given high levels of poverty. Community members also mentioned that they will continue to see local workers for many years, and thus may be less willing to divulge sensitive information that may spread in the community.

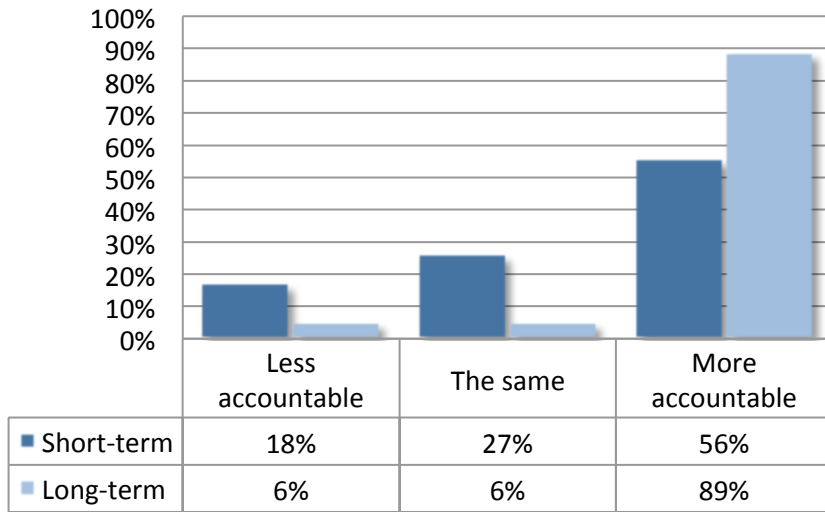
Discussions about trust were both positive and negative. Many community members who work with volunteers asserted that others in the community assume they are receiving money and help from the volunteers. While this sometimes appeared to be true, in most cases, community members asserted that they do not receive money directly from volunteers. They expressed concern that other members of the community often have less trust for local staff who work with volunteers because they typically fail to produce money or resources when solicited.

Accountability and Ownership

Because paid workers are often part of a development infrastructure with specific mandates, they are often viewed as being primarily accountable to large development programs, funders, and multilateral technical organisations, and less accountable to the local community. Although volunteers who serve with a development organisation may have a similar mandate, they are often viewed as more flexible and responsive to local community needs [2]. This study substantiated this claim, finding that nearly 90 per cent of community members viewed long-term volunteers as being more accountable to their community than paid development workers (see Figure 8). This finding was dampened significantly among community members working with short-term international volunteers (56 per cent); short-term volunteers were more often cited as following their own agenda.

When probed about the differences between paid workers and unpaid (or underpaid) volunteers, volunteers' motivations seemed to be a key driver affecting differences. Paid workers were perceived as caring less about relationships and more about accomplishing a given task, or about producing a specific product. In addition, many staff and community members believed the volunteers had more frequent interactions and maintained stronger relationships with local people, thus heightening their knowledge of local needs and interests.

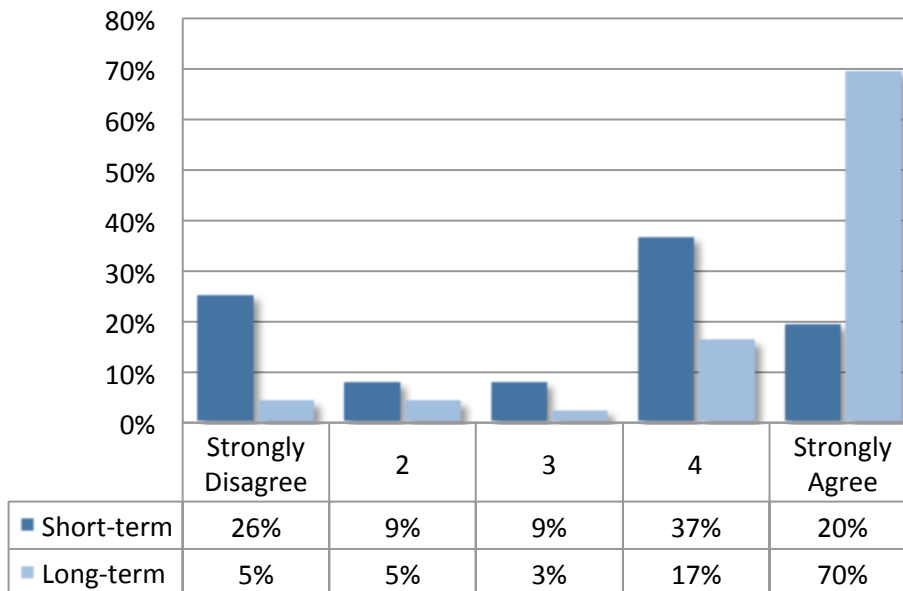
Figure 8: Compared to paid development workers:
How accountable are international volunteers to
your local community?



Creativity

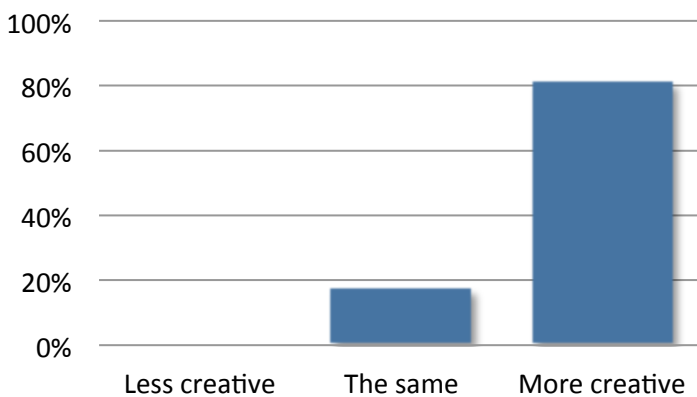
Volunteers are highly valued for the new ideas they bring to program and projects, as well as to community-led interventions. Long-term volunteers reportedly bring more knowledge than short-term volunteers. This is likely because programs supporting longer-term volunteers often recruit those who are older, more educated and more skilled. By definition, longer-term volunteers may also have more time to understand the complexity of problems and to provide viable alternative solutions. 70 per cent of community members working with long-term volunteers “strongly agreed” that international volunteers bring new knowledge that would not be available in community, compared to 20 per cent working with short-term volunteers. An additional 26 per cent of those working with short-term volunteers strongly disagreed with this statement (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: International volunteers bring new knowledge that would not be available in community



As for value added, 82 per cent of community members believe that the ideas presented by international volunteers are more creative than the ideas presented by paid development workers. While 18 per cent believe the creativity amongst these two groups is “the same”, no community members reported that paid development workers are more creative in their solutions.

