VOLUNTARISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA: A STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF VOLUNTARISM AMONG SELECTED STAKEHOLDERS

By

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DECLARATION

This Research Paper is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other University.

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This Research Paper was submitted for examination with our approval as University of Nairobi Supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This Research Paper is dedicated to
The memory of my late father Erastus M'Nkaabu M'Raingoni,
A great volunteer, community worker and a friend.

Acronyms

Ufadhili   -   Centre for Philanthropy & Social Responsibility.

Ungana   -   An affiliate of the African Medical and Research Foundation.

Red-Cross   -   International Federation of the Red Cross and Red
          Crescent.

UNDP   -   United Nations Development Programme.

CBOs   -   Community Based Organizations.

NGO   -   Non-Governmental Organization.

AMREF   -   African Medical and Research Foundation

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

This study discusses voluntarism and development in Kenya. It is an exploratory study of its perceptions among selected stakeholders. The study begins with an overview of the background information of voluntarism, perceptions about it, characteristics of volunteers and the practice of voluntarism.

According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, 'Voluntary means action done willingly, without being forced and without payment'. It also means deeds controlled or supported by people, who give their money, service etc.

Chapter One includes the background information, the problem statement, and objectives of the study and the rationale of the study. This chapter begins by looking at definitions of voluntarism. It proceeds to discuss its place in various communities and perceptions about it. The chapter also provides the meanings and views about development and the link between it and voluntarism. It further discusses the role of voluntarism in development and posits the problem the study explores, namely perception about voluntarism among selected stakeholders.

1.1   Background

1.1.1 Review of Meaning of Voluntarism

The word volunteer today does not rest on a broadly shared definition (UNV, 1998). In fact, a universal definition of a volunteer does not exist since different people in different regions look at volunteers differently depending on their vantage points (UNV, 2000; Mutsotso & Muyendo, 2000). Volunteer service can be defined in broad terms as the contribution that individuals make as non-profit, non-wage and non-career action for the well being of their neighbours, community or society at large (UNV, 2000; UNV, 1994).

Bell (1999) defines volunteering as an act that actually comes out of long established ancient tradition of sharing. As such, many communities have been linked by strong unwritten social packs where people have taken as a norm the imperative of sharing their skills, time, ideas and energy with their neighbours (Bell, 1999).

1.1.2 Local Meaning of Voluntarism

Geyhigon (2000) argues that a volunteer is a person who has responded to a call without being influenced or compelled to do so by others. He views present day voluntarism as having its roots in mutual social responsibility of African communities in the pre-colonial period that continued during the colonial and post-colonial independence periods mainly in the form of self-help (*Harambee)* and cooperative movements, and the activities of community based organizations.

Hyden (1995) contends that in Africa communal tasks were voluntary, and each mature individual was allocated specific functions where they performed for the general welfare of the society. In view of this, the concept of voluntarism is not new in Kenya but it has adapted to a changing economic environment.

New forms of voluntarism have emerged, including international volunteer organizations that have become a global phenomenon. Local and international volunteers who work with local volunteer organizations and even non-institutional ones make a significant contribution to development.

1.1.3 Voluntarism and Development

Salamon and Anheire(1999), point out the link between development and volunteerism in recent times. They postulate that recently, there has been a surge of interest throughout the world in social institutions that operate outside the confines of the market and the state, known variously as the "non profit", the "voluntary", and the "civil society". These institutions have attracted so much attention in recent years virtually in every part of the world owing to disappointments over the progress of state-led development in a significant part of the developing South.

The relationship between voluntarism and development is brought out by Thomas (2000) who, argues that development starts not from production (economic growth), but rather, from people and from human needs.
In this regard development implies increased living standards, improved health and well being for all, and the achievement of whatever is regarded as general good for society at large.

Thomas (2000) brings in another dimension of development to encompass not just combating or ameliorating poverty but restoring or enhancing basic human capabilities and freedoms. This is often seen in terms of participation and empowerment, particularly by NGOs that seek to promote participatory development at a local level (ibid). Sen (1999) argues that development has to be more concerned with enhancing the lives we lead and the freedoms we enjoy.

1.1.4 Voluntarism and Development in Kenya

In the 1970s there was the realization that the government lacked the capacity to deliver the development promised to the citizens. This was attributed to poor governance, mismanagement and international dependency (Mbatia 1996). Further, Mbatia contends that the lack of capacity by the state to deliver services efficiently resulted in an increase in non-state actors, for example church, self-help groups and cooperatives, which begun to provide some of the services. The perspective focusing on the state as the sole provider fails to recognize other actors such as the voluntary sector, which have emerged to fill the gap.

The state having failed, many communities are increasingly taking up the responsibility of running their affairs. Neighbourhood associations have come up to take security and cleaning responsibilities since the local authorities have failed to provide basic services to the people. There is also a proliferation of welfare based volunteer associations that assist people in organizing funerals, security matters, church functions and other welfare activities.

In the neo liberalization era, the states were urged to roll back from development space. The market forces through the structural adjustment programs plunged some Third World countries like Kenya into unprecedented poverty levels prompting UNICEF to cry for economic reforms with a human face (Thomas 2002). In Kenya the reforms meant decline in government spending on basic services and introduction of user fees in key sectors like health and education. The cost-sharing aspect eroded the gains that had been achieved in these sectors over the years. In view of this, there has been an emergence of the civil society to fill the gap between the people and the state.

However, Thomas (2000) points out that the NGO sector is not adequately funded to transform livelihoods on a large scale and most NGOs lack the capacity to be truly accountable to those they seek to assist. Overall, poverty reduction requires institutionalisation of volunteer effort and for services to be provided as a right rather than from good will.

In 1998, twelve civil society organizations in Kenya, in collaboration with the National Poverty Reduction Committee, came together and developed a draft set of basic rights, for incorporation into an expanded bill of rights within the new constitution of Kenya (Basic Needs are Basic Rights, Action Aid). This is where volunteers in the area of human rights come in to promote development. The government of Kenya, in the National Development Plan 2002 to 2004 recognizes the need for participatory development (GOK 2002).

Volunteering reduces the financial burden that falls on the government at a time when the economy is poor, foreign loans are not forthcoming, earnings from agricultural exports are dwindling and foreign investments is low (Gehyigon 2000.) However, this view does not imply that government should abdicate some of its responsibilities to volunteer institutions. Voluntarism should be seen as complementing government effort in development.

The contributions of volunteers to national development are significantly enormous yet they are not included in the Kenya national accounts. Few governments have attempted to collect systematic data on the extent of either voluntary activities or its economic value. On the local scene, not much study has been done in this area, and therefore it remains difficult to quantify volunteer contribution to development. (Gehyigon 2002)

It is generally agreed that, volunteers fill a gap in development by providing essential needed services to countries and institutions. This implies that voluntarism is necessary in the ever-increasing levels of poverty and social-economic problems, in the midst of the inability of local and central governments to deliver services to the people. The burden and challenges facing volunteers are immense and expensive. The essence in meeting these challenges is in understanding the nature and dynamics of volunteer work, and exploring perceptions about voluntarism in the country.

1. 2 Problem Statement

There exists a conflict in divergence of what voluntarism is and what it is perceived as. There are perceptions among the local people that volunteers such as the United Nations Volunteers (UNVs) are employed because they have skills in their respective areas of development and they enjoy benefits. Local road repairers (filling pot-holes) put up a sign indicating that voluntary work is in progress but they stop every vehicle and ask for money.

Gehyigon (2000) asserts that there are claims that local people and communities tend to dishonour volunteerism and say that volunteers waste their time, volunteers have nothing to do, volunteering has financial gain, and that volunteers are being compensated in some other ways.

There are other factors that pose a major challenge to voluntarism in Kenya. These include unemployment and social-economic vices like corruption and erosion of virtues such as honesty and trust as a consequence of modernization.

Some people use voluntarism as an opportunity for experience, which is a requirement in most firms for employment.

The outcome of the above is that people tend to make certain assumptions about voluntarism. For instance some people join volunteer work under the illusion that they stand to benefit rather than conviction that voluntarism is about self-sacrifice. There are perceptions that volunteers are disguised job seekers. The problem to contend with is that voluntarism can contribute positively to development, and it can also create dependency.

In view of the above, voluntarism is a difficult concept to define let alone understand. One would want to have an understanding as to why people volunteer. The problem is that not much information about voluntarism in the Kenyan context is documented. There is therefore need to explore the factors that influence people to volunteer in order to understand it.

Management of volunteers is not well understood in Kenya. Many organizations are not clear about the level at which they need the participation of volunteers in development. The issue of facilitation to enable volunteers to work is also not well understood in Kenya. The issue then becomes why this is the case.

