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Volunteerism or Voluntourism? A Case Study of NGO Motivations & Success in South Africa

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VOLUNTEERISM OR VOLUNTOURISM? A CASE STUDY OF NGO MOTIVATIONS & SUCCESS IN
SOUTH AFRICA

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of the requirements for
the Murray State University Honors Diploma

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Abstract

As history has demonstrated time and time again, often the most well-intentioned actions can have unintended negative consequences. This can often be the case concerning international voluntary service (IVS). This paper studies the motivations for development and relief nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to send volunteers abroad, and the ways in which volunteer-sending NGOs are able to use IVS in order to successfully and ethically impact development of a foreign country. Many scholars have argued that the recent surge of international volunteerism, in some way, exudes imperialism, perpetuates a Western savior complex, and magnifies inequalities rather than reduce them. Others describe the possible benefits from international volunteering, such as enhanced cultural competency and increased empathy and understanding for others, which could lead to greater awareness and advocacy efforts in the future. By using a case study of two international development and relief NGOs' (Médecins Sans Frontières and Habitat for Humanity International) work in the international arena and in South Africa, this paper aims to study ethical dilemmas regarding the most common motivations and expectations for volunteering abroad and factors of success regarding international nongovernmental organizations' (INGOs) development work abroad. This paper will propose strategic methods that individual volunteers and their sending organizations can utilize in order to ensure that IVS leaves behind more of a benefit than a burden in a community, and that IVS actually benefits the communities in which volunteers dedicate their time to serve.

Introduction

The intriguing history of international voluntary service (IVS) begins with origins in

nineteenth century Christian missionary work overseas, and has since become a more rapidly

expanding phenomenon in the years following WWI and WWII (Sherraden *et al*. 2006, 164; Hoskins

1960, 59). The world is becoming increasingly more interconnected, communications flow faster

than ever, and traveling internationally is cheaper and quicker than ever before. However,

technology and communication in this interconnected world we live in also magnifies global

inequalities, and we are able to see social injustices and human rights abuses more easily than ever

before. With just a press of a button on a television remote control or a click on a website on a

computer or smart phone, materially wealthy people in the West are shown widespread suffering

and poverty through a screen or monitor (Barber and Bowie 2008, 749). Through development and

relief NGOs and their international volunteer programs, ordinary people are compelled to action in

order to combat the challenges of global poverty and inequalities. International volunteers and

their sending organizations have begun to believe that these volunteers do not need to be

professionals nor academics in the international development field in order to promote

understanding between cultures and challenge existing global inequalities (Sherraden, Lough and

Moore McBride 2008, 396).

Rather than simply studying individual-level motivations to volunteer abroad, this paper

aims to study broader, more structural motivations for NGOs to send volunteers abroad. This paper

also considers the main factors of success for ethical mission achievement of development and

relief INGOs, and the role that international volunteers play in either aiding or impeding

international development. The study of the ever-increasing presence of IVS and volunteer tourism

is important for multiple reasons. First, by maximizing potential benefits and minimizing potential

problems of IVS, we can continue to improve upon the ways in which international volunteers and

their sending agencies raise humanitarian awareness, combat the perpetuation of negative

stereotypes, and fight against global social injustices. Second, we can continue to improve upon the ways in which we train, educate and keep international volunteers accountable. Until this point, previous literature has not yet explored ways in which to better train and educate international volunteers by realistically placing them within the historical, geographical and relative cultural context of the community or region in which they are volunteering.

IVS has its share of criticisms—practical criticisms of implementation and ideological criticisms of Western colonial heritage—both of which Lewis (2006) addresses well. Practically, there is debate regarding how much technical or professional skills international volunteers need, and perhaps more importantly, what kinds of cultural understanding volunteers need to be able to acquire in order to be successful (Lewis 2006, 19). Another practical criticism of IVS, is that too often there is unequal benefits provided to the volunteers serving abroad, rather than those being served (Lewis 2006, 19). Moreover, by analyzing the historical and social construction of international 'development,' there are also various ideological criticisms of IVS. International development IVS is "open to criticism because of its implication in colonial pasts," and even further vulnerable to criticism because "today's development industry plays down the historical continuum between the people and practices of colonial administration and today's world of development professionals" (Lewis 2006, 19).

It is important to understand the roles of NGOs and volunteers in international development because too often it is the NGOs (and subsequently their donors and volunteers) who have greater power in the hierarchy of international development accountability mechanisms, rather than the local communities themselves. Understanding development and relief NGOs' volunteer-sending motivations and factors of their success is also crucial because international volunteers are an extension of a NGOs' mission, and therefore have great power to either aid or harm both the host community and that NGO's mission. By researching and analyzing previous literature on IVS, NGOs, and international development discourse, I have created a theoretical

framework discussing motivations of NGOs to send international volunteers, and factors or conditions for successful mission achievement of international development NGOs. I then apply this theoretical framework to a qualitative case study of two volunteer-sending organizations' (Médecins Sans Frontières and Habitat for Humanity International) work in both the international arena and in South Africa. The conclusion of this paper will discuss various implications derived from this theoretical framework and analytical case study.

International Voluntary Service and Sending Motivations of NGOs

International Voluntary Service

International voluntary service (IVS) is a relatively recent historical phenomenon, with its heightened presence in the international arena beginning to take shape in the years following the intense and unprecedented suffering generated by the First and Second World Wars. The horrific aftermath of WWI and WWII led to various reconstruction and peace efforts throughout Europe (Hoskins 1960, 59; Sherraden *et al*. 2006, 164). These post-WWII reconstruction efforts in Europe and international peace efforts such as the creation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 helped contribute to a new system of international development aid. This new system—which included NGOs, international donors, and Bretton Woods' institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF)—still contributes to the social construction of development and the relations between poor and wealthy countries today (Lewis 2006, 14). The historical significance of IVS having origins in nineteenth century overseas Christian missionary work should not be overlooked, but as Hoskins (1960) states, there are other voluntary organizations that are secular, and many religious voluntary organizations have somewhat shifted from only focusing on evangelism, to expanding in other ways in order to teach, help, and serve others around the world (Sherraden *et al*. 2006, 164; Hoskins 1960, 59).

As mentioned before, Lewis (2006) connects the heritage of IVS to the colonial period, recognition which Perold *et al*. (2012) stress as critically important to the strengthening of the potential benefits of IVS (Lewis 2006, 13; Perold *et al*. 2012, 179). These potential benefits, as stated by Devereux (2008, 358), include: "providing the space for an exchange of technical skills, knowledge and cross-cultural experience in developing communities," and "[raising] awareness of, and a commitment to combating existing unequal power relations and deep-seated causes of poverty, injustice and unsustainable development." Conversely, these positive impacts of IVS are very much contingent upon addressing potential problems or negative outcomes of IVS—problems such as IVS being viewed as "imperialist, paternalistic charity, [as] volunteer tourism, or [as] a self-serving quest for career and personal development on the part of well-off Westerners" (Devereux 2008, 358). Advocates of IVS praise the ability of the spirit of volunteerism to motivate regular people to care about the well-being of others around the world, and to get involved in international affairs, while critics contend that IVS reinforces existing inequalities or negative stereotypes (Sherraden, Lough and Moore McBride 2008, 396). Analyzing the ways in which these potential problems can hinder the effects of IVS also allows us to take a critical approach to interpreting a statement such as this made by Hoskins (1960), which can have potentially damaging effects if simply taken at face-value:

> [International voluntary agencies] provide a channel of direct expression of personal concern of people in more-privileged areas for the welfare of people in less-favored nations…This can create a sense of brotherhood and a basis for international understanding in the [volunteers] as well as those with whom they work. The recipients of this aid can come to realize that these services are provided out of sympathy and not for personal or national ambition. (66)

In order to most effectively and positively create this exchange of international understanding between international volunteers and the people and communities they are serving, we have to be able to expand international volunteers' training from simply 'cultural awareness.' Volunteer training should be expanded to place a greater emphasis on educating international volunteers (especially those from the Global North) about historical social and power-constructs brought

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about by imperialism and the colonial period. Only then will international volunteers begin to

understand the gravity of the responsibility of volunteering abroad, and begin to think about the

particular implications and potential negative externalities of their presence internationally.