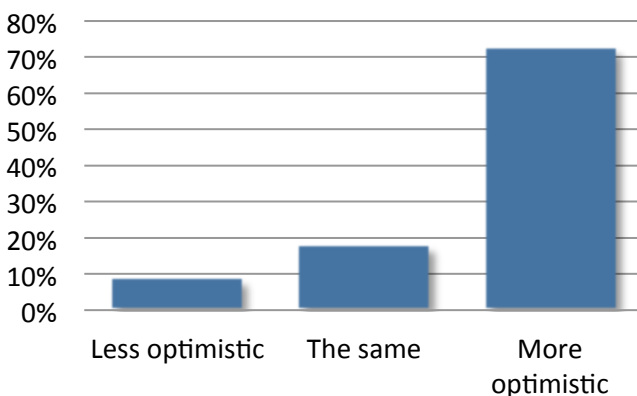
Figure 10: Compared to paid development workers: How creative are the ideas presented by international volunteers?



Optimism

The quest for adventure is a primary motivation for many international volunteers [29, 39]. Consequently, they often begin their work with an excited and optimistic attitude. This perspective often contrasts with local or paid development workers, who often labour with a specific problem area for multiple years and may become jaded over time. Although previous studies have hypothesised that short-term volunteers may be more optimistic than long-term volunteers based on the newness, excitement and novelty of their experience [29], this study did not find a significant difference in perceived optimism by duration of service. Across the board, 73 per cent of staff members believed that international volunteers are more optimistic than development workers.

Figure 11: Compared to paid development workers: How optimistic are international volunteers?



In addition to the comparison with paid development workers, international volunteers may also exude a level of optimism and commitment beyond what local volunteers can provide. However, because international volunteers often receive a stipend and may have higher personal resources to draw upon compared to local volunteers, they may have cause for greater optimism and commitment. As one staff member who works with both local and international volunteers explained:

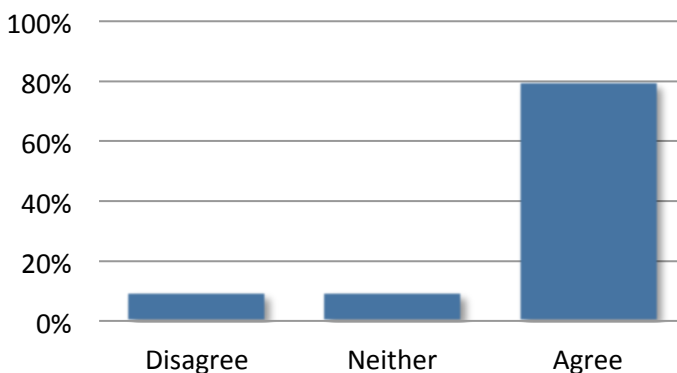
They [international volunteers] are so much enthusiastic, very much zealous after you've seen them get hold of a job. Actually they even go beyond our expectations, compared to our local volunteers. They do extra work, you realize a volunteer that we have here may only work today. But the other who comes from an international organisation would be able to almost work daily and go to any activity and don't expect any payments or something like that, because they know what brought them here. I have seen it, and I have handled a lot of volunteers.

Civic Engagement

Volunteers may support the growth of a strong civil society, which is recognised as essential for good governance, democratic accountability and vibrant social activism [40]. Findings from this

and other research suggest that local volunteerism and engagement seem to be directly inspired by the involvement of an international volunteer in development projects [3]. Many examples of this correlation were cited by staff during the interviews, and nearly 80 per cent of staff members agreed that community members seem more interested in the organisation's activities when international volunteers are involved.

Figure 12: Community members seem more interested in organisation's activities when international volunteers are involved



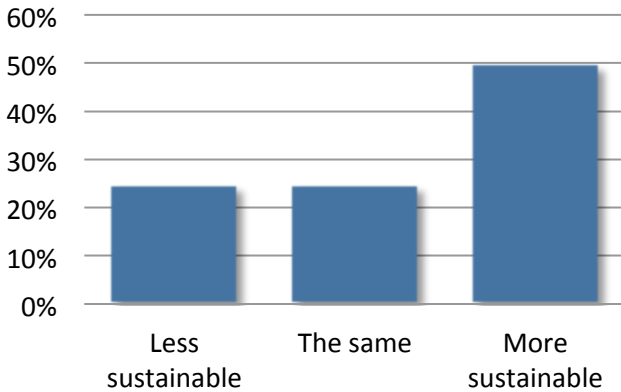
A number of the community members participating in focus groups were local volunteers, and provided examples of how they were personally inspired to engage in their communities following the example of international volunteers. As one staff member explained:

People will see a foreign visitor—and after seeing—they'll talk about it. They'll say, "if a *mzungu* can be a volunteer, why not me? I'm African. Why am I not helping my people? If somebody can come from abroad to help us here, why don't I start with me?"

Sustainability

Despite associating volunteers with high trust, creativity and local accountability, less than half of staff members believed that the contributions from volunteers are more sustainable than the work of paid development workers. On the downside, some asserted that the work of volunteers is seasonal and lacks continuity. Although there was no quantitative difference between short- and long-term programs, this critique was particularly evident in discussions of volunteer placements of a few months or less. Others viewed volunteers as falling outside of formal development programs, and thus believe there is lower institutional commitment and resources to sustain their work. On the upside, the work of volunteers often continues well beyond their return home. Many staff members cited examples of volunteers who continue to communicate with, and direct resources toward, the organisation or community, even years after their departure. This did not emerge as a common behavior for paid development workers, although this question was not directly assessed.

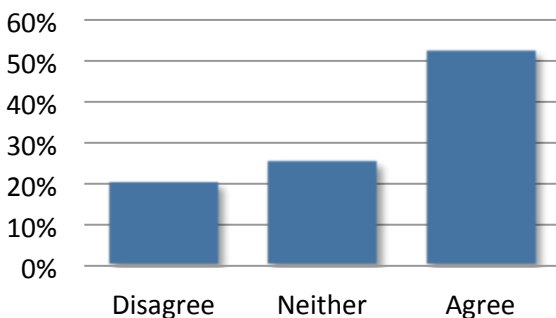
Figure 13: Compared to paid development workers: How sustainable is the work of international volunteers?



Cost-effectiveness

Responses were also more evenly mixed regarding perceptions of the cost-effectiveness of international volunteers. Slightly more than half of local staff agreed that using international volunteers reduces the total costs of development projects. The 20 per cent who disagreed remarked that substantial amounts of time and money are used to train, orient and host volunteers, in addition to travel and other logistical costs. A few believed that volunteers were helpful and useful but were not entirely convinced that volunteers offered good value for money. It was also possible—though unstated—that some respondents took this question at face value, agreeing that volunteers are not cost-free. Some of those agreeing with the statement that volunteers are cost-effective saw volunteers as filling a role that otherwise might be filled by a more costly development worker. Others reiterated that the contributions of volunteers are hard to put a monetary value on, and thus offered good non-monetary value to development partners.