Indeed a Kenya Red Cross volunteer, Ben Waweru (in a personal communication) asserts that projects that depend on volunteers pose the peculiar problem of sustainability, quality of volunteers and resources. The implication at another level is that each of the NGOs and organizations supported by volunteers has its own motivation, which the volunteers have to identify with. The issue then, is that, volunteering in development projects therefore entails detailed understanding of the concerns, interests and needs of volunteers

A gap however exists in volunteering and development when one considers how little understood the characteristics of volunteers is.

Yet another problem confronting voluntarism is that there has been a decline of the spirit of voluntarism. One may wonder if poverty has not been a contributing factor. For instance, even parents in the rural areas do not accept that children should work for nothing. At the other level of resources, the problem is that many parents are going through the agony of investing in their children's education and yet most of the time school graduates are unable to find jobs to generate income for their upkeep and the family.

Based on the problem stated above, the purpose of this study is to explore voluntarism and development in Kenya and perceptions about it among selected stakeholders.

1.3 The Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study was to explore perceptions of voluntarism and development in Kenya among selected stakeholders.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

The study explored the following factors:

1. The factors that influence voluntarism
2. The characteristics of volunteers
3. Sustainability of voluntarism in development.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions have been developed to guide the study:

1. What does voluntarism in Kenya involve?
2. What sorts of people volunteer?

3. What do people volunteer and how?

4. What factors promote voluntarism?

5. What constraints do volunteers face?

6. Is volunteer work recognized and appreciated?

7. How are volunteers recruited?

8. Which type of skills do volunteers have?

9 How are volunteers facilitated to work?

10 Are volunteers committed to volunteering?

1.5 Justification

This study is important for the following reasons: first, the study adds to the scholarly work and literature in the field. It also enriches development theory by demonstrating the place of voluntarism and its contribution to development. Indeed, Thomas (2000) postulates that it takes voluntarism to ensure that NGOs are accountable to those that they purport to assist in development.

Secondly, the study findings will contribute to the improvement of the practice of voluntarism given that they can be used in coming up with practical solutions to how volunteer work can be harnessed in development planning and management. The study is also intended to demystify voluntarism, which has to some extent been misunderstood.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

The study covers institutional volunteers (local and international) and non-institutional. It compares perceptions of local and international volunteers at institutional level. The study also gauges perceptions of non-institutional volunteers on voluntarism. One of the limitations of this study is that the sample of both institutional and non-institutional volunteers was small and was also confined to Nairobi due to limitation of resources.

1.7 Definition of Concepts

1.7.1 Voluntarism

Voluntary means action done willingly, without being forced and without payment. It also means deeds controlled or supported by people who give their money, service etc. Generally, a volunteer can be defined in broad terms as an individual who makes a non profit and non wage contribution for the well being of his/her neighbours, community or society at large.

The International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent volunteering policy defines Red Cross or Red Crescent volunteering as an activity that is done from free will, benefits vulnerable people and is organized by a National Society.

Bell (1999) argues that the act of volunteering as it is practised today comes from a pro-active model of behaviour borne out of the experience of empowerment, rather than a reactive model resulting from the notion of service delivery. It has been argued that people volunteer because they see the need for change and believe they can make a difference. Defining Volunteering is further compounded by the fact that it is also viewed as a transient intermittent activity.

1.7.2 Harambee

Harambee means pulling resources together to meet felt needs. Ng'ethe (1979) asserts that the word *harambee* came to be associated with group effort, regardless of the nature of the task to be performed. He also argues that at the same time the word came to be associated with the idea of "self-help", organized on group basis regardless of whether benefits were public or individual.

The meaning of *harambee* as a synonym for self-help effort has manifested itself in thousands of self-help projects throughout Kenya (Ng'ethe 1979).

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Literature Review

2.1. Shifts in Development Perspectives

Scholars of development, namely Cowen & Shenton (1996) and Colin Leys (1997) have labelled the second half of the 20th century as the era of development. Leys (1997), argues that development seen, as modernisation was the dominant paradigm in the 1950s and 1960s. This he argues, emanates from a world dominated by capitalist economies in which all aspects of modern industrial society is viewed as the basis of what development is trying to achieve.

Thomas (2000) postulates that western countries, which are quite modernized and developed, have undergone industrial revolutions, which have led to economic development (increase in production capacity and labour productivity) and as a result they now enjoy high per capita incomes. This phenomenon was not replicated in most of Africa, where development took the form of imperialism and colonization.

Sorensen (1993) points out that the traditional structures were discouraged in the Third World and a modern, industrial sector through investment, entrepreneurship, and the transfer of technology from the west was pursued. This was a reaction, which came with the dependency paradigm of the 1960s and early 1970s, in view of the fact that industrialization did not yield the expected fast economic development.

Alila and Omosa (1999) argue that before independence, and for about a decade after, the community development approach to development emerged based on the principle of modernization. They contend that it was wrongly assumed that rural lives would be transformed for the better by way of a trickle down of benefits of community development. Unfortunately what was witnessed was increasing poverty.

Schuurman (1989) propounds that after the development impasse, post modernists emerged and came up with the 'human-needs centred' development. Seers (1979), one of the leading proponents of 'human-needs centred' development outlines conditions for development as follows: low level of material poverty; democratisation of political life; 'true' national independence; good literacy and educational levels; relative equal status for women and participation by women; sustainability to meet future needs; and human security.

Korten (1995), an advocate of 'alternative development' contrasts 'growth-centred' with 'people-centred' vision of development. He contends that the survival of modern civilization will depend on society's commitment to an alternative development practice guided by three basic principals of authentic development: justice, sustainability and inclusiveness-each of which is violated by current practice. As argued earlier in the introduction, poverty reduction is the new approach to development.

Development involves a lot more than just economic growth. It includes volunteer effort towards self-reliance as demonstrated in Kenya during the 1960s and 70s. Voluntarism is missed out in people- centred development discourse. Indeed the place of voluntarism in development is not well understood in Kenya.

2.2.1 Operational Definition of Voluntarism

Voluntarism is a concept that has numerous conflicting definitions and perceptions. Gehyigon (2000) argues that different people look at it differently depending on their vantage points. Voluntarism is a humanitarian action that flows from compassion (ibid). It is that man or woman who has responded to a call without being influenced or compelled by others or some form of gain (ibid.).

Volunteers may benefit because of work experience and new contacts and relationships developed which can be beneficial in the long term. Volunteers work in the interest of peace and good will and, in so doing are indispensable to the functions of communities worldwide (ibid). A volunteer is a facilitator of a process.

Gooneratne and Mbilinyi (1992) argue that in the developing countries, confronted with growing poverty and economic stagnation or depression in the 1980s and early 1990s, self-reliance, which includes volunteer work, has been advanced as a viable alternative strategy to ' dependent development' and donor led 'structural adjustment'.

Bell (1999) further postulates that "reciprocity" seems to be the key word in understanding voluntarism as it was once in many cultures. It lies at the core of social action in civil society. We see this in the experience of the great challenges of our humanity today in: the aftermath of war, during natural disasters, when facing environmental degradation, and in dealing with crisis created by poverty and fear, like unemployment, underemployment, increased crime rates, corruption, substance abuse, homelessness and family breakdown (ibid).

This pathetic scenario is rampant particularly in Africa prompting Bell to propound that volunteer efforts have created a very important paradigm shift in development during the last decade.

At the World Volunteers Conference, 14-18th January, 2001, Amsterdam, the following were regarded as acts which constitute voluntarism: Absence of financial gain/coercion, altruism, non-compulsive (no obligation/force), public domain as opposed to private, joining together for collective action and collective enterprise. In view of this, voluntarism can therefore be regarded as offering of resources, time, energy, skill etc. without compensation for the general good of society.

It is argued that voluntarism in Kenya involves mutual aid or self-help, advocacy, participation and philanthropy. In this regard, there is need to find out perceptions about volunteerism and its contribution to development in the Kenyan context.

2.1.3 History of Voluntarism in Kenya

Voluntarism in Kenya as elsewhere in Africa can be traced to the pre-colonial period. During this period it was characterized by social-mutual responsibility which implies a mutual responsibility by society, and its members to do their best for each other with full expectations that when the society prospers, all its members shared in that prosperity.

The pre-colonial Kenyan society was an egalitarian one. Life was communally organized, with a social system that naturally required people to help their neighbours in major voluntary tasks that included hunting, territorial defence, search for agricultural and grazing land, livestock, rustling, handling of communal tragedies, attending to sick people etc (Gehyigon 2000).

Ng'ethe (1979) criticizes the Harambee approach for its failure to combine planning and implementation at local levels leading to a situation whereby rural changes have been imposed on the peasants. Some of the Harambee-initiated projects were abandoned before completion after the finances ran out. A major weakness with the Harambee projects is that they are not sustainable and as such cannot be entirely relied upon to meet basic needs.

This historical account indicates that Harambee as a form of voluntarism has had problems and does not necessarily lead to self-reliance. This therefore suggests that there is need to investigate voluntarism in the current Kenyan context and to assess its role in development.

