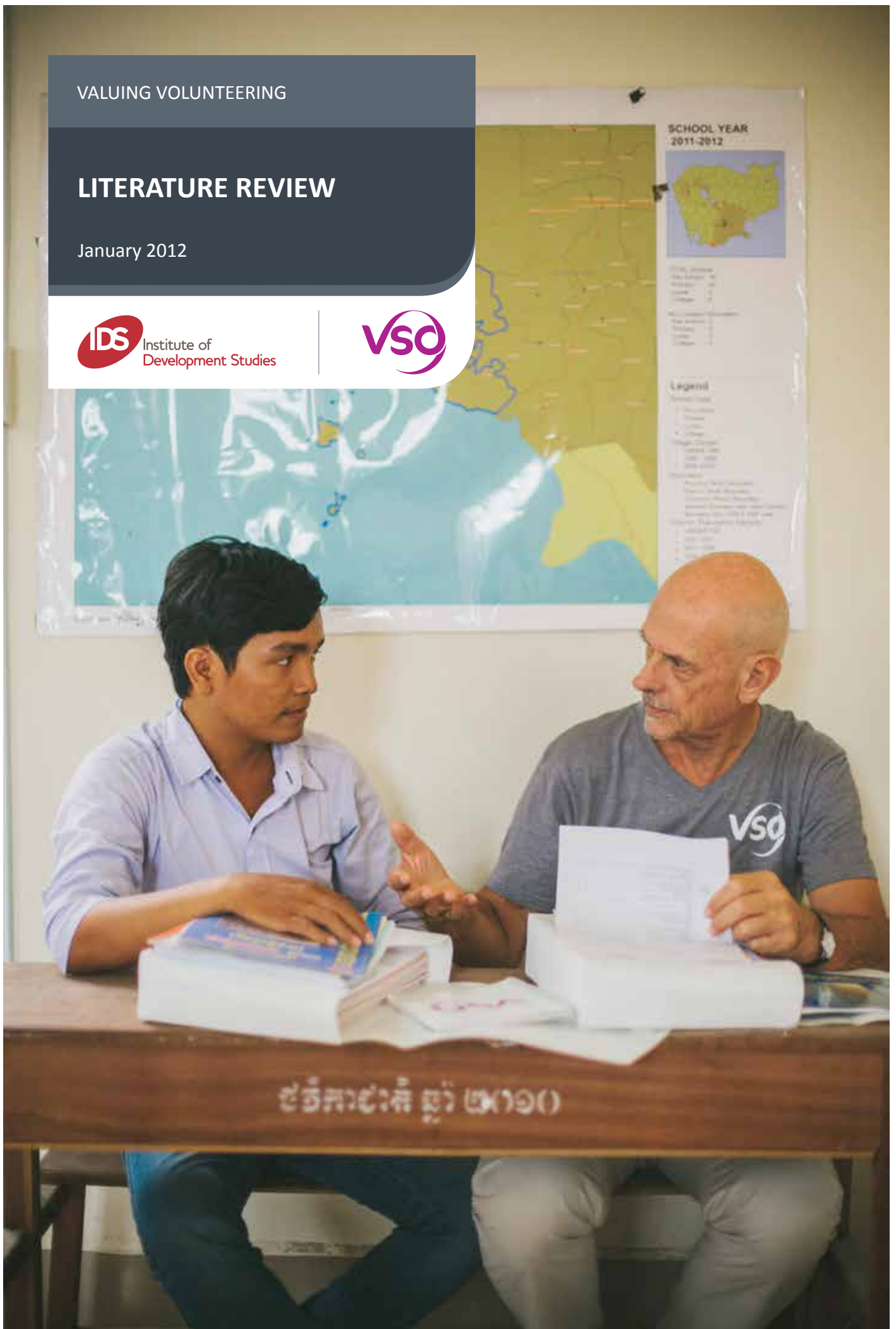VALUING VOLUNTEERING

LITERATURE REVIEW

January 2012

The Valuing Volunteering project was a collaboration between the Institute of Development Studies and VSO.

VSO at a glance

VSO is the world's leading independent international development organisation that works through volunteers to fight poverty in developing countries.

VSO brings people together to share skills, build capabilities and promote international understanding and action. We work with partner organisations at every level of society, from government organisations at a national level to health and education facilities at a local level.

www.vsointernational.org

IDS

The Institute of Development Studies (IDS) is a leading global organisation for international development research, teaching and communications. The *Valuing Volunteering* project is being conducted in partnership with the IDS Participation, Power and Social Change Team.

www.ids.ac.uk

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Acronyms

CBO	Community-based organisation
CIVICUS	World Alliance for Citizenship Participation
CSO	Civic Service Organisation
DFID	Department for International Development
DO	Diaspora Organisation
DVA	Diaspora Volunteering Alliance
IAVE	International Association for Volunteer Effort
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTs	Information and communications technology
ICV	International Corporate Volunteering
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation
IVCO	International Volunteering Cooperation Organisations
IVS	International Volunteering Service
NAVNET	National Volunteer Network Trust
NV	National Volunteering
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
RCTs	Randomised Control Trials
SAR	Systemic Action Research
SWVR	State of the World's Volunteering Report
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNV	United Nations Volunteers
VSO	Voluntary Services Overseas

Contents

Executive summary

Valuing Volunteering is a two year global action research project, conducted by Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) in partnership with the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), to understand 'how, when and where volunteering affects poverty'. The project aims to expand our knowledge of the specific attributes of volunteering as a development mechanism and the unique ways in which volunteering affects poverty. The lessons learnt through the research will be fed back into VSO and shared across the sector to inform and strengthen the design, implementation and impact evaluation of development interventions through volunteers. The field research for Valuing Volunteering began in May 2012 and is being conducted in Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nepal and The Philippines and explores different types of volunteering for development interventions across the thematic areas of sustainable livelihoods, education, active citizenship, public health, urban poverty, migration, natural resource management and academic led volunteering.

In 2011, Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO), the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) and the International FORUM on Development Services (FORUM) joined forces to undertake the present literature review with two purposes. Firstly, to provide contextual, academic, and conceptual background information around volunteering and development to inform the Valuing Volunteering project. Secondly, as a resource that could become useful for future research into the impact of international volunteering initiated by FORUM members and others in the wider volunteering for development sector.

This literature review reviews the main schools of thought under which volunteerism has been analysed as a social phenomenon and looks at the evolution of volunteerism in relation to the mainstream development theories. It acknowledges and engages with recent critiques arising from the implementation of volunteering and development programmes (i.e. paternalism, power imbalances, neo-colonialism, etc.), some of which raise questions which may be further explored through Valuing Volunteering. The research also looks at ways of measuring volunteering in the context of the current monitoring and evaluation (M&E), impact assessment, and learning context; growing trends of measuring impact and proving 'value for money' of any activity funded by overseas development assistance (ODA).

In terms of how volunteering contributes to development, the key learning from the literature review is that there is empirical evidence of the positive effects of volunteering on poverty reduction; emergency relief and humanitarian assistance; sustainable livelihoods; citizenship building; gender equality and women's empowerment; and improved well-being. However, why and how volunteering contributes to change, its limitations or the barriers that challenge its effectiveness and ways in which its role in international and national development and poverty alleviation can be strengthened have been insufficiently researched.

The literature review also points to a number of assumptions which the Valuing Volunteering research will attempt to challenge and unpack around what is a positive 'enabling environment' for volunteerism, including:

- Government and civil society support to volunteerism through policy and infrastructure development
- A civil society space for people to become active citizens
- Scope for women and men to participate equally in decision-making around volunteering for development
- The voices of volunteers are heard by the organisations they work with and by policy makers
- Funding is made available for volunteer programmes in support of development

These critiques and assumptions will form the basis of the questions being explored by Valuing Volunteering.

Finally, whilst doing this review, it was evidenced that the vast amount of academic research around volunteering for development has focused on International Volunteering, particularly drawing out the identifiable, and many times, aggregated quantifiable impacts of these schemes; whilst research on informal or more 'indigenous' forms of volunteering is minimum and conducted less within formal academic circles. This is an issue interesting in itself. This greater interest on the international aspect of volunteering can derive from several incentives such as: the significant amount of funding given to INGOs to implement these types of programmes; the visibility that this scheme has gained in numerous developed countries such as the United States, United Kingdom and Australia; the way that so-called quality research is generated through interrelated academic circles, amongst others.

When designing the methodology of Valuing Volunteering this literature review was used as a basis to look at some of the existing gaps. Firstly, if there is quantitative data on the positive impacts that volunteering has had in several aspects of development, this research endeavour aims to explore why, how and when this contribution happens; as well as the practical implications and ways in which volunteering programming can be enhanced. Secondly, by being developed through a Participatory Systemic Action Research approach[1] volunteers, community members, partners, local decision makers, volunteer involving organisations, and government institutions who are active participants in the research are able to bring their particular knowledge and perspectives around the context and environment where volunteering schemes are operating. Moreover, Valuing Volunteering researchers aim to engage with the broader volunteerism landscape including examples of national volunteer involving organisations, governments using volunteers and local formal (attached to an CBO or grassroots movement) and informal (instigated and led by the community) volunteering.

Introduction

The concept of voluntarism (voluntary action) was conceived during the Western liberal regimes of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The birth in Europe of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1863, and the genesis in the United States of institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Foundation, etc., marked the start of a philanthropic tradition in private, non-governmental hands. However, throughout the history of most societies there have always been communal mechanisms of cooperation; such as the *tequio* in Mexico or the *mutirao* in Brazil (UNV, 2011: 54)[2]. Volunteerism is also commonly used as a term used to describe the concept and the values, such as "solidarity, reciprocity, mutual trust, belonging and empowerment," that underpin the act of volunteering (SWVR 2011). A recent study of volunteerism and service in Southern Africa shows that people from poor backgrounds volunteer as a part of community coping mechanisms; and self-managed, volunteer based mutual aid groups are found throughout the region (Patel et.al. 2007). However, in many countries the organisational-led idea of voluntarism has permeated the minds of the general public until today, generating a static view about voluntary activity. As well, this biased perception has limited the concept of "volunteer" to individuals with certain socioeconomic, cultural and educational background engaged with charity work.

In reality, voluntarism is now only a part of a more complex phenomenon, named volunteering (see Annex 2: Key Terms and Definitions) which involves the organisational as well as traditional cooperation mechanisms. After the end of World War II and the consequent period of decolonisation, volunteering started to encompass a myriad of activities, structural characteristics and organisational practices, which have been closely linked to the shift of paradigms in development thought and practice. Volunteering engages with all aspects of development, from emergency assistance to governance and citizenship building. Moreover, during the last decade, the value of so-called "indigenous" forms of volunteering in the global South[3] has been recognised by the largest volunteering bodies such as the United Nations Volunteers programme (UNV). This has led scholars and practitioners from various disciplines to analyze the impact and benefits that all forms of volunteering action have achieved. However, as seen across this literature review, research on the impact of volunteering in development has primarily focused on international volunteering (See section 1.1).

The International FORUM on Development Services (FORUM) joined Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS)[4] to undertake the present literature review as a document that will provide a general academic, conceptual and contextual background around volunteering and development. On the one hand, this review will provide the theoretical basis for the wider Valuing Volunteering project; on the other, it will serve as input for a field research into the impact of international volunteering initiated by FORUM[5]. It is important to state that this literature review will not try to answer the overarching question of each of these research projects. It will only provide a snapshot of the literature on the subject and feed into the exploratory inquiry phase, while illustrating theory with country-based examples; in-country data will be examined more closely during the fieldwork phases.

Structure of the review

After providing a brief section on the methodology used to write this literature review, section 1, Conceptualising Volunteering, will look at the existing trends in defining what volunteering is. It will revise the formal (i.e. institutionalised) forms of volunteering which are widely promoted by various actors like governments, political parties, INGOs and the United Nations. As well, it will look at studies about non-formal, so-called "indigenous" forms of volunteering. The aim of this section is to present the underlying concepts behind certain volunteering interventions; without making value judgements about the efficiency or benefits of any of them.

Formal volunteering has been deeply linked with the evolution of development paradigms and shifts in development schools of thought. Section 2, Volunteering and Development, will take a look at this relationship from two perspectives. Firstly, a comparative timeline will show the evolution of the 'dominant' and 'alternative' paradigms in development over the decades, since the aftermath of World War II, along with breakthroughs in the volunteering sector. Secondly, a table will look at the diverse and sometimes overlapping ways in which volunteering programmes have been shaped according to the development outcomes they pursue: poverty reduction; emergency relief and humanitarian assistance; sustainable livelihoods; citizenship building; gender equality and women's empowerment; and improved well-being. Finally, it will talk about the recent volunteering trends that have emerged in the last decade or so; some of them, seeming detached from the wider aim of achieving development and social change.

Section 3 will speak about the diverse arguments and critiques that have appeared against volunteering; some of these also applicable to the wider development sector. Issues around power imbalances within volunteering such as paternalism, the power of donors over organisations, and the power of 'the gift' are explored. Also, the section speaks about the critique of volunteering as knowledge transfer instead of knowledge co-generation with the communities; the growing of an individualistic trend; the volunteers taking responsibilities from the state; and the complexities around incentives and remuneration of volunteers.

In Section 4, volunteering will be framed within the current Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E), Impact Assessment and Learning context that development organisations have been facing during the last years. The 2008 financial crackdown and its subsequent crisis brought to the aid agenda a huge interest in demonstrating impact and value for money. Unfortunately, the emphasis on learning has not been so widespread and there are voices rising up to critique the harm that this increased emphasis on measuring impact has brought to the development industry[6]. This section will focus on situating volunteering inside these debates and the existing relationship with the broader Valuing Volunteering research. Firstly, the main theoretical frameworks in use for impact assessment and M&E, and their strengths and weaknesses, will be presented and illustrated with examples. Secondly, the importance of learning and looking for alternative ways for measuring impact, primarily the people-centred approach, will be looked at.

Finally, Section 5 will provide general conclusions on how Valuing Volunteering, through its action research methodology, will contribute to the aforementioned debates and will generate new learning that will be fed back into VSO and shared across the sector to inform and strengthen the design, implementation and impact evaluation of development interventions

Methodology

As has been noted, this review is not aimed at developing a hypothesis or proving a statement; its aim is to offer a general overview of the current debates around the topic of "volunteering" and more specifically the relationship between volunteering and development. In order to gather information in an inclusive manner, this document was built using a collaborative methodology between VSO, FORUM and IDS, notable scholars and practitioners in the volunteering sector, and the lead researchers of the Valuing Volunteering project.

One of the key ideas behind the construction of this report was to incorporate perspectives from the South and the North in order to avoid a biased perspective; however, this is was not fully achievable because of the concentration of academic studies and research institutes in the North. In this sense, the conceptual sections are based on academic literature from specialised journals in the Development Studies and Human Geography fields; mostly published by Northern institutions. However, the rest of the report is based on grey literature, such as reports obtained from international development organisations working through volunteers from the North and the South, sometimes referred to as International Volunteer Cooperation Organisations (IVCOs), the United Nation Volunteers (UNV) programme, and papers presented at research conferences specialised on the study of the third sector.

