Exploring the Local Community's Perception of the Role of International Volunteering in Kibera Slum in Nairobi.

Sanita Lielbarde

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Arts degree (Social Science Specialization) at DBS School of Arts, Dublin.

Supervisor: Dr. Niall Hanlon

Head of Department: Dr. Bernadette Quinn

April 2015

Department of Social Science

DBS School of Arts

Exploring the Local Community's Perception of the Role of

International Volunteering in Kibera Slum in Nairobi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my research supervisor Dr. Niall Hanlon as well as Dr. Annette Jorgensen for support and advice throughout the research process.

I also would like to thank Rachael for the opportunity to be introduced to Kibera and to experience the most unusual journey that made me fall in love with its people. Therefore, my special thanks goes to all the wonderful people in Kibera. I am grateful for the trust they displayed by inviting me into their homes to share their thoughts and experiences.

Finally, I am thankful to my family and friends for ongoing encouragement during my time in college over the last five years.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to explore the local community's perception of the role of international volunteering in a Kibera slum in Nairobi. The qualitative research design was adapted and in-depth semi-structured interviews with 7 members of the local community were conducted. The results indicated overall positive perception related to individual overseas volunteers; however, the views varied about the practice and accountability of volunteering organizations. The findings identified 5 roles associated with the international volunteering: material/financial help; free service provision; cross-cultural learning opportunities; a volunteer's potential role as a medium that has capacity to spread the message about the existing problems in the slum to the west and thereby attract the international attention; and finally, the role of creating dependency from external aid. The findings also identified the need for more effective international volunteer programmes aimed to empower the local community instead of continuing to increase 'addiction' from overseas agents.

1. INTRODUCTION

Volunteering is an expression of the individual's involvement in their community. Participation, trust, solidarity and reciprocity, grounded in a shared understanding and a sense of common obligations, are mutually reinforcing values at the heart of governance and good citizenship. Volunteering is not a nostalgic relic of the past. It is our first line of defense against social atomisation in a globalising world. Today, maybe more than ever before, caring and sharing is necessity, not a charitable act.

UNV, 2000 (as cited in UNV, 2011, p.1)

It is difficult to define what is meant by a volunteer, as there is no standard practice in volunteering. The volunteers operate in a number of different organizations, participating in extremely varied tasks; they belong to various age groups and diverse backgrounds with a range of experiences and skills.

United Nations Volunteers [UNV] (2011, p. 4) identifies three assessment criteria in order to classify a certain action as an act of volunteerism. The action has to involve free will, it has to be non-pecuniary and the benefit to others is essential. In the past decade volunteering has become very popular among various groups within society. People can volunteer according to their abilities and to their areas of interest. The opportunities vary from multiple range of

domestic initiatives to international practices that have greatly expanded through the establishment of state-supported organizations in the1950s-1970s (Comhlámh, 2014). In recent years the state-supported organizations have been supplemented by rapidly growing numbers of private agencies that offer shorter overseas volunteer placements lasting between a week and several months. There are a number of studies that have been done to evaluate the experiences of volunteers, however, the experiences of communities in host destinations have not been examined enough. Therefore, this research will aim to explore the role of international volunteering and the effectiveness of this practice from the local community's perspective in Kibera slum.

1.1 Origins of volunteering

Historically the concept of volunteering can be linked to the act of giving, which has been present in any given society across time and space. The oldest recorded source that presents this matter is dated back to the 9th century BC, when Greek poet Homer (800 BC-701 BC) in his poem 'The Odyssey' initiated a discussion on begging and giving, and more importantly - tested the society's attitudes towards the particular practice (Bremner, 1996, p. 6). The Christian Bible (New Testament) is another illustrious evidence of long history of giving - from now on - the act of charity (*caritas- Latin)*, when Jesus (c.7 BC - AD 30) demonstrates his belief in the duty and reward of charity by encouraging his disciples to do charitable deeds (Bremner, 1996, p.12). Since then the charity driven by faith has manifested into many religious groups and individual missionaries - many of them saints and heroes- undertaking the risk of the unknown and facing death in order to voluntarily dedicate their life for the needy and poor in other parts of the world (Stourton, 2009).