Various products of globalization—including factors such as the inexpensive cost and

greater accessibility of international travel—have added to the surge in recent decades of the ease

of international volunteering and exploration in general (Lewis 2006, 13). Additionally, with

increasingly widespread use of television, consumption of mass and social media, and other

technology, people from almost anywhere in the world are able to build relationships with other

individuals, NGOs, and their advocates (Lewis 2006, 13). Even though globalization has contributed

to many positive global impacts, such as an increase in the ability to gather and share information

between states and non-state actors such as NGOs, our increasingly interconnected world now also

magnifies social injustices and "the challenges of global poverty, inequality and insecurity remain

more acute than ever" (Lewis 2006, 13). As Barber and Bowie (2008) clearly indicate:

> In the past 20 years television has brought the suffering of some of the poorest people in the
> developing world into the living rooms of the West. Many new NGOs have been set up, some
> by individuals moved to action by the images on their screens. With access to the Internet and
> daily TV coverage of crisis countries, supporters of these NGOs expect instant visible results…
> (749)

However, as Lewis (2006) asserts, maybe IVS can "shape new thinking and help to 'humanize'

globalization" as more people feel compelled to work across ethnic, national, economic and social

boundaries in order to fight injustice and inequality in the international community (Lewis 2006,

14).

International volunteering manifests itself in various forms and differently-structured

programs, as aptly defined by Sherraden *et al.* (2006, 165). The authors describe multiple

variations in IVS along the lines of purpose (whether or not the IVS program is for the "promotion

of international understanding," or for "development aid and humanitarian relief"), by the length of

volunteers' service, group versus individual volunteering, and by the "degree of internationality" to which volunteers are exposed. Sherraden *et al*. (2006, 165) define short-term IVS programs as being 1 to 8 weeks in length, and medium-term programs as 3 to 6 months in length of service, and long-term IVS as 6 months or more spent volunteering internationally. However, other scholars define short-term IVS programs as any program lasting less than 6 months (Sherraden *et al*. 2006, 165; Simpson 2004; Mostafanezhad 2013).

The two case studies this paper will examine—Médecins Sans Frontières and Habitat for Humanity International—differ most significantly in regards to purpose (development aid and relief versus international understanding) and in regards to duration of service of their volunteer programs. Sherraden *et al*. (2006, 166) define IVS programs for the purpose of international understanding as programs that "foster cross-cultural understanding, global citizenship, and global peace," and that international volunteers participating on these programs only need a "willingness to learn and serve," rather than special or professional skills. Additionally, "IVS programs for international understanding usually are operated by nongovernmental organizations with funding from private sources, including money raised by the volunteers themselves" (Sherraden *et al*. 2006, 166). This type of IVS is indicative of the kind of work that Habitat for Humanity International's volunteers do on their Global Village programs in various countries all over the world. Conversely, IVS programs for the purpose of development aid and relief "focus on the expertise and experience which volunteers bring to their assignments," and this type of IVS is both "organized by governments (e.g., [U.S.] Peace Corps) and by NGOs (e.g., International Red Cross, Médecins Sans Frontières)" (Sherraden *et al*. 2006, 168). Furthermore, in "NGO-funded [development and relief] programs, individuals typically cover their own travel and living expenses, although some organizations cover a portion of these costs or pay a stipend, especially for long-term service" (Sherraden *et al*. 2006, 168).

Why Are NGOs Motivated to Send Volunteers?

As a part of my research on IVS and volunteer tourism, I have formed a conceptual/theoretical framework for why INGOs are motivated to send volunteers abroad as an extension of their work and in order to further their mission. NGOs are motivated to send volunteers internationally for five main reasons: 1) helping or humanitarian motivations influenced by rapid globalization, 2) donor satisfaction, 3) increasing competition between NGOs in the sector encourages NGOs to professionalize and expand globally, 4) volunteer tourism as an emerging form of alternative tourism, and 5) the workforce or financial benefit of volunteers to an organization.

The first reason for NGOs to expand globally and send volunteers abroad is for helping or humanitarian motivations, which have been amplified in recent decades by globalization (Barber and Bowie 2008). Barber and Bowie (2008, 752) contend that increasingly inexpensive international travel, instant communications, and media portrayal of other nations' suffering have all contributed to an increase in 'aid tourism.' The impact of globalization has forced those in the otherwise sheltered industrialized world to recognize their own material wealth while staring a starving, sick, or hurting child in the face through a TV screen, computer monitor, or a picture in a book on development or overseas service. While often working with good intentions, NGOs know that potential donors and volunteers will be mobilized after seeing global inequalities and injustices via the media and other platforms and be motivated to get involved with the organization to work towards achieving its mission.

The second motivation for NGOs to send volunteers abroad—donor satisfaction—relates to the fact that NGOs depend on donors (both individuals and governments alike) to continue to work toward achieving their mission. For this reason, Barber and Bowie (2008, 749) contend that because NGOs rely on keeping their donors satisfied in order to stay in business and continue operating. Because of the aforementioned contributors of 'aid tourism,' NGOs' donors are now

visiting aid projects instead of merely reading updates and reports (Barber and Bowie 2008, 752).

In fact, the drive for NGOs' activities in other countries might not actually be the often-dire

situations in the host country, but rather the desires of their donors (Barber and Bowie 2008, 749).

As appropriately signaled by Szporluk (2009, 340), much caution and attention needs to paid to

NGO accountability to donors and host communities (which will be expanded upon in the following

section of this paper) due to the fact that NGOs, "unlike their counterparts in the private and public

sectors, do not have shareholders and are not elected," and in the case of INGOs, "most of their work

takes place outside their country of origin."

A third motivation for NGOs to expand globally by sending volunteers abroad is increasing

competition in an international system flooded with NGOs. This competitive market encourages

NGOs to professionalize, and encourages them to find new ways of cultivating new donors and

obtaining a cost-effective labor force of volunteers. Siméant (2005, 851) expands on this "often-

neglected aspect of NGOs' internationalization," and states that competition, rather than only "value

diffusion" has a significant impact on NGOs' decisions to "turn 'global' in order to adapt themselves

in order to expand their ability to obtain human and financial resources, both public and private."

Increasing competition between NGOs both small and large has the potential for organizations to

act more desperately in attempts to gain these highly sought-after financial and human resources.

This other potential outcome of desperation caused by increasing competition between NGOs could

be nearly the opposite of the professionalization that Siméant (2005) discusses. Another potential

outcome of NGO international competition is that volunteer-sending NGOs might not as carefully

'screen' or monitor the actions or ethics of their international volunteers—simply because they are

often in desperate need of the additional workforce.