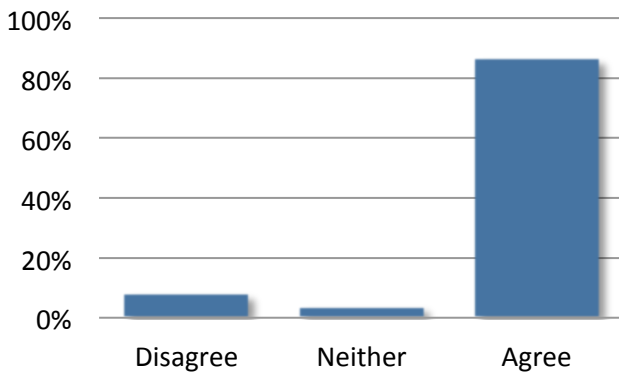
Figure 14: Using international volunteers reduces the total costs of development projects



Diversity

Community and staff members in this study cited many ways that volunteers' differences inspire open-mindedness and respect for diversity in their communities and organisations. Because international volunteers come from outside the community, they tend to increase the diversity of organisations and communities. As such, volunteers contribute new ideas but they may also bring in diverse perspectives that contribute to increased tolerance and respect for difference. This has also been noted in other studies on international volunteering [39, 41, 42]. International volunteers may have low awareness of historical ethnic, racial and class biases or other long-standing prejudice within communities. Thus, volunteers may be more likely to involve marginalised people or minorities who may otherwise be socially excluded.

Figure 15: Using international volunteers increases the diversity of project management



Only 42 per cent of staff members believed that international volunteers include more minorities in projects than local staff (see Figure 16), while 55 per cent believed they were more likely to include women in development projects (Figure 17). An even higher 62 per cent believed that international volunteers promote gender equality generally (Figure 18). This finding, paired with earlier assertions that volunteers promote gender equality, reinforces the conclusion that international volunteers may have a moderate impact on promoting gender equality and empowering women in the Kenyan context.

Figure 16: Compared to local project staff: How much do international volunteers include ethnic minorities in projects?

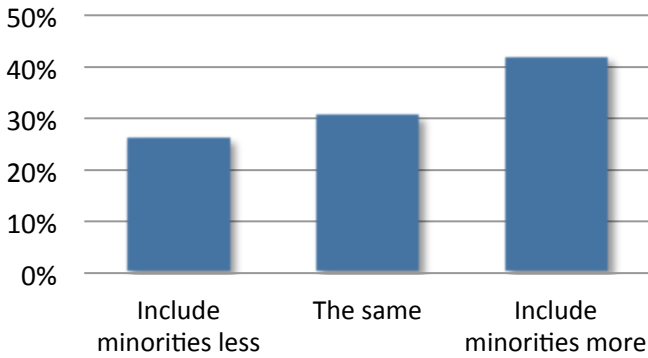


Figure 17: Compared to local project staff: How much do international volunteers include women in projects?

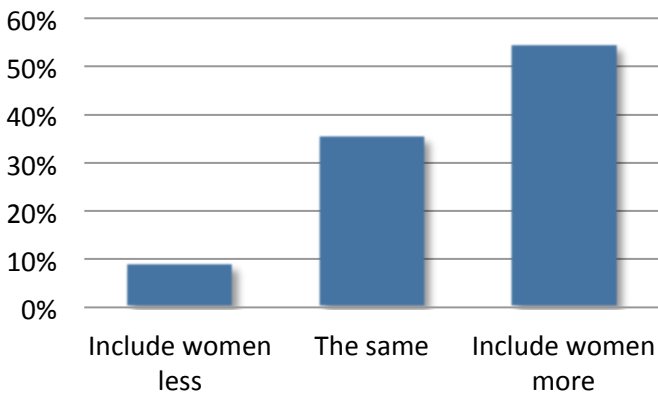
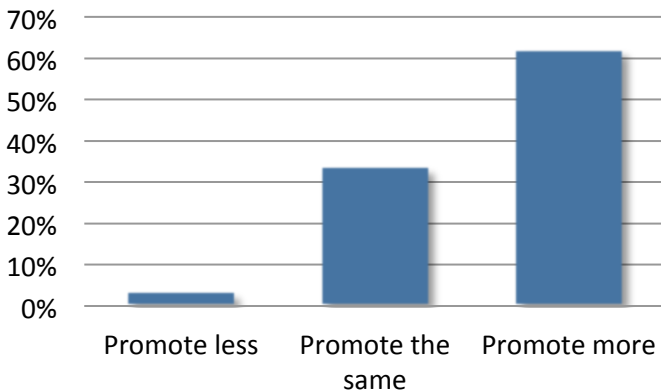


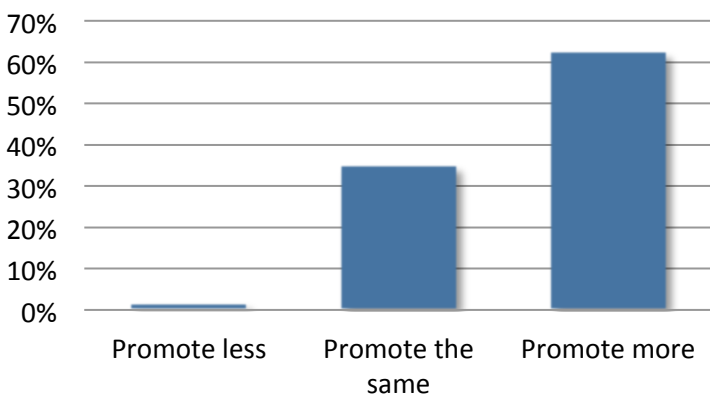
Figure 18: Compared to local project staff:
How much do international volunteers
promote gender equality?



Human Rights Orientation

In line with the perception that international volunteers promote diversity, advancing human rights also appears to be a common activity among international volunteers. About 65 per cent of community members believed that international volunteers promote human rights more frequently than local staff members. This was not always perceived as a positive contribution, however. For instance, one focus group cited an example where volunteers held trainings in an attempt to help reduce gender-based violence. Community members asserted that the volunteers were not well received by the community because they held different values and perspectives on human rights. Consequently, they were not able to connect well with community members, and thus were not necessarily effective at reducing gender-based violence in this area.

Figure 19: Compared to local project staff:
How much do international volunteers
promote human rights?



Contributing Causes

Consistent with prior research on the outcomes of international volunteering [5], respondents listed a number of “contributing causes” or “helping factors” that ultimately affect the impacts of international volunteer service on intended beneficiaries [14]. Various dimensions of the service activity, along with individual and institutional attributes, help to explain “what works for whom, why and under what circumstances” [43]. Although only a handful of helping factors were evident in quantitative findings, qualitative data revealed a number of key variables that appeared to change the mechanisms of impact.