The authors of this report started the literature review with wide terms such as voluntarism, volunteering, narrowing down the scope with certain qualifying terms (i.e. South-South, international, national, etc.) and adding key complementary words according to the issue or problem wishing to be explored. For example, to explore critiques, terms as development + effects; neo-liberalism, individualism, knowledge, capacity, power, etc. were added to the search. For sections 3 and 4 terms such as poverty + reduction, impact + assessment, results-based management, and M&E were used. It is important to note that VSO and FORUM provided the links to most of the grey literature as convenors of global networks of a diverse range of organisations working with volunteers.

A peer-review process was followed to finalise this literature review. One internal reviewer from IDS and one external reviewer from the Institute of Volunteering Research provided useful feedback that improved the depth and breadth of this piece. Also, the programme management team at VSO were constantly engaged in the evolution of the research, providing regular feedback throughout the process. Due to the busy nature and challenging work environments, mostly with limited connectivity, the lead researchers in the Valuing Volunteering project were only able to give inputs before starting their placements.

Finally, the literature review worked as an initial point of debate with some other key actors; particularly at national level. Through a community of practice in http://community.eldis.org/GlobalValuingVolunteering/ , two continuous processes unfolded. Through this virtual space blog posts and discussion forums were opened around the critiques on volunteering for development presented in the literature review; once the fieldwork started, the lead researchers would give continuity to post blogs arising from their findings, opening other debates.

1. Conceptualising volunteering

Several studies and scholars of the third sector[7] have made efforts to define 'volunteering'. Some have focused their research in the theoretical background and/or practical experiences around the concept (see Anheier and Salamon 2001; Lukka and Ellis 2001; Fyfe and Milligan 2003; Merrill and Safrit 2003, Patel et.al. 2007). Other studies have mainly focused on the individual characteristics behind a 'volunteer' (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth 1996; Bloom and Kilgore 2003; Moore McBride 2010). From these attempts it can be concluded that giving a unique definition of volunteering is difficult since it is socially and culturally specific.

When exploring different cultural concepts of volunteering, Lukka and Ellis (2001: 43) conclude that it means different things to different people, according to their social, cultural, historical and political positions. From a Western perspective, the term 'volunteering' occupies a paradoxical position. On the one hand, it lacks precision, as there is no clear-cut definition of what it encompasses (Sheard 1995; Handy 2000); therefore it can be many things. On the other hand, it has become narrowly defined in the minds of the general population by relating it to middle class, suburban population with spare money and time to share with a charitable organisation (Lukka and Ellis 2001: 35). This perception limits the act of volunteering to an organisational domain, inscribed into formal structures.

Anheier and Salamon (2001), in their widely cited study on volunteering from a cross-national perspective, stated that in liberal democratic political regimes, like Australia or Britain, volunteering is closely related to the concept of a voluntary sector — a part of society seen as separate from both the business sector and the statutory sector of government. However, this stark division is growingly less evident, both in the North and the South, as organisations emerging in the last decades blur the boundaries between characteristics of public, private and third sector generating new 'hybrid organisations'. Ellis Paine, Ockenden and Stuart (in Billis 2010: 93) present in their study some implications for volunteers in the UK working in this new settings concluding that 'the further into hybridity an organisation slips, the more volunteering feels like an instrument of delivery rather than a force for change'; overall volunteers felt more engaged in those less formal organisations where they perceived their role more meaningful. Indeed, these are interesting considerations to take into accont.

Recent support for local, national and international volunteering schemes are grounded in the Tocquevillian notion that volunteers are part of the 'social glue' that holds modern societies together, counter-acting what are seen as the divisive tendencies of increased individualism and greater materialism (de Tocqueville, 1990/1835). In this sense, Robert Putnam's theory about social capital[8] also has been highly influential. Fyfe and Milligan (2003: 407) explore Putnam's ideas in relationship to voluntary associations; his work has placed voluntary associations centre stage as the site for the production and/or reproduction of social capital. These organisations provide spaces within which people regularly engage in face-to-face interaction with others, generating the capacity of 'generalized reciprocity' and collective action.

This notion relates to findings arising from a study published in 2012 that examined the effects of short-term international volunteers on organisations, using a comparative design between volunteer-hosting organisations and organisations that do not host any kind of volunteers (Lough et.al. 2012). Findings suggest that a key contribution of international volunteering has been the social capital bridging that volunteers may provide to organisations in low-income regions of the world, which may not be easily supplied by domestic volunteers (my emphasis).

1.1. International volunteering

International volunteering is based on the assumption that volunteers transfer knowledge and experience not locally available or under-resourced. The skill-share model rests on the hypothesis that volunteers build the capacity of the receiving organisations, that those organisations are better able to meet their development objectives, and that this in turn brings about positive change for disadvantaged people. International donors have been highly supportive of this scheme, as a DFID Briefing Paper states:

> **"International volunteering can contribute positively to achieving development outcomes when volunteers are placed within a long-term partnership and provided the appropriate training and support."** (DfID, 2005)

A very significant document on international volunteering that presents 'list style' information on non-FORUM and FORUM members worldwide is A Mapping Exercise on International Volunteer Co-operative Agencies 2009 (Wintle 2009).

However, not all international volunteering programmes are related to development and therefore do not pursue the same goals. Sherraden et.al. (2006) suggest a typology for international volunteering which divides firstly on the lines of service for international understanding versus service for development aid and relief. Secondly, the typology divides on the basis of duration, nature of service, and degree of 'internationality'. While the distinction between the 'soft' side of international understanding, and the 'hard' side of development, reflects the way in which government aid agencies have often viewed international volunteering, it is important not to forget the view of many independent IVCOs which do not encourage such a dichotomy.

Case study - Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone is a country working to overcome the disastrous effects of civil war. VSO re-opened its volunteer placements in 2005 with a focus on health, youth, and securing livelihoods. Its health strategy aims to: "Contribute to the reduction of maternal and child mortality in Sierra Leone through strengthening the capacity of the Ministry of Health and Sanitation and Civil Society to deliver National Health Plans".

One of the key activities is the training, motivation, capacity-building and development of health workers and university curricula. Volunteer nurses from the UK are currently working in hospitals and universities, transmitting to students key aspects that have proven highly significant to them. A final year BSc nursing student declares:

> "… (the international volunteer) taught us many things that have helped me provide better care for my patients, such as ward administration, staff supervision and infection control (…) For example, before we never checked if junior nurses had completed their tasks. Now we supervise them properly and provide a proper handover to the next shift to make sure all patients receive the care they need."

This has produced a trickle-down effect, since nurses have started to share the recently acquired knowledge with their fellow colleagues. Through this, hospital patients will continue to benefit from the international volunteer's teaching long after she returns to the UK. "All of us on the course are teaching our colleagues the things we have learnt from her" Fatmata said. "I want to transfer my knowledge to other nurses to improve their skills and improve patient care across many hospitals.

Taken from: http://www.vso.org.uk/story/25907/improving-patient-care-in-sierra-leone

However, as it will be further discussed in Section 3, the international volunteering North-South model has generated fierce criticisms around neo-colonialism and paternalism. This derived in certain reactions in volunteering thought and practice. On the one hand, this drove IVCOs to create alternative models such as South-South (see 1.2) and so-called Diaspora Volunteering (see 1.3) schemes which have given a new meaning to 'international volunteering' and opened up new areas of programming and research. On the other, certain governments and IVCOs have developed -or supported- National Volunteering programmes (see 1.4) which range in diversity and breadth. Of course, none of these alternatives have escaped criticisms for other elements such as elite capture, being top-down and paternalistic, clientelistic, perpetuating power imbalances within country contexts, amongst others.

1.2. South-South volunteering

In 1999 VSO started a pilot programme for the development of South-South volunteering. The environment for volunteering was assessed against the availability of appropriate skills, the motivation of potential volunteers, the attitude of government, support from within VSO, the potential for funding, and practical viability (Rockliffe et.al. 1999). One of the drivers behind this new model was "getting the skills from wherever they are, to wherever they are needed."

Brown's study (2001) showed that volunteers were perceived as being well qualified and having valuable experience, particularly of working in local communities in a developing country setting. Also, programme officers and employers reported that the volunteers had found it easier to understand local culture, fitted in much faster, learnt the language faster, did not get sick as often, and had been more tolerant and were more used to working with limited resources than most Northern volunteers. However, the study also warned about the risk that volunteers, employers and VSO staff could run in assuming that all Southern volunteers would adjust easily; as

in most development initiatives, there is a need to guard against generalisations and exceptions. Amongst countries in the South there are also people with neo-colonial ideas and biased conceptualisations regarding development.

Another concern raised was contributing to a "brain drain", i.e. taking skilled workers from their home countries away from the workforce for up to two years, or even encouraging permanent migration. Nonetheless, as shown in the Kenyan case study, if done properly, this could shift to a "brain gain" as volunteers return with more experience and awareness and are able to use that in favour of their own countries.

Case study - Kenya

Kenya and Philippines were the first two countries where VSO's South-South volunteering pilot programme was conducted in 1999. Five years later, Popazzi (2004) carried out an investigation to determine the outcomes of this pilot exercise in Kenya, reaching general positive outcomes:

- 74% of returned volunteers (RVs) had been promoting volunteering since finishing their placement, mostly by encouraging others to volunteer internationally or within Kenya.
- Almost all of the RVs who are living in Kenya see a practical role for themselves in contributing to community development, and link involvement at community level to national development, either through facilitation
- The National Volunteer Network Trust (NAVNET) was founded by VSO returning volunteers. It is committed to developing volunteering in Kenya as a career option.

Taken from: Popazzi, L. (2004) "Returning Home: The Impact of International Volunteering on Kenyan Civil Society"

1.3. Diaspora volunteering

The term "diaspora" refers to the dispersion of any people from their original homeland, due to diverse causes such as conflict, war, persecution, pursuit for education, economic improvement, etc. Many persons have migrated and human capital has been formed outside their home countries. Brian Rockliffe (2011) proposes 4 characteristics that define who/what is people in diaspora:

- Self- definition: related to identity and perception, i.e. people who see themselves as part of a diaspora; it is not to be confused with ethnic minorities (Rockliffe 2011).
- De-territoriality: must have current or distant origins in a country other than their country of residence
- Homogeneity: relating to a group/organisation, not individuals
- Hybridity: emotional, family or financial links with country of origin

Diaspora volunteering means that people, who see themselves as part of a diaspora, volunteer in their country of origin. This scheme was developed within the understanding that people in diaspora bring vital knowledge and experience of both origin and destination countries for the benefit of their home country and continent. Such as knowledge of the culture, context and language - often decreasing resistance from communities; providing psychological impact; raising local people's motivation and value for their profession; using their

social capital to act as a bridge; providing access to information and ideas; decreasing vulnerability to security issues based on their knowledge of the context and access to networks (Rodrigues 2011: 1). They are well placed to act as agents of change, promoting volunteering and social action in the North and South and bringing in different models of volunteering (e.g. within family and social networks, faith based volunteering).

Case study - Cameroon

The Africa Foundation Stone (AFS) works with young people from disadvantaged backgrounds in the UK and, through a partner association, in Cameroon. Across both countries they have used talented football players, who function as role models and mentors, to engage young people and encourage a greater sense of ambition.

AFS's experience in Cameroon has given them an understanding of the issues around street children and gangs there, which has informed their understanding of young people in gangs in the UK. Although differences are evident, especially around access to financial resources for young people in the two countries, the problems and consequences – such as petty crime and drugs – are similar.

In Cameroon, AFS have been able to work successfully with young people to develop strategies that help them reconcile with their families. AFS are currently sourcing funding to enable them to implement a similar programme in the UK. Through building on their learning in Cameroon and their experiences with young people in the UK, AFS aim to truly double their impact.

Source: Talbot R. (2011) Working in Partnership with Diaspora Organisations, London: VSO.

1.4. National volunteering

The core idea behind the promotion and consolidation of National Volunteering (NV) programmes is to strengthen local volunteering directed towards each country's development needs and particular volunteering contexts. VSO has been developing the NV approach since 2003, with the idea of becoming more accountable to the people they work with. This also increases a sense of ownership in the development agenda by involving community members directly in decision-making, influencing change and delivering programmes (VSO 2010: 1). After a series of consultations and research, VSO stated that its overall goal in NV is to:

> **"support government and non-state partners to enable all citizens to participate in, and be given formal recognition for, the development of their own communities through volunteering, improving the quality of life for poor and marginalised groups, especially women"** (VSO 2009: 1)

There is a growing recognition that NV has great scope to involve more people in the development agenda and extend VSO's global reach through networks and partnerships. Moreover, it can be seen as a highly relevant and sustainable approach to development, as it focuses on local people 'doing development' for themselves and being less dependent on 'outsiders' for support (VSO 2010: 4). Even governments (see case example) have become aware of this potential and have started to develop programmes that engage young people actively and productively in the development agenda (VSO 2010: 5).

National Volunteering works at multiple levels and has many facets, including training, policy influence at a national level, research, development of networks, and communications tools to promote volunteering (VSO 2010: 7). Hence, national and international volunteering are interdependent and combining the two approaches aims to increase development impact, which is further enhanced by the use of some of the other volunteering schemes reviewed in this document.

Recently, UNV is also opening the doors for a wider and larger participation, as well as local involvement by the communities, in order to respond more directly to MDG challenges and the national development goals of programme countries. Political will and sustained efforts on the part of national governments, supported by the international community, can only complement what will ultimately depend on the active participation of people (UNV, 2010).

National Volunteering scheme in China

Since 2007 VSO China has promoted National Volunteering; recognising the opportunities for volunteering in China and overseas from China. Volunteering in China is emerging as a strong force for development. It is seen as an important approach to bridge the economic and social inequities that have grown since China's economic reforms. However, volunteer organisations in China lack capacity in organisational development, volunteer programme management and in building partnerships. There are opportunities for grass-roots NGOs to collaborate with the government NGOs and also to participate with the private sector in delivering their CSR programmes.

The 2007-2010 strategy:

- Covered 3 main objectives: Capacity building, promotion, and networking.
- Worked with 7 programme partners in issues ranging from disability to social entrepreneurship
- Pioneered new approaches and products such as: International volunteering from China, 2010 Volunteering Expo and the Chinese version of the Barefoot Guide to organisational development.

Taken from: VSO internal documentation

This idealist perspective of the organisational domain has been contested by various authors and scholars in the development studies field (see for example: Edwards 2009; Chandhoke 2007; Hearn 2007; Lewis 2002). In the same vein, Horton Smith (1997) talks about the flat-earth view of the non-profit sector which ignores grassroots associations - it is possible to extend this notion to volunteering where the 'flat-earth view' concentrates on formal activities within organisations, while ignoring those who participate in so-called informal activities. This type of volunteering, often referred to as 'communal living' or 'mutual aid', is not conducted under the name of volunteering- involving organisations (IVCOs, CSOs, CBOs or faith-based groups) with formally established rules and procedures. The limitation of the Western construct of volunteering is its inability to comprehend this varied range of activities taking place informally in diverse communities (Lukka and Ellis 2001: 32, 35).