The actual term 'voluntary' comes from Latin v*oluntas,* meaning *'*will' and *velle '*to wish'. Its origins can be traced back to the late 14th century, *voluntarius - '*voluntary, of one's free will'*,* originally referred to feelings, later also to actions with reference to armed forces. The actual use of the word 'volunteer' comes from French *voluntaire -* meaning 'one who offers himself for military service' - was recorded for the first time in France around 1600 (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2014). The term's significant military roots manifest well into the 19th century, when people volunteered to fight in many wars of independence in South American and African countries. In non-military sense, the meaning of volunteering began to broaden during the Victorian times in Britain by increased numbers of 'charity workers' - philanthropists - most of them women - providing the support for those in need. Consequently, this social practice of good will has provided the groundwork for contemporary volunteering both locally and internationally (Comhlámh, 2014).

1.2 Overseas volunteering

The increasing globalization of social and ecological problems has influenced the rapid expansion of international agencies worldwide. The outcomes of this expansion are seen in increased volunteer mobility through the volunteer exchange programs and 'an intensified interconnection between local volunteer action and global concerns' (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003, p.178). The short-term volunteer placements have attracted people from different age groups and different backgrounds by combining two very enjoyable and satisfactory elements in one – traveling and helping others. Very often, volunteer tourism, also *voluntourism,* is seen as a 'practice of individuals going on working holidays, volunteering their labour for worthy causes, such as aiding or alleviating the material poverty in some groups of society' (Lyons and

Wearing, 2008, p. 3) in the way that is mutually beneficial to individuals personal development as well as to the environment they participate in (Wearing, 2001, p.1). However, unlike the state-supported organizations many short term placements do not require specific skills to participate. Instead, skills can be developed through the participation, and often the main focus is on intercultural exchange.

The rise in demand for volunteering experiences across the world has been paralleled by the rapid growth of volunteer sending organizations (Graham, 2004, p.13), that promote, sell and organize programmes depending on volunteer tourists' preferred activity, location and duration (Raymond and Hall, 2008, p. 531). The fundamental to volunteer tourism is the idea that time and money devoted to overseas volunteering would benefit those in need (Coghlan and Fennel, 2005, p.384) and that the act of good-faith in particular can and should bring positive impacts to local people in host destinations (Sin, 2009, p.481). However, in more recent discussions, the necessity and need for structured development and management of overseas volunteer programmes in order to avoid cross-cultural misunderstandings has been highlighted (Raymond and Hall, 2008, p.530). Furthermore, it is suggested that the market forces that drive volunteer tourism, should be examined (Coghlan and Fennel, 2005, p.384) in order to achieve the maximum value for the volunteer and host community. Various studies argue that volunteer sending organizations should play an essential role in reaching the most optional outcomes through the progressive management before departure, during the placement and after their return. Raymond and Hall (2008, p. 530) point out that overseas volunteering do not necessarily generate awareness of the issues facing host communities. Therefore, the development of cultural understanding should be perceived as a goal of volunteer tourism rather than 'natural result of sending volunteers overseas' (Raymond and Hall, 2008, p. 530).

Also Coghlan and Gooch (2011, p. 714) emphasize the need for transformation and change within the growing industry of volunteer tourism. The focus is on promoting the consciousness and awareness among the volunteers and members of the host community, which may result in creating the base for learning and changing as a result of their experiences.

1.3 Motivation

Most commonly, volunteering is widely acknowledged as an altruistic activity which involves giving without asking or without being paid, where the volunteers' motive is a 'selfless one' and is not driven by personal benefits (Bussell and Forbes, 2002, p. 251). In response to this statement, existing research argues that this is not attainable, as every act of charity will include some kind of personal reward. Therefore, Wilson and Musick point out that helping others is 'as beneficial for the donor as it is for the recipient' (Wilson and Musick, 1999, p.141). It has also been suggested that many individuals may take part in volunteering due to the sense of duty and responsibility to the community or even 'more abstract collectivity' (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003, p.173).