The fourth motivation for NGOs to recruit and send international volunteers is the recent

development of volunteer tourism, or 'voluntourism,' as a form of new or 'alternative' tourism. This

concept is described in detail in this section, because of all of the motivating factors of NGOs to send volunteers abroad, this factor has the greatest potential to harm a development and relief NGOs' ability to achieve its long-term mission. NGOs are motivated to capitalize on the emerging market of volunteer tourism, because these NGOs can recruit more international volunteers by better understanding the motivations of volunteers themselves. Because NGOs are highly dependent on volunteer efforts and donor funds, it is necessary for NGOs to create IVS programs that are attractive to volunteers. The phenomenon of volunteer tourism has created a new market of demand for organizations who choose to promote short-term IVS as a part of their mission-achievement strategy. Volunteer-sending NGOs are able to capitalize on this emerging market of volunteer tourism to recruit international volunteers, because tourists are demonstrating a recent trend of wanting to move away from conventional forms of international tourism. Instead, these alternative tourists are searching for new, seemingly more ethical ways to spend a holiday, vacation, or time off work or school in which to discover a "greater awareness of self" and the international community at-large (Stoddart and Rogerson 2004, 311-312). Volunteer tourism is "one of the fastest growing [forms] of alternative tourism in the world," and "more than 1.6 million globally conscious individuals pay to participate in short-term (less than 6 months) humanitarian or conservation projects" each year, with an estimated international market of "1.6 billion dollars and counting" (Mostafanezhad 2013, 319). Volunteer tourism is seen by many participants as a form of tourism in which the international tourist is more than just an outsider to the local culture, and instead "the volunteer tourist spends time living in and contributing in positive ways to a community; an experience in keeping with a belief in the notion of 'mutual benefit'" (Lyons *et al*. 2012, 368).

Many volunteer tourists cite altruism, or an unselfish desire to help others as a motive for IVS. However, in many cases, "self-development and adventure are also cited as strong motivators" (Lyons *et al*. 2012, 368). For example, Stoddart and Rogerson (2004) studied volunteer tourist

activities in South Africa by using a questionnaire survey of 123 individuals who volunteered with

Habitat for Humanity South Africa. The authors found that the prime response of the volunteer's

overall motivation was a "desire to 'help the poor' or the 'less fortunate,'" but they also found a

strong link to the motivation for the adventure of traveling to the continent of Africa itself (Stoddart

and Rogerson 2004, 315). This relates to Mostafanezhad's (2013, 320) work, who contends that the

phenomenon of volunteer tourism has somewhat created an "identifiable 'geography of

compassion'…which seems to culminate in Africa…[which] is described by many Western

volunteers as an undifferentiated construct that includes the entire continent." Stoddart and

Rogerson (2004, 313) caution against viewing volunteer tourism as "ethically and morally superior

to conventional forms of tourism," because "within volunteer tourism there are many seemingly

noble community development projects which have minimal involvement of local communities or

are insensitive to local needs or interests." Volunteer tourism is not necessarily ethically superior to

conventional tourism, because "with its shared concern for development and 'local people' as well

as environmental, economic and sociocultural impacts, works to privatize and commoditize

development discourse as well as global justice agendas" (Mostafanezhad 2013, 319). The 'gap

year' is another phenomenon that seems to run almost parallel to volunteer tourism's recent

development. As Lyons *et al.* (2012, 365) describe, a gap year is "a nominal period during which a

person delays further education or employment in order to travel." Even though this time period is

not limited to any particular point in an individual's life-course, the gap year phenomenon has

become most popular with young adults who want to take a year-long break after finishing either

high school or university studies (Lyons *et al.* 2012, 365). Simpson (2004) studies short-term

volunteer tourism, in which the volunteers are between the ages of 18-20, and the ways in which

this emerging industry produces particular beliefs about development. Simpson (2004) asserts that

short-term or gap year volunteer tourist projects:

> create a publicly accepted 'mythology' of development. The notion of the 'third world' is highly
> important in the popularity of gap year programmes. Indeed, the very legitimacy of such

programmes is rooted in a concept of a 'third world', where there is 'need', and where European young people have the ability, and right, to meet this need. The dominant representations of destination countries offered by much of the gap year industry are based on simple dualisms and essentialized concepts of 'other' (682)

It is in this context of simplistic "dualism" that Simpson's (2004) work connects to McEwan's (2011), in which classical scholarship on 'development' has taught students and researchers alike to view the world as "generalized and simplistic," and divided into "binary opposites (North and South; First World and Third World; 'more' and 'less' developed); evolutionary understandings of development that depict the South as lagging behind and the North as the originator of development" (McEwan 2011, 22). The conclusion of this paper will focus more intently on future work that is needed in order to integrate this type of volunteer education and training on development's constructionism in order to hold volunteers (and volunteer tourists) just as accountable as their sending organizations. Lewis (2006) takes a more optimistic stance on the potential for IVS to impact popular views of development:

International volunteering as an arena of development activity is important because it potentially humanizes what is often left as a technical or managerial process. It can bridge the gap between the professionalized world of development experts and organizations and the 'non-specialized publics' who engage with the ideas and practices of development (15)

Lewis (2006, 15) describes the way in which international volunteering gives ordinary people who are not necessarily experts in international development personal experiences (or experiences of their friends or family who volunteer internationally) direct exposure to and understanding of development work, rather than only relying on the media for interpretations, "ideas and images of [international] development."

The most significant question for researchers of volunteer tourism has been, and should continue to be—who truly benefits from this form of international volunteering—as scholars and humanitarians alike question "whether or not volunteer tourists have sufficient skills or indeed stay long enough to really make a difference" (Lyons *et al.* 2012, 368). This question of which groups benefit is not a simple one to answer, rather it is complicated and more scholarly attention needs to

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be paid to the effects (whether positive or negative) of volunteer tourism on hosting communities. What can be said, referring to Stoddart and Rogerson's (2004, 317) analysis of their survey results, is that "without exception, all respondents in the survey indicated that they had enjoyed their volunteer work experience in South Africa," and that "the fact that volunteers offered so few negative comments of any kind underscores how personal needs were met by their South African experience." Volunteer tourists are not participating in the normal types of international tourism activities, and there is much potential for mutually-beneficial social value creation. Even so, there is also the strong possibility that volunteer tourists on short-term international development programs might actually be gaining more than their counterparts in the communities in which they are visiting.

The fifth part of my theoretical framework on the ways in which NGOs are motivated to send volunteers abroad is the potential for volunteers to be a financial benefit to the organization. For example, in Habitat for Humanity International's short-term Global Village volunteer trips, volunteers are actually asked to make a program payment, or donation in order to participate in a Global Village volunteer program. These Global Village volunteers are both financial contributors to Habitat for Humanity International, and they are also donors of time and energy as a labor force for the organization. This program donation can be paid by the volunteer, or the program participant can fundraise in order to contribute this program donation. The program cost covers volunteer/staff logistics on the ground, and also contributes to Habitat for Humanity International's "building program and local construction" efforts (Habitat for Humanity International, 2016b). The Habitat for Humanity International Global Village volunteer program structure will be elaborated on in the second section of the case study portion of this paper. In terms of Médecins Sans Frontières' (MSF) volunteer workforce, (which will also be further discussed in-depth in the case study portion) MSF is able to recruit highly trained professionals to volunteer their time, energy, and skills to the organization and the people MSF serves. These skilled medical professionals

volunteer for not even a fraction of the salary they could otherwise be making in a medical career elsewhere, specifically in Western industrialized countries. Volunteers for MSF receive an indemnity salary, which is currently at approximately 1040€ per month, which is set "so as to reflect the humanitarian spirit of volunteerism while recognizing the high level of professional expertise provided by field staff" (Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016a). Further detail on MSF's volunteer projects will be discussed in the case study.

Factors of NGOs' Success

Whether or not an NGO decides to send volunteers internationally in order to further achieve their mission, there are multiple factors of success that NGOs must attain in order to successfully accomplish their goals. INGOs must have: 1) the ability to successfully raise funds, 2) the ability to help rather than hurt, and 3) the ability and willingness to ethically represent and be held accountable to both their donors and host communities. The following section will describe this conceptual framework for INGOs' success, and the ways in which NGO accountability is a significant contributor to ethical success.