2.1.4 New Forms of Volunteer Work

Institutionalised volunteering at local and international level has emerged in all sectors of development. Bell (1999) argues that in the last fifty years living has become considerably more complex enhancing practice of volunteer effort at the heart of civil society. She further contends that the world has changed and we now see a proliferation of volunteers working in voluntary organizations and people's movements. Volunteers are becoming the resource behind humanitarian and other development programs such as health care, environmental, human rights and gender programs.

Organizations that use volunteers such as the Red Cross, The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF), among others have existed for a long time. There has been a proliferation of other NGOs that use volunteers especially in the era of increased poverty and decline in provision of services. Ufadhili in Kenya, is one such organization whose mission is to create awareness and networks on philanthropy and voluntarism.

International Volunteer Organizations (IVOs) are a global phenomenon. In Kenya they include the United Nations Volunteers, US Peace Corps, Voluntary Services Oversees, German Development Services, Japanese Oversees Co-operation Volunteers, MS- Kenya, Red Cross Society, and Catholic Relief Services among others. Gehyigon (2000) asserts that they have invested huge amounts of resources in the country both human and material.

Mutsotso and Muyendo (2000) argue that, the involvement of IVOs in national development has increased with the proliferation of NGOs and CBOs who require volunteers to do development work in Kenya. They also assert that in a number of development areas, the Kenya government has handed over the responsibilities of delivery of services to IVOs. This is out of the realization that NGOs and CBOs are better placed to reach people than government (Mutsotso and Muyendo, 2000).

It is not clear why volunteers from the North offer their services in the South. Kamau (2000) points out that international volunteer organizations come from development assistance countries and that one of the reasons why they are here is to monitor utilization of their countries resources. Most of these organizations are in a crisis of identity, in that they are unable to define their roles, what they are, what impact they have made if any and whether they are still volunteer or professional organizations.

Kimemia (2000) asserts that the UNV's operations have expanded to include expertise of nationals in their respective countries in development and humanitarian programs. This expansion process has led to a steady growth for the need of National United Nations Volunteers (NUNVS) by many development partners in implementing several development initiatives in the Third World.

Further, Kimemia points out that, NUNVS are involved in activities in all sectors of society including, capacity building for CBOs and NGOs, support to community-based development initiatives and enhancement of local and traditional volunteer efforts and initiatives. An example of a local volunteer organization is the League of Kenya Women Voters (LKWV), which is concerned with civic education for women.

The United Nations General Assembly designated the year 2001 as the International Year of Volunteers. In 1999, the Annual Conference of Volunteers in Kenya was celebrated with a view to spreading awareness of the plight of volunteers and their contribution to development. The theme of the conference was "Voluntarism and Development in Kenya".

Gehyigon (2000) asserts that International Volunteer Organizations (IVOs) could play a leading role in the country's development especially, strengthening of the capacities of NGOs, CBOs and ordinary members of communities to ensure development.

Okawo and Peterson (2000) categorize these volunteers into: international volunteers who volunteer their services to the South, national volunteers who are professionals and local volunteers who are found in grassroots and have similar voluntary role in the traditional African society. Thus, IVOs are involved in all sectors of society.

Voluntarism in the form of Harambee and other traditional forms of self-reliance always existed in the African society and still play a crucial role in development. Institutionalisation of volunteerism has proliferated. The dynamics of the two institutions and their role in development in the current situation in Kenya is not documented.

2.2.5 Conclusion

The literature point out that voluntarism is encapsulated in the modern views of development. These include 'alternative development', 'people-centred development' and the very latest notion of poverty reduction. However there is a gap in the literature about the role of voluntarism in the modern context of development in Kenya.

The literature also points to the fact that perceptions about voluntarism are diverse and not clearly understood in the local context. It also reveals that characteristics of volunteers have remained largely the same from the pre-colonial days to the current times. The study seeks to explore the extent to which this is the case in the Kenyan context.

The literature also indicates that the state of affairs in development, with escalating conflicts around the world, and the state of increasing poverty in the developing world heighten the need for voluntary effort. Voluntary efforts have intervened in disaster situations and stepped in where the state has failed to deliver services to the citizens. Sustainability of voluntary effort in the local context is not clear and this study seeks to study it.

2.2   Theoretical Framework

This study is informed by the following concepts: civil society and associational life; institutional building and capacity building of voluntary organizations; and trusteeship.

2.2.1 The Civil Society and Associational Life

One of the concepts that inform this study is that of civil society and associational life, which is a product of voluntary effort.

Aina (1997) postulates that the civil society refers to the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self -supporting and autonomous from the state. It involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, exchange ideas, make demands on the state and hold officials accountable.

The civil society has been delineated as the arena between the state and the family but within the public domain in the form of association and movements. These associations include professional clubs, cultural groupings, church related groups, NGOs and urban residents associations. People choose to join associations voluntarily in order to address particular needs, which they cannot achieve alone (McCormick et. al., 2001).

Hyden (1995) argues that the United States is usually portrayed as the best example of a country with a strong sense of voluntarism. He asserts that Americans have often used such action not only to compliment government services but also to hold the state at bay. It is argued that the role played by groups such as churches, fraternal associations, community groups and civil organizations, is significant in the lives of Americans people.

He contends further that, they do for themselves through these voluntary efforts what people in other societies expect governments and the elite to do for them. He also propounds that, in fact, it may be Africa rather than North America that should be viewed as the continent where the tradition of voluntarism is more pronounced.

Hyden (1995) further asserts that in Africa there was no expectation that the king or the chief would provide welfare services for the population. People were expected to look after themselves.

He also asserts that owing to the weakening of the traditional structures of the extended family, compounded further by anomie, associational lives have emerged in urban areas. Associational life has gained prominence as people team up to provide services that the local and the central government have failed to deliver.

The civil society perspective seeks to focus on the role of society in understanding the problem of development and governance in Africa. The approach observes that the African state is embedded in society and therefore seeks to focus on the role of society in shaping the state. The perspective emphasizes the role of social institutions outside the market and the state, in development in African states.

Lakha (2000), argues that the civil society as a whole has come into view as an objective or a goal because of earlier success of new participatory approaches to development. He also asserts that in reviewing the new roles and inter-relationships of the three sectors of society- business, citizen and government, important social institutions such as indigenous philanthropy also need to be nurtured and enhanced.

Putman (1995), argues that decline in voluntary activity could lead to loss of social capital and a weakening of the civil society. According to Putman, social capital refers to 'features of social organizations such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitates co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit'.

In view of this, volunteers should perceive themselves as part of civil society and its ramifications. Indeed there has been a proliferation of voluntary organizations that are part of the civil society. These organizations are lacking in institutional capacity and moreover the management of volunteers poses problems that require streamlining.

2.2.2 Institutional Capacity Building for Voluntary Organizations Model

Scholars of development have been concerned with how the activities of non-state actors can generate sustainable flow of benefits. It is observed that increasingly, voluntary organizations are becoming key institutions in managing change for example in poverty reduction and provision of services and consequently influencing development thinking. This has led to a search for an approach to making voluntary organizations more effective with regard to their management and organization and linkages with development partners like governments, donors and CBOs.

The model that has emerged focuses on ensuring institutional effectiveness within the voluntary organizations as well as ensuring conducive environment for their operations (Clark, 1991). This model also recognizes that voluntary organizations are constantly growing and adapting to different circumstances. It therefore underscores the need for voluntary organizations to be led by vision, consistent pursuit of clear goals and mission as well as ability to learn from their experience (Clark, 1991). It therefore provides a framework for assessing organization progress and management of scarce resources as well as mechanisms through which effectiveness and sustainability of voluntary organizations can be ensured.

The model recognizes that voluntary organizations have a unique approach to management characterized by loose, informal and highly person centred and flexible organizational structures. They pose an orientation to basing decision making on feelings, intuition, consensus as well as careful analysis of alternative course of action (Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid 1988). Once voluntarism becomes institutionalised it is transformed into a trustee that operates on behalf of the people.

2.2.3 Trusteeship

In the light of the above the other concepts that inform this study is that of trusteeship, which has been a response to capitalism as conceptualised in the modernization theory. Trusteeship means that one agency is 'entrusted' with acting on behalf of the another, in this case to ensure 'development' on behalf of the other (Thomas, 2000). Traditional structures were discouraged and a modern industrial sector through investment, entrepreneurship, and transfer of technology from the West was promoted.

This did not yield the economic development expected. The dependency paradigm of the 1960s and 1970s was a reaction that came after this. In the 1970s the assumption that growth and industrialization would automatically solve the welfare problem was questioned (Sorenson 1993).

Cowen and Shenton (1996), argue that the modern idea of development was conceptualised during the early industrial capitalism in Europe. They point out that in the previous centuries, progress had been thought of as an immanent process in the sense that human society moved from a higher level of civilization, for example the historical movement of social systems through agrarian to commercial and industrial society.