At the end of the 1990s the UNV started to recognise that voluntary action, under its many names and guises, is in most cultures deeply embedded in long-established, ancient traditions of sharing (UNV 2000: 4). This reflects on its classification of the different strands of volunteering:

- **Mutual aid and self-help:** voluntary action where people with shared challenges work together.
- **Philanthropy and service to others:** typically involving an organisation which recruits volunteers to provide some kind of service to one or more third parties.
- **Campaigning or advocacy:** collective action aimed at securing or preventing change;
- **Participation:** the involvement on a voluntary basis in political, governance or decision-making processes at any level (Dingle et. Al. 2001)

These categories comprise a myriad of groups and activities that are outside the sphere of volunteer-involving organisations. This has opened spaces for generating a wider recognition that in most developing (and also developed) countries, a great diversity of indigenous forms of volunteering co-exist next to 'Western' ways. For example, in Nigeria and Ghana Anheier and Salamon (2001: 2) study shows that 'village associations' of volunteers can be found in nearly every rural and urban community (2001: 2).

Building on the fact that voluntary action, under its many names and guises, is in most cultures deeply embedded in long-established, ancient traditions of sharing, some organisations have developed 'Community-led Volunteering' schemes (see 1.5). This term does not refer to those pre-existing or spontaneous community coping mechanisms but involves organisational investment in working with volunteers which live and are part of the communities where certain programmes are being implemented. Critiques of local volunteers plugging a resource gap will be also further explored in Section 3.

1.5. Community-led volunteering

Refers to a model that has been developed and promoted by the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). Under this scheme, many National Societies (national representations of the IFRC) have started to work with volunteers from the community they serve, as part of their community-development focus. This involves recruiting, training, and developing people's capabilities in the community where the Red Cross works. These people will then carry out activities within their community as Red Cross volunteers (IFRC, 2009: 27). With this approach, the IFRC is taking the National Volunteering scheme one step forward.

This scheme is being driven, above all, as part of the disaster preparedness, first aid and community healthcare initiatives. As there are not Red Cross organizational structures (such as a branch or body) in all communities, there is the challenge of assuring that volunteers who come from the community can exercise all their rights and responsibilities within the organisation, i.e. the right to vote, the right to be elected to governing positions or have access to training and feedback (IFRC, 2009: 27). It is essential to increase support for volunteers who come from the community and ensure that they can fully participate in the institutional life of the National Society. The highest goal is to ensure that the activities are aligned with the needs of the communities.

Case study - Costa Rica

By working with the community on fundraising for activities within their community, the San Ramon Auxiliary Red Cross Committee ensured that the community had a stake in the work of the Committee and also helped ensure the Committee's financial sustainability. As well as using the funds raised to provide services for the community, a half-yearly magazine is distributed to keep families abreast of Red Cross activities. In these ways, the volunteers seek to work with communities, not for them.

The programme has already attracted 4050 families to participate. Working with the community also attracts some people become formal volunteers for the committee. There is a recognition that by focusing on 'the needs of the community beyond the paramedical services for which the Costa Rican Red Cross is already widely known and recognised', more volunteers could be attracted to the Red Cross.

Based on: IFRC (2009) "Analysis of volunteering in Latin America and the Caribbean"

Most of the studies available in the North and in the South have concluded that, even though there are differences in perceptions, there is a 'shared understanding of the basic elements of volunteering' across the globe. These are framed around values of free will, commitment, engagement and solidarity. Acknowledging the existence and value of the diverse "indigenous" forms of volunteering that are embedded in the social practices of many communities is valuable and provides light to the expression of these values in the community-level. Therefore, rather than looking for a different term to express the myriad of activities encompassed by the word 'volunteering', another possibility is to change perceptions of what this term is able to include and achieve towards social change.
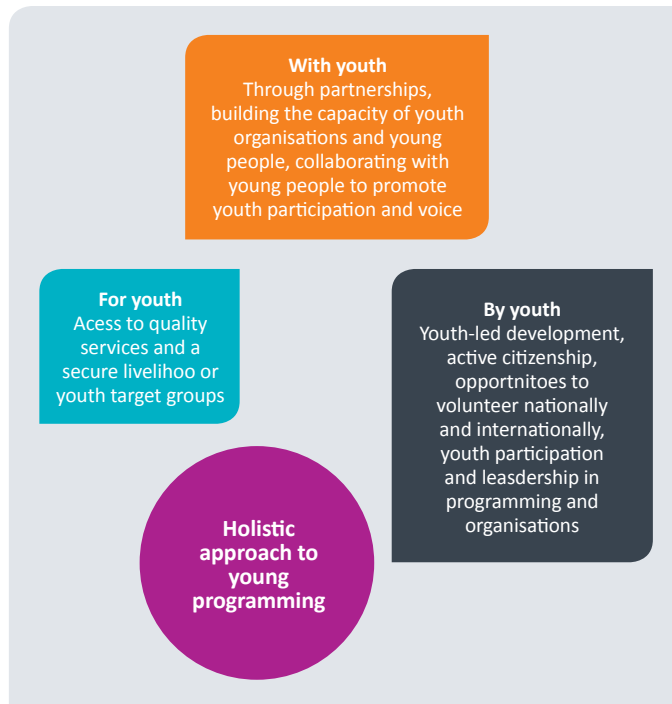
Valuing Volunteering is a project centred on exploring volunteering for development. Trying to define this concept goes beyond defining volunteering or volunteerism and raises questions about development itself. In this sense, drawing on interviews and focus groups, Graham et.al. (2013) conclude that, although international volunteering has yielded significant benefits for host organisations and communities, it has had far less impact on their long-term development. Therefore, Valuing Volunteering is embracing the task of posing challenging questions around volunteering and the broader development context: Who should set and shape the development agenda? What is the 'balance' between local volunteering and international volunteers and how far do their roles complement or diverge? Whether 'volunteering' should be at the heart of the development approach (Wallace 2009: 4)?

A clear constraint for determining the achievement of this long-term development remains, and will be explored more extensively in Section 4. Conducting impact assessment and evaluations based on mainstream methodologies can only evaluate outcomes derived from established volunteering programmes implemented by governments and NGOs, in a certain period of time, and under the analysis of pre-established control variables. Hence, to relate volunteering, development, and poverty reduction it is necessary to bind the volunteering activity to an institutionalised, organisational-led domain. The SAR methodology, at the core of the Valuing Volunteering project, will be able to shed light onto the impact on poverty reduction and long-term development of both those institutional volunteering schemes, as well as organic, "indigenous" forms of volunteering locally available, as well as CBOs' practices that occur alongside.

1.6. Youth volunteering programmes

The term "youth volunteering" refers to those programmes or interventions carried out by young people; it goes beyond designing interventions to address problems affecting youth. VSO takes a holistic approach to youth programming by focusing on three indivisible aspects:

Figure 1. VSO's Holistic approach to youth pragramming

With youth
Through partnerships, building the capacity of youth organisations and young people, collaborating with young people to promote youth participation and voice

For youth
Acess to quality services and a secure livelihoo or youth target groups

By youth
Youth-led development, active citizenship, opportnitoes to volunteer nationally and internationally, youth participation and leasdership in programming and organisations

Holistic approach to young programming

Taken from VSO's Youth Positon Paper (January 2012)

Through this holistic approach young people are not only seen as beneficiaries or recipients of aid, but as partners and agents of their own development, and their community's development processes. This vision is closely linked to the type of development goal being pursued, i.e. development that goes far beyond technical skills transfer and is aimed at empowering and mobilising communities. Young people have qualities that make them well suited for programmes that involve mobilisation, sharing, listening and learning. They are also essential to involve in any programme that targets youth as youth volunteers can offer a unique contribution in peer education programmes, and useful organisational support for local partners (Scott-Smith 2011: 6). VSO currently supports young people to take action on development through the following programmes:

• International Citizen Service (ICS): programme developed jointly with the DFID and other INGOs, such as Restless Development, Skillshare International, THET, International Service, and Progressio. It is a Civic Service scheme focused on young people.
• Youth Action: UK volunteers and national volunteers placed together in the host country for three months.
• Youth Xchange: UK volunteers and national volunteers volunteering for three months in a UK community and three months in a community overseas.
• Long-term international volunteer placements for youth aged 18–25
• Strengthening youth National Volunteering

Another UK based organisation working by, with, and for youth is Restless Development, which uses unique methods in its approach to development, combining youth-led implementation of programmes with capacity building, advocacy and training for young people. The organisation works with governments, donor agencies and partners to facilitate young people's access to decision-making processes, as well as increasing awareness globally of the vital role that young people have to play in development (Drury, 2010: 5).

The European Union also launched its "Youth in Action" programme (2007-2013) which is its programme for young people aged 15-28 (in some cases 13-30). It is the result of a large consultation with the different stakeholders in the youth field and aims to respond to the evolutions and needs of young people at European level. To reach its objectives, the programme is structured around 5 Actions:

1. Youth for Europe: encourages young people's active citizenship, participation and creativity through youth exchanges, youth initiatives and youth democracy projects.
2. European Voluntary Service: participation of young people, either individually or in group, in non-profit, unpaid voluntary activities abroad.
3. Youth in the World: partnerships and exchanges among young people and youth organisations across the world.
4. Youth Support Systems: support for youth workers and youth organisations to improve the quality of their activities.
5. Support for European Co-operation in the Youth field: youth policy co-operation at European level by facilitating dialogue between young people and policy makers.

Case Study - Bangladesh

The Youth Action Health Programme in Bangladesh was established to raise awareness of primary healthcare issues and provision, by building the capacity of youth clubs to support young people to access their rights and identify solutions to their own problems.

VSO Bangladesh's integrated programme focuses on livelihood and health rights, and good governance. Themes and volunteering interventions are integrated throughout partners, geography, and approaches of social transformation, community empowerment, policy advocacy and public engagement. Through the International Civic Service (ICS) VSO is contributing to all thematic areas by engaging youth - linking local, national and international youth volunteers with youth clubs. The pilot programme was specifically focused on citizen mobilisation.

Within this initiative VSO Bangladesh fosters youth to youth partnerships, which help to build youth leaders and enrich community-based development projects. Also, by linking organisations and institutions with young local, national and international volunteers, the programme is demonstrating how youth volunteering and local knowledge and skills can solve problems and add value to a larger movement for change in Bangladesh.

Taken from: VSO's Youth Position Paper Presentation (January 2012)

Corporate Volunteering (see 1.7) is another scheme that has increased in popularity. According to Barclay's 2012 Citizenship report: '…more than 68,000 employees volunteered their time, skills and money to support local communities. They spent 458,000 hours volunteering'. This approach can range from employers supporting their employees' personally-driven volunteer efforts -for example, supporting a member of staff to take a period of leave or secondment to volunteer- to an organisational initiative, usually undertaken as part of a company's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) policy. Depending on the strategy, person and organization, corporate volunteering can also can be implemented as one of the various short-term volunteering schemes and engage 'volunteering from a distance' modalities, (described in the following two sub-sections).

The motivations for corporations supporting volunteering programmes have been widely perceived as 'one-way'; that is, as a way to strengthen their staffs' soft skills and perhaps, their knowledge of their business/market in a particular country. In a scoping report carried out by Corporate Citizenship and VSO in 2011, corporate opinions varied when asked about the significance of community benefit and volunteering. For some, ensuring that a difference was being made in the community is the very essence and reason for volunteering. For others, the business benefits in the form of employee engagement and skills development were more of a driver and achieving community benefit through volunteering, a bonus.

Overall, Corporate Volunteering continues to generate positive and negative reactions. Positive reactions relate to outcomes such as (Corporate Citizenship and VSO, 2011):

1   Reputational benefits: Volunteering is considered a clear and simple manifestation of strong business' values which helps the company improve its reputation amongst consumers.
2   Employment benefits: Those business`es that offer volunteering opportunities are found to have high percentages (>60%) of employees that feel positive about their employer
3   Other stakeholder benefits: volunteering opportunities are coming to the fore to demonstrate responsible practice and engaged stakeholders
4   Community benefits: volunteering provides access to services that may not normally be available due to resources constraints.

Negative reactions often stem from concerns about the blurring of the borders between civil society and the corporate world and the perception that contemporary CSOs are increasingly becoming commercially driven corporations (cf. Wijkström & Einarsson 2006; von Essen & Åberg 2009). Some feel that this can lead to the communities and local partners working with the CSO being reduced to 'customers' of CSO services rather than directing what changes need to happen within that community and how. (cf. Skocpol 2003; Hvenmark 2008, 2010).

1.7. Corporate volunteering programmes

A range of international corporate volunteering programmes, or ICVs, have emerged in recent years with an estimated 40 percent of major corporations supporting employee volunteering efforts around the world (Hills and Mahmud 2007: 5). Due to its expansion, research in corporate volunteering has been carried out in recent years not only by IVCOs, such as the 2011 study by Corporate Citizenship and VSO previously mentioned in this report, but also by the private sector jointly with renowned think tanks.

In 2007 FSG, Pfizer and the Brookings Institution carried out a study of impact and best practices in international corporate volunteering. This study defines international corporate volunteering, as the practice of engaging employees in service projects in countries outside of the company's headquarters country. ICV includes two principal models: local service, in which employees based in countries outside headquarters volunteer in their local communities; and cross-border service.

The study mentions that frequently corporations neither articulate the strategic purpose nor measure the social impact of volunteering. They justify ICV programs based on improved employee morale and contributions toward corporate citizenship. This paper provides a strategic framework that can guide choices and help tether program design and execution to purposeful objectives. The framework depicts two important dimensions for ICV programs: (1) business motivations; and (2) leverage of corporate assets and expertise. In the report, an examination of nine companies' stories illustrates how leading corporations have chosen to utilize their employees to provide both business and social impact.

Finally, with the goal of increasing the impact of international corporate volunteering, FSG has compiled several best practices that can be incorporated into the planning and implementation of future programs. These are: set goals before rules; determine which of the two models to pursue; lead with leverage; align with philanthropic and CSR activities; partner proactively; invest in infrastructure; and communicate clearly.

Case study - Pfizer

Since 2002, Pfizer's Global Health Fellows (GHF) program sets the bar for cross-border programs by dispatching dozens of highly skilled employees each year to address global health issues with key non-profit and government stakeholders in the developing world. Originally, the GHF program was intended to augment Pfizer's engagement in the HIV/AIDS arena by sending fellows to partners for three to six months to provide technical assistance in Africa, Latin America, or Asia.

More recently, Pfizer has been working with VSO to launch Health Relief Mentors, an innovative new aspect of the company's corporate volunteering programme. The Health Relief Mentors programme aims to build on the successes of the UK parent programme which has seen Pfizer employees from across the business (including Board members) work with local organisations to provide practical and skills-based assistance to address local health needs.

This latest development in the programme aims to allow Pfizer staff to mentor a person from one of three partner NGOs, including VSO, Merlin and the West African College of Physicians right from their desk. The relationship is expected to last for 6 – 12 month period during which time the Pfizer volunteer will provide mentoring on a wide range of subjects as dictated by the mentee, such as management issues like team building and decision-making, through to operational issues such as managing supply chains and medicines management.

Taken from: Corporate skills-based volunteering: A research Study (Corporate Citizenship and VSO, 2011) and Volunteering for Impact: Best Practices in International Corporate Volunteering (FSG, Pfizer and Brookings Institution, 2007)

1.8. Short-term volunteering placements

This is a trend that has become highly popular due to its appealing characteristics, particularly amongst young people and people searching for a career break.