Service Activity

International volunteer service is not a monolithic activity. Because volunteers engage in widely differing activities under different service “models”, it is not possible to make firm conclusions of impact without considering how these differences affect outcomes. For instance, the findings outlined above clearly illustrate how duration of service and the skill-base of volunteers affect beneficiaries’ perceptions of impact. In addition to service duration and skills, beneficiaries discussed a number of other factors related to service activity that seemed to affect outcomes. Among these, directionality, group or solo placement, and continuity emerged as dominant helping factors. These factors align closely with theoretical and empirical findings from previous studies [5].

Duration

Duration of service was the most widely cited variable affecting the contributions of international volunteers. As one voice among many asserted, “those who have been here for quite some time—they have been really productive and given us a greater impact.” Although duration is often the manifest variable, time length is only a fragment of the contributing factor. A number of additional attributes coincide with volunteering for different lengths of time.

Longer-term volunteers are typically a few years older than shorter-term volunteers, and are often required by the sending organisation to have a degree or a specific skill. Among the programs interviewed in this study, none reported hosting a long-term volunteer who lacked a college degree or a specialised skill. Short-term volunteers may also be skilled and are often “professional” volunteers. However, they are more commonly young people who might not have higher education or developed skills.

While duration often has a significant effect on outcomes, even after controlling for age and education [44, 45], it should not be discussed in isolation. In fact, many program staff in this study asserted that short-term volunteers can be highly effective when they are technically skilled or when they lead a training or workshop. One staff member working for an organisation that hosts both short- and long-term volunteers estimated that they value short-term young and unskilled volunteers at about 80 per cent for the resources they provide and at about 20 per cent for other contributions, while skills-based short-term volunteers’ contributions are the opposite: 80 per cent capacity building, and 20 per cent resources.

A strong message that emerged from interviews with program staff and community members is that short-term volunteers are highly valued for the resources that they can bring to the organisation and community. With the exception of short-term professional volunteers, this appeared to be one of the most obvious contributions of shorter-term volunteers to development. In fact, as one staff member asserted, hosting volunteers for less than a few months is often viewed as a “service” that the partner program provides to the sending organisation in order to maintain a functional working partnership. In this sense, they often view shorter-term volunteers as learners, not necessarily as contributors. However, other program staff mentioned less-tangible, but still important, contributions from young, short-term volunteers such as mutual learning, cross-cultural understanding, relationships, diversity, and inspiration—along with the changes already outlined above such as a perceived higher engagement of local volunteers, and a more enthusiastic working environment.

Shorter-term volunteers also appeared to more commonly engage in direct work with community members while longer-term volunteers appeared to work in organisations at the program- or project-management level. In many ways, longer-term volunteers were more comparable to paid development staff. When asked about the “ideal” length of time for volunteers to serve, the most common response from program staff was one year or more. However, among community members, the duration of service never seemed to be quite adequate. For instance, those hosting volunteers for three months stated that one year would be preferred, while those hosting volunteers for two years or more stated that five years would be best. If volunteers come to teach or practice a specific skill, to hold a training workshop, or to otherwise share their expertise, then short-term service is perceived as quite helpful. However, for other capacity building or program-level interventions, one year or more is preferred.

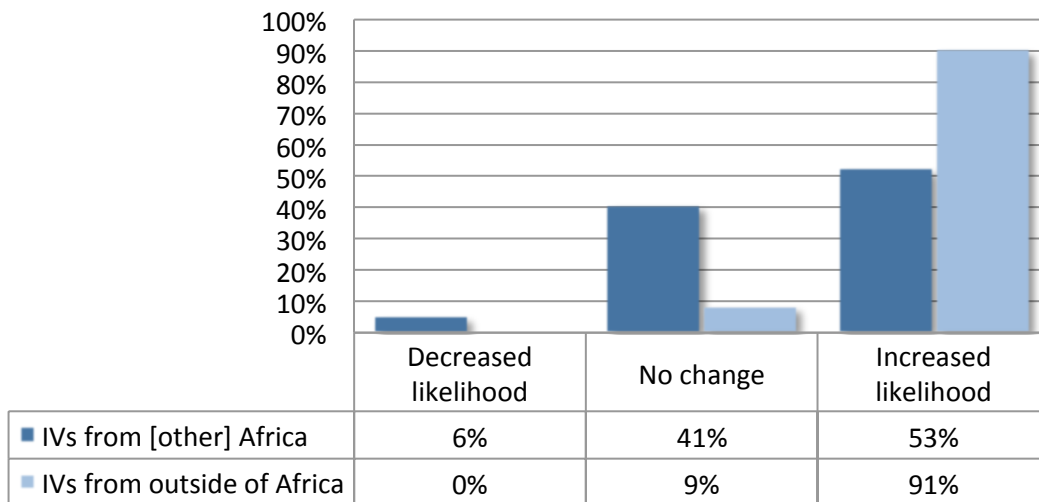
Directionality

The term directionality refers in this context to the differences in the direction or flow of international volunteers across nations. Support for South-North and South-South volunteer placements is a growing trend, as an alternative to the dominant North-South flow of international service. Most staff and community members did not perceive any substantial differences between volunteers from the Global North and the Global South. However, many asserted that they would prefer a volunteer from the North if given the choice. Two staff members from one organisation asserted that they would rather host a volunteer from the South.

The chief reason given for preferring Northern volunteers is a belief that volunteers from higher-income countries may have greater access to resources. In addition, there is also a belief that external funding and development organisations may have more respect for volunteers from the North, and may address their requests and ideas more quickly than volunteers from the South. This perception is illustrated numerically in Figure 20, where 91 per cent of staff members believe that hosting an international volunteer from outside of Africa increases their likelihood of receiving funding. In contrast, only 53 per cent believe hosting an international

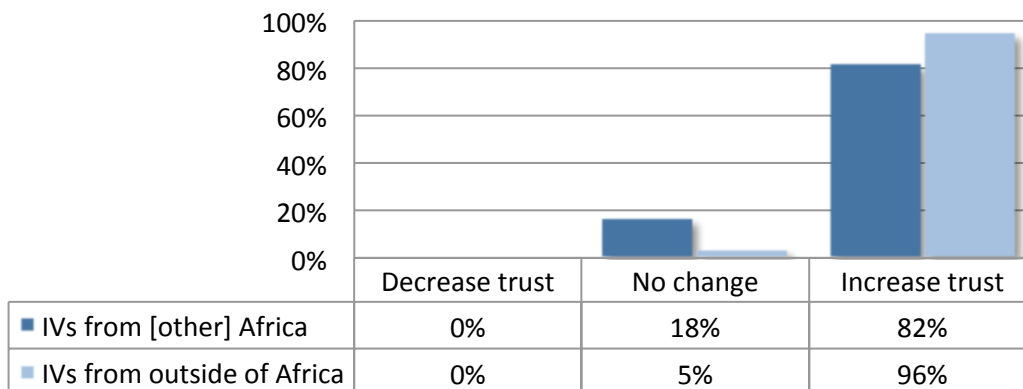
volunteer from another country in Africa increases their likelihood of receiving funding. This also ties back to the issue of trust. Although having an international volunteer from any country tends to increase the trust others have of the partner organisation, trust is slightly higher among volunteers from the North (96 per cent) than the South (82 per cent) (see figure 21).