These two scholars also argue that it is possible for development to happen out of decision and choice. They point out that when 'progress' moved to the state of industrial capitalism, poverty, unemployment and human misery threatened to bring about social disorder. This is when intentional development was invented and the concept of trusteeship became operational.

Cowen and Shenton identified the problem of development as one of trusteeship, 'who will take on the task of acting on behalf of the others to promote development" they ask. The very notion of intentional development requires development agencies to be taking on trusteeship roles in this way. The Harambee movement embodies the 'practices of indigenous form of trusteeship in post-colonial Kenya'. Further, they argue that self-help came to be regarded as complementing direct state financing of production and welfare.

At institutional or non-institutional level volunteers could be regarded as trustees in the sense that they ensure development on behalf of others. Guided by the concept of trusteeship, this study seeks to understand perceptions of volunteers about voluntarism, as agents of development.

In view of the above, the conceptual framework of the study is as follows: The concept of trusteeship is about someone doing development on behalf of the other. It is about the ability of the agency facilitating development on behalf of the other. Poverty reduction and provision of services are development targets. Volunteers are either agents of development or the link between development agencies and the beneficiaries of development.

Many community based development organizations have emerged to fill a gap in development space due to failure of the state machinery to provide basic services. These community- based organizations (CBOs) are part of the civil society and associational life, a phenomenon that is informed by the concept of civil society and associational life. Such voluntary organizations require capacity building. Once voluntary based organizations become institutionalised they become trustees and are therefore expected to contribute to the development of those that they purport to represent.

These three approaches will guide this study in understanding the place and role of voluntarism in development and how volunteer organizations should be managed.

CHAPTER THREE
STUDY METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter comprises five sub-sections, which focus on the methods employed in conducting the study. These subsections are: study site, sample design and sampling procedure, data collection, data analysis and constraints.

A qualitative research design was used that involved in-depth interviews of key informants and experts, and analysis of secondary data. The idea of qualitative research is to purposefully select informants, documents or visual material that will best answer the research question (Creswell, 1994). The use of qualitative methods helped to address the purpose of this study, which is to explore perceptions about voluntarism in development using selected stakeholders.

3.1 Study Site

The study site was Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya, where most of the local and international volunteer organizations have their headquarters. Nairobi is the administrative city of Kenya. As such, it is also the hub of key volunteer sending agencies. Nairobi being a fast growing urban area is beset by problems of urbanization due to the fact that over half of the population of Nairobi lives in slum areas.

This phenomenon has attracted a host of volunteer organizations that are involved in supporting communities in service provision and management. The target population in this study comprises institutional (international and local) volunteers through the program officers or heads of the agencies that utilize their services. Agencies that have projects in the rural areas were selected to include perceptions of

volunteers from the rural areas. Some of these organizations engage in projects in Nairobi and rural areas and use volunteers to implement them in Nairobi and rural areas.

The 12 local organizations selected for this study were:
The Kenya Community Development Foundation, Maendeleo Ya Wanawake, Ungana-AMREF, Hopescope International, The Seventh Day Adventist Church, The Kenya Red Cross, St. Johns Ambulance, The Kianda Foundation, The Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa, The Giants, The Young Women Christian Association (YWCA) and The United Nations Volunteers.

The other eight international organizations selected are:
The Rotarians, The International Federation of The Red Cross and Red Crescent, The German Development Service, The American Peace Corps, The Volunteer Service Organization, The Catholic Relief Services, The Norwegian Church Aid Agency, and The Round Table of East Africa.

The study also targeted non-institutional volunteers. These included experts who are knowledgeable about volunteering and contribute to volunteering to capture perceptions across the board.

This research coincided with the First East African Conference on Philanthropy and Volunteerism on June 7 – 8 2002, which the researcher was privileged to participate in. This provided additional data, for the study. Some participants were interviewed as key informants. At the same time the study benefited from ideas raised and discussions by participants from the region.

3.2 Sampling Design and Sampling Procedure

This study is exploratory. Non-probability sampling methods are used in studies that seek to explore ideas that are still undeveloped (Baker, 1998). Baker also asserts that a purposive sample is a form of a non-probability sampling in which the subjects selected seem to meet the study's needs.

The study selected a purposive sample that comprises eight international volunteer organizations and twelve local organizations on the basis of the organization's involvement in development work.

The researcher used the Ufadhili Resource Centre for Voluntarism and Social Responsibility, to access most of the local volunteer organizations. The researcher purposively selected twelve local volunteer organizations that are involved in volunteer work. This comprises slightly below half of the local organizations that are enlisted at the Ufadhili Resource Centre. The eight international volunteer organizations were selected from the Directory of Volunteer Organization. This comprises thirty percent of all the organizations listed.

Baker (1998) argues that a snowball sample is built from the subjects suggested by previous subjects. She also contends that the subjects have to be characterized by the qualities you seek, interview them, and then ask them for names of other people whom they know who have the same qualities that interest you. Snowball sampling technique might lead a researcher from one expert to another.

This study also selected a snowball sample of six experts who are volunteers and at the same time knowledgeable about volunteerism. Among these, two of the experts interviewed were involved in voluntary based development projects in the rural areas. The researcher talked to one of the experts interviewed who recommended two other experts, knowledgeable on volunteering. The researcher met one more expert at the Ufadhili Conference, who in turn recommended two more experts.

3.3 Data Collection

This study utilizes both primary and secondary data sources. Baker (1998) postulates that many social researchers do not collect their own primary data. Instead they design studies to reanalyse data that has already been collected. This kind of research is referred to as secondary data analysis (Baker, 1998). She also states that available data is found in the form of printed materials, visual or recorded materials, or artefacts that are of interest to the researcher.

Secondary data was obtained from various research findings, publications, documents from the NGOs interviewed, presentations and group discussions during the Ufadhili Conference and the Ungana – AMREF workshop on volunteerism.

Primary data was gathered through interviews with key informants from the various organizations that use volunteers and knowledgeable experts. It formed part of the themes discussed in chapter four.

An interview guide (see Appendix I) was used for data gathering in this study. It included the key research questions based on the objectives of the study.

3.4 Data Analysis

Information collected was categorized into themes in line with the research objectives. Analysis of data was based on synthesis of field interviews, literature reviewed and theoretical framework with interpretation and generalizations under the themes.

3.5 Constraints

In the course of gathering data, the researcher encountered difficulties in trying to separate information on factors that influence voluntarism and characteristic of volunteers. Information on the two objectives over-lapped. The majority of respondents felt that information on characteristics of volunteers was adequately covered by factors that influence volunteerism.

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses research findings of the study. Analysis in this section covers the following themes: perceptions of volunteerism, factors that influence volunteerism and characteristics of volunteers, practices of voluntarism and desirable practices in voluntarism.

4.1 Perceptions of Voluntarism

Findings from the study indicate that perceptions about volunteering are diverse and that volunteering is a multi-faceted phenomenon. It came out quite clearly that there are conflicts in perceptions about voluntarism. Perceptions about voluntarism are further compounded by the fact that it is viewed as a transient intermittent activity.

The study confirmed that voluntarism is largely perceived as wanting to help. Most of the respondents' perceptions of volunteering coincide with those in the literature reviewed. Findings from the study indicate that volunteers are sometimes viewed as idle people who could easily be converted into low labour to maximize output in certain organizations.

There are differences and similarities between perceptions of local and international volunteers. Findings indicate that in both categories, there are those who are authentic and those who are inauthentic. Sometimes international volunteers are not sure what they are doing or why they are going away when they offer themselves to volunteer. They think that it is adventurous and exotic and therefore they may not rationalize through it.

In such circumstances it has nothing to do with being committed. In the local situation, some of those who offer to volunteer seem not to know what it is all about. Many of them volunteer because there is nothing else to do. It's a way of overcoming idleness and meaninglessness in life.

Findings also show that similarly some international volunteers offer themselves in search for meaning in life. They could be disillusioned about life back home and want to work for a worthy cause. Volunteering probably offers some form of escapism. Some international volunteers offer themselves as volunteers to distinguish themselves by their resumes, sometimes to get to Foreign Service.

Others want to appear to be humanitarian because it is a distinction that makes them appear broadminded. In such circumstances therefore volunteering is for purposes of self-interest. Similarly, a few local volunteers offer themselves as volunteers hoping that it will translate into a job or a consultancy.

In view of this, one could deduce that, voluntarism is also driven by poverty, desperation, or, purely, by greed. Findings also reveal that among international volunteers are technical workers masquerading as volunteers, essentially with an agenda to monitor the technical assistance kitty given by their home countries. Some workers volunteer because their countries are willing to bring them over to work, while at the same time, it gives them an opportunity to act as disguised tourists in those parts of the world that they volunteer.

The study reveals that in the West volunteering is related to a rite of passage. Military service has been outlawed and it has been replaced by volunteer work. People, who qualify for the American Peace Corps mission, go through rigorous testing to qualify. Many of them fall in the category of committed volunteers.