In a context where it becomes harder for an employee to take a long period of leave, particularly in certain professions such as nursing and sometimes teaching, or is not seen as financially viable to go without a stable income for a period of months, there is a growing tendency towards shorter-term volunteering placements. These can be anything from three weeks to six months depending on the type of placement. Whilst the majority of academic literature has focused on the outcomes generated by long term volunteer placements and commitments, there are studies that point to the importance of short term volunteer placements in building social capital and in provoking longer term activism. Existing research has begun to further explore some of the potential attributes of short-term volunteering, the different short-term volunteering models that are being trialed and the potential challenges and value add that these present (Grene 2014).

In some cases, people have started to fulfil their desire for 'contributing to society' via voluntourism. Loosely defined as an activity where people combine tourism with charity work, most of these placements range from two days to a month. By 2008 the market for this experience in Western Europe had grown by 5 to 10 per cent over five years. It has been said that for disadvantaged communities, voluntourism can be seen as another income-generating activity, providing increased human and financial resources, local employment and improved facilities (UNV, 2011: 30-31). However, voluntourism has also come under criticisms and very harsh ones[9]. As the trip length decreases, the volunteering placements are designed more for the convenience of the volunteer rather than to support local community needs. In 2006, for instance, VSO made a public statement warning of the risk that the proliferating gap-year programmes might become a new form of colonialism, reinforcing an attitude of 'it's all about us' by their emphasis on short-term 'helping' over learning[10]. Careful structuring, coupled with social-justice pedagogy, is necessary to avoid negative results in short-term volunteering (Simpson 2004; Jones 2005).

1.9. Volunteering from a distance

For the purpose of this paper, this category comprises all types of volunteering activity that are carried out with the use of ICTs. Through SMS, volunteers raise awareness on local issues, to inform people's choices, and to monitor and improve public services such as crop forecasting, education and health (UNV, 2011: 26). In Rwanda, the government distributes cell phones to volunteer community health-care workers in rural areas. These are used to monitor the progress of pregnant village women, to send regular updates to health-care professionals, and to call for urgent assistance when necessary.

Another growing trend is online volunteering, i.e. volunteer work done via the Internet, which has eliminated the need for volunteering to be tied to specific times and locations, thus greatly increasing the freedom and flexibility of volunteer engagement. The sharing of information through social online networks has helped people to organise around issues ranging from the environment to human rights. The Internet facilitates volunteering by matching the interests of people who seek to volunteer with the needs of host organisations, through programmes such as the UN Volunteers Online Volunteering (UNV 2011: 27).

The possibility of volunteering from a distance with the use of ICTs has opened the space for certain marginalised groups, such as rural population and people with certain disabilities, to engage with a cause. This trend has also helped organisations to lower their costs and to increase their efficiency in certain administrative tasks. However, most of online volunteering interventions are short term; over 70% of volunteers chose assignments requiring one to five hours a week and nearly half chose assignments lasting 12 weeks or less. Yet, engaging with a cause for such a short period of time and as a frugal effort, i.e. "clicktivism", may actually prevent activists from going further to engage in more meaningful volunteer action and advocacy (UNV, 2011: 28). Therefore, there is a call for complementing this cyber activity with actions on the ground, looking towards longer term impact.

1.10. Celebrity volunteering

Although this is a trend not touched upon in formal studies regarding volunteering, it is evident that there is a growing presence of "public" personalities advocating and volunteering for development causes. Examples abound, some started by the celebrities themselves, others by international andmultilateral organisations or foundations, and even cases where governments invite famous people to join with their endeavours. Regarding the first model, Sean Penn is a clear example with his programme focused on Haiti's recovery after the devastating earthquake. Another example is given by UNICEF, an organisation that constantly signs-up sports personalities, singers and actors as good-will ambassadors to promote children's rights all over the world. A recent study by Mary Mostafanez had (2013) looks at the impact that these emergent models have had, particularly for young women, arguing that the cultural politics of gendered generosity in these encounters overshadows the institutional and historical relationships on which the experience is based and that, in a neoliberal sleight of hand, the political is displaced by the individual with celebrity sheen.

Hence, although it shall be acknowledged that showing a celebrity's commitment to a particular cause does draw attention to it (and perhaps attracts people that normally would not look at it) this is a trend that has to be looked at with the same or even more caution than voluntourism or clicktivism. The attention that is suddenly given to a particular issue can be manipulated by the media, with a high risk of reinforcing negative ideas of the "developing" world and "poor" people. As well, some charismatic political leaders could be using volunteering facades to show their engagement and commitment to a certain cause in order to gain sympathisers. For some of these reasons, IVCOs aiming to achieve long-term development have not been eager to engage with this model.

2. Volunteering and development

This section will review in more detail the relationship between volunteering and development. It will begin by mapping out paradigm shifts in the theories of change within development in relation to the evolution of volunteering. From this we will draw upon some of the important concepts framing the debate about the impact of volunteering in development. This analysis will aim to pull out some of the positive trends and possible challenges that volunteering as an approach to development is faced with.

2.1. A historical perspective on development and volunteering

According to Thornbecke (2006: 33) the definition of development broadened from being tantamount to GNP growth, as both an objective and a performance criterion, to growth and employment, to the satisfaction of basic needs, and ultimately to the enhancement of human welfare and the reduction of multi-dimensional poverty, to be achieved through a pattern of pro-poor growth. Thus, development evolved from an essentially scalar concept to a multi-dimensional one entailing the simultaneous achievement of multiple and complex objectives.

On the other hand, as seen in Section 1, voluntarism or volunteering is a concept that has also evolved considerably over the years; from being an activity highly attached to membership of an organisation with certain subscription criteria, to the emergence (and/or recognition) of more flexible and organic forms of organising towards the achievement of diverse goals. Despite the existence of various books reviewing the evolution of development thought, so far there does not seem to be similar efforts in volunteering. One current example in the UK is the Students, Volunteering and Social Action: Histories and Policies project. This initiative is conducted by IVR and Student Hubs and aims to draw the history of the student volunteering movement. Despite recent research and policy interest in volunteering by university students, as well as in the broader topic of how higher education institutions can improve their public or community engagement, the history of the movement remains a relatively underexplored field.

In order to have a sense of how development thought has influenced the evolution of volunteering the following timeline outlines the historical trajectory and implicit theories of change of the main trends and milestones in international development, alongside breakthroughs in volunteering. On one side it presents the mainstream discourses and objectives, as well as the alternative discourses that have shaped the development landscape since the 1950s. On the other side it outlines the paradigms and key milestones for volunteering.

2.2. Approaches to volunteering for development

As can be seen in the timeline, volunteering activity has been closely linked to wider contextual changes in the perceptions of 'development'. Therefore, the approaches of volunteering for development have shifted according to the broader changes in international development thought, but also according to the varied and sometimes conflicting interests driving the donor community. In this sense, traditional volunteering has been criticised at times as being a 'band-aid' to society's problems, doing more harm than good by distracting attention and resources from the root causes of problems such as poverty and injustice. This has included the notion that volunteering undermines political involvement and political action, thwarting opportunities to effect needed structural change (CIVICUS, IAVE & UNV 2007: 5)

Table 1 presents the different ways in which IVCOs have engaged with development. It presents the objectives, main actions, approaches to the intervention, conceptualisation of the beneficiaries, whether they engage with capacity building actions, and the most notable references related to each approach.

It is important to note that this table is only a sketch of how IVCOs have related to development. In reality, most actions and programmes span across several approaches of volunteering for development; therefore, it is impossible to limit an action to a particular approach. In addition to those presented in Table 1, it has been recognised that volunteering can also promote: economic stability, education, health, climate change, conflict resolution and peace-building. However, not all (in reality only a few) organisations have engaged with this variety of approaches; some organisations have only focused on a sector or service, this has gained criticisms of volunteering being a palliative to the problem and not a holistic solution. Organisations are aware of the constraints in "one-size fits all solutions"; for example, in order to ensure that VSO contributes to sustainable change, any work to improve the delivery of services that addresses the symptoms of disadvantage must be clearly linked to initiatives that tackle the causes of disadvantage. So, for example, its volunteering interventions are designed in response to a clearly identified need within a programme and vary accordingly in terms of the type of volunteer (national, international etc.) and volunteer role recruited.

EVOLUTION OF DEVELOPMENT
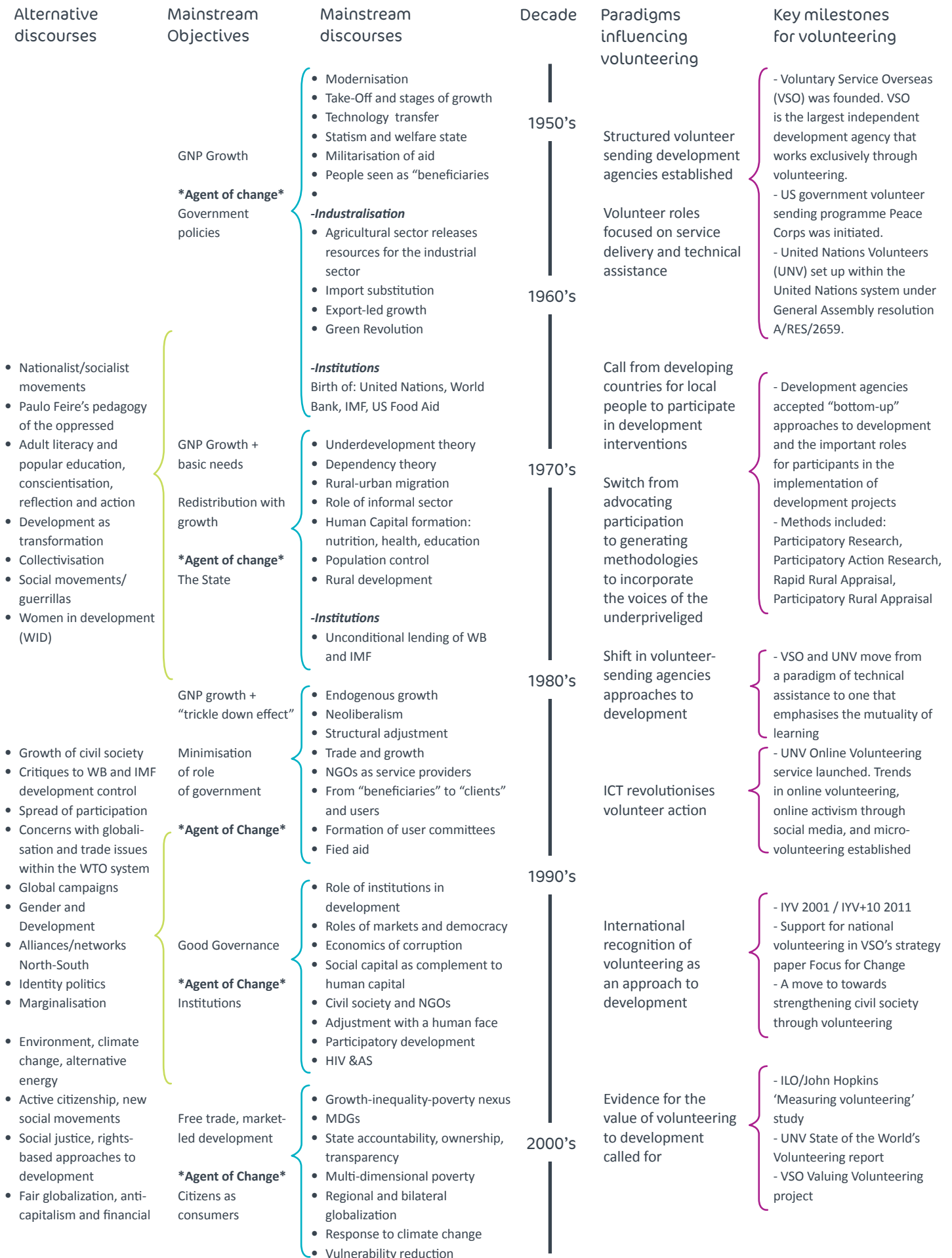
RELEVANT VOLUNTEERING EVENTS

Alternative discourses	Mainstream Objectives	Mainstream discourses	Decade	Paradigms influencing volunteering	Key milestones for volunteering
	GNP Growth *Agent of change* Government policies	• Modernisation • Take-Off and stages of growth • Technology transfer • Statism and welfare state • Militarisation of aid • People seen as "beneficiaries • -Industralisation • Agricultural sector releases resources for the industrial sector • Import substitution • Export-led growth • Green Revolution	1950's 1960's	Structured volunteer sending development agencies established Volunteer roles focused on service delivery and technical assistance	- Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) was founded. VSO is the largest independent development agency that works exclusively through volunteering. - US government volunteer sending programme Peace Corps was initiated. - United Nations Volunteers (UNV) set up within the United Nations system under General Assembly resolution A/RES/2659.
• Nationalist/socialist movements • Paulo Feire's pedagogy of the oppressed • Adult literacy and popular education, conscientisation, reflection and action • Development as transformation • Collectivisation • Social movements/ guerrillas • Women in development (WID)	GNP Growth + basic needs Redistribution with growth *Agent of change* The State	-Institutions Birth of: United Nations, World Bank, IMF, US Food Aid • Underdevelopment theory • Dependency theory • Rural-urban migration • Role of informal sector • Human Capital formation: nutrition, health, education • Population control • Rural development -Institutions • Unconditional lending of WB and IMF	1970's	Call from developing countries for local people to participate in development interventions Switch from advocating participation to generating methodologies to incorporate the voices of the underpriveliged	- Development agencies accepted "bottom-up" approaches to development and the important roles for participants in the implementation of development projects - Methods included: Participatory Research, Participatory Action Research, Rapid Rural Appraisal, Participatory Rural Appraisal
• Growth of civil society • Critiques to WB and IMF development control • Spread of participation • Concerns with globalisation and trade issues within the WTO system • Global campaigns • Gender and Development • Alliances/networks North-South • Identity politics • Marginalisation	GNP growth + "trickle down effect" Minimisation of role of government *Agent of Change*	• Endogenous growth • Neoliberalism • Structural adjustment • Trade and growth • NGOs as service providers • From "beneficiaries" to "clients" and users • Formation of user committees • Fied aid	1980's 1990's	Shift in volunteer-sending agencies approaches to development ICT revolutionises volunteer action	- VSO and UNV move from a paradigm of technical assistance to one that emphasises the mutuality of learning - UNV Online Volunteering service launched. Trends in online volunteering, online activism through social media, and micro-volunteering established
• Environment, climate change, alternative energy • Active citizenship, new social movements • Social justice, rights-based approaches to development • Fair globalization, anti-capitalism and financial	Good Governance *Agent of Change* Institutions	• Role of institutions in development • Roles of markets and democracy • Economics of corruption • Social capital as complement to human capital • Civil society and NGOs • Adjustment with a human face • Participatory development • HIV &AS		International recognition of volunteering as an approach to development	- IYV 2001 / IYV+10 2011 - Support for national volunteering in VSO's strategy paper Focus for Change - A move to towards strengthening civil society through volunteering
	Free trade, market-led development *Agent of Change* Citizens as consumers	• Growth-inequality-poverty nexus • MDGs • State accountability, ownership, transparency • Multi-dimensional poverty • Regional and bilateral globalization • Response to climate change • Vulnerability reduction	2000's	Evidence for the value of volunteering to development called for	- ILO/John Hopkins 'Measuring volunteering' study - UNV State of the World's Volunteering report - VSO Valuing Volunteering project