Figure 20: How do you think international volunteers affect your organisation's likelihood to receive funding?



The handful of staff and community members indicating a preference for Southern volunteers stated that volunteers from the South are more accustomed to manual labour, and tend to work harder when manual labour is required. They also suggested that it is easier to talk frankly and openly about development plans with the volunteers from the South. While they may also discuss plans with Northern volunteers, there is a perception that neither party tends to be as open in these discussions. There was also a reported precedence that Northern volunteers had been less likely to implement plans developed in collaboration with community members, and vice versa.

Figure 21: How does having a volunteer work in organisation affect the trust others have of your organisation?



Group size

Differences in the practice of sending volunteers to serve alone or in a group were not explored in depth in these interviews. However, a handful of comments reveal that the collective nature of a placement may act as a helping or hindering factor. Group placements may be more structured and may require a lower investment by local staff, whereas individual volunteers often need specific tasks and assignments to keep them busy. As one staff member asserted:

Those who come in groups usually have very common objectives and really more structured work. In the sense that, when they come here, they are a bit more organized and they go through some training of what works. They have been assigned to come and do. You realize it is well coordinated and is very easy [for them] to understand the work. As compared to an individual who has just come, many times those who come as individuals just fit to whatever work we are exposing them to....

Continuity

The continuity of volunteer placements appeared to be of greatest concern among community members working with long-term international volunteers. Many expressed worry about what would happen when the volunteers left. Their most pressing concern was losing funding for community-based programs. However, they also expressed concern about losing the volunteers' expertise related to project management. Those working with short-term volunteers seemed to take it for granted that volunteers come and go, and did not express unsolicited concern about volunteers leaving. However, this was not an explicit question in the interview guide. Thus, continuity could also be a concern among those hosting short-term volunteers, as this issue has been noted in previous research with short-term volunteers [9]. This question may be explored in greater depth in future research.

Institutional Attributes

Theoretically, different attributes of the sending and hosting organisations—as well as the partner programs—would affect outcomes [5]. This area has received the greatest attention in previous research as it relates to the “management cycle” and monitoring and evaluation of specific programs. Hence, these attributes were not featured highly in the research. Few staff members brought these issues up spontaneously. However, when discussions of institutional attributes did arise, they mainly focused on the importance of language preparation, in-depth cultural orientation and screening of volunteers with potential personality issues. Some of these issues will be covered below under the discussion of volunteer attributes. Others will be covered in greater detail following further analysis of qualitative data.

Volunteer Attributes

Along with service activities and institutional attributes, interviewees discussed a number of individual volunteer attributes associated with development impacts. Although some of these attributes, such as personality, motivations and cultural competence, are often difficult to control, other attributes can be intentionally selected to better meet the needs of partner programs and communities. Among these, high skills and education, and the capacity to speak

in the host-country language, emerged as important qualities linked to effectiveness. In addition, demographic attributes such as age, gender and race seem to make a marginal difference. In the Kenyan context, racial issues seem to have a particularly strong effect on the perceptions of volunteer impacts.

Skills and education

The skills and education of volunteers were frequently mentioned attributes that appeared to affect outcomes. Across the board, staff and community members indicated a strong desire for volunteers with specialised skills and high education. References to the need for higher-skilled volunteers were particularly evident during discussions about the impact of short-term volunteers. As discussed earlier, the general perception seemed to be that short-term volunteers are best for technical or skilled placements. Non-skilled short-term volunteers are openly welcomed and are valued for the resources and relationships they provide, but they are often viewed as recipients of service rather than substantive contributors to “hard outcomes”.

Language

Language barriers were perceived to be a significant challenge, particularly for older community members and those located in rural settings. While young people in urban settings often spoke good English, communication was more difficult for those in rural contexts where people have infrequent exposure to English. As illustrated by a staff member working in a rural area:

Some people in the community find it difficult to get the English from some of these volunteers. So maybe things are not done in the correct way because communication is not proper, and especially in cases where they are going alone--unless they are assigned to one of our local volunteers--then maybe somebody can translate. But language has been a challenge....most of our work is community-based kind of meeting and talking, sharing out experiences. So at times the language spoken from some of these volunteers also really may not create much impact.

Although this finding is somewhat tied to the Kenyan context, volunteers’ ability to speak in the host-country language has also been documented in other research on the contributions of international volunteers to development [9, 28]. Even if staff and community members are relatively fluent in English, native fluency in the English language also seems to be helpful for writing grants and framing proposals to Northern organisations.

Cultural competence

The cultural competence and knowledge of volunteers is yet another variable that seems to be a limitation to their effectiveness. Community members, in particular, expressed a concern about volunteers who lack cultural knowledge or who have a fear of, or discomfort with, local settings. Staff and community members asserted that volunteers who are not culturally competent are more difficult to manage and are perceived as less effective in the community. Prior international experience, living with a host family, reciprocal partnerships and “guided reflection” all have been associated with higher intercultural competence in previous research [45], though these variables were not expressly measured in this study.

Race

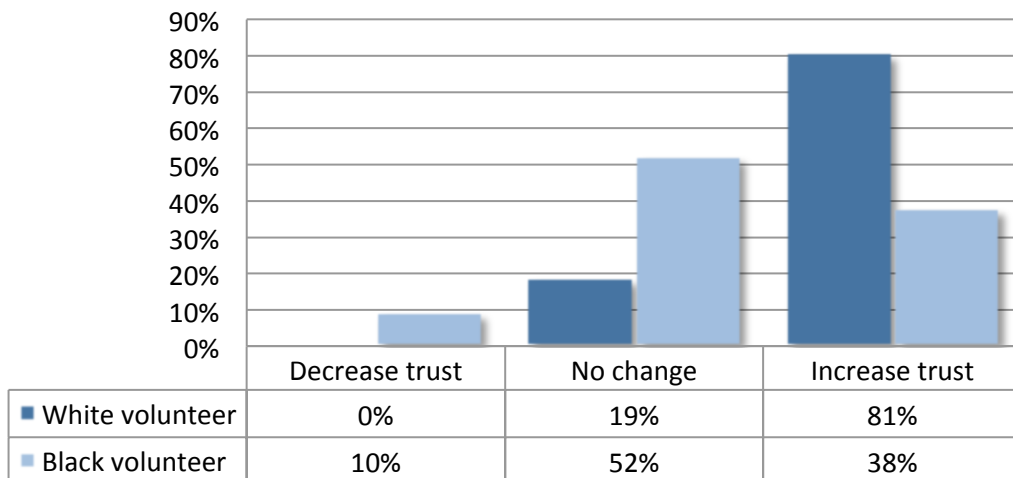
Racial issues emerged as highly relevant contingencies in the Kenyan context. There appears to be a strong association between (1) race and resources, (2) race and knowledge or expertise, and (3) race and trust. Similar findings have been documented in other research on the impacts of international volunteers in Tanzania and Mozambique [46]. White volunteers are generally perceived as being higher in resources, education/expertise and trustworthiness compared to Black volunteers.