NGO Factors of Success & Accountability

INGOs, just like their counterparts at home—nonprofit organizations—need to be able to create and implement strategic plans for successful long-term organizational fund development. Without donated funds, nonprofits and NGOs cannot continue to operate. In fact, as Mencher (1999) asserts, "most NGOs, whether in a developed or developing country, need to raise funds for their very existence (to pay full-time staff, for rent, etc.), and for projects or activities" (2083). Large or small, international or domestic, NGOs and nonprofit organizations alike depend on a variety of sources of funding in order to continue operating and working to achieve their mission. However, there are significant differences in funding sources and practices between a large, INGO such as MSF or Habitat for Humanity International, and a small, community-based local nonprofit. NGO

funding can come from various levels, ranging from private, individual donations, to national or local government funding, or even from international aid agencies. These differing sources of funding have somewhat changed over time and have strengthened the calls in recent decades for NGOs to be held accountable for their work outside the public and private sectors. In the late 20th century, INGOs were widely viewed as offering "strategic and ethical advantages in promoting development around the world" (Williams 2010, 29). Because of this, "official aid agencies (e.g., World Bank, IMF, USAID, etc.)" began to agree that NGOs offered these advantages to development, and consequently "many northern-based INGOs became the preferred recipients of funding over Southern states" (Williams 2010, 29). However, as Williams (2010, 29) discusses, this pattern of official aid being channeled through northern NGOs was "short-lived" and resulted in a "backlash that deeply challenged their legitimacy as favored actors in humanitarian aid and development." As NGO stakeholders began to demand more transparent NGO performance evidence, Southern governments also began to question why INGOs were "operating within their borders without any nationally coordinated development strategy" (Williams 2010, 29). Due to these historical shifts in patterns of funding, NGOs are continually searching for new and effective ways in which to receive funding. NGOs are further constrained because as Mencher (1999) states, "some efforts tend to be more easily funded than others" (2083). For example, "it is often easier to raise funds for legal services for the poor, an issue more middle class people can identify with, than raising funds to clean up a river," and, the issues that human rights, development and humanitarian aid NGOs represent are able to reach the consciences and pocketbooks of donors (Mencher 1999, 2083).

The ability to raise funds is just one crucial factor of NGOs' success. In order to raise funds, NGOs have to prove effectiveness, transparency, and must represent issues that donors care about. One way volunteer-sending NGOs choose to further their mission is through the financial benefits and even donations from their international volunteers, which will be explored further later in this paper in the case study. If an NGO is going to be able to raise funds, it is necessary to continually

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satisfy donors. Barber and Bowie (2008, 751) argue that since donors (to a large extent) incentivize NGOs to operate in poor countries, rather than the situation in those countries themselves, if we want to change NGO behavior, we must begin by educating the donors. According to Barber and Bowie (2008, 751-752), NGOs need to educate their donors about "good NGO practice," and to also educate donors and visitors to aid projects about the "potential burdens they might be imposing" by actually visiting projects on-site instead of only reading off-site reports and updates. Volunteer-sending NGOs need to also apply Barber and Bowie's (2008) 'prescriptions for doing less harm and more good' by further relating this advice to international volunteers. This is especially critical for organizations such as Habitat for Humanity International, which send short-term volunteers internationally on their Global Village volunteer programs. These volunteers are essentially visitors to a project, and in the case of these Global Village programs, they are also donors to the organization by virtue of their program fee or donation (Habitat for Humanity International 2016b).

As stated previously in the international voluntary service (IVS) section of this paper, IVS programs, if executed carefully and ethically, within the scope of a broader global civil society, have great potential to mutually benefit NGOs, host communities, and volunteers themselves. However, as also previously stated, critics of IVS "contend that IVS is "ineffective in the face of grave global challenges," and that in many cases, IVS and their sending organizations might even exacerbate "existing inequalities" and reinforce negative stereotypes (Sherraden, Lough and Moore McBride 2008, 396). Some volunteer-sending organizations, and international development NGOs in general, in recent years have started to realize that it is necessary to take precautions to ensure that they help the communities they serve, rather than hurt them. Mencher (1999, 2086) discusses some interesting points about the word 'help,' one point being that "the main way that most people in the U.S. and many funders use the term help, can be patronizing," but that organizations should rather empower people by helping them find their own solutions to challenges they are facing. In order to

be truly successful, NGOs "must either withdraw or become a truly equal partner without pre-empting the autonomy of those originally being 'helped'" (Mencher 1999, 2086). International volunteer-sending organizations must also listen to this critical advice. Volunteer-sending organizations, and (equally as important) their international volunteers themselves need to be willing to learn about the ways in which their helping motivations and actions could be viewed as patronizing and as reinforcements of unequal historical power structures. Volunteers should be held to somewhat of the same accountability standards as their sending organizations, and it needs to be the responsibility of the volunteer-sending NGO to make this a priority. Another characteristic of INGOs that ensure that they are helping others rather than hurting them is that they are willing to work with the local community and the national government of the countries in which they are working. Szporluk (2009) describes two "balancing acts" that NGOs must perform when working with local communities and national governments:

> While some national governments in the Global South may be powerful (having access to immense resources and the use of armies to further personal interests), community members may have no ability to access those resources, and may not be able to count on the rule of law to settle disputes fairly and transparently. In such situations, international donors and INGOs may be perceived as threats because of their potential to unsettle the status quo. INGOs and donors must perform two balancing acts. First, they must work with governments in a way that builds capacity to govern and yet avoids complicity in any abuses. Second, they must work with communities in a way that genuinely empowers and yet does not pose a threat to the government or endanger the lives of those with whom they are working" (Szporluk 2009, 348-349)

Additionally, in line with Barber and Bowie's (2008, 752) thinking, for an INGO to be successful, it is critically important for that NGO to empower not only community members, but also local organizations at the national level. If an NGO is able to do this, a "chain" can be built, "so that communities or groups that have been aided by NGO programs go on themselves to aid other villages [and] other groups" (Mencher 1999, 2086). For an international development NGO that is willing to work with the local community and national government of the country in which it is working, the goal should be to "start a cascading process so that a new development paradigm can emerge from the work of NGOs" (Mencher 1999, 2086). Finally, NGOs that successfully contribute

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to development because they have an ability to help rather than hurt, also have a history of striving to effectively and ethically represent their constituents. Nyamugasira (1998, 300) describes how the problem of NGO representation arises, in that NGOs "rarely have constituencies that have mandated them as their advocates" and instead they often "tend to be self-appointed." Because of this, Nyamugasira (1998, 300) argues that NGOs often have "created their own abstract constituencies," that NGOs "are socialized in the value systems and thought patterns of the global elite," and they develop their own view of the poor's issues while keeping their own interests safe. In order to avoid becoming self-appointed, power-hungry entities in the international development arena, NGOs must consciously strive to most effectively and ethically represent their constituents. NGOs can do this, as well as "improve the quality, efficiency, and impact of their work" if they choose to "learn more about the communities in which they operate and utilize local knowledge and expertise" (Szporluk 2009, 343). Learning more about and involving the community in all stages of projects also "helps prevent INGOs from inadvertently providing services, building capacity, or teaching advocacy that could have the adverse effect of enabling leaders to be more corrupt or oppressive" (Szporluk 2009, 343). Volunteer-sending NGOs also need to have the ability to help communities rather than hurt them. Successful volunteer-sending NGOs accomplish this by having a willingness to work with the local and national government of the countries in which they work, and by having a history of striving to effectively and ethically represent their constituencies.