The motivations why people choose to participate in overseas volunteer projects rather than locally may vary from internal factors, such as a persons' values, history and self- identity, and also from 'external pull factors' (Mustonen, 2005, p.116). People in different life stages will more likely have different motivations to volunteer (Sherraden, Lough, & McBride, 2008, p.399). However, a number of researchers have identified that most of the initiatives are related to self-benefit and self-actualizing rather than altruistic motives (Guttentag, 2009, p.541; Bussell and Forbes, 2002, p.247). For example, the reason for involvement in overseas projects for many volunteer tourists is motivation to travel to a different destination rather than 'to

contribute' (Sin, 2008, p.497). Younger adults are more likely to seek short-term volunteer placement matching their own interests and very often experiencing – trying out - the profession before committing to it (Soderman and Snead, 2008, p.119). Very often volunteers are driven by a combination of perceived personal benefits including meeting new people, learning new skills, self-satisfaction and the sense of achievement. Numerous researchers suggest that the role of altruism in volunteer tourism is unclear and consequently the volunteer tourism driven by personal rewards 'overshadows altruistic motivation' (Coghlan and Gooch, 2011, p.715). Furthermore, Stebbins (1996, p.211) describes volunteering as a self-interested leisure activity, which gives a reason to critically evaluate the nature of volunteer tourism much like any other form of tourism (Sin, 2009, p.497). Moreover, there are suggestions that volunteer tourism represents a form of 'social egoism', where commercialized volunteer sending agencies promote a wide range of personal benefits rather than focusing on altruistic motivation 'designed to benefit disadvantaged community' (Coghlan and Fennel, 2005, p.384). To challenge this opinion, Bremner (1996, p.13) indicates that volunteers – their motivation - is subject to such an inquiry, that the same important issue of an effect on a receiver is not discussed enough. Either way, to accommodate the positive and negative opinions on volunteer motivations, there is also a view that the behaviors and attitudes are likely to change during the trip and during the placement, and volunteers will follow their 'intrinsic altruistic motives, no matter how they behave outside volunteering period' (Mustonen, 2005, p.115).

1.4 Geographies of volunteer tourism

It is difficult to provide an actual number of overseas volunteers. The reason for this is seen in the fast expanding volunteer tourism industry, which includes the individual initiatives and

development of many smaller agencies, as well as the globally known ones offering the short-term volunteering experiences. Therefore, this research will use data from the *2012 Official Volunteer Abroad Report* (Boyer, 2014) to construct an image of the most desirable volunteer destinations via online searches. It is not surprising that the most popular countries belong to developing regions, where India, South Africa, Thailand and Haiti are at the top of a list. Despite various locations, the report indicates similar trends that characterize these countries, such as post-colonial legacies, poverty and inequality. Accordingly, Volunteers Magazine data (2014) also indicates same tendencies in common volunteer destinations, where most popular are India, Nepal and Thailand, followed by South Africa, Peru, Ghana, Tanzania and Kenya. As a most popular attraction to volunteer in Kenya is prioritized and emphasized by the 'wildlife, culture and amazing landscapes' and 'rural Maasai lands with ethnic tribes' (Volunteer Magazine, 2014). Instead, this research intends to focus on the different environments favored by volunteers' choices, and specifically on the increasing volunteer tourism activities in the Kibera slum, in Nairobi area.

1.5 Kenya and post-colonial legacy

Kenya lies across an equator on the East Coast of Africa with a population of over 45 million. The countries' rich history dates back to the Stone Age and possesses the world's largest and most complete evidence of civilization's cultural development (United Nations, 2011). However, despite its rich heritage, the country has experienced periods of intrusion of Islamic and Portuguese immigrants, as well as decades of British colonial rule from 1890s until 1963, which have had a lasting impact on the country's development and therefore can only be explained and understood by reflecting on its colonial experience (Ndege, 2009, p.8).