Many staff and community members associated the race of volunteers with trust in their actions and motivations. One quote by a staff member typifies a sentiment that was frequently expressed during interviews and workshops:

Race also is a factor because people tend to believe in people from the West as being truthful. Yeah, we believe people from other countries or Western countries....I don't know but I heard it from my grandfather—he was telling me that a *mzungu* cannot lie even if he does something wrong, he will just tell you the truth....

According to surveyed staff members, 81 per cent believed that having a White volunteer work in the organisation increases the trust others have of their organisation, while only 38 per cent believed the same of Black volunteers (see Figure 22). The staff did not state that they themselves believed White volunteers to be more trustworthy, but they did believe that the race of volunteers affected other people's trust of the organisation.

Figure 22: How does having a volunteer work in organisation affect the trust others have of your organisation?



As noted earlier in this report, the White volunteers were also perceived as having more resources. Consequently, many reported that communities expected help and financial support from White volunteers. The importance of volunteers' race seems to be more influential for volunteers who stay for less than a few months. According to various members of different focus groups, volunteers who stay for a long term in the community are less likely to provide resources directly, while those who come for a shorter term frequently tend to provide

resources or to tap into connections with resources abroad. If volunteers stay in a community for long periods without providing resources, community members find that, although they are White, they are often not able or willing to provide resources.

Communities also associate race with “outsiders” and the external connections they may offer. When partner programs host White international volunteers, this may alter others’ perceptions of the organisation as more globally connected. They are often perceived as having greater access to external support and new ideas. This notion is exemplified in the following quote from a staff member of a partner program:

Whenever we see the White come and work alongside us, [the community] really values our organisation. They don’t just see us as the local NGO, but they see some sort of international face—that we are, well, kind of networked and we get people from abroad of diverse experience, divergent views, something positive to support our work.

These findings can have both positive and negative implications. As noted earlier in this report, what does it mean that some interviewees perceive of White volunteers’ ideas as “better” and more progressive? How might this impact the implementation and uptake of indigenous practices and models? While techniques and strategies from Western perspectives may be beneficial, there are many examples illustrating how the unexamined replication of practice methods are inappropriately applied to local problems, and may inhibit the invention of local solutions. Given this potential challenge, future research may need to consider the relevance of volunteers’ contributions in light of race-based perceptions.

Gender

With a few exceptions, staff and community members did not believe that the gender of international volunteers had a substantial effect on outcomes. Some believed men were more effective with manual labour, and were more emotionally distant, while others disagreed. Others claimed that female volunteers were more compassionate and open, and worked better with community members. However, gender assumptions were consistently confronted by different community members citing exceptions. Overall, no findings related to gender were consistent enough across interviews to make firm conclusions.

For specific organisations or volunteer activities, gender did seem to make a difference. For instance, female staff members in a faith-based organisation claimed that having a female international volunteer take a managerial role in their organisation seemed to change how other [male] staff members valued female staff in their organisation. Likewise, a few staff members discussed how male international volunteers worked in the kitchen, fetched water or would engage in other activities that are typically considered women’s work. They noticed that, after time, local males would also join them—challenging gender roles and stereotypes. Thus, the gender of the volunteer may have a role in programs aiming to promote gender equity—at least in the Kenyan context.

Age

The age of volunteers seems to matter slightly, but usually in conjunction with project activities and the duration of service. For instance, youth-based organisations often preferred young volunteers because they were “able to relate more to [their] youth”, while organisations that worked with families claimed a preference for middle-aged volunteers who “may be helpful with parents”. Community members served by youth-based organisations also asserted that, for short-term assignments, they would rather have young volunteers because young people seemed to adapt easier during the short time frame. Young volunteers were often perceived as more open to change, including changes in ethnocentric attitudes and “assumptions that their way is the best way”. While young people were also perceived as having more energy and vitality, and as being more friendly and outgoing, some also claimed that they often “need more support and may have less to offer”. In contrast, older volunteers have likely completed educational degrees, and may “act more mature”.

Limitations

Researchers involved in this study are independent from volunteer sending organisations. However, because some of the researchers are from the global North, it is likely that many community members and staff of partner organisations considered them to be part of the same system.⁶ While researchers were careful to describe their relationship of independence, it is likely that study informants were not entirely forthcoming about the challenges presented by volunteers. A pleasing bias is common in most evaluation studies. However, this bias may be more pronounced in this study given the organisations’ stated interests to retain volunteers in the programs. Staff and community members may be concerned about the potential withdrawal of volunteers in the case of negative evaluations.

The single country case study is able to speak to many impacts of international service programs operating in Kenya, although the small *n*-size does not allow for textbook generalisations. It is also not clear whether similar impacts and contributing causes would be evident in other global regions. In particular, the effects of race and gender on impacts such as diversity and trust may be quite specific to this particular location and context. Future studies that span multiple countries and contexts will likely uncover many new findings or conflicting results.

Conclusion

Although additional analyses are still under way, initial findings indicate that volunteers can and do contribute to development goals as valued human resources in development projects. They contribute notably to capacity building; they leverage their social capital; and they engage in advocacy to provide “bridges” to resources. However, this is not what makes international volunteers unique. As human resources, international volunteers are somewhat comparable to

⁶ Although some South-South international volunteer programs were included in the study, the majority of partner programs hosted volunteers from the global North.

paid development workers, local staff members and local volunteers, who all work to accomplish development goals. Given similarities in human resource contributions, this was not listed as the primary justification for recruiting and utilising international volunteers.

Certain development outcomes, such as volunteers' contributions to health, education and agricultural productivity, may be concretely measured when single programs are isolated. This is evident in the literature reviews, and is often the conclusion of individual studies and program evaluations. However, with an understanding that "the attribution of a specific outcome to an outside intervention is potentially at odds with the approach of cultivating local ownership" [11], it is potentially disconcerting that staff and community members so readily identify volunteers' capacity-building and resource contributions. This may suggest an undervaluing of local knowledge and ownership.