A final factor of success for INGOs is their willingness and ability to be held accountable to those communities and populations who they are motivated to serve and work with. As Velloso de Santisteban (2005, 200) questions, "what is fair to expect of NGOs in achieving their ultimate goal of a better world?" In recent decades, many others have begun to pose questions such as this, and NGOs have begun to realize that "their good intentions alone may not necessarily translate into good results," which in turn "has led to increasing pressure on NGOs to provide evidence that they are performing well and using their funds transparently" (Murtaza 2012, 112). In the late 1990s

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and early 2000s, INGOs were "censured for not clearly documenting how donated funds had benefited their intended recipients" (Williams 2010, 29). Further still, others within the international community began to argue that NGOs were becoming too dependent "upon official aid agencies and private philanthropies," which "essentially led to INGOs serving as contractors who implemented strategies 'from above' rather than advocating for or addressing local interests" (Williams 2010, 29). The need for NGO accountability mechanisms is high because NGOs receive funding and donations "from various sources (private fundraising through the Internet, intergovernmental organizations, or country donors)," and those different funding sources "do not require activities undertaken by INGOs to be approved by the communities in which they work," (Szporluk 2009, 340). When working with large, transnational NGOs such as MSF or Habitat for Humanity International, "individual communities in the 'Global South' have little or no influence over which INGO works there and on what sort of project" (Szporluk 2009, 340). Murtaza (2012, 114) describes the multiple directions towards which INGOs must balance their accountability— with "'upward' accountability to donors and home and host governments," and "'downward' accountability to communities." The importance of these directions of NGO accountability lies in the power hierarchy that is too often created with "donors and governments above NGOs, and communities below NGOs" as demonstrated in the commonly used term "downward accountability" used by NGOs in referring to the communities in which they work (Murtaza 2012, 114).

International development NGO performance will be improved if the organization is held more accountable to the host community. The most effective way to do this is to earn "wide-spread acceptance for [community accountability] processes among all stakeholders, including donors and governments, [and] this wide-spread acceptance can best be gained by developing these processes collectively with peers in NGO coordination bodies" (Murtaza 2012, 122). Murdie (2014) finds empirical results relating to NGO accountability mechanisms that support one of her hypotheses on the impact of development INGOs. These empirical results "indicate that development INGOs can

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have a powerful impact on human security service provision," but also that the results also demonstrate that their effects are often weakened, largely due to the reality that "not all INGOs have motivations for actually aiding the domestic population with what it wants but is not able to achieve on its own" (Murdie 2014, 124). Because of this, Murdie (2014, 141) finds that "the impact of development INGOs is conditional on the number of INGOs belonging to a voluntary accountability program." The argument here, is that if a development NGO chooses to voluntarily belong to an accountability network or coordination body, that NGO is demonstrating more transparency, and consequently, the NGO "[is] better able to get the support necessary to provide goods and services and actually use donor funds on service provision" (Murdie 2014, 146). Both domestic organizations and INGOs can work together in coordinating bodies. Murdie (2014, 123) cites the effective work of "both domestic and INGOs in Lesotho," and states that much of their success has been attributed to the "the umbrella group," or coordinating body called the Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations. This council not only functions as an accountability mechanism, but also shows willingness of member NGOs to work with the local community and national government (as described in the previous section of this paper):

> The [Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations] works closely with the government of Lesotho and tries to ensure that all NGO-led projects in Lesotho reflect the desires or the intended beneficiaries of the projects. Any NGO can petition to join the group and must provide a detailed statement of their organizational mission, funding sources, projects and structure (Murdie 2014, 123)

At first glance, NGO accountability mechanisms might not seem to be the most highly valued factor of successful mission achievement for international development and relief NGOs. Accountability is most often viewed as an abstract concept, as something to strive for but also viewed as something slightly unrealistic or even unattainable. However, with as much literature that has been written on NGO accountability in recent years, should INGOs not already know how valuable accountability is to long-term mission achievement? And if most large-scale NGOs already know that accountability and financial transparency are a part of 'best practices,' then why are we not seeing more progress

or more systemic change in the international development arena? I assert that a key missing link here is modifying the way in which we educate international volunteers, by holding them more accountable to ethical volunteer work while they are working on their project, and after they return home.

Case Study

South Africa

Located at the most southern point of the African continent, South Africa is one of the most diverse countries in the world, with a population of over 54 million people and a total of 11 official languages. South Africa has over 6.9 million people living with HIV/AIDS within its borders, making it the country with the highest number of people affected by HIV/AIDS in the world, and HIV projects are one of the primary reasons why Doctors Without Borders (MSF) Southern Africa works in South Africa (CIA World Factbook 2016; Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016b). According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN/DESA), South Africa is listed as a developing country, but is listed as an upper-middle income ($4,086—$12,615 per capita GNI in 2012) developing country (UN/DESA 2014). Related to South Africa's economic growth, Murdie (2014) signifies that too much economic growth in a country can cause potential funding problems for development INGOs, stating that in many cases, both private and public donors are moving their funding from countries with high economic growth to countries that are in conflict or are much poorer. Murdie (2014, 150) cites a newspaper describing organizations in South Africa that had to close their doors due to a lack of funding supposedly caused by this very issue. However, because South Africa has had a rich and long-standing history of NGO activism and development work within its borders, it is clear that the country's economic growth has not forced a majority of NGOs to cease operations. The nation's NGO sector went through a rapid period of transition leading up to its first national democratic election in 1994 (Pieterse 1997, 158). The

racially-segregated system of apartheid that was in place for the majority of the 20th century in

South Africa almost exclusively supported NGOs that served the minority white community who

was in power in the "racial order" of that time (Habib and Taylor 1999, 74). However, during the

1980s–1990s, the apartheid regime began to take a more lenient stance towards allowing NGOs to

operate within the country, even though these anti-apartheid organizations were not fully

encouraged by the government. Consequently, a unique situation emerged. Unlike the situation in

other parts of the world during this time, in the 1980s anti-apartheid NGOs received direct foreign

funding from other states instead of using the South African government as an intermediary (Habib

and Taylor 1999, 74). For South African NGOs who had originally felt it was their duty to take an

'oppositional' stance against the apartheid regime, this period of transition meant that they now

had to transition into a more supportive, 'developmental' role (Pieterse 1997, 158). As the

democratic transition continued in the country, NGOs came together to create the coordinating

body called the South African NGO Coalition (SANGOCO) in 1995, and grew to include upwards of

6,000 affiliated NGOs (Habib and Taylor 1999, 77).

The country of South Africa was selected as the backdrop of the following case study for two

primary reasons. The first, being that even though South Africa is the one of the most highly

developed and industrialized countries on the African continent, it still has many underdeveloped

areas and a high NGO presence focused on development. The second reason is that South Africa is a

highly sought-after international tourist destination, with attractions ranging from some of the

grandest and largest cities on the African continent and in the world—Cape Town and

Johannesburg—to wildlife and conservation attractions, and even tourist attractions based in the

historically black townships of South Africa. This other growing form of alternative tourism,

township tourism, has manifested itself in South Africa in the "post-apartheid period after South

Africa's democratic transition in 1994" (Rogerson 2004, 250). Although different from volunteer

tourism itself, because individuals are not volunteering during these tours, this form of alternative

tourism relies on volunteer tourists as "strong participants in organized tours of South Africa's former black township areas, sites of significance to the anti-apartheid struggle as well as learning more of the lifestyle of poor communities" (Stoddart and Rogerson 2004, 316). The following sections will analyze two very different volunteer-sending organizations' operations in the international arena and in South Africa.

Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)

Since its founding in France in 1971, MSF has worked to provide professional medical and humanitarian assistance to vulnerable populations in countries around the world, stating in its charter:

> MSF provides assistance to populations in distress, to victims of natural or man-made disasters, and to victims of armed conflict. They do so irrespective of race, religion, creed, or political convictions. MSF observes neutrality and impartiality in the name of universal medical ethics and the right to humanitarian assistance and claims full and unhindered freedom in the exercise of its functions…As volunteers, members understand the risks and dangers of the missions they carry out and make no claim for themselves or their assigns for any form of compensation other than that which the association might be able to afford them (MSF USA 2016b)

The volunteers of MSF are both medical and non-medical professionals, however the organization has highly strict criteria for who can volunteer with them. MSF volunteers must go through a lengthy application process, and must be willing to commit to a first volunteer placement of 9–12 months in the field (Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016c). MSF makes it very clear that they do not provide gap year volunteer placements, and that volunteers are not able to choose the location of their volunteer placement (Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016c).This is significant because MSF volunteers are not offering their services for some variation of personal gain, as is often the case in many volunteer tourist programs or gap year IVS programs. Whether that personal gain be a more fulfilling holiday, or a professional résumé boost, the structure of MSF's projects sends a clear statement that these are not the driving influences behind MSF's volunteer workforce. MSF volunteer professionals in the field receive an indemnity salary, currently set at approximately 930–1040 Euro per month. These indemnity salaries are set in order

to "reflect the humanitarian spirit of volunteerism while recognizing the high level of professional expertise provided by field staff," and these salaries have the opportunity to increase with responsibility and experience of field position (Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016a). Even the use of the word indemnity in the phrase 'indemnity salary' sends a specific message from MSF to its prospective volunteers, because the word indemnity is often used in the context of being a protection or caution against damages or loss. This is one of many signals to prospective MSF volunteers that the work they are about to engage in could at times put them in physical danger or distress. In addition to an indemnity salary paid in local currency, MSF also provides its volunteers with a variety of other opportunities. MSF provides on-going professional development training for its volunteers, pre-departure training, accommodation in the field, medical and life insurance coverage, psychological support before and after a volunteer's mission, and round-trip airfare coverage to the field and back (Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016a). Even though MSF offers its volunteers an indemnity salary and these other various benefits, the organization is still receiving a great financial value in that they are receiving a high-quality, highly sought-after professional workforce while providing these medical professionals with minimal compensation compared to what they could be making in their specialized practices in the country where they are licensed.

Siméant (2005, 856) analyzes the process of and motivations for NGOs such as MSF to expand globally, one of which is the desire to professionalize and recruit highly-skilled volunteers and staff due to the rising competition from other Anglo-Saxon or Western NGOs. Siméant (2005) discusses the mounting difficulties facing humanitarian relief and development NGOs such as MSF to recruit and obtain medical professionals and other highly-skilled volunteers to go on long-term field assignments. The assertion is then made, that in response to these challenges, NGOs use other countries as "hunting grounds" for skilled volunteers, and NGOs are then "in charge of orienting recruits to the parent sections" (Siméant 2005, 856). In this way, MSF is motivated to utilize

international volunteers in order to expand globally outside of its parent country of France, and professionalize by recruiting specialized volunteers.

   After analyzing MSF publications and various sources, I find that MSF's motivations to send volunteers abroad correlate with three out of five reasons in my previously-described theoretical framework. In addition to using international volunteers to expand globally, these reasons include: humanitarian motivations and the financial or workforce motivation for volunteer recruitment. As well as working on longer-term development projects in more stable countries such as South Africa, MSF convincingly demonstrates its commitment as an organization to humanitarianism by working in some of the poorest and most volatile countries in the world. Such countries include the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—where openness to NGOs is extremely limited—and the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic—both of which have been in devastating armed conflicts for decades (MSF USA 2016c). The financial benefit of having volunteers as a workforce is also a motivating factor for MSF to recruit their skilled, professional volunteers. In order to successfully obtain and select these skilled professionals who are willing to work for a fraction of the salary in dangerous areas, MSF has decided upon a strategy of providing indemnity salaries and other benefits to their volunteers. In terms of success for development and relief INGOs, MSF has developed a widely-accepted positive and powerful reputation at the international level, and demonstrates many of the factors of success that I put forth in the theoretical framework section of this paper. MSF's highly respected reputation is reflected in the organization's ranking by NGO Advisor (2016) as the second most highly-ranked NGO in the top 20 NGOs worldwide, an improvement from NGO Advisor's 2013 ranking of MSF in the eighth position (NGO Advisor 2016). As one of the farthest-reaching, most well-known INGOs in the world, year after year MSF has to be held accountable to be financially transparent and provide financial statements in order to re-achieve its status as a registered NGO each year. MSF International and MSF Southern Africa both provide annual reports, financial statements, and IRS Form 990s (which

allow for possibility of re-achieving tax-exempt status each year). This helps motivate donors to keep funding MSF and its humanitarian work around the globe year after year. However, in an international arena flooded with development and relief NGOs, MSF most clearly distinguishes itself from other volunteer-sending organizations in the tone of accountability the organization uses in its publications and reports. MSF details its commitment to accountability in its principles:

> [Accountability] means that we ground our decisions in our medical and humanitarian ethics, that experienced MSF teams conduct independent assessments of the needs on the ground before we open a project…Accountability means that we are honest about what we can and cannot do, that we make decisions based on medical needs alone, and that we do not raise money for places or programs we cannot see through…That is why we told people who wanted to donate to our work in Japan following the March 2011 earthquake and tsunami that we had limited operations there because effective national health and disaster relief networks were already in place…But we must answer certain questions when gauging the efficacy of our programs: First and foremost, is what we are doing medically relevant and medically effective—are we saving or improving lives? Additionally, because we accept that aid can at times do more harm than good, we ask if our presence, especially in conflict zones, provides more comfort to the tormented, or the tormentors? (MSF USA 2016a)

The serious, professional tone and wide variety of accountability reports and material provided by MSF sets itself apart from other volunteer-sending organizations in the way that MSF provides information on how it funds the specific projects that it does, and why it does not fund others.

The work of MSF in South Africa is focused around preventing sexual and gender-based violence, and testing for and treating HIV and tuberculosis (TB) (Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016b). Since MSF began its work on sexual and gender-based violence prevention in Rustenburg—an area where "1 in 3 women report having been raped at some point in their life"—over 25,000 adults and students have been spoken to in order to raise public awareness and advocate on behalf of the women who do not speak out after being sexually assaulted (Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016b). Additionally, in the year 2015, MSF's HIV-TB testing program in the KwaZulu-Natal province tested more than 60,000 people for HIV, and more than 750,000 condoms were distributed in order to decrease the risk of HIV transmission (Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016b).

Habitat for Humanity International

Founded in the United States in 1976, the Christian NGO Habitat for Humanity International (hereafter, Habitat for Humanity) has continuously sought to achieve its mission of putting "God's love into action," and bringing "people together to build homes, communities and hope" (Habitat for Humanity International 2016g). Habitat for Humanity states its guiding principles as follows: to "1) demonstrate the love of Jesus Christ, 2) focus on shelter, 3) advocate for affordable housing, 4) promote dignity and hope, and 5) support sustainable development" (Habitat for Humanity International 2016g). Although Habitat for Humanity is openly committed to the ethics of the Christian faith, the organization does not require its volunteers or its constituents (the people with whom the organization builds houses for) to be of the Christian faith. Instead, the primary mission of Habitat for Humanity involves home construction and building in poor communities around the world (Stoddart and Rogerson 2004, 313). Habitat for Humanity relies extensively on volunteers—both domestic and international—to carry out its home-building and development work in the U.S. and around the world. Because the scope of this research is on NGOs and international volunteering, here I will only be focusing on Habitat for Humanity's international volunteer programs. Habitat for Humanity has two primary international volunteer programs, which vary in both program length and volunteer requirements. The long-term International Volunteer Program of Habitat for Humanity recruits volunteers willing to spend an average of 6 to 12 months volunteering their professional skill sets abroad. These skilled international volunteer positions include: grant writers, social media and communications specialists, volunteer coordinators, and other positions that Habitat for Humanity affiliate international offices might need at any given time (Habitat for Humanity International 2016f). When volunteering internationally in these long-term positions at Habitat for Humanity's affiliate country offices, volunteers are responsible for paying for round-trip international transportation, international medical insurance, and food while in the host country. Costs of living vary depending on which country the volunteer travels to, but in some

cases, the affiliate office will be able to assist volunteers with costs associated with local transportation and accommodation while living and volunteering in the host country (Habitat for Humanity International 2016f).