The challenge of independence was a search for democracy and political stability, as well as for economic development and equality. Kenya, in comparison to other sub-Saharan African countries has been relatively politically stable and economically developed. However, deficiency in opportunities for development and growth on a global scale is recognized. The reason for this, as Nulty has indicated, is a domination of lingering colonial policies that define domestic growth initiatives and international investment (Nulty, 2012, p.100). This author argues that Kenyan post-colonial policies do not differ much from colonial ones, which could also be explained by the dominance of European personnel in the commercial and political sphere long after the British rule (Nulty, 2012, p.100). Implications of colonial legacy are evident within Kenya's post-colonial social formation as 'an uncomfortable mixture of the pre-colonial, colonial and global economic structures' (Ndege, 2009, p.8). The colonialism left behind an underdeveloped economy with high levels of uneven development and external dependency and vulnerability from former colonial states (Zeleza, 2010, p.8). The countries' long history of dependence on foreign aid in particular has overshadowed the potential access to market opportunities (Ihlebæk, 2006, p.22), as relations formed in colonial times between Kenyan elites and overseas states still determine the outcomes of self-reliance and social advancement. Dambisa Moyo (2009) argues that many African governments and people have become addicted to foreign aid. They have developed dependency and they cannot imagine their lives without overseas assistance. The local governments are stuck in this trap; therefore they do not seek any progressive, more transparent ways of increasing development funds. On this note, Moyo compares this kind of aid to a 'Band-Aid' that provides immediate relief, but does not contribute to a long term sustainable growth (Moyo, 2009).

The colonial policy of racial segregation, when residential and commercial areas were

divided into European, Asian and African, has influenced uneven urbanization in Kenya, in particular in surrounding areas of Nairobi. After obtaining independence in 1963, the colonial rule policies were replaced and people were able to move freely. The implication of this was seen in unbalanced urban development (Ngau, 2013, p.3) as masses of people went to cities in search for work. The urban migration resulted in a need for low cost shelter, which led to development of about 200 slum settlements (IRIN: humanitarian news and analysis, 2014) with high density facilitating more than half of the population of Nairobi (Wesolowski and Eagle, 2010, p.103).

1.6 Kibera slum

Slum is a densely populated urban area characterized by difficult living conditions that manifests into different forms of deprivation- material, physical, social and political. The slum conditions are defined by United Nations [UN] as lacking one of the basic conditions: durable housing, sufficient living space, access to safe water, adequate sanitation and security (UN-Habitat, 2006, p. VI). In the last decade of the 20th century, the number of slums worldwide has dramatically increased, becoming a cause of serious concern for humanitarian organizations.

Historically, Kibera was a military reserve formed with the purpose to facilitate the building of the Uganda Railway line in the early 20th century. After The Second World War it was allocated as a temporary settlement to Nubian people, who had served in the Kenyan African Rifles [KAR] and in 1992 the settlement which comprised of 12 villages, was transferred to local authorities (UN- Habitat, 2014).

Kibera slum is the largest informal settlement in Kenya and second largest in Africa (according to Marras (2008) – the biggest slum in the world) with a population of over one

million people. There is no reliable figure so far, rather just an estimate generated from data by various non-profit organizations and agencies aiming to provide the basis for further implementation of development projects. As the population grows and urban migration continues, the problems of urban poverty - high density and poor basic services are stark reality. Degraded environmental conditions, reduced life expectancy, inadequate nutrition, inability to access medical services and adequate education, lack of appropriate housing and increasing vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, as well as the growing insecurity and criminality due to the widespread poverty, are some of the features of living conditions in the slum (UN-Habitat, 2005, p.4). There are approximately 200 local and international Non-Governmental Organizations [NGO] operating in the slum (Barcott, 2000, p.13), providing the basic services in education, medical assistance and promoting AIDS awareness within the community. However, the lack of transparency in management of many of these organizations is seen as a negative aspect that lessens the importance of the primary goal to benefit the community.

With an average income of less than a dollar a day, Kibera is seen as one of the poorest areas in Kenya. The poor and inadequate access to basic services is an 'emphatic remainder of the realities of urban growth in Africa' concludes Ngau (2013, p.3). Indeed, the poverty is the factor of attraction for western tourists and volunteers making Kibera slum a 'new safari' (Osman, 2014).