As a community-centered or "people-centered development" approach [47, 48], international volunteering should be acknowledged and celebrated within a "relational framework of development" [11]. As expressed by David Lewis, "International volunteering as an arena of development activity is important because it potentially humanizes what is often left as a technical or managerial process...International volunteering can provide tangible contributions to development in the form of skills and other resource transfers, but also perhaps more importantly it can promote international understanding and solidarity" [37].

While new managerialism and the proliferation of an audit culture seems to dominate current funding priorities for international volunteering for development [49, 50], these evaluation pressures may, ironically, contradict key principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. If "managing for results" truly aims to support principles of ownership and alignment, donors and other stakeholders must widen the lens to capture outcomes perceived to be international volunteers' most valuable contributions to development. As Georgeou and Engle assert, for international volunteer programs, "a performance-based approach promotes disengagement from a rights-based humanitarian understanding of development, a move that is incongruous with the original motivations for establishing volunteer sending programs" [49]. Findings from this study call into question current requirements and standards of impact reporting. With an understanding of the less-tangible but invaluable contributions that volunteers bring to the table, "development impact should be used as a guiding light and as a directional beacon, but not as the 'yardstick' against which the performance of a program is measured" [13]. Technical development programs that fail to value the relational contributions described by community members may risk amputating the energy and vitality that animates community-centered development.

Organisations and communities in Kenya assert that they value volunteers for their labour, expertise and the resources they contribute to development goals. However, they also strongly emphasise other contributions that would not otherwise be available without the presence of international volunteers. Organisations and communities value the trust, local accountability, creativity and optimism of volunteers. They value the increase in civic engagement and local volunteerism that accompany international volunteerism. They value the diversity and new

ideas that international volunteers bring to development projects and program management. These are the contributions that organisations and communities identify as adding unique value to development projects. Such outcomes are often difficult to assess in logic models, and may be overlooked in organisational theories of change. Nonetheless, they are highly valued.

In the reach to demonstrate aid effectiveness, these contributions are often not appraised at full value, despite their stated importance by local systems that ostensibly should be driving results and measurement priorities. Based on findings from this study, conclusions strongly agree with Devereux's recommendation that "IVCOs compare international volunteer contributions against the Paris Principles and not dilute their approach to duplicate existing development practice" [11].

In keeping with the principle of alignment, not all models of international volunteerism contribute equally. Measuring development effectiveness requires considering various service models, along with the attributes of volunteers serving within these models. According to principles of development effectiveness, community partners are jointly responsible for ensuring that IVCOs are responsive to their needs [18]. While partners sometimes assert that they would like different types of international volunteers, these needs are not always met. Findings indicate that outcomes may differ depending on the duration, directionality and continuity of service placements. Likewise, characteristics of individual volunteers such as their educational and skill level, their nationality, race, gender, and language and cultural competence, all affect outcomes in different ways.

While partner programs may prefer certain service models or certain types of volunteers, deviations do not necessarily imply that programs need to invent a different solution. For instance, while most partner programs reported that longer-term volunteers would be more effective at meeting development targets, the provision of short-term volunteers does not necessarily violate development principles of "joint responsibility" and "mutual accountability". Development activities are commonly a compromise of what the community requests and what the donor can provide. The same formula applies to international volunteer programs [51]. Although IVCOs may not be able to meet all preferences and requests of the partner programs, staff and community members' frequent expressions of gratitude for the sacrifice, efforts and commitment of volunteers across all forms indicate a general satisfaction with this compromise.

In summary, international volunteer-supported programs will be more effective at achieving development goals when IVCOs can successfully match service attributes with the goals and priorities of community partners. Thus, taking deeper stock of "contributing causes" will be important for future studies on the impact of international volunteering. As variations in service activities, individual attributes and institutional attributes are measured and matched with outcomes, it will be easier to plan and design service models that align with the development priorities that are valued by partner programs and communities.

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Appendix A: Participating Programs

Participating Partner Programs (staff interviews and participatory workshops)

Biafra Muslim Welfare Society
Egalitarian Organization for Poverty Alleviation (EOPA)
Family Health Options Kenya (FHOK)
International Organization for Migration (IOM)
Kenya Hospices and Palliative Care Association (KEHPCA)
Kijabe Environment Volunteers (KENVO)
Kisumu District Hospital
Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA)
Movement of Men Against AIDS in Kenya (MMAAK)
St. John's Community Center-Pumwani (SJCC)
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
United Nations-HABITAT
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
WUSC Student Refugee Program (SRP)

Participating International Volunteer Cooperation Organisations (Kenya field research)

Canada World Youth (CWY)
Comitato Europeo per la Formazione e l'Agricoltura (CEFA)
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH
FOCSIV- Volontari nel mondo
Fredskorpset (FK Norway)
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)
United Nations Volunteers Programme (UNV)
Volunteer Service Overseas - Jitolee (VSO Jitolee)
World University Service of Canada (WUSC)

Participating International Volunteer Cooperation Organisations (literature review)

Australian Volunteers International (AVI)
Fredskorpset (FK Norway)
Singapore International Foundation (SIF)
Unité (Swiss Association for the Exchange of Personnel in Development Cooperation)
United Nations Volunteers Programme (UNV)
Uniterra (CECI - Centre for International Studies and Cooperation & WUSC - World University Service of Canada)
Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA)
Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO)

Appendix B: Participatory Workshop Schedule⁷

1. Introductions and informed consent
 - a. Clarify and obtain feedback about participant expectations
 - b. Overview of workshop objectives
2. Breakout group exercise A: Sharing stories
3. Breakout group exercise B: Discussing the outcomes and contributions of international volunteers

Afternoon Lunch break

4. Full group exercise C: Discussing different types of international volunteers

Mid-session Break

5. Full group exercise D: Ranking international volunteers' contributions to higher level development goals
6. Appreciation and closing the workshop

Introductions and informed consent

The facilitator will:

- Clarify the purpose: that we are conducting these focus groups to understand the impacts of international volunteers in their community.
- Explain that we would like to record this interview, and may also take some notes as we talk.
- Reemphasize that it is very important to us that their privacy is protected. Names will not be associated with any information they share.
- Explain that, if at any time after the focus group they would like more information, they are welcome to contact us [reference informed consent letter contact information].
- Emphasize that, during the conversation, they should feel free to respond, or not to respond, to questions.
- Explain that, if they need to take a break, please feel free to get up and move around. If they need to leave before the focus group is over, they are free to do so.
- Ask if the participants have any questions for you before beginning.