The Habitat for Humanity international volunteer program that this paper will primarily focus on is the short-term (an average of 1 to 2 weeks) Global Village volunteer trips. It is within this context that I analyze, and other scholars (Stoddart and Rogerson 2004) have previously analyzed, the potential long-term consequences of volunteer-tourist activities in the context of NGOs striving to promote development internationally. Global Village volunteer programs welcome anyone who has a desire to contribute to Habitat for Humanity's work to apply, and appeal to volunteers by stating that "the great news is that [a volunteer] doesn't need to speak another language or have previous [international] experience to join" (Habitat for Humanity International 2016b). Global Village volunteers travel to another country of their choosing, and for the duration of their program, they live with the local community members and assist in building and development projects in that same community. This creates an opportunity for Global Village volunteers to "see another culture up-close and live like a local" for the 1 to 2 weeks that they are volunteering in the host country (Habitat for Humanity International 2016b). In these Global Village construction builds, local families living in inadequate shelter work and build alongside international volunteers to construct and own their own homes, a process which Habitat for Humanity calls "sweat equity" (Stoddart and Rogerson 2004, 313).

Unlike MSF and their volunteer programs, Habitat for Humanity does not provide its volunteers with a significant amount of compensation in exchange for their work. Instead, in order to participate on a Global Village program, international volunteers need to pay a program fee or 'donation' that they must either pay themselves or fundraise that amount to donate to Habitat for Humanity. This program fee paid by the volunteers themselves covers a variety of expenses on behalf of Habitat for Humanity, including: volunteer logistics, volunteer coordination expenses, and

a donation to the affiliate Habitat for Humanity program in the host country. This program fee does not cover participants' round-trip airfare, trip cancellation insurance, or rest and recreation activities beyond specified cultural excursions (Habitat for Humanity International 2016b). By paying a program fee to Habitat for Humanity, Global Village volunteers donate both manual labor and money to the organization. The implications of this becomes more serious when we consider the previously-stated impacts of the power hierarchy of accountability between donors, NGOs and host communities.

South Africa alone has hosted more than 100,000 international Habitat for Humanity volunteers since the South African affiliate's inception in 1996, compared to more than 10,000 hosted volunteers in Kenya since 1982, and more than 300 Habitat for Humanity volunteers hosted in Zambia since 1984 (Habitat for Humanity International 2016a, 2016d, 2016e). Stoddart and Rogerson (2004) studied questionnaire survey responses of 123 Habitat for Humanity volunteer tourists who worked in South Africa. When the authors asked survey respondents about their primary motivations to volunteer in the country of South Africa specifically, they found that:

> The two strongest and linked motivations were those for 'adventure' in terms traveling to the "dark continent" and experiencing African culture 'from within'. Interview responses variously spoke of 'a mystique about Africa' for tourists which is unequalled by other continents. Moreover, it was stated that 'South Africa was particularly exciting because of its political and social history.' The desire to help the poor was another critical factor in the choice of South Africa (Stoddart and Rogerson 2004, 316)

The volunteer tourists in South Africa working with Habitat for Humanity did not travel to the common tourist destinations of South Africa—such as Kruger National Park or the Garden Route—meaning that the primary experience of South Africa for these short-term volunteers was the volunteering itself (Stoddart and Rogerson 2004, 316). Of the surveys that Stoddart and Rogerson (2004) gathered and analyzed, many respondents stated that they felt they left more than just tangible home-constructions with the community, but that they also left intangibles behind as well. One commonly cited example of an intangible benefit the volunteers felt they left behind was that

they allowed the South Africans they worked with 'a chance to see Americans in a different light' (Stoddart and Rogerson 2004, 317).

After studying and analyzing Habitat for Humanity publications and other sources, I find that Habitat for Humanity is motivated to send international volunteers based primarily on four out of five reasons from my theoretical framework. These four reasons include: humanitarian/helping motivations, donor satisfaction, volunteer tourism as an emerging market of alternative tourism, and the financial workforce benefit of volunteers. Helping motivations for using international volunteers are evident in both Habitat for Humanity's work, and, as Stoddart and Rogerson (2004) find, the volunteers' own desire to volunteer in South Africa. Habitat for Humanity strives to create an inclusive atmosphere for cooperation by intentionally structuring international volunteer programs in such a way that enables people of various abilities to feel like they truly can make a difference in the lives of others around the world who do not have access to the human right of safe and adequate shelter. Donor satisfaction plays a bigger role in the motivation for sending Habitat for Humanity Global Village volunteers more than it does in the sending of MSF international volunteers. This is because in the previously-stated case of Global Village volunteers, the volunteers are donors themselves, and need to be satisfied in order to ensure that they donate or volunteer again in the future and perform effectively for the organization.

Volunteer tourism is perhaps the biggest underlying motivation for Habitat for Humanity to send volunteers internationally on its short-term Global Village programs. Because of the way Habitat for Humanity structures its Global Village programs, in that volunteers are required to make a donation in order to travel and volunteer on a program, the organization must have ways in which it can continually satisfy its volunteers (who are also donors). Habitat for Humanity Global Village programs allow volunteers to leave the comfort of their homes for only 1-2 short weeks while gaining a sense of personal achievement, and volunteers are also given the opportunity to choose which country they volunteer in. The fact that Global Village volunteers are also

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organizational donors is directly related to the financial benefit of these international volunteers to the organization's operational expenses and the advancement of its mission. In terms of factors of success, Habitat for Humanity is able to successfully raise funds by utilizing the financial donations of its Global Village volunteers to the organization, as well as utilizing its large base of financial donors and volunteers worldwide. As mentioned below, Habitat for Humanity South Africa strives to help rather than hurt the local community by keeping its focus on the community. Similar to MSF, Habitat for Humanity must also be financially transparent and provide annual financial statements and reports in order to retain its nonprofit status year after year and continue to satisfy its donors. However, Habitat for Humanity differs significantly from MSF in its voiced commitment to accountability. The argument here is that Habitat for Humanity's Global Village volunteers are not held as accountable as they should be, because Global Village volunteers only work for the organization for a few short weeks, and they are also valuable as financial donors to the organization. Therefore, more energy is spent keeping volunteers satisfied with their own experience rather than a focus on keeping volunteers accountable to the community in which they are serving.

This dynamic of Habitat for Humanity's Global Village volunteer program should not be taken lightly, and the possible negative consequences that can arise from these programs should not be overlooked. Even so, the organization as a whole has worked for decades toward overcoming various parts of South Africa's housing challenges. Habitat for Humanity combats the housing challenges in South Africa by using a community development strategy which they call a "People-Public-Private-Partnership (P4) Model." Habitat for Humanity cites this model as allowing them to keep the community's "voice and engagement at the center," and this P4 Model also allows the organization to foster strong partnerships "between the community, government, private sector and civil society" (Habitat for Humanity International 2016a). Habitat for Humanity South Africa

has served 124 families in 2016, through its work in three out of nine provinces in the country (Habitat for Humanity International 2016a).

This case study analyzed two specific development and relief INGOs' volunteer-sending priorities and programs—Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and Habitat for Humanity International—in order to study whether or not all motivations and factors for success applied to both organizations. MSF and Habitat for Humanity International are both large, well-known, and highly respected NGOs, that both seek to impact development in a positive way. The way MSF seeks to impact development is by providing impartial and professional medical care to vulnerable populations around the world, and Habitat for Humanity seeks to positively impact development by building houses in low-income communities worldwide to achieve individuals' rights to safe, affordable and adequate shelter.