The study also reveals that the yard sticks for voluntarism is different in different contexts. In the West, when volunteers are called upon for assistance, for instance, the Swiss Red Cross, they turn up with their own support and donations.

Here in Kenya, many people even the working classes, who offer to volunteer, ask for sitting allowances for attending meetings. They expect a little more than just transport and food allowance. To them the returns should be more or less like being employed. Local volunteers argue that their counterparts abroad are better paid.

Findings indicate that in the North, volunteers offer their labour and professional services but they are usually provided with logistical support. International volunteers who offer their services to the South are supported sometimes financially in order for them to be fully functional. Many people associate voluntarism with people who have resources because that is the traditional impression. It is argued that some people volunteer because they can afford it.

In view of the above, one could conclude that perceptions about voluntarism are as diverse as the players involved. It is also dependent upon the circumstances volunteers find themselves in.

4.2 Factors that Influence Voluntarism and Characteristics
Of Volunteers

A predominant theme that emerged from the findings is the factors that influence volunteerism and characteristics of volunteers. Factors that influence volunteerism are varied and are inter-linked. The study also found out that the factors that influence voluntarism are closely related to the characteristics of volunteers.

This theme is expounded under the following sub-themes: religious based voluntarism, voluntarism as social responsibility, voluntarism for humanitarian reasons, and voluntarism for publicity.

4.2.1 Religious based Voluntarism

Most religious institutions have established development projects. Religious commitment is a strong motivation to voluntarism. For example, giving of themselves, their time and resources by the devout stems from their deep religious orientation. Giving alms is part of the Muslim worship. The Hindu believes in the 'Dhama' concept that means people came into this world with nothing and they will die with nothing. This is justification for volunteering part of their resources.

A good example is the Ratanssi Educational Trust, which was given as a gift to the Kenya government to educate destitute children. Dr. Ratansi who is the custodian of the Trust, argues that charity should be an obligation. He attributes this attitude to a spiritual awakening that is guided by the following belief, " If God has given you more than you need, be it money or talent, you are only a trustee. Use what you need and give the rest to the people around you".

Other Asian communities like the Chandaria, Vohra, Rahimtulla Trust, the Aga Khan Foundation, the Giants Federation of Kenya, the Association of Round Tables in Eastern Africa (ARTEA) engage in major voluntarism in the form of charity, as part of their religious commitment.

The study found out that religious activities attract volunteers. For instance in Kenya, the voluntarism offered towards building, maintaining and cleaning churches and mosque is enormous. A survey conducted by the Indian Centre for Philanthropy, revealed that::

> " Christians worship together as a congregation every Sunday as well as other important days when a collection is made for charitable purposes, and devotees are encouraged to give for humanitarian work by missionaries or other organizations. It is also known that the tradition of giving for organized humanitarian service is more deeply ingrained in Christian religious practice" (Indian Centre for philanthropy, 2001).

This position is supported by the activities of organizations such as the Catholic Relief Services and the Norwegian Church Aid organization among others.

Another example in support of religious voluntarism is the Ismailia, a community that gives generously to the Aga Khan Foundation. Mr. Yusuf Keshavjee, the Chairman of the Aga Khan Council of Kenya, attributes charity to social capital, which he argues is key to philanthropy in that it strengthens dignity and self-reliance. Mr. Keshavjee, asserted that the greatest asset in the Ismailia community is compassion, warmth and willingness to work together. These attributes, he argues, have kept the community humane. He however was quick to point out that like any other community, they too were susceptible to nepotism and corruption.

Prince and File (1994) contend that volunteering by the devout is a characteristic that stems from their deep religious orientation and emanates from a felt obligation. Religious voluntarism in Kenya constitutes a large part of volunteering. It has translated to intervention in many needy situations such as disasters caused by war, natural calamities and disease prevention and provision of education among others.

Findings indicate that within the Kenyan context, religiously driven development activities pull volunteers. The Catholic Church is an example of incorporating development projects in the mainstream of religious activities. There are other numerous religious organizations that support development projects initiated by religious organizations.

4.2.2 Voluntarism as Social Responsibility

The study found out that in African societies, a key element of the social structure is mutual social responsibility. Informal massive voluntarism at the grassroots is a way of life based on community and not just kinship. It encompasses duty to the extended family, communalism like the Ujamaa of Tanzania, and the Kenyan concept of Harambee. It also includes communal self-help. Examples of these are: assistance in the form of 'weeding gangs' and 'merry-go-rounds' where people pull together to help each other towards self-reliance.

The African philosophy is that 'you are your brother's keeper'. A similar phenomenon in the urban set-up is welfare and neighbourhood associations. These associations provide coping mechanisms in the face of poverty and also fill the gap left by inadequate provision of basic services by the local and central government.

The concept of common good is ingrained in traditions and it is practiced more by the older generation. The norm of reciprocity is also evident in people who have been needy hence the spirit of harambee. They feel indebted to give back in appreciation.

Finding from the study also shows that in development or the spirit of oneness is another motivating factor. It is manifested in a sense of shared humanity. People contributed welfare for the good of all so that the entire community could move together without living any disadvantaged people behind. In other words it is a feeling of sharing or communal obligation to improve the quality of life in the village.

An illustration of this is individuals who start community based-organizations (CBOs) to meet a need for the good of the wider community. An example of such a venture is efforts to conserve common resources or property. An illustration of this is communities fighting against encroachment on forests. Underlying these examples is a survival tactic that revolves around some leadership based on voluntary action to steer the community.

This leadership is based on willingness to sacrifice, which is the essence of voluntarism. Once a community is steered into action, their efforts could be sustainable in the sense that they feel they own the process, identify with it and consequently strive to keep it going.

The study also shows that the erosion of culture in the African community has resulted to destruction of communalism. Attitudes have changed and the concept of voluntarism has also changed in the Kenyan context hence the need to evaluate Kenyan voluntarism in its own context.

Another finding with regard to social responsibility is concern for the desperate situation people find themselves in. A case in point is the many dilapidated old schools that need refurbishment, schools that were previously funded by the government and community. People are tired of waiting for government to take action, resulting to old boys and girls of certain schools volunteering their time and money to mobilize local resources to refurbish schools. Such people are driven by a sense of common good.

Noble ventures such as the above-mentioned have however been marred by misappropriation of funds collected through voluntary action. This raises the question of trust, an issue that is paramount in volunteering because the lack of it discourages voluntarism as will be discussed later.

Findings from the study also reveal that some volunteers have had some experience that changed their life, an experience, which created in them a feeling of obligation or gratitude. These experiences revolve around educational institutions and medical needs. Such volunteers do not seek recognition for themselves; they are appreciative and sensitive to their reasons for being philanthropic.

The African religion, culture and the concept of mutual social responsibility have been interfered with by problems brought by westernisation, for instance, the attitude of individualism. In Africa the welfare of the community was paramount and transcended the individual. Economic changes and demands on individuals are competing with the principle of common good.

Consequently, individuals will address their own problems before they can assist kinsmen. On the other hand, factors related to poverty have adversely affected the traditional structures. The money culture has also interfered with the traditional idea of volunteering.

Findings also reveal that voluntarism in the traditional sense in Kenya is still largely a way of life in Kenya. After waiting for government or someone else to implement development projects people have opted to volunteer towards initiating their own development projects. This largely explains the mushrooming of the numerous CBOs and welfare associations based on voluntary effort. This compares with the African traditional voluntarism reflected in the literature.

In the local scene, people volunteer to demonstrate a sense of shared humanity. Individuals are genuinely touched by the magnitude of a crisis like the Nairobi bomb blast where scores of people volunteered their resources, time and donated blood until others were turned away. It would appear that appeals such as these, are responded to in a heartfelt way, and generate so much support and make money available but ironically such money is not generated for sustainable livelihoods.

The study shows that among the local volunteers are project implementers who are motivated by improving provision of services to communities. They desire to do development in a way that makes a difference. There are other volunteers who are motivated by the experience of deprivation, which cause pain and anguish. This leads to community service.

A respondent observed that, nobility of voluntarism stems from the philosophy that to live at the highest level of what it means to be human is to be able to transcend personal needs to attend to the needs of others.

4.2.3 Volunteering for Humanitarian Reasons

Findings reveal that there are people and among them professionals who believe in humanitarianism. An example of such people is the many volunteers who came forth during the USA Embassy bomb blast in Kenya.

The Red Cross volunteers worldwide are driven by humanitarian reasons – to give relief to victims of disaster, accidents, wars etc. 90 per cent of the participants in the Freedom from Hunger Walk, volunteer to raise funds for humanitarian reasons and a feeling that it is a worthy cause. Many people empathize with the suffering of others. For others, it is a combination of compassion and being equipped with first aid skills.

Among volunteers are individuals who have made it financially and feel obliged to share what they have with others. In schools like Kianda and Starehe Boys Center, voluntarism is part of learning. One of the experts interviewed feels that the most ideal situation in volunteering is being motivated by the desire to offer services for its own sake, which is rather philosophical.