Breakout group exercise A: Sharing stories

This exercise will be used as an icebreaker, to introduce to the theme of the workshop and to help build rapport amongst the participants. Invite each participant in advance of the workshop

⁷ The workshop format is adapted from the UNV Evaluation Handbook. See UNV. (2011). *Assessing the contribution of volunteering to development*. Bonn, Germany: United Nations Volunteers: Evaluation Unit.

to think of a story or choose a recent example of how international volunteers have brought about a significant change (either positive or negative). Ask the participants to consider why the change has occurred, who was involved, what were the activities and the role of the volunteer(s), who was impacted by the changes and the difference it has made. The facilitator should digitally record the discussion.

Divide participants into small “buzz” groups (three-five people) to discuss which story they feel best illustrates the impacts of the volunteer(s) and why. The facilitator should digitally record the stories.

Step 1: Ask each participant to spend five minutes sharing their story in the buzz group.

Step 2: The facilitator may want to follow-up with the story by asking prompt questions. For example:

- What role did the volunteer(s) play? Who else was involved?
- Who were the main beneficiaries (women, girls, boys, men, specific groups)?
- If the volunteer(s) had not been involved, would this activity have happened?
- What types of changes have occurred as a *direct* result of the volunteer(s)?
- How significant was the change? What difference has it made (overall contribution)?

Breakout group exercise B: Discussing the outcomes and contributions of international volunteers

Without repeating the question prompts asked during the story-sharing session, the facilitator will ask additional questions about the contributions of international volunteers, with the goal of understanding the impact of international volunteers when compared to other development approaches. The facilitator should digitally record the discussion.

1. Please tell me about international volunteers involved in this program/project.
 - a. What kinds of interactions do you have with the international volunteers?
2. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of having volunteers from other countries here? [use of participatory drawing exercise, mapping exercises, problem trees, Venn diagrams]
 - a. What are the advantages of having an international volunteer in your community compared to full-time staff members?
 - b. What are the disadvantages of having an international volunteer in your community compared to full-time staff members?
 - c. What could the volunteers do differently to make their presence better for your community?
3. How do you think international volunteers affect other people’s perceptions of the community?
 - a. Do you think the projects/programs in this community are more or less likely to get funding or resources because international volunteers are involved? Why?

4. What has *changed* in your community as a result of the international volunteers' involvement?
 - a. Could you describe any positive and negative consequences that have occurred as a result of this change?
5. Did an international volunteer ever help you find new resources? Could you give me an example?
 - a. Have they ever connected you to other people or organisations that have helped you?
 - b. Have they encouraged you or others in your community to start new projects?
6. Have international volunteers ever taught you a new skill or helped you learn new knowledge? Can you give me an example?
 - a. Do you think you would have learned this without the help of international volunteers?
7. Can you think of a time that an international volunteer helped to reduce conflict in your community? What did they do?
 - a. Do you think someone from your community could have had the same impact?
8. Do you believe there are ethnic or tribal divisions in your community?
 - a. How do international volunteers treat people from these different ethnicities or tribes?
 - b. Do the international volunteers seem to prefer one ethnicity or tribe over another?
 - c. Have the actions of international volunteers changed the way you think about people in different tribes or ethnicities?
9. Have international volunteers changed the way you think about people in different countries? What has changed?
10. Have the actions of international volunteers changed the way you think about the roles of [women, children, poor people] in your community? What has changed?
11. What are some of the challenges of having international volunteers in your community?
 - a. Do you have an example where having international volunteers in your community created a problem?
12. Have you ever benefitted from international volunteers after they return to their home country? Can you give me an example?
13. Has witnessing the work of international volunteers ever inspired you to volunteer yourself? Could you give me an example?

14. Would you like to say anything else about your experience with volunteers from other countries at this organization?

Full group exercise C: Discussing different types of international volunteers

The facilitator will begin the discussion focusing on how variation in volunteers and volunteer activities contribute differently to peace and development goals. For a visual cue, the facilitator would draw multiple spectrums on a flipchart (i.e. male ----- female). The facilitator should digitally record the discussion.

1. [Assuming this information is not already gathered]. How long do international volunteers typically stay in your community? Do you think is a sufficient amount of time? Why or why not?
2. What are the differences in the contributions from different types of international volunteers?
 - a. Volunteers of different ages
 - i. Young (18-24), middle-aged (25-50), older (51+)
 - b. Volunteers with different levels of skills
 - i. Amateurs to professionals
 - c. Male and female volunteers
 - d. Volunteers from the global North and the global South
 - e. Volunteers of different ethnicity or race
 - i. White or Black
 - f. Short vs. long-term volunteers
 - g. Others? Mixed teams of international and national?
 - h. Serving alone or in groups
3. Do all the international volunteers who come here speak [Kiswahili]?
 - a. Do you think international volunteers are helpful if they can't speak much [Swahili]?
 - b. What do volunteers who don't speak much [Swahili] do to help?
4. When international volunteers speak and write other languages fluently, such as English or French, are there any advantages to the community?
5. What do you think would change if there were *more* international volunteers here?
6. How do you think things would be different if the international volunteers *quit coming*?

Full group exercise D: International volunteers' contributions to development goals

The goal of this exercise is to get a quantitative indication of the relative contribution of international volunteers to different development goals.

Step 1: The facilitator or a representative from the partner program and/or invited participant presents a short introduction on the development goals (either MDGs and/or other goals) and on how volunteering for development hopes to contribute to these goals. Aim to keep the presentation to a maximum of 10 minutes.

Step 2: The facilitator writes the MDGs and any additional responses already generated from Exercise A or B on a flipchart (for a list of MDGs, see Appendix). The facilitator will then ask participants to list additional ways that international volunteers contribute to higher-level development goals. The facilitator will need to ensure that s/he elicits views from all of the participants and not just from a handful of more vocal participants.

Step 3: Rank the outputs in order of importance and/or perceived effectiveness. Give each participant five/seven sticky dots. You might want to disaggregate by giving different colored dots to women and men. Participants have the option to put all of their dots onto one output or to spread the dots out over a number of outputs. Instruct the participants not to be led by others.

Step 4: Repeat this process to understand the common challenges of international volunteers. The facilitator should make it clear to participants that any discussion of negative changes that might have occurred during the volunteer placement/project is not intended to blame. The idea is to get a better understanding of some of the unintended consequences of our activities so that we can learn to improve future projects and programs. Likewise, any discussion on the contributions that different types of volunteers can make is intended to inform future placement strategies and is not an assessment or critique of individual volunteers.

Step 5: After the participants have placed their dots, the facilitator should identify the outputs that have received the most and least dots. The facilitator leads a discussion with participants on the scores and the significance of the scores. They should try and get the participants to identify any trends emerging, the types of outputs that appear to be more important and/or effective. It is important to note down the different perspectives and views.

Closing the workshop

Summarize the findings and conclusions from the workshop. Ask if this is an accurate summary—and if we missed anything important. Thank the participants for their contributions and remind them how this project will help improve volunteer programs. Discuss the process of reporting, and how they can access the summary report(s) of their feedback.