Table 1. Approaches to volunteering for development						
Volunteering and:	**Seeks to**	**Main actions**	**Approach to the invervention**	**Conceptualisation of the beneficiary**	**Capacity building**	**References**
Poverty reduction	Improve basic services and systems such as health, education and communication networks	Service supply Livelihood workshops Income and job generating activities	Top-down	Individual who can lift him(her)self out of poverty with the right incentives and support	Yes. Mostly directed to income generating activities through volunteers sharing their skills in a certain area of expertise	Ludi and Bird (2008)
Emergency relief and humanitarian assistance	Humanitarian relief – "people helping people", as the 2011 World Humanitarian Day campaign puts it – is the sentiment at the heart of volunteering.	Delivery of basic subsistence assets. Work with refugees and displaced people. Prevention and emergency response strategies.	Top-down	Recipient of aid	Yes. Response reaction training for emergency situations and scenarios	IFRC (2011) World Humanitarian Day (2011)
Sustainable livelihoods	Build a livelihood that comprises the capabilities, assets (which includes both material and social resources), and activities required for a means of living.	Recognition of the local skills and knowledge, promote social networks and cooperation	Mixed: Collaborative learning between local and global knowledge	Individual linked to a community with its own mechanisms of cooperation	Yes. Skills may be transferred when in action. New ways of doing things may also be thought to the same volunteers in their own communities	UNV (2011)
Citizenship building	Empowerment, voice, social activism, advocacy, accountability and lasting social change	Service supply. Taking an active role to pressure for change. Advocacy for better governance strategies.	Participatory. (Bottom-up)	Citizen capable of demanding rights	Yes. Empowering citizens to act themselves, and act together for their needs and rights. Increase their sense of individual responsibility and "active citizenship"	Kabeer (1994). Rowlands (1997), Talcott (2011). Civicus, IAVE and UNV (2007)
Gender equality	Have gender equality, especially when it comes to unpaid work or volunteering, as it seems acceptable that women, but not men do this.	Establishing pathways to women's leadership and political participation. Encourage more gender-equality in volunteering	Mixed: need of change for policies and laws but also community perception	Opposed to conceptualisation of beneficiary. Women as agents of change.	Mainstream: workshops on economic empowerment. Alternative: raising awareness of women's favourable positions in society.	Jenkins (2209), Peach (2011), Russell-Smith (2008)
Well-being agenda	Makes an important contribution through knowledge, skills and experiences that people give one another in order to improve their well-being	Volunteering, self aid, advocacy, campaigning, volunteering, social movement and activism.	Bottom-up	Sees the beneficiary in a broader scope that only through economic and political measurements	Yes. To trigger the community's capacity to take action	Aked (2011)

Interestingly, engaging with only one or a wide variety of approaches is not what marks the difference in the 'effectiveness' of volunteering in development. Effectiveness relies on many other factors; for example, in his research Devereux (2008) acknowledges that solidarity and mutual learning are precisely some of the key ingredients of long-term international volunteering for effective development work. Hence, the emphasis on shared learning plays a powerful role in finding appropriate solutions, international cultural understanding and respect. This is clear in the following declaration:

> **"These are not like international experts [referring to the individuals deployed by some of the other development agencies]... These organisations (that) come with recipes already elaborated somewhere else where they don't know this reality... Martin [the international volunteer] has grown too, developed along with those of the group, and as he lives in the zone, it's easier, he knows the campesinos, he knows how the northern farmers are, he really has accompanied them, I can say that because he didn't just arrive to direct the orchestra but got involved with the hard work".** (NGO representative explaining the difference between an international volunteer and other international 'experts' in Devereux 2008: 366)

Another feature of this quote is that the NGO representative puts an emphasis on the volunteer's personal growth. The benefits that volunteering bring to the volunteers have been covered in several studies. In addition to higher levels of self-awareness and skills development, volunteers' experiences can contribute to shifting the widely popularised paternalistic view of development (more on this in Section 3) in their home countries. Volunteers serve as important reservoirs of knowledge for development programmes and can help ensure that development-related advocacy campaigns are relevant and legitimate; some even see volunteering as their first step to long-term involvement in development (CIVICUS, IAVE and UNV 2007: 1). In this sense, Smith and Yanacopulos (2004) make an interesting point:

> **"(...) everyday citizens who have come to understand life in the South may provide a key element in the 'public face' of development, which can help to catalyse change in the North. International volunteers returning to their homes in the South may also have renewed opportunities to build networks and collaboration for change in all directions: South–South and globally, on the basis of their new links and understanding."**

All of these factors confirm that the relationship of volunteering and development cannot be seen as a one-way street or as a cause-effect interaction. The Valuing Volunteering project researcher will have to always keep in mind the types of actions implied in the different volunteering schemes, and the particular results that working for something beyond material gains brings to a particular context.

2.3. Recent volunteering trends

The current state of affairs and worldwide trends such as globalisation; individualisation; change of consumption, education, and leisure habits; technological change; and growing demands for employability skills have fostered the emergence of new ways to engage in volunteering activities. As it will be seen in Section 3, change can be approached from optimistic and pessimistic perspectives. Regarding the former, these "21st century" trends represent an opportunity for people from diverse backgrounds, interests and characteristics to engage in volunteering (UNV, 2011: 26). From another perspective, they work only as palliatives or symbolic responses to complex problems such as hunger, discrimination, environmental hazards, etc. In this paper, no particular position will be addressed, both viewpoints will be commented upon.

Two schemes that have recently gained strong support and popularity are Youth Volunteering and Corporate Volunteering. Youth volunteering has been promoted by a variety of organisations from the North and the South, as well as government agencies; recognising the value that volunteering brings to the young person and his/her community. As seen in 1.6, various approaches can be found which vary in length, structure and volunteer combinations. Shorter types of youth volunteering programmes have become widely available and labelled voluntourism (more on this in following section).

Even if it's a long-term placement, it is important that organisations do not rely heavily on international youth volunteers, as this could encompass several problems. These include: the financial and environmental costs, the resulting inequality, and the uncomfortable power dynamics from providing young Westerners with further opportunities that are locally absent. Organisations aiming at developing and/or strengthening youth volunteering actions must put greater emphasis on encouraging national youth volunteering with elements of reciprocity (Scott-Smith, 2011: 6).

3. Challenging Volunteering

This section will explore some of the conceptual critiques regarding persistent faults in the execution of volunteering programmes; as well as more recent ones emerging from the neoliberal economic model followed during the last two decades. Overall, these critiques have been raised towards the wider development sector. The following subsections provide a general overview of each issue in the broader context and then look at how each of these critiques speaks to the volunteering arena. Therefore, some of the recent trends in volunteering already explored in section 2, such as voluntourism or e-volunteering, are used as examples of manifestations of these wider phenomena.

3.1. Power imbalances in volunteering

Power issues in aid for development have been explored extensively[11]; it is common to read arguments around paternalism, aid perversion, manipulation of interests, elite capture, neo-colonialism, etc. In the context of volunteering, power issues have been discussed in three directions. Firstly, international volunteering has been scrutinised under the paternalistic argument (Devereux 2008) of "white people" helping and bringing knowledge to less developed communities (for more on knowledge-transfer see section 3.2). Secondly, the constraints faced by volunteering and non-volunteering NGOs due to their powerless position vis-a-vis donors. Thirdly, a recent inquiry regarding volunteering as a "gift" and the problems derived from this perspective. These arguments will be briefly reviewed alongside with some of the actions taken by volunteering involving organisations in response to these criticisms.

3.1.1. Paternalism and volunteering

Peter Devereux states that, 'At its worst, international volunteering can be imperialist, paternalistic charity, youth tourism, or a self-serving quest for career and personal development on the part of well-off Westerners' (Devereux 2008: 358). Over the last 15 years traditional aid flows directed to infrastructure development and technical assistance have been criticised by numerous academics, activists, UN agencies, etc., despite the fact that for some countries overseas development assistance (ODA) represents a substantial part of their national income. Problems identified include a lack of ownership by hosts; the dominance of a hierarchical expert paradigm that underestimates local skills and the importance of adaptation to local circumstances; inadequate involvement of women and other vulnerable groups; and ambiguous accountabilities for technical officers (Morgan 2002; Pratt 2002).

Devereux (2008: 361) argues that to overcome this type of criticisms, IVCOs have deliberately structured the long-term international volunteer experience to avoid replicating the standard 'technical expert' model. This model intends to minimise the impact of the "foreigner" in the community by integrating the volunteer into the daily activities and the local lifestyle. The author identifies six criteria common to effective long term volunteering interventions:

> "...humanitarian motivation; reciprocal benefit; living and working under local conditions; long-term commitment; local accountability and North–South partnership; and linkages to tackle causes rather than symptoms. The volunteers are accountable first to this local organisation and only more broadly to the agency facilitating their volunteer stint. " (p. 359)

During the last decade IVCOs started to innovate in their volunteering programmes believing that volunteering can raise awareness of, and a commitment to, combating existing unequal power relations and deep-seated causes of poverty, injustice, and unsustainable development (Devereux 2008: 358). Some of these programmes include: South-South volunteering, Diaspora volunteering, National Volunteering, and Civic Service promotion in order to generate local engagement with marginalised communities and to build national volunteering infrastructures. Although some doubts continue to linger about the legitimacy of international volunteer work for development, the renewed emphasis on capacity development provides an opportunity to reflect on volunteers' distinctive contribution in this area (Devereux 2008: 357) as from other development practitioners.

3.1.2. Donors' power over NGOs and IVCOs

Regarding this, the main argument revolves around complying with funders' expectations and requirements in order to maintain financial support for their projects. Under the current aid for development scheme, NGOs are called both to conform to donor regulations, policies or expectations regarding what they perceive as the best use of the donation. The access to funding requires compliance with the established codes, rules and processes that embody the "development industry", processes to which the "needed receivers" have no access (Goulão 2010: 2).

At the present moment the aid effectiveness agenda and the economic and financial crisis have promoted a greater emphasis on aid ownership, harmonisation, mutual accountability, results, and alignment with donors' requirements. This is evidenced by a stronger emphasis on results, transparency, accountability to taxpayers and the citizens of aid-receiving countries, and value for money for all (Haddad et.al. 2010: 6-7). Hidden forms of power are intertwined in the creation of the different development agendas to which volunteering NGOs must comply; many times leaving behind the "agendas" of the communities they aim to help.

There are however increasing efforts being undertaken by IVCOs to try and balance these multiple accountabilities (issues further explored in Section 4) through the introduction of systems that are more accountable to their beneficiaries (Lele et.al. 2010: xii) and programmes that aim to balance the interests of prospective volunteers with local needs (Wintle 2009: 9)[12].

3.1.3. The symbolic power of 'the gift'

The third critique is found in a recent paper written by a former volunteer and current PhD student (Goulão 2010, unpublished). He talks about how volunteers mostly seek to serve the other; however, this willingness is imbued in power relations that must be made clear. Through this invisible power the volunteers, in the relations they establish, may reinforce pre-existing power imbalances, while hiding and misrepresenting them. For example, the mere capacity of international volunteers to leave their home country and live for a limited time in a different, less endowed, and more demanding place, and then to return to the support network of the home country, is something that in general the local people do not possess. This situation makes evident that the relation of giver and recipient is an unbalanced one, one that replicates the original imbalance of resources and power.

Concretely, Goulão's paper explores the power of "the gift". Drawing on the prominent theory of Mauss (1924) and further reviews of Sahlins (1972) and Hattori (2001), it can be said that gift-giving is more than a simple process of resource allocation and has the primary function of maintaining a social relation. But this function of the gift is only one part of the story; since the ability of the recipient to reciprocate defines the nature of the gift and may replicate, intensify or, at least symbolically, moderate the power imbalance in that relation.

In the particular case of volunteering, there is no expectation of reciprocity. The giver and receiver do not expect the latter will ever have the possibility to pay back; therefore, the volunteer's time and effort becomes an unreciprocated gift:

> **"All forms of economic grants, from disaster relief to health care and agricultural projects, to the broad category known as technical assistance"** (Hattori 2001: 638).

Furthermore, "when charity and several acts of generosity exclude the possibility of equivalent return or the very hope of active reciprocity (…) it is likely to create lasting relations of dependence."

This dependence may come from Mauss's "obligation to receive." This refers to the fact that the beneficiaries are reluctant to give criticisms or reject initiatives because it would seem that the only symbolic repayment possible is the acknowledgement of the support, and the statement of shared commitment with the volunteering NGO in its effort to promote development. Finally, the author states that the symbolic power of the gift strengthens the acceptance and replication in the "South" of "Northern" solutions, disallowing the freedom and creativity volunteers may have originally intended to promote.

As it has been mentioned, Graham et.al. (2013) state that a shift is needed in how host organisations view themselves and how they are viewed by sending organisations. These organisations need to recognise their own power and agency in the relationship, and have to be more demanding of what they want out of the relationship. Likewise, sending organisations need to ensure that the hosting role is respected and is mutually beneficial. The authors remark that particularly in the African context, marked by the proliferation of dysfunctional, dependent, ad-hoc and unsustainable civil society organisations, communities will only begin to harness the potential that IVS offers when the structural issues in the IVS landscape are explicitly addressed. Indeed, issues of power and development are embedded in the wider global socioeconomic structure; therefore, meaningful change will be slow. This is something that the Valuing Volunteering project will be looking at closely from a very critical perspective; taking always into consideration the researcher's own positionality throughout the whole research.

3.2. Volunteering: knowledge co-generation or imposition?

Following from the complexities of 'the gift', it is relevant to question the argument that 'capacity development' through knowledge-transfer via volunteering programmes is intrinsically good. Authors have critiqued these two interlinked approaches in two ways; firstly, by questioning the underlying assumption that there is a lack of knowledge in the countries and communities where volunteering takes place because traditional linear approaches to capacity development view skills and knowledge as things to be transferred to fill a deficit (Eyben 2008 in Clarke and Oswald 2010: 2). Secondly, arguing that capacity development interventions are constantly perceived as a technical endeavour, avoiding critical reflections on what capacities are required to enable people and organisations to understand and change the dynamics of power that impede social change from happening (Clarke and Oswald 2010: 1); hence, de-politicising the act of building capacities through volunteering.

Regarding the first critique, it was mentioned that the Western predominant view of volunteering has obscured existent ways in which local communities have constructed self-support mechanisms to cooperate throughout centuries; one example, is the tequio in Mexico. In 2006, the National Commission of Water piloted a project in which this prehispanic way of community voluntary work modality was used for implementing a water management project in a rural indigenous community of the state of Oaxaca funded by international

cooperation (CONAGUA 2006). Moreover, the 'capacity-building' discourse in the volunteering sector has to recognise that this is a two way avenue as volunteers, particularly those coming from outside communities, also gain new knowledge and develop relevant skills from their placements. Particularly, if there is an open attitude from volunteers and the relevant methods for working are in place, there is potential not only for co-creation but for sharing and co-generating knowledges (Chambers 2012: 72).