Findings from the study also reveal that some volunteers are driven by self-sacrifice while others are moved by group psychology and there are also those who seek self-actualisation. Yet others desire to become agents of change in their communities. Other findings indicate that the question of commitment is the key personal internal drive. Another observation that emerged is that people who are driven by personal gain cannot actually be volunteers. There are other volunteers who are charismatic. It is argued that the success of volunteer work depends on the good name behind it.

For instance, the heart specialists who are founders of the Heart to Heart Foundation are able to attract and influence volunteers to give

their resources, time and skills. Cardiologists are very busy people and contrary to the hypothesis that - volunteers are idle people, volunteers are sometimes very busy people.

Another example is the group of surgeons who coordinate the program that organizes to get surgeons from abroad to correct the cleft lip deformity among children. There is a category of volunteers who are not interested or motivated towards volunteering but volunteer because they are asked to do so. As pointed out in the literature review, volunteering for humanitarian reason is one of the challenges of humanity today. It is seen in the consequences of war, natural disasters, and crisis created by poverty. The role of voluntary effort as demonstrated by organizations such as the Red Cross is enormous.

At the individual level, among those who are serious about voluntarism, when the act of volunteering is the right thing to do, it generates satisfaction and benefits become incidental. Findings from the study also indicate that some volunteers from the West are shocked to a point of feeling guilty by disaster scenes, like the Ethiopian famine. On the other hand there are those who are motivated by compassion making them to have a sense of mission work. This has on many instances translated into institutionalisation of voluntarism.

4.2.4 Voluntarism for Publicity

Voluntarism for publicity also emerged as a finding from the study. One of the experts interviewed asserted that sometimes it becomes difficult to split hairs with regard to the motive behind voluntarism. For example, the Heart to Heart Foundation in Kenya is a success story of volunteering because of the name of the people behind it -- the "Gikonyos", who are prominent heart specialists in Kenya. They may have started the venture for humanitarian reasons.

On the other hand, there are downright publicity seekers like the politicians who most of the time, volunteer to gain political mileage. Commercial organizations are in many instances driven to volunteer by corporate image building and commercial promotion motives. In view of the above it would then appear that craving for publicity is also a strong motivation for voluntarism. Forums for publicity could be used to encourage voluntarism, for example towards endowment funds by the private sector.

The factors that influence volunteering are varied and diverse as the perceptions. Characteristics of volunteers are closely related to the motivations that influence volunteering. However the management and sustainability of volunteer work is a domain that needs to be developed.

CHAPTER FIVE
EMERGING ISSUES AND GENERAL DISCUSSION

5.0 Management and Sustainability of Volunteer Work

5.1 Introduction

Findings from the study indicate that the greatest challenge and constraint in voluntary work is management and sustainability, including inadequate resources as well as human resources. Development projects that use volunteers for implementation face peculiar problems of management of volunteers, accountability, credibility and trust with regard to finances. Volunteers offer diverse resources and abilities. This partly explains the lack of follow up of services offered by volunteers.

5.1.1 Policy Issues

Findings from the study indicate that the concept of policy is non-existent in the world of volunteering. Policy issues like whether money generated from volunteer work should be taxed have not been addressed adequately. Endowment funds for charity or community development projects may be sustainable but the administration of the funds poses problems. Related to this is the issue of ethics surrounding voluntarism.

From the findings it came out quite clearly that the voluntary sector in East Africa had no legal definition and that voluntary organizations in Kenya were registered under the NGOs Act. In view of this, there is dire need for policy and legal framework that would facilitate voluntarism.

One expert indicated that volunteers within certain organisations do not volunteer for more than four hours a day because it is against labour laws to do so. Volunteers, who work for 20 hours a week he argued can demand for payment and be protected by the law. Other experts contradict this statement, thus there is indication therefore for policy to address the issue of volunteer hours and benefits.

5.2.1 Recruitment and Training of Volunteers

Findings from the study indicate that some of the volunteer organizations train and induct their volunteers to prepare them for the work ahead. Some volunteers are professionals in the area they work in for example counselling, teaching, and nursing among others.

Some of the International organizations like the Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO) build the capacity for their volunteers before they engage them in work. Many of the organizations interviewed train their volunteers on the job. According to the Red Cross, volunteers are recruited to carry out specific tasks. Successful volunteer recruitment is the result of striking a balance between the needs of the beneficiaries, the organization and the volunteers.

Within the Red Cross, learning from the nineties concluded that the movement had difficulties in recruiting and retaining volunteers and noted a significant decrease in their numbers. This is a complaint that is also reflected in many other voluntary organizations. This indicates that there are difficulties in recruiting and retaining volunteers.

5.1.3 Management of Volunteer work

Findings from the study indicate that institutions that use volunteers to implement their projects, in most case have problems emanating from conflicts between the paid workers and the volunteers. Most of the local volunteer organizations have two structures –one for volunteers and one for paid staff. This creates major obstacles in leadership and organization. For example, within St.Johns Ambulance, separation of the operational structures from the administrative structure sometimes leads to conflict. Usually the staff members are perceived as enemies of the volunteers, because of lack of flow of information.

It is therefore important to have controls. In many instances the administration don't want the volunteers to know how much has been given by donors. Volunteers who offer their services to institutions sometimes burn out and feel misused if their expectations are not met. The red tape in organizations could also be killing the morale of the volunteers. There is need for openness because voluntarism could reduce significantly.

Findings from the study indicate that there is plenty of volunteer resource but the problem is how to tap it. The majority of respondents felt that it is difficult to run an organization on voluntary basis. One of the experts interviewed asserted that there is therefore need for voluntary organizations to have a working secretariat to mobilize and manage volunteers to work like a business. Indeed the greatest challenge for these organizations is to link the volunteer who is willing to work and the one who donates resources.

Findings also indicate that there is a correlation between well-managed organizations and outputs. To ensure sustainability there has to be bureaucracy, establishment of logistics and incentives to attract volunteers. This translates to the need for capacity building in organizations that use volunteers. The Kenya Red Cross is trying to build the capacity of other national level societies. Maendeleo Ya Wanawake has also been grappling with the same issue at the grassroots.

The study also reveals that in order for volunteer work to be sustainable in development, the management of volunteer organizations is critical. The study also shows that there is need to ensure effective management of volunteer organisations. Box 1 summarises the issues that should be instituted within Institutions that are volunteer-based

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Box 1

Summary of institutional Issues

- Crafting very clear objectives, clearly defined tasks and roles for volunteers, and mechanisms of keeping volunteers updated on the activities of the organizations.
- Planning the tasks and roles for the volunteers; coordinating the structures for the volunteer; ensuring that there are controls like effective communication channels; evaluation and monitoring; remuneration of the paid staff; and looking into policy to guide voluntarism which includes facilitation for work and incentives.
- Identification of the projects that require input of voluntarism and coming up with a vision and mission.
- Identifying the priority needs in the community.
- Organizing the structure of work, decision-making and managing of the programme.
- Introducing a participatory approach to the implementation of the projects and
- Management of resources.

The study shows that most of the institutions that engage volunteers in their projects for example St. Johns Ambulance and the UNVs do not involve them in the management. This is attributed to the myriad problems encountered between volunteers and the paid workers as discussed earlier. Other handicaps include incoherence, duplication of projects and piecemeal interventions, which are problems of development.

However, at the Red Cross, volunteers are found in many different roles at all levels: national, regional, and branch/local. They are active in policy-making, monitoring, management and administration, organizing and delivering services/programs, fundraising, and advocacy, giving advice and solving problems.

5.1.4 Institutionalising Volunteer Work

Availability of financial resource to facilitate volunteers to work is a point that came out quite strongly in this study. An illustration is a project of the Seventh Day Adventist Church in collaboration with the Department of Agricultural Engineering University of Nairobi. Box 2 illustrates this point

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Box 2

Project Title: On the Job Placement

Project Location: Department of Agricultural Engineering, University of Nairobi

Project Content: The staff and students are involved in a on the job placement of students. Students are encouraged to work with farmers in order to appreciate their problems. The program facilitates student skills, experience and confidence.

Remarks: This project is based on a concept of recruiting the many idle graduates of agriculture and engineering on volunteer basis to assist farmers and in turn gain work experience.

Source: Field Survey 2002

This project is based on a concept of recruiting the many idle graduates of agriculture and agricultural engineering on volunteer basis to assist farmers and in turn gain work experience. The project is based on the following framework: In the agricultural sector, old professionals and farmers could volunteer facilities for internship to transfer hands-on experience to the young graduates that would be willing to volunteer to work. This means calling upon professional expertise to avail itself to supervise volunteers to assist farmers. The issue of facilitation comes in. The farmer might need some incentive to accommodate the volunteer on internship.

The volunteer (intern) would need subsistence allowance while the professional (supervisor) would need some honorarium to facilitate the process. Facilitation has to do with the following three factors: institutional framework; professional accountability; and financial resources.