The case study of MSF's work internationally and in South Africa revealed that MSF's motivations to send volunteers abroad reflect three of the main motivations laid out in the theoretical framework of this paper: humanitarian motivations, the financial or workforce motivation for volunteer recruitment, and the motivation to expand globally and professionalize. Habitat for Humanity also is motivated to utilize international volunteers for various reasons stated in the theoretical framework: humanitarian/helping motivations, donor satisfaction, volunteer tourism as an emerging market of alternative tourism, and the financial workforce benefit of volunteers. For MSF, the two motivations from the framework that are not so apparent are donor satisfaction and volunteer tourism. Although MSF still has to keep donors satisfied in order to keep operating, sending volunteer medical professionals abroad in order to satisfy donors does not seem as significant of a motivating influence as it does for Habitat for Humanity's Global Village volunteer programs (in which Global Village volunteers are donors themselves to the organization). Volunteer tourism as an emerging market is also not a motivating factor for MSF to send volunteers abroad. MSF strictly states that their long-term volunteer assignments do not serve as gap year placements,

MSF volunteers do not get to choose which country they are placed in, and MSF volunteers must be aware of the potential risks of the situations they might be placed in (Médecins Sans Frontières Southern Africa 2016c). Conversely, the only motivating factor of this paper's theoretical framework that does not seem to be evident in Habitat for Humanity's motivation for the Global Village volunteer program is the motivation to expand globally and professionalize.

Discussion and Conclusion

There are many implications to be drawn from this study of NGO motivations to send volunteers abroad and factors of successful mission achievement for international development and relief NGOs. This paper provided a theoretical framework in order to answer the question of why NGOs are motivated to utilize international volunteers, and detailed five main motivations. These motivations for NGOs to send volunteers abroad include: 1) helping or humanitarian motivations influenced by globalization, 2) donor satisfaction, 3) increasing competition between NGOs that encourages NGOs to professionalize and expand globally, 4) volunteer tourism as an emerging form of alternative tourism, and 5) the workforce or financial benefit of volunteers to an organization. The second part of the theoretical framework focused on the idea that once development and relief INGOs send volunteers abroad in order to carry out their mission and goals in other countries, there are certain factors or abilities that NGOs must have or do in order to successfully impact development. These INGOs need to have: 1) the ability to successfully raise funds, 2) the ability to help rather than hurt, and 3) the ability and willingness to ethically represent and be held accountable to both their donors and host communities in order to successfully impact development.

The scope of this research focused on broad, structural motivations for NGOs to utilize international volunteers, and factors of success of those NGOs contributing positively to international development. If many development and relief NGOs (especially the large, well-known,

multinational ones such as the two discussed in the case study of this paper) are already aware of 'best' practices and many of the factors of success stated in this theoretical framework, where can we continue to further the impact of volunteer-sending development and relief NGOs? Perhaps the biggest impact can be made through the international volunteers themselves—if we begin to recognize the disconnect between the different types of IVS—what Sherraden *et al.* (2006, 165) call IVS programs either for the purpose of promoting of international understanding or for the purpose of international development and relief.

The most potentially damaging part of this disconnect manifests itself in programs such as the Global Village program of Habitat for Humanity, in which short-term international volunteers engage in volunteer tourist activities while volunteering for the purpose of long-term development. Volunteers' ability to perform well is crucial to the success of a development or relief organization (Lueck and Peek 2012, 193). Because of this, volunteers, and especially international volunteers, need to be trained in more effective ways than they are currently. More work needs to be done in the future so that development and relief NGOs begin to realistically place themselves within the historical, social and power-constructs brought about by imperialism and the colonial period. By doing this, northern development and relief INGOs can expand their international volunteer training to place a greater emphasis on educating international volunteers (especially those on short-term programs from the Global North) about the gravity of the volunteers' presence in the Global South—rather than just simply 'cultural awareness' training.

Volunteer-sending NGOs should make a priority to expand their cultural training to also include historical education and training on the potential for negative outcomes of the international volunteers' presence (see Figure 1). For example, Habitat for Humanity International's Global Village Orientation Handbook asks volunteers to prepare themselves by reflecting on a series of questions. One of these questions is: *What is your purpose in going on this Global Village trip?* (Habitat for Humanity International 2016c, 21). Conversely, McEwan (2011) writes about the

multitude of ethical implications of doing research, fieldwork, or academic study in areas which the Western world would call 'developing.' McEwan (2011, 26) argues that students and fieldworkers should be asked to reflect using questions surrounding these ethical issues and by focusing on the ways in which doing fieldwork abroad can challenge existing perceptions or stereotypes. The list of questions McEwan (2011) poses are very much different in tone than those Habitat for Humanity Global Village orientation questions, but are similar in the end goal of striving to better prepare people to interact cross-culturally and positively impact development. An example of one of the reflection questions McEwan (2011, 26) poses is: *Why am I [volunteering] over 'there' (e.g. Africa, Latin America, South East Asia) rather than over 'here' (Britain, Europe, USA, Japan, Australia)?* McEwan (2011) states that these types of questions should be utilized by international fieldworkers and researchers, and I argue that they also need to be applied to international volunteers, on both short-term and long-term programs (see Figure 1).

Even though it may seem relatively simple for a volunteer-sending NGO to begin using these types of questions, NGOs need to first have the desire and willingness to humble themselves enough to recognize their place in the historical and societal power-hierarchies surrounding international development. Then, volunteer-sending NGOs need to be able to effectively educate their international volunteers about these ethical issues in the very brief time they have to train the volunteers. This will require NGOs to recognize that their volunteers are most likely not trained in the field of development, and might need to be educated about something that development and international relations professionals deem as elementary—such as the difference between historical conceptions of the 'First' and 'Third' Worlds, and the Global North and South. NGOs should do this in a way that does not undermine the often genuine humanitarian or helping concerns of the international volunteers; however, volunteer-sending NGOs do need to ask volunteers to be more aware of the other (sometimes subconscious) reasons why they might be wanting to volunteer internationally.

This expanded volunteer training should primarily focus on teaching international volunteers ways in which they can maximize the potential benefits of IVS while reducing the possible negative outcomes. By taking these critical steps, international volunteers and their sending organizations can more successfully position themselves within the historical and relative cultural context of the community or region in which they are volunteering. This will provide a more effective way to hold INGOs and volunteers accountable to the countries and communities in which they operate, and will also help protect themselves from external criticisms of Western imperialism, paternalism or a savior complex. Taking these future steps will better prepare international volunteers for the very serious implications of their work abroad, and ultimately, make a more effective impact in the lives of the community members who international volunteers and their sending organizations seek to serve.

Figures

Figure 1 – Expanded Training Questions Regarding International Volunteering

"Global Village Orientation Handbook." (Habitat for Humanity International 2016c, 15, 21-23)	"Development and Fieldwork." (McEwan 2011, 26)
"What do you expect facilities to be like? (Hotels, restaurants, toilets, buses, accommodations, etc.)"	"How am I positioned in power relations (historical and contemporary) between North and South?"
"Personal reflections: What do you expect spiritually? What do you expect emotionally?"	"How aware am I of my relative wealth?"
"What is your purpose in going on this Global Village trip?"	"Why am I [volunteering] over 'there' (e.g. Africa, Latin America, South East Asia) rather than over 'here' (Britain, Europe, USA, Japan, Australia)?"
"How might you make an effort to be involved with the local community?"	"Who benefits from my [volunteer] visit and how?"
"Am I willing to learn about where I am going and from where I come? "	"How can [international volunteering] blur boundaries between 'here' and 'there'?"
"What do you expect from your hosts? Who is in charge?"	"How might [international volunteering] foster knowledge and understanding of other peoples' lives?"
"Can I accept cultural differences? Can I adjust my judgments to the people I'm with and the place I'm living?"	"Rather than speaking for other people, what methodologies might I adopt in order to challenge the process of 'unequal exchange' (working with and for and giving back to local peoples)?"

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