On the other hand, the argument of de-politisation is not unique to volunteer involving organisations; as it can be seen on p.22 the shift of mainstream development thought to market and private-sector led development has shifted the identity of the citizen to consumer. Hence, policies and development interventions increasingly focused on efficient service delivery rather than fostering critical awareness and collective action for change. Through their study amongst community collectives in Ghana and Senegal, Harvey and Langdon (2010: 79) argue that dominant practices described as 'capacity development' overlook the complex and locally-contingent character of development in favour or replicable and scalable models; take an apolitical view of capacity and favour the individual and self-improvement over collective change. They propose a view of capacity which is embedded in learning through a collective struggle; an analysis of and engagement with power relations, and attention to both short and longer-term change. These ideas pose a challenge to volunteer programming as many factors should be taken into account; some of them highly related to the personal security of the volunteers from within and outside the community.

3.3. The individualisation of volunteering

Another relevant issue raised by Anheier and Salamon in their 2001 cross-national study was that present trends of individualisation and secularisation are redefining volunteering: "as a phenomenon, it is today ever less linked to religion, notions like 'service to the nation' and traditional expectations, and tied more to specific needs, self-interest and greater individual choice" (p. 3). Gradually, it has become evident that volunteering has taken different shapes that have not necessarily resulted in positive outcomes. This has led several authors to explore the increased individualisation of volunteering during the last decade. Volunteers, both national and internation, are increasingly brought in to fulfil specific roles, which are designed to deliver specific services in order to meet a specific need, often subject to recruitment and management procedures. The focus is ultimately on the volunteer and on their skills and experience as opposed to an awareness of the skills, experience and networks that exist within a community or partner organisation. Merrill and Safrit (2003) reflect the fact that there is an increasing importance of the individual over the collective in four out of the 8 "megatrends" in volunteering;

1. Growing concern with the impact of time in volunteering: more busy lifestyles in the North have decreased the available time for volunteering, while in the South life pressures necessitate limited time commitment to volunteering, as individuals struggle to earn a living. This has generated more flexible ways for volunteering: e-volunteering, clicktivism, voluntourism, etc.
2. Organisations are modelling their programmes according to the demographic tendencies in several countries. Programmes are designed not only to serve, but also to attract and engage people from all ages.

3. There is a heightened awareness worldwide of the need for increased professionalism from volunteer programme managers. Organisations have started to apply more market and corporate like recruitment (Meijs and Brudney 2007).
4. ICTs: Global information networks provide opportunities for peer-to-peer sharing and the exchange of ideas and resources; virtual networks raise awareness of issues and trends. ICT enables involvement of otherwise excluded populations, like rural populations and disabled persons. But, what about the "digital divide"?

These trends have been approached from pessimistic and optimistic angles. From a pessimists' view volunteering is expected to decline or to become more episodic due to an increasing individualistic and egoistic lifestyle (e.g. Bellah et.al. 1985; Putnam 2000; Taylor 1993 in Hvenmark and von Essen 2010). This means a transformation of the volunteering sector in which the will to submit to collective goals is replaced by demands for 'products'; where check-book activism surges and members become consumers; and where membership no longer means participation, but passive adherence (Lorentsen & Hustinx 2007, Skocpol 1999 in Hvenmark and von Essen 2010). For the pessimists, individualisation and modernisation become equivalent to processes of disengagement where individuals leave aside collectivistic values and forms of participation in order to satisfy their personal needs (Hvenmark and von Essen 2010: 6).

The optimistic view argues that the shift from collectivistic to individualistic does not have to yield negative outcomes; actually, it may pave the road for new and alternative forms of civic participation (Beck & Soop 1997 in Hvenmark and von Essen 2010). These processes will not necessarily end up in something like 'the end of society'. Instead, it is more likely that new structures will emerge and replace older ones, and new forms of civic participation will be shaped and used (Hvenmark and von Essen 2010: 6). This could be the case with volunteering from a distance with the use of ICTs, which has opened a space for certain groups that were excluded by the nature of the traditional organisational volunteering infrastructure, such as people with limited mobility and/or persons living in remote rural areas like indigenous communities. But once again, important to question how much this is valuable and in favor of the community instead of the indvidual? And who are the people who control the access to these.

Another debate is that around "institutionally individualised volunteering" (Hustinx 2010); where focus is laid upon new organisational forms and control structures that no longer have the collective but the individual as their prime frame of reference. When organisations decide to alter the way they affiliate individuals they tend to invent new forms of relations that will make the civic participation predictable and controllable. Therefore, Hustinx concludes that new organisational forms are primarily not reflections of shifts in individuals' values, but a result of changes that occur at "the cross-section between individual and institutional forces".

Indeed, the myriad of arguments around individualisation, modernisation and volunteering cannot be explored in this work. However, this is something that shall not be overlooked inside the broader Valuing Volunteering project since these are phenomena affecting the volunteering sector. Field researchers will have the time and methods to scrutinise deeper these ideas in their particular contexts.

3.4. Who is responsible for poverty reduction?

One emerging concern about increasing the participation of volunteers in development relates to the issue of assuming responsibilities which have been (or should have been) the responsibility of the state; particularly, poverty reduction. International volunteers may increase organisational capacity by supplying extra hands, providing technical and professional skills, contributing tangible resources, and enhancing intercultural understanding (Lough et.al. 2010: 4). However, in another study, Jenkins (2009) shed light into a peculiar situation amongst local volunteers. She found that although local volunteers feel committed, and gain advantages from volunteering, they also feel obliged to do the work and to balance this with sustaining their families. This leads to the question of whether volunteering, over the long run, can become a burden, and whether volunteers end up assuming responsibilities that the state should have always assumed towards reducing poverty.

This debate is not new and it originated as a criticism to strategies developed in the name of "citizenship empowerment" in some industrialised economies and that have spread widely to the Global South. For example during the 1980s in the UK, active citizenship became a key phrase in the political vocabulary of Conservative governments as part of a strategy of offloading responsibility for certain activities from the state to individuals through their involvement in voluntary organisations, such as Neighbourhood Watch groups and housing associations (Kearns, 1992). More recently, David Cameron's Big Society strategy called for

> "(...) supporting and developing talent, innovation and enterprise to deliver social impact (...) we believe we can unleash the social energy that exists in the UK to help build a better, healthier society"[13]

Although these strategies could be seen as innovative forms of citizenship empowerment and the withdrawal of the paternalistic state, the particular national and local context where volunteering is being promoted over state-led poverty reduction strategies has to be taken into consideration. For example, in a study conducted in two impoverished villages in Mozambique, a local male volunteer clearly expressed the existing perception that volunteers are taking action to solve problems that the state has not been able to address:

> "I would like the government of Mozambique to consider all volunteers because they are doing all the work that should be done by the government" (Peach 2011: 53)

3.5. Remuneration of development volunteers

The reliance on volunteers for emergency relief, basic service provision, and other social functions has triggered calls for remuneration. Volunteers are always incurring opportunity costs by donating their time in favour of the wider community interests, thus losing out on opportunities to do something else, for example earning a living. In Peach's study, remuneration was a strong theme. Among the men and women who believe paid staff should do the work implied in the volunteering program, the most common reasons were to increase the standard of work, and the need for money to sustain themselves and their families (2011: 53). This has been explored and discussed on a wider scale. Authors like Beck (1999) have suggested elevating voluntary work to a status equal to paid work, and encouraging the establishment of some form of social credit system for those performing communal tasks of various kinds. Under this system, volunteers could earn 'social dollars' that would -alongside their monetary contribution- add to a social security system, health, educational or count towards retirement benefits and the like.

Health and education are the sectors where the issue of remuneration has surfaced most discontent. Well-trained teachers and health workers are fundamental for the effective provision of these basic rights, which will foster the achievement of wider goals such as poverty reduction. In some settings these roles are being executed mostly by international and national volunteers who are remunerated symbolically, or not at all. VSO's research and advocacy initiatives, Valuing Teachers and Valuing Health workers, have explored the importance of capacity-building, constant training, and legislation advocacy for improving the quality of these services in more than 20 countries [14]. The "paraprofessionals" debate is one of the issues that sheds light on the importance of not relying exclusively on volunteering for poverty reduction.

In order to support volunteering in service delivery, VSO looks at two broad principles in order to engage with these programmes (Podmore, 2008):

1) Individual capabilities must be enhanced: volunteering schemes that intend to develop, or have developed, systems to ensure that the volunteers are not exploited and their rights are realized – that their work should enrich them in skills and experience and should not make them poorer financially, materially, psychologically or in health. 2) The underlying causes of the skill shortage must be addressed: There is a strong danger that if the focus is only centred on supporting volunteering, the structural causes underlying the failure of health, education systems, and workforce crisis will not be addressed.

VSO currently works with local and national partners to advocate for the rights of volunteers and an enabling environment for volunteerism. It has been documented that in certain cases communities receive volunteers more positively than paid facilitators. They are seen as people who give their services freely out of concern for others; a situation which has influenced the kind of cooperation that is generated from the people inside the community (Mercado, 2008: 18). Ultimately, through social provision, volunteers also build their own capacity for change oriented activism and gain useful skills for their future.

4. Measuring the 'value' of volunteering

This section aims to give an overview of the current status of the M&E sector in international development and the difficulties implied in measuring the impact of social programmes in which certain outcomes are impossible to quantify. The first part will look at the theoretical debates behind impact assessment and the most commonly used methodologies derived from these frameworks. Relevant examples of impact assessment evaluations of volunteering will be acknowledged. The second part will touch upon the growing recognition of the importance of shifting the perspective towards "learning" as part of the M&E cycle; it will also discuss the need for a people-centred approach to impact assessment that would help IVCOs. Particularly, this will be linked to the broader Valuing Volunteering research.

4.1. Theoretical debates behind measuring impact

As has been noted, the current state of affairs in the international development context has placed "value for money" as one of the top priorities for donors. This increased emphasis on monitoring and impact to demonstrate program effectiveness is mobilising the research community to give M&E a higher status (Pinto 2010: 2). However, these efforts are not articulated. Haddad et.al. (2010: 3)

argue that a failure to identify and capture the multiple benefits of investments in M&E, the lack of incentives to try, and the relatively closed M&E world conspire to create a system where there is little pressure to improve performance through monitoring, learning and evaluation. The intense debates generated amongst different schools of thought as to which methodologies can best describe and attribute causality has been called 'the causal wars'. The following table summarises these different, sometimes contrasting, approaches (Lucas and Longhurst 2010: 29).

Table 2. Characteristics of different approaches to evaluation			
Perspective	**Epistemology**	**Approach**	**Characteristics**
Experimental	A system of cause and effect is assumed to exist, which cannot be observed directly. Causation can only be inferred through controlled observations	Randomised or quasi-experimental trials with pre-test, post-test, and control group	Evaluators see their task as identifying cause and effect relationships using controlled trials
Constructivist	Follows the idea that truth is always attached to some standpoint rather than being external to any one group	Qualitative techniques used to explore meanings that stakeholders attach to phenomena, aiming to reconcile different meanings through a consensual process	Aims at a negotiated settlement between all stakeholders, attempting to reconcile their diverse perceptions
Pragmatic	Regards as valid knowledge that which is considered pragmatically acceptable by decision-makers	Qualitative and quantitative techniques used to produce the evidence decision-makers need	Regards evaluators as contracted technicians meeting the client's needs. They help to select the most appropriate content, model, methods, theory, and uses for each case
Pluralist	Takes the view that knowledge produced from alternative perspectives all adds important insights to events	Qualitative and quantitative techniques are combined to gain greater insight into the working of an intervention and to help define the causal pathways that might exist	Seeks ways to draw on all these different perspectives and are usually condemned as unprincipled eclectics
Theories of change	Evaluations are built around explicit theories of how interventions work in specific contexts	Qualitative and quantitative techniques used to test theories	Evaluators insist on theoretical explanation in the cause and effect relationships

Adapted from Milne et.al. (2004) in Lucas and Longhurst (2010:29)

According to a European Commission (2007) guide to the evaluation of socioeconomic development, there are five distinct purposes which can be given priority in the implementation of an evaluation: planning/efficiency, accountability, improving implementation design, knowledge production and institutional and network strengthening. These different concerns will influence the methodological preferences chosen to conduct a particular evaluation.

In the volunteering sector, one key concern has been to address the economic value of volunteers in order to demonstrate why it is a cost-effective way to solve certain development problems. This aim would fall under the planning/efficiency purpose in which volunteering advocates are searching for a justification for a particular policy/programme and looking at whether resources are being efficiently deployed; this has been frequently translated into searching for a monetary value of volunteering. In order to calculate this imputed value of volunteer work, social scientists typically rely on data from population samples. The two key items are the number of volunteers in the sample, and the number of hours volunteered per volunteer. The proportionate share of volunteers is extrapolated to the whole adult population to obtain the total number of volunteers, which in turn is multiplied by the average number of hours volunteered. Finally, the total number of hours volunteered is then multiplied by a monetary value or shadow wage, which yields the imputed value of total volunteer time (Archambault et.al. 1998). In the following section some of the most significant efforts of impact assessment in volunteering will be briefly reviewed.

4.1.1. Recent efforts for measuring volunteering

Numerous efforts have been conducted by different NGOs to evaluate and measure the impact and value of volunteering; some remarkable examples include: 2007 VOSESA's Five-Country Study on Service and Volunteering in Southern Africa (from a non-Western perspective), 2010 The Impact of Volunteering in International Development (joint effort between International Service, Skillshare International, Progressio, SPW, and VSO), 2011 IFRC's The Value of Volunteers, and the 2011 Volonteurope Reviews: The Value of Volunteering, amongst others. Indeed, it seems that the year 2011 has become a turning point marked by a growing interest in measuring the impact and value of volunteering with the use of diverse methodologies; Valuing Volunteering inscribes itself into this wave. Two of the most ambitious studies launched as part of the celebrations of the IYV+10 are The ILO Manual on the Measurement of Volunteer Work and the UNV's 2011 State of the World's Volunteering Report (from the North); and VOSESA's International Voluntary Service in the South African Development Community report (from the South). These efforts will be overviewed in their main objectives, methods and outcomes, while making reference to some of their limitations.

The ILO Manual on the Measurement of Volunteer Work[15]
This manual, drafted by the Johns Hopkins Centre for Civil Society Studies (CCSS) in cooperation with the ILO and an international Technical Experts Group, represents the first internationally sanctioned approach for gathering official data on the amount, character, and value of volunteering. The manual has been regarded as the best established contribution to efforts to standardise a measure of volunteering. It represents a guide to measuring volunteer work by means of regular supplements to labour force or household surveys.

The methodology used is highly qualitative and with its particular approach it calculates the economic value of volunteers through a common survey supplied to participating countries. This survey was structured around direct questions regarding individual activities avoiding the terms "volunteering" and "voluntary work"; these were followed by other questions regarding the periodicity of the activities carried out in a particular period of time. Subsequently, in order to estimate the economic value of volunteer work, researchers decided to focus on the "replacement cost" (i.e. the value of volunteering to the beneficiary of the services and hence to society). This perspective proved to be more relevant to the objective of the research than the "opportunity cost" (i.e. the economic value of volunteering to the volunteer, considering either the time or efforts provided during work hours or leisure).