In view of the above, there should be a clear distinction between interns and volunteers. Respondents also felt strongly that raising funds and endowments was a viable option for facilitating volunteers to work. However, one of the experts interviewed from the Kenya Red Cross asserted that facilitation funds are being discouraged within the Red Cross because they kill the community spirit. Within the Red Cross at the national societies' level, the presence of the Red Cross has to be at the community (villages) level structured in such a way that there is a community leader to co-ordinate the role of volunteers.

Most people think that volunteering is a cheap alternative to paid staff, but volunteers can offer greater value, quality and opportunities than paid staff. Volunteering should not be seen as an alternative to paid staff, nor staff seen as an alternative to volunteers. They are complementary,

one increasing the value and power of the other. An example of this is indicated in Box 3 following

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Box 3

According to <u>Strategy 2010</u> of the Red Cross, the Red Cross and Red Crescent movement has approximately 100 million members and volunteers worldwide. Of these, an estimated 20 million donate their time to national societies, which often deliver their services by means of volunteers. Volunteers help to strengthen communities by learning skills and developing social ties. Voluntarism is a way of helping communities build capacity to cope with crisis.

The impact of volunteering on development should be intervention in the form of good governance towards basic service delivery and creating an enabling environment for private sector and community driven development. The private sector should have social responsibility in wealth generation. The voluntary sector should be enabled and locally rooted so that ultimately it is a strong, locally driven, civil society.

Source: Field Survey

5.1.5 Sustainability of Volunteer Work

Findings also reveal that inadequate resources for program implementation, defining original structures in terms of goals, hamper sustainability of voluntary based organizations, decline of donor funding, insecurity in various regions, and human resource capacity building.

According to the UNV programme officer, the UNV project is sustainable because it is funded by the UNDP, and it is cost effective in that the UNVs reach the grassroots. UNDP programmes are delivered by UNVs in 23 districts in Kenya, involving programs on HIV/AIDS, good governance, gender and poverty alleviation.

However, like everything else, it has its own peculiar problems. Some UNVs leave when they are needed most. Many people are attracted to it because the allowances given are equivalent to a fairly good salary, and better than what equivalent grades earn by local standards.

Findings indicate that sustainability of volunteer work entails the issue of facilitating volunteers to be functional. Most of the respondents suggested that various forms of fund-raising especially endowments were a solution to the sustainability of volunteer work. In this regard, experts interviewed observed that certain difficulties arise pertaining to the question of credibility and trust in the management of the public funds.

Facilitation for volunteer work is a crucial issue that emerged from the findings of this study, across the board. The study found out that facilitating volunteers to work is one of the difficulties of the sustainability of volunteer's work.

Barten argues that the voluntary sector can be strengthened by: self-regulation, local accountability, transparency-through impact and communication, leadership, management and governance, local resource mobilization, recognition of major contribution to a just and equitable society. The revival of local philanthropy is not a justification for: decreasing foreign aid; dropping our quest for debt relief; and more favourable terms of trade. These are critical but not at the expense of a voluntary sector that is locally owned and locally rooted".

5.1.6 Incentives for Voluntarism

Findings also indicate that payment of allowances, tokens of appreciation and incentives for volunteers should not be taken as negative. The need for recognition in human beings can activate giving. Human beings respond well to giving therefore small incentives like certificates and medals could go a long way in promoting voluntarism.

Findings indicate that laws should be fashioned to encourage people to give by offering tax deductions to people who give. Eshiwani (2002), argues that there are countries that were already doing this and that donations can also be in form of property. He gives the example of the U.S.A where donors get tax exemptions. There is also need for policies that recognize donors, so that people give to institutions recognized by the law.

5.2 The Desirable Practices in Voluntarism
5.2.0 Introduction

The study also suggests that there are practices that are desirable in voluntarism. To ensure sustainability the management capacity is crucial. To do good you must be good. The management should bring in skills and time and not just money. Skills and time is a voluntary resource that should be nurtured.

Findings from the study suggest that the problems of management and institutionalising voluntarism encountered in the current practice in institutionalised voluntarism could be overcome. The Executive Director of St. Johns Ambulance, in her presentation at the Ungana/AMREF Workshop pointed out that these problems could be overcome by: use of locally available resources; government support; creation of an atmosphere of individual growth and motivation; income generating projects; and development and utilization of members skills.

Moreover there is need to ensure that only 30 percent of the resources go to the administrative costs, so that 70 per cent of the resource is channelled to the core business - the programmes.

The study also shows that it is also important to draw a well-defined management structure. One of the experts interviewed suggested that there is urgent need to come up with guidelines that could assist volunteer organizations run efficiently. Yet another finding is that there is also need to develop a framework that could enable the huge resource base of retirees to identify what they can do to develop their villages.

5.2.1 Strengthening Local Volunteer Institutions

Findings indicate institutionalising volunteer work is one of the channels through which volunteers could contribute to development. Voluntarism should be institutionalised at the local level for purposes of easy management and impact. These institutions need to be strengthened, enabled and supported to mobilize and get volunteers to do development work at the grassroots. This entails rallying people behind something they identify with. Such a venture would ease pressure on an individual.

The study reveals the issue of governance and who to entrust with the institution would have to be addressed. Some form of organization is needed and probably opinion leaders or retirees could play the custodial role on behalf of the community.

During the Ufadhili Conference, Ambassador Mukwizi presented a local example of a volunteer organization at the grassroots -the KAWE Community project, based in Tanzania. The strategy of this project provides a good lesson for people interested in starting such projects. Box 4 illustrates the vision.

Box 4

"The strategy of the project includes five key elements: The first strategy is an inclusive plan with a vision, objectives and ethics that all leaders and residents of KAWE can share and uphold. It was also deemed necessary to garner concerted leadership by consulting elders, religious leaders, local government leaders, women and youth group leaders, professionals, and all development conscious residents

Volunteers (one of them Ambassador Mukwizi) have offered dedicated service to the community through out the project cycle including at the conceptual planning, implementation and management level. This was very critical for the project to take off and the challenge in this regard was to enhance, expand and sustain this service. There was also the need initially to use locally owned resources as a basis for internally driven community development. There is also the need for supportive partnerships, which have been demonstrated by KAWE community leaders and the central government.

Towards this end the project has benefited from sponsorship by Waldorf Education Trust, and from Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA). Of significance is the role of Akiba commercial bank in helping to establish Kawe Community Bank through which empowerment of the community was becoming a reality".

This example illustrates that time has come for governments to stop looking outward for assistance. It is time the Kenyan society revived what has worked well in volunteering in the pre-independence and post-independence era and institutionalises it.

Source: Presentation by Ambassador Mukwizi at the Ufadhili-Conference

5.2.2 Endowment Funds and Partnerships in Voluntarism

Facilitation for volunteers to be functional then appears critical to institutionalising volunteer work. Findings indicate that endowments were seen as a solution to the problem of facilitating volunteers to work.

Findings from the study indicate that endowments are perceived as the answer to facilitation of volunteer work. Endowments are permanent funds. Box 5 illustrates this view.

Box 5: An Interview

Interviewee: Monica Mutuku, Director, Kenya Community Development Foundation (KCDF)

Place of Interview: Nairobi

Issues raised: Mutuku, asserts endowments are critical for sustainability in development projects work for the low-income communities. Findings suggest that setting up endowment funds lead to financial self-reliance. The management of these funds poses a challenge. In particular, it is challenging to start endowments in a state of economic decline. Although charity cannot take priority over survival, people have to make a choice between basic pressing needs and investing into the future. Endowments have to be presented in ways that are attractive to convince people that they can be of use to them.

Source: Field Survey

The study findings indicate that the process of formalizing giving poses cultural problems. The challenge is therefore how it can be done in culturally acceptable ways. Endowment funds involve investment policies, minimizing risks, ethical issues. The question of image and credibility (discussed later) has to be factored in, in order to attract people to invest with endowment funds.

The Kenya Community Development Foundation (KCDF) is engaged in building permanent endowments towards community development by promoting philanthropy in the form of cash, material, time and skills. The aim of KCDF is to encourage corporate, individuals and trusts to raise funds to support volunteer efforts in order to steer Kenya away from dependency.

The Ratanssi Educational Trust is another example of an endowment fund. Dr. Ratanssi, one of the key informants interviewed said that his father donated two plots worth Ksh. 200 million to the Kenya government. The buildings on the plots today generate an endowment fund of Kshs.15 million annually.

There is dire need to establish partnerships, for example, tapping the corporate sector for endowments. Towards this end the voluntary sector could urge the private sector to donate funds for the sake of good corporate responsibility. The concept of partnerships is key in development. The Red Cross practices the concept of partnerships, internationally. This is illustrated, by the support the Africa Chapter, received after the Ouagadougou Declaration, at the 5th Pan African Conference, held during 21-25 Sep, 2000, by the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, at Burkina Faso, with 52 delegates from African Red Cross societies. Part of the commitments was building up National Societies capacities for improved management, coaching and support of their volunteers and branch networks (Ouagadougou, 25th September 2000).