Results of the Manual will not be discussed in this paper; however one of the well-known outcomes is the emergence of different initiatives, and a growing interest around themes related to new methodologies, for measuring the impact and value of volunteering. One of them is The European Volunteer Measurement Project (EVMP) project, launched during the European Year of Volunteering 2011, as a joint effort between the European Volunteer Centre), Centro di Servizio per il Volontario del Lazio (SPES), and CCSS. The aim of this project is to disseminate this Manual and promote its implementation throughout Europe to provide better information, to help ensure effective management of volunteering and for the development of a supportive policy environment. Another initiative linked to this Manual is The Global Volunteer Measurement project which is a joint collaboration between CCSS, the International Association for Volunteer Effort (IAVE), and the International Volunteer Service Network (VOLiNTEER). As a sister initiative of the EVMP it seeks the same objectives.

The EVMP outlined in a paper presented in the 2012 International Society of Third Sector conference, the next steps needed to develop a more complete solution to the question of volunteer measurement and recognition in Europe and at the EU level. The paper stressed the importance of developing common approaches for measuring other aspects of volunteering that are of importance to the sector, such as its social contribution, impact on the volunteers themselves, and the barriers and motivations people face in volunteering. Furthermore, the paper argued that despite the existence of useful recommendations made by the European Commission and the Council of the European Union to address the lack of comparable data on volunteering in the EU, additional policy change is needed. In particular, the EVMP seeks to extend the number of countries implementing the ILO Manual on a regular basis, to explore additional statistical tools to measure other social aspects and impacts of voluntary action in a compatible manner, and to develop a formal dialog with Eurostat on this topic.

There are certain limitations around this initiative, and the following are two of the most relevant: From a methodological perspective, non-response may compromise the representativeness of the sample, given that non-volunteers may be less likely to answer the survey. Conversely this boosts the number of respondents who describe themselves as volunteers. Another concern arises from standardisation; aiming to establish an international indicator has proven to be conflictive, since cultural and seasonal influences in the different countries can only be standardised to a certain point; hence, this may result in discrepancies to compare (ILO, 2011: 48).

The aforementioned issues are challenges to overcome; hence, the ILO Manual authors are looking for a 'more complete solution to the question of volunteer measurement'. For example, by building an advocacy platform in Italy they found that organisations asked a number of questions that sought to deepen the conversation about what is the 'social contribution' of volunteering (i.e. the development impact of volunteering). The ILO Manual contributors are also pointing towards the need for a more nuanced understanding of what volunteering brings to development; hence, their interest in the Valuing Volunteering methodology and research approach.

UNV- 2011 State of the World's Volunteering report – the 'Measurement Agenda'

The aim of this report is to establish a starting point for volunteering to be considered as a valuable activity for nations and communities. According to Helen Clark, administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), societies that encourage and support volunteering represent a government and society that cares for the well-being of its citizens. Furthermore, these activities represent contributions that consequently result in better conditions, welfare and peace.

Since the establishment of the International Year of Volunteering (IYV) in 2001, volunteering has been growing increasingly in both the public and private spheres; however, volunteering is usually considered as a separate field from peace and human development, and is constantly overlooked and undervalued. Nonetheless, today there is a growing trend of people from all social strata and economic situations engaging with volunteering. As has been mentioned in the previous section, individuals are beginning to recognise that volunteering is an activity that results in more personal recognition, enhances facilitation skills, strengthens networks and promotes volunteering itself; a situation illustrated by the SWVR. Moreover, this report also recognises the importance of not forgetting and strengthening the link to collective action, which is at the core of any effective volunteering programme.

Despite being a vital effort that addresses multiple case-studies on the functioning of recent volunteering trends, this UNV report is not intended to be an evaluation or give a measurement. The focus of the document is to provide the reader, across the myriad of issues presented, a panorama of the current state of affairs around volunteering and different aspects of development: Volunteering and the new development architecture; volunteering and well-being; measuring and universality of volunteering; new forms of volunteering in the 21st Century; the role of volunteering in constructing sustainable livelihoods and social inclusion; and the value of volunteering during violent conflict and disasters.

The study recognises the importance of searching for a balance between calls for more quantitative and qualitative studies that provide robust evidence around the impact of volunteering in development. For example, it describes how the survey conducted by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics around National Volunteering shall be followed-up with a qualitative survey to substantiate the results (UNV 2011: 17). Particularly in the section "Pursuing a Global Measure: Highlighting International Measuring Initiatives" the report reviews the main findings of several efforts around measuring volunteering and civic service: the European Commission Study, The Gallup World Poll, World Values Survey, The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, CIVICUS Civil Society Index, and Manual on the Measurement of Volunteer Work.

Regarding measuring volunteering, the SWVR reaches significant conclusions (UNV, 2011: 23):

- This task is still at a very early stage and presents considerable challenges. The range of studies mentioned here points to the diversity of issues covered as well as the absence of common approaches.
- National studies of volunteering are of particular importance to ensure that consideration of the parameters, profile, and trends are situated in the particular country context.
- On the other hand, there is a pressing need to compare and benchmark volunteering at regional and global levels
- It acknowledges that measuring the contribution of volunteering in economic terms represents only one piece of a much larger array of benefits that volunteer action brings to communities and societies.

VOSESA - International Voluntary Service in South African Development Community 2011 Report

This report used two different approaches; qualitative and quantitative. Conducted in October 2010 across Tanzania and Mozambique, this research was designed to make comparisons between host organisations and organisations involved in similar work that did not host international volunteers (i.e. comparative organisations). In addition, a volunteer survey was conducted with volunteers sent worldwide by International Cultural Youth Exchange (ICYE) and volunteers sent to African countries by the German weltwärts programme (VOSESA, 2011: 2).

The study was designed to address two objectives related to the impact of volunteering in the local context and abroad. Firstly, it explores the relationship between international volunteers and the work of their host organisations. Secondly, it analyses the potential of the international volunteers to produce change in their home countries in respect to altering entrenched perceptions of the power relations between North and South. As was discussed in Section 2, changing these power imbalances (real or perceived) remains crucial for achieving long-lasting results by volunteering programmes (VOSESA, 2011: 2).

An interesting finding in relation to the first objective was that macro-structural dynamics, contextual realities and problems of access to resources available through these networks can constrain or enable the value, for host organisations or communities, of international social networks created through their interactions with international volunteers. The study therefore suggested a need to carry out macro-structural, micro-structural and individual adjustments in order for international voluntary service to serve as international social capital for all the parties involved. Ultimately, the study suggested that those international volunteers who genuinely engage with their host organisations in service of their strategic development are those most likely to form a clearer understanding of the development challenges they encounter (VOSESA, 2011: 3).

Overall, the report raises three issues that are relatively new in the field:

1. The role of host organisations and host communities in developing the international volunteers;
2. The importance of organisational development in the civil society organisations in which international volunteers are placed;
3. he role of international volunteers in promoting local/community-based volunteering in the communities and countries where they serve.

4.1.2. The role of knowledge production

Conducting an evaluation aimed at producing knowledge is particularly relevant for a project such as Valuing Volunteering. Regarding this issue, Lucas and Longhurst (2010: 30) state that demonstrating that an intervention has improved certain outcomes is much easier but much less useful than explaining what were the factors that led to the achievement of the desired result, and if these could lead to the same outcome again. In terms of this knowledge production agenda, there are 3 widely held theoretical positions:

1. Experimental: Randomised controlled trials (RCTs) provide the only scientific approach to the evaluation of an intervention. If it is not possible to undertake such trials, then there should be a construction of a counterfactual. There is often an underlying assumption that these evaluations are more 'scientific'. There is solid support for this paradigm in both the European and US policy evaluation communities (30-31).
2. Theories of Change: It is essential to focus not only on whether an intervention succeeded or failed, but why. M&E systems can be designed that will allow us to evaluate the extent to which outcomes can be plausibly attributed to the intervention.
3. Realistic Evaluation: The interventions under review are complex and dynamic. Those who participate in the implementation process will have a wide range of characteristics, perceptions and attitudes that shape their responses to these components. Given this reality it is essentially irrational to seek for evidence that given types of intervention 'work'. The aim should be to identify the most interesting facets of the intervention mechanisms and explore how they have performed in relation to specific groups of individuals. This will allow the construction of theories that advance knowledge and can be used to modify the current intervention or design of the next. Tend to focus on systematic learning, rarely addressing issues of accountability.

The current state of affairs has positioned the experimental approach (i.e. RCTs) as the most reliable and scientific theoretical perspective to demonstrate causality and, as an immediate consequence, impact. However, two growing concerns have appeared around this approach. Firstly, the status given to RCTs may lead to an uncritical assessment as to what is required to meet the strict assumptions underlying such a claim. The second concern can be expressed as ´the implementation is the intervention'. The implementation of any apparently simple technical intervention typically involves a complex social project (Lucas and Longhurst 2010: 30). Therefore, the attention is centred on the research to demonstrate impact and less on the intervention being carried out.

This inconformity with the narrow vision of experimental approach has generated a shift towards new approaches to knowledge production in the non-profit sector. Some organisations started to visualize theories of change as a more feasible method to bring about a long term goal. For example in 2011 VSO transformed its previous overarching planning and evaluation methodology to a theory of change based on actions that impact on different dimensions of change, which ultimately result in the final outcome of "Improvement in the lives of poor and marginalised people." In contrast to RCTs, one of the key features of a theory of change is that it cannot be seen as a rigid plan but as a guide towards achieving development goals, something that provides more flexibility for learning and shifting direction in case it is needed.

Finally, other organisations and researchers advocating in favour of Realistic Evaluation argue that any project should be seen as a unique experiment; hence, in reality, the social changes and balances that the project brings to a community may have a decisive effect on each project's outcomes. These particularities should raise doubts as to what the likely outcome would be if the exercise were repeated with a different target population (Lucas and Longhurst 2010: 32-33). Based on a similar epistemology, the SAR methodology used in the VV project will try to contextualize these unique volunteering outcomes in each of the communities where the fieldwork will be conducted; always taking into account the researcher's positionality in the field. However, in contrast to the Realistic Evaluation, Valuing Volunteering will look closely to issues of accountability and power. This means that the project will not only search for systematic learning, but researchers will be analysing the different power relations embedded in the communities and the power games played by the different stakeholders which are generating or hindering the expected outcomes from the different volunteering interventions.

4.2. Lessons of M&E from development practice

Demonstrating impact at scale in the real world is difficult, as seen in the previous section - methodologies and initiatives abound with limited results. Poor programme performance is not sufficiently challenged, good programme performance not sufficiently incentivised. Situate this within systems that have weak capacities to monitor resources, and are subject to frequent disruptions, and it is inevitable that there is a weak learning and impact culture in aid and international development more broadly (Haddad et.al. 2010: 7). Some of the most common criticisms of M&E in this sector are outlined in Table 3.

Table 3. Current standard critiques of M&E
Failure to specify what M&E is for
Lack of stakeholder participation and responsiveness
Too little attention to theories of change – too much focus on inputs and outputs, less on outcomes
A lack of systematic capacity building for M&E
Not enough resources spent on looking at how changes in wellbeing of the target population can be attributed to the particular programme
Not enough focus on the trajectories for impact
Not enough focus on the context of interventions: looking at what works, why and under what circumstances
Not enough focus on flexibility and learning
Not enough use of M&E data and findings: there is a growing disillusionment with conventional evaluation and praxis. Evaluation findings do not automatically feedback into a receptive and responsive decision-making process.

*Built from: Munce 2005, CGD 2006, Ravallion 2008, Woolcock 2009, Rogers*

For the purposes of the present document, the lack of focus on learning and the lack of stakeholder participation and responsiveness will be explored with more detail. M&E has become a burden to most organisations because, despite the energy and resources directed to the whole process, organisations do not finalise with a learning process. This results in a broken feedback loop that stops organisations from grasping the benefits of conducting M&E. In the volunteering sector Devereux (2008: 364) points out that virtually the only specific public opportunities for detailed reflection in busy, under-resourced IVCOs have been the mandatory donor reviews. Given the potentially damaging consequences of a negative report, these reviews were 'survived' rather than embraced as learning opportunities. According to Oswald and Taylor (2010: 115-116) in the broad development industry disinterest in learning arouses from a lack of organisational incentives, which disconnects those who initiated a programme from the results when they emerge. The authors identify four types of misaligned incentives:

1. The incentive to demonstrate impact, the disincentive to learn why
2. The incentive for upward accountability, the disincentive to learn from below
3. The incentive to 'do', the disincentive to 'learn'
4. The incentive to demonstrate impact, the disincentive to learn why
5. The incentive to conform, the disincentive to take risks. Learning involves changes in behaviour, so the learning outcomes can be challenging to those in positions of authority.

Authors like Pinto (2010: 4) claim that, in most evaluation interventions, the key is to identify the theory of change and for the key stakeholders involved to then find appropriate indicators. Although a theory of change is established and agreed upon at the start of a project, dealing with the issue of stakeholders adds complexity to M&E. Stakeholders can have diverse interests and range from government officials from donor countries to farmers displaced by a conflict. Aligning this variety of interests is central to

Figure1. The five purposes of M&E*
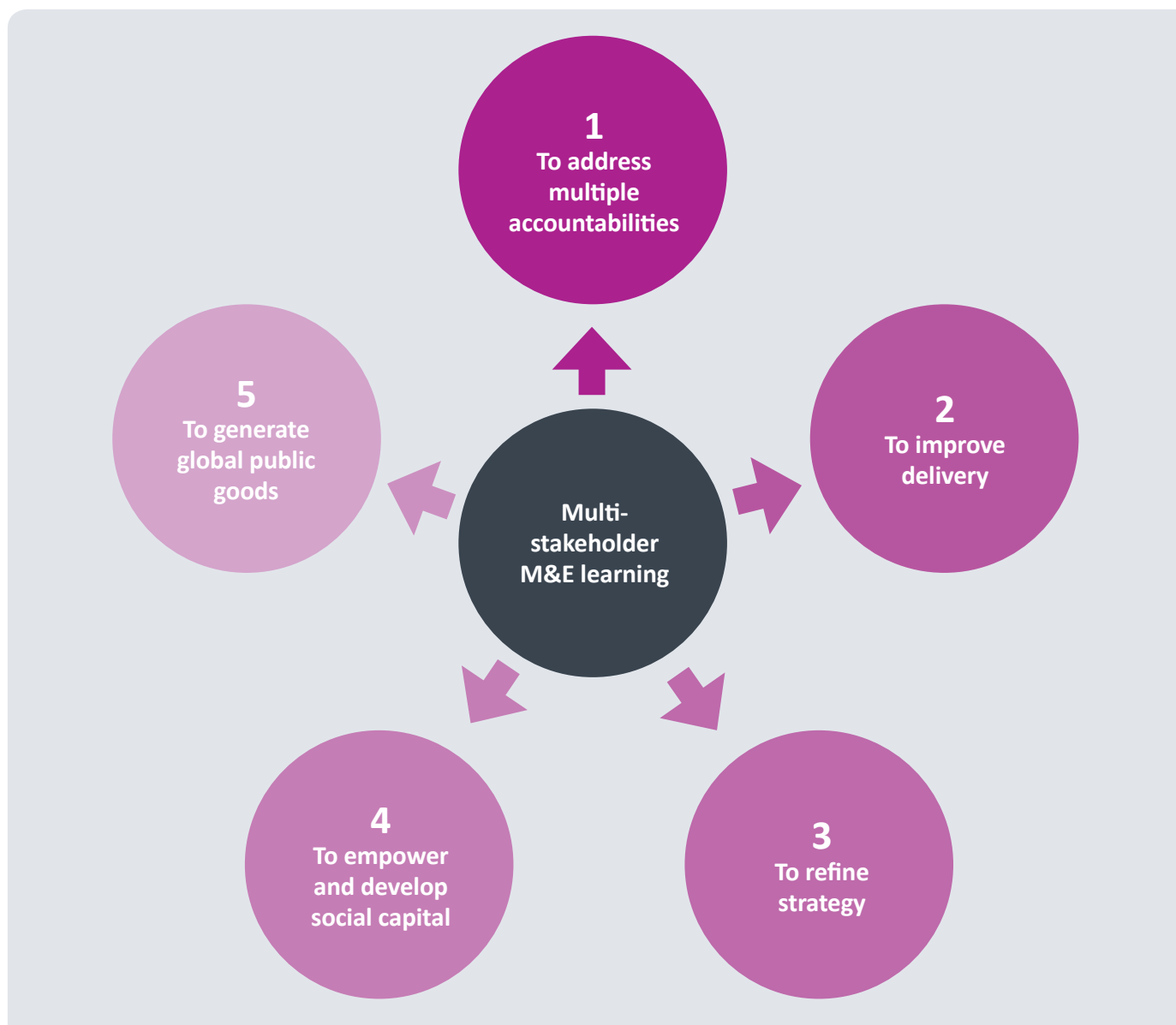
Taken from Haddad et.al. 2010: 11

Building from this model it can be said that good M&E can make projects work better, assess impact, steer strategy, increase stakeholder ownership, build the capacity of stakeholders to hold programme financiers and implementers to account and share learning more widely (Haddad et.al. 2010: 6). Nonetheless, as it has already been noted the incentives are weak and, since it is embarrassing to finance a programme that has little impact, M&E reports have less chance of being made public. Furthermore, unlike for most research, donors and other users of M&E have no third party peer review process to validate the quality of most M&E. Ultimately these information asymmetries will diminish effective M&E supply in the medium run (Haddad et.al. 2010: 12).

It seems that in the current state of affairs, that gives priority to upwards accountability (i.e towards donors), the M&E process is trapped in a vicious cycle, in which downwards accountability (i.e. towards beneficiaries) is really hard to achieve. Therefore, it is fundamental that the most powerful development actors understand that in order to reap the full benefits of M&E, there is a need to balance multiple accountabilities (upwards, horizontal and downwards) and align the preferences of all stakeholders; in practice this means greater involvement of beneficiaries (Haddad et.al. 2010: 14). Due to the ethos driving the volunteering organisations, involving the communities and responding to their needs is perceived as a duty. International volunteers highlight the importance of local accountability, respect for local values and knowledge, the appropriate pace and character of interventions, and the need to remain engaged despite difficult conditions (Devereux 2008: 368)

In diverse sectors such as academia, CBOs, INGOs, foundations, and even governments, voices are being raised demanding a change. The emphasis on the importance of relationships for effectiveness and quality was recently reiterated in BOND's 2006 report on quality in NGO projects. The report questioned the 'practical and conceptual shortcomings of "impact" as the driver of performance management' and concluded that 'the quality of an NGO's work was mainly determined by the quality of its relationships with beneficiaries' (Devereux 2008: 365). In the same vein, the ten guiding principles for capacity development developed by the UNDP resonate strongly with the international volunteer approach. They are:

> **"(...) don't rush; respect the value system and foster self-esteem; scan locally and globally; reinvent locally; challenge mindsets and power differentials; think and act in terms of sustain-able capacity outcomes; establish positive incentives; integrate external inputs into national priorities, processes and systems; build on existing capacities rather than creating new ones; stay engaged under difficult circumstances; and remain accountable to ultimate beneficiaries"** (Lopes and Theisohn 2003: 30)

Another recent example is The Big Push Forward - a network of practitioners identifying and sharing strategies for encouraging funders to adopt additional, useful approaches to impact assessment and reporting of international aid programmes and projects. Two out of their seven activity clusters touch upon organisational learning and accountability to beneficiaries[16]. Another initiative calls for spreading people-centred M&E. This method looks for ways to balance multiple accountabilities, focuses on learning within organizations and the individual incentives for learning, and finds ways to share M&E performances information more openly (Haddad et.al. 2010: 6).

It has been said that talking about methodology:

> **"(...) the challenge is to achieve a trade-off between measurability – which requires standardisation – and local complexity."**

However, there is no need to incur trade-offs. It depends on what is trying to be measured and how. Certain methods, like RCTs will be effective in indicating patterns of correlation between certain programme and its outcomes, something that can prove valuable for particular endeavors. On the other hand, comprehensive methodologies such as SAR, will prove more efficient for grasping local complexity and the long-term evolution of a development intervention. Ultimately, the biggest goal of conducting M&E shall be focused on generating a positive impact in disadvantaged communities based on inclusion, organisation 0and incentives, rather than an emphasis only on tools and methods (Haddad et.al. 2010: 12).

5. Final considerations

As this document is intended to review the existing literature on the impact of volunteering, and position the Valuing Volunteering project in relation to the relevant debates in both development and volunteering literatures, it will not pose final conclusions around the questions raised. These questions will be addressed through the fieldwork carried out by the Valuing Volunteering lead researchers. In addition, certain topics which are proving to be increasingly relevant, such as volunteering in conflict zones and volunteering in policy design and governmental programmes could not be explored due to their complexity and the importance of the national/historical contexts to these issues. Therefore, this section raises certain final considerations about the expected overall project contributions to the volunteering sector.

Based on previous internal reviews, VSO has articulated the distinctive contribution of volunteering to international development as[17]:

- The creative power of shared endeavour; Working in a cross-cultural partnership towards a common goal generates new learning and solutions.
- Reciprocity generates cultural understanding and trust; Living and working within communities over an extended period of time encourages sensitive and appropriate responses and a sense of equality that increase the likelihood of a successful outcome.
- Volunteers are effective agents of change in diverse settings; The range of placements undertaken by VSO volunteers, together with their interpersonal skills and capabilities, means that volunteers work and communicate with people at a range of levels in society, including government (national and regional level), community-based groups, civil society organisations and geographically-isolated communities.
- Volunteers are successful advocates; Volunteers appreciate first-hand the aspirations of communities and the constraints on them. They can strengthen the voice of their local colleagues both during their placement and crucially on their return.
- Support the growth of civil society; Volunteering is the foundation stone upon which much of civil society is developed worldwide.

For VSO, the Valuing Volunteering project will be a unique opportunity to confirm or challenge these assumptions and also look beyond VSO interventions to understand the extent to which the above attributes apply outside of the VSO 'model' of volunteering. The Systemic Action Research (SAR) methodology, conducted through participatory and reflective methods, will enable researchers to observe volunteer practices as part of a wider system in order to understand its specific contribution within a given context. It will be led by individuals directly affected by or involved in volunteering initiatives, enabling us to test the process of turning research into action and using the findings to strengthen the impact of volunteer activities at a local level as well as feeding back into internal and external discussions on how to strengthen the role of volunteering within development programmes. Ongoing reflection and analysis throughout the research – through national networks, in-country accompaniment visits, global analysis workshops, online forums – will also enable us to engage a broad group of key stakeholders in real-time analysis of the research findings and process.

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Annex 1. Lead organisations

Leading organisations of the Valuing Volunteering Project and FORUM impact research	
Organisation	**Description**
VSO	Founded in 1958 in the UK. Today it is the world's leading independent international development organisation that works through volunteers to fight poverty in developing countries. For 50 years, they have been recruiting volunteers aged between 18 and 75 to live and work in the heart of local communities. Until now, they have placed over 50,000 volunteers in over 140 countries in Africa, Asia, the Pacific, the Caribbean, Eastern Europe and Latin America.
IDS	Founded in 1966 as Britain's first national institute of development studies. Today it is a leading global charity for international development research, teaching and communications. IDS hosts six dynamic research teams, eight postgraduate courses, and a family of world-class knowledge services. These three spheres are integrated in a unique combination – as a development knowledge hub, IDS is connected into and is a convenor of networks throughout the world.
FORUM	The International FORUM on Development Service (known as "FORUM") is the most significant global network of International Volunteer Co-operation Organisations. FORUM aims to share information, develop good practice and enhance co-operation and support between its Members. Together, FORUM Members explore innovative practice and research key contemporary issues, focusing on organisational learning and improved practice. This information is shared in person, at conferences and via the website.

Annex 2. Key terms and definitions

There are several key terms that must be understood and differentiated one from another in order to appreciate the great diversity existing in the volunteering sector. The present document will focus on the following:

1. Voluntarism:

refers to voluntary actions directed by organisations, including religious or military-led activities. It is related to the non-profit setting and to membership and trusteeship. Today, voluntarism is considered to encompass traditional forms of organisational-led voluntary action.

2. Volunteering:

the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) defines volunteering as "an expression of people's willingness and capacity to freely help others and improve their society". UNV's definition of volunteering is notably inclusive, giving space for incorporating several types of formal and informal ways of organising volunteering activity. This dualism of formal/informal forms of volunteering has generated numerous debates which will be looked at in Section 1. In broad terms, volunteering is classified by UNV in four categories:

• Mutual aid and self-help groups
• Philanthropy and service to others
• Campaigning or advocacy
• Participation

Another definition of volunteering, with precise, delineated boundaries, is presented by The International Labour Organisation (ILO):

"(…) volunteer activity involves 'work'; that the activity is fundamentally unpaid, though some forms of compensation are permissible; that volunteer work is non-compulsory; that the principal beneficiary of volunteer work must be someone outside one's own immediate family; that both volunteering directly for individuals or households, and volunteering to or through organizations be included; and that volunteer work must involve a minimum amount of time (at least one hour of volunteer work a week (or four hours over a four-week reference period)."

3. Civic Service:

More in line with the aforementioned ILO's definition, civic service can be defined as an organised period of substantial engagement and contribution to the local, national, or world community, recognised and valued by society, with minimal monetary compensation to the participant. Programmes can be local, national, international, or transnational in scope, and targeted toward servers who are young, older, of particular faith, or in school. Civic service is different from occasional or episodic volunteering because it requires intensive commitment, takes programmatic form and the individual (often a young person but not always) has an obligation to fulfil as part of their duty as a citizen of that particular country. For example, in Ghana they have the national service scheme which young graduates are obliged to undertake for a year in order to complete their graduation.

4. Volunteering intervention:

the name given to a specific approach to volunteering taken by volunteer-involving organisations in their programming. For example, the main organisations involved in FORUM work through one or more the following volunteering interventions, which are central to delivering their development objectives:

• International volunteering
• South-South volunteering
• Diaspora volunteering
• Youth volunteering
• Corporate volunteering
• Community-led volunteering

5. Volunteer-involving organizations:

There are a range of organisations within the public, private and voluntary sector that work with and through volunteers. An outline of these types of organisations is important to help us think about the role of volunteering in relation to more formal structures, and development programming.

• International Volunteering Cooperation Organisations (IVCOs): These are agencies and organisations that arrange volunteer placements in the South. All have offices outside the destination country and recruit volunteers through various selection processes. These are not-for-profit; therefore the commercial volunteer-sending agencies are excluded.
• Civic Service Organisations (CSOs): Civic service is a particular type of civic engagement, defined as formal volunteering in a structured program. These organisations work inside their country of origin; can be government managed, faith –based or not-for-profit.
• Community Based Organisations (CBOs): groups of people emerging from the grassroots level that largely function based on voluntary work. They may or may not receive international volunteers.
• Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs): these are those organisations where members can only join and volunteer if they share a religious view. Most of the time volunteering activity includes preaching their doctrine alongside other activities.

Footnotes

1. The term 'systemic action research' is not new. It has been used in a variety of contexts over the past 15 years or so. Early references (Bawden and Packham, 1991; Packham and Sriskandarajah, 2005) had a strong agricultural focus. More recently it has been used in the context of organisational change (Cochlan, 2002) and more widely to engage with complex social and organisational environments (Ison and Russel 2000; Burns 2003 and 2006; Burns and Weil 2006; Weil et.al. 2005). These authors share a concern to take into account the wider context within which issues are situated.

2. Both of these practices are traditional systems of mutual help originating in rural areas during harvest time.

3. Throughout this research the terms "global South" or "South" will be used instead of "developing countries", in order to avoid disqualifications of any type.

4. For further information on these organisations, see Annex 1

5. FORUM is a global network of IVCOs, and this particular research aims to 'understand the impacts of international volunteer service'. The research will explore the impacts of international volunteering at the individual, project, and program levels. The research will look at the contributions of international volunteers to MDGs and other discrete development goals, what components of these programmes are effective in achieving these outcomes, and what the additional value of volunteers' contributions to development projects and programmes is, beyond other types of technical and managerial approaches.

6. For more on these critiques: Rosalind Eyben (2013). Uncovering the Politics of 'Evidence' and 'Results'. A framing paper for development practitioners. http://bigpushforward.net/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/Uncovering-the-Politics-of-Evidence-and-Results-by-Rosalind-Eyben.pdf

7. The third sector can be broadly defined as those organisations and/or groups operating between the market and the state- variously labelled voluntary, non-profit or third sector organisations. However, the boundaries to this sector are not completely fixed; hence it has tellingly been described as a 'loose and baggy monster (Kendall and Knapp 1995).

8. Social capital defined as: "features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action" (Putnam, 1993: 35).

9. For a strong critique see http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/nov/14/orphans-cambodia-aids-holidays-madonna (consulted July 2nd, 2014)

10. See statement: http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/aug/14/students.charitablegiving (consulted January 2013)

11. There are numerous studies, for a variety of perspectives look at: Robert Chambers (bottom-up development processes); Rosalind Eyben (aid industry and power); John Gaventa (citizenship and power), Andrea Cornwall (women and power).

12. Example taken from The HELP Foundation, an NGO based in the northwest of Tanzania

13. Taken from the Big Society website: http://www.thebigsociety.co.uk/about-us/ (consulted March 2, 2012)

14. For detailed information see the next website: http://www.vsointernational.org/what-we-do/advocacy/campaigns/valuing-teachers.asp and http://www.vsointernational.org/what-we-do/advocacy/health/ (consulted March 4, 2012)

15. Available in the link: http://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/meetings-and-events/international-conference-of-labour-statisticians/WCMS_100574/lang--en/index.htm (Consulted February 20th, 2012)

16. These two clusters are:
Enhancing organisational learning and reflective practice to support organisational learning on what impact is / what can we measure as well as to support learning on the consequences of impact assessment in terms of project design.

Challenging dominant discourses and disseminating alternative discourses and counter narratives that stress the significance of history and context and emphasize accountability to those for whom international aid exists. Taken from: www.bigpushforward.net (Consulted March 05, 2012).

17. The role of volunteers in international development. VSO Position Paper (2005)

Valuing Volunteering was a two year (2012 – 2014) global action research project, conducted by VSO and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) to understand how and why volunteering affects poverty and contributes to sustainable development. This report summarises findings from inquiries conducted in the Philippines, Kenya, Mozambique and Nepal which explore the role of volunteering across different development contexts and systems. Using Participatory Systemic Action Research it asks local partners, communities and volunteers to reflect on how and where volunteering can contribute to positive, sustainable change.

For more information about the global *Valuing Volunteering* study please contact: enquiry@vsoint.org