An example of regulation of the voluntary sector is the Charity Commission responsible for regulating charities in England and Wales, as well as providing support for them and helping to promote their profile and values. Its objectives are to help charities use their resources more effectively and to ensure that the public's trust in charities continue to be justified (Charity Commission website)

5.2.4 The Ideal Practices

Battern sums up the ideal, in terms of the desirable practices in volunteerism.He notes that at the heart of volunteering are empowerment, self-determination, and community-driven sustainability of development processes, people's institutions, and good governance. New emphasis on local philanthropy is needed in the light of:

- The modern era of globalisation (post '89);
- Decline of communism and end of cold war;
- Changing paradigms of development;
- Emphasis on market forces changing role of national governments;
- Reliance on private sector; and
- Emphasis on voluntary sector and community initiative

CHAPTER SIX
Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusions

This study set out to specifically explore perceptions about voluntarism among selected stakeholders. The study's findings on perceptions of voluntarism coincide with what is in the literature to the effect that volunteering is largely perceived as wanting to help. However perceptions about it in the Kenyan context suggest that it should be redefined in the light of voluntarism practices in Kenya as discussed in this study.

The study concludes that perceptions about voluntarism are diverse and that factors that influence volunteerism and characteristics of volunteers are interwoven. There are various motivations for volunteering, social responsibility, publicity, humanitarianism and religious activities, which attract volunteers extensively.

Voluntarism as mutual social responsibility is ingrained in the African Societies. Granted the deterioration of living standards in Kenya today and many other parts of the world, as echoed in the literature review, volunteer efforts have created a paradigm shift in development in the recent past. This is manifest in re-emergence of the voluntary sector in development space as indicated in the literature review.

This explains the mushrooming of numerous CBOs and welfare associations based on voluntary effort following the failure of state-led development. However, voluntarism has deviated from the norm of mutual social responsibility and has become an enterprise as demonstrated by perception of some of the international and local volunteers.

In the Kenya situation voluntarism for humanitarian reasons, for example, during the US Embassy bomb-blast is spontaneous. However when the need is not urgent people have to be prompted by the media, churches or opinion leaders to volunteer. This notwithstanding, there is a group of people driven by their own conscience.

Craving for publicity is a strong motivation for volunteering especially in the private sector and by politicians. This could be tapped for endowment funds to facilitate volunteer work.

Institutions that use volunteers to implement their projects encounter logistical difficulties. They have to address issues of management of volunteers and sustainability of volunteer work. With regard to this, one pertinent emerging issue is lack of policy in the sphere of voluntarism in the local context.

A clear policy would streamline aspects of management and sustainability of institutionalised volunteer work including facilitation to enable voluntarism, ethics to guide voluntarism, and the issue of credibility and trust with regard to funds involved.

Findings from the study indicate that one of the greatest assets in the Kenyan society is social capital. Kenyans can move a wheel together as demonstrated by the Harambee movement and the display of compassion during the US Embassy bomb blast.

The elderly have compassion, warmth and willingness to work together. This has kept society humane but it is also susceptible to nepotism and corruption in an effort to assist kinsmen.

Social capital is key to philanthropy and it is a characteristic that strengthens dignity and self-reliance. In Kenya the Harambee movement distinguishes Kenya in this regard, although it has been misused for personal gain. Compounded further by the failure of the state to provide essential services, neighbourhood associations and welfare organizations have emerged to fill the gap.

The study observes that the voluntary sector appears to be an expanding sphere, both in terms of numbers of organizations, income and expenditure. Volunteering, among the spiritual and indigenous people is driven by love, compassion, caring and commitment to community. For the spiritually poor and those devoid of a cultural background, it is greed.

Many view voluntarism as an occupation and a means to alleviate poverty. There is massive volunteering at the community level. Outside the community level, many people are not willing to work without gain. Sustainability in voluntary work is difficult because people come forward when there is a crisis but do not want to do it again.

The Harambee movement was an extension of the indigenous communities way of life, but it was politicised and misused. However, there are instances where people volunteer in a way that sustains their efforts. For example, individuals strive to meet a need for the wider community good, for example, to conserve common resources or property have started CBOs. People are fighting encroachment on the forest. These are survival tactics that revolve around some leadership based on voluntary action to steer the community.

When the act of voluntarism is the motivation, it generates satisfaction and missionary benefits become incidental. There are those with a vision to alleviate poverty and takes it to a logical conclusion. There are those who volunteer funds and those who volunteer other resources like time and labour. The greatest challenge with regard to sustainability is how to link the two. One-way, as has been discussed is to institutionalise voluntarism.

Voluntarism has been extensively abused and marred by the lack of credibility and trust. How can our society cultivate positive conviction about voluntarism for the good of society? There are certain distinctions in life that are responsible for the negative environment we find ourselves today such as insensitivity, selfishness, intolerance, greed etc. How can our society shift to integrity, authenticity, accountability, commitment, and generosity among other positive values? It is in these values that voluntarism is embedded.

The challenge is to find a way of education and training that transforms people to own these distinctions instead of just knowing them. Mind setting for personal development is key towards this end. Institutions like the churches that attract massive voluntarism should be challenged to do this. Our country is one of the countries with the highest church attendance but ironically has had the dubious distinction of being one of the most corrupt.

It appears like there is an attitude problem and how does one go about positive change towards development? It appears like knowledge is not virtue – it does not lead to change. How then can people own the positive distinctions in society and internalise them in order to for them to be mobilised towards development?

There is dire need to sensitise people that they have the power to change their lives. This is possible through the civil society by volunteers. Voluntarism is deeply entrenched in the Kenyan society. As findings indicate, there is enormous voluntarism at the grassroots level. Voluntarism is seen as an increasing option in implementation of development projects in the midst of poverty. The world is turning to volunteers to solve development problems more than ever before. The civil society has emerged as a voice for the disadvantaged, as volunteer organizations have filled the gap in service delivery in development space. Indeed volunteers take development to the communities. This is all the more reason why voluntarism should be encouraged and enhanced.

6.2 Recommendations

After an analysis of the secondary and primary data much still remains to be done in gathering knowledge about voluntarism in the Kenyan context. The following recommendations are relevant if the practice of voluntarism has to improve.

The study finds that it is important to build the image of volunteering to give it credibility to potential volunteers and donors. One way to achieve this is to come up with policy and guidelines on philanthropy, in regard to self-regulation and review of taxation laws.

This could be achieved by organizations that deal with voluntarism instituting an umbrella association of such organizations. Such an organ could provide an avenue for networking with government and other stakeholders and also serve as a forum to popularise voluntarism. Communities should be sensitised about the power of networking, and sharing experiences about voluntarism without reward.

The study also finds there is need for advocacy for philanthropy and nurturing positive perceptions about it. One way of doing this would be to inculcate the virtue of philanthropy among the young by teaching and practicing it in schools and preaching it in religious institutions. The media should support this effort.

Institutionalising volunteering has the potential of tapping the energy of the many young people seeking something to occupy them. In order to encourage people to volunteer, it is necessary to recognize volunteers and voluntarism. Further there is need to conceptualise a structure within volunteer organizations that attracts funding. To this end, writing a handbook on volunteerism would be useful.

The study finds that there is massive volunteering outside the Harambee approach but not much is known about it. Research into indigenous philanthropy could generate information on voluntarism in the African context. This could be the beginning of revitalizing volunteering by looking at the traditional practices and past experiences that worked well. This could serve as the basis of conceptualising volunteering in the East African context.

Research would also make it possible to compile an inventory of philanthropy regarding – types, models best practices, and experiences. Research would also enable the quantifying of other non-financial attributes of voluntarism and also find ways of measuring the impact of philanthropy.

In this way, philanthropy could be enhanced and also be included in national accounts.

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Appendix 1

A Checklist Of Issues For Key Informants On Perceptions Of Selected Stakeholders About Voluntarism.

This study of perceptions of voluntarism among selected stakeholders has the overall objective of generating information and to systematically analyse the context of voluntarism in Kenya. In order to realize the above goal the study aims at interviewing a number of key informants from international and local organizations that utilize the services of volunteers and experts who are knowledgeable. This interview guide has been designed for administration to key informants within the target population covered in this study

- Probe history of organization with regard to utilization of volunteers and the mandate of the organizations.
- Outline what voluntarism involves.
- Probe knowledge on why people volunteer their services to organizations.
- Probe knowledge on who (what type of people) volunteer.
- Probe knowledge on what services are volunteered and how.
- Probe knowledge on how volunteers are recruited.
- Probe knowledge on the type of skills volunteers have or are expected to have.
- Probe knowledge on what type of support is provided to volunteers if any.
- Comment on some of the challenges faced by volunteers.
- Suggest ways of motivating volunteers.