1.7 Who gains most?

The destination – slum - is a new phenomena that attracts more and more volunteers from developed countries. Many researchers relate it to slum tourism – a growing industry within the industry of volunteer tourism. 'What real value volunteer tourist offer to their hosts?' asks Sin in

her study (2009, p.440). Very often opinions disagree about the necessity and ethics of the short-term volunteer placements in slums as opposed to long-term placements that have greater beneficial potential. Thus, the question arises, who gains most of the benefits from short-term programmes – volunteers, host communities, or sending-receiving organizations. Sherraden, Lough and McBride (2008, p. 397) argue that outcomes for volunteers, host communities and sending organizations differ depending on individual abilities and goals set by volunteer projects and expectations of achieving these goals in a most beneficial way. Successful implementation and execution of short term projects is expected to promote a cross-cultural understanding and awareness of cultural norms and community's needs. However, there is also a view that short term placements are designed to reward a volunteer tourist and the benefit to the host community in particular is less clear (Raymond and Hall, 2008, p.533; Sherraden et al., 2008, p.398).

Potentially positive outcomes of volunteer tourism intervention could be seen as a contribution to health, education and social services, but at the same time there are indications that the local people would be fit to fill these positions themselves and volunteers only displace local workers (Sherraden et al., 2008, p.397). Some local community members benefit from hosting volunteers, which could be classified as a positive outcome, but Sin (2009, p.498) draws attention to growing inequalities within local society arising from funding local partners in host communities. The opinions vary about an actual benefit for host communities. Barcott (2000, p.13) examined the local people's attitudes towards NGO's activities in the Kibera slum. The research indicated many cases when people could not name any of the organizations, even more; they expressed hostility towards aid agencies. Some respondents expressed a view that 'they (*meaning* NGO's) do not care about the people in Kibera; they use our problems for their

own profit' (Barcott, 2000, p.13). De Feyter (2011, p. 39) has also indicated that a lack of transparency is a serious problem in the Kibera slum, when local organizations use names of local members to attract the funding, however, this money does not 'trickle down' to the community. The reason for this, argues Ihlebæk (2006, p.22) is that investors or donors are not supposed to intervene, their role is concealed by the fact that they 'have no role', meaning, they provide funding, but are not supposed to have any vested interest in an outcome. Therefore, the importance of benefits for the communities are overlooked in order to concentrate on gaining funding from international investors. Furthermore, the findings of previous research conducted in the slum indicate that local agencies and organizations are fearful of losing an overseas donor, thus, they often set up projects that the community does not need and does not benefit from (De Feyter, 2011, p.41). Consequently, the study suggests that this situation creates a conflict, when the focus is on financial access rather than on a progressive investment plan and the possible benefit for the local community.

1.8 Conclusion

The act of volunteering is a direct 'interactive experience between volunteer and host' (Mustonen, 2005, p.116). This mutual interaction is expected to leave some kind of influence on both sides; therefore a discussion should concentrate on volunteers' as well as on host communities' experiences. Taking into account a growing popularity of volunteer tourism, the deficiency of valuable discussion is recognized. Although there are numerous studies aimed to examine experiences of volunteers and the reasons for participation, 'the systematic academic research in this area is still in its infancy' and the lack of fundamental understanding is evident (Lyons, Wearing and Benson, 2009, p.270). As the numbers of people interested in volunteering

increases and the agencies providing volunteering vacations expand, the focus of this study will be on the host community's perception of the role of international volunteering. The research on this particular phenomena is very limited, therefore, as Sin argues (2009, p.481), there is a need for additional investigations to provide greater understanding of this practice - in both its positive and negative aspects.

It is suggested that research involving host communities could provide valuable knowledge and understanding of views and experiences developed by interaction between volunteers and members of local communities (Raymond and Hall, 2008, p.541). The current study will seek to address this issue of shortcoming on this particular matter by conducting interviews with members of the local community in Kibera. In order to reflect in detail on the experiences developed by people in Kibera through cross-cultural interaction, this research will aim to answer the following question - what are the host community's perceptions of the role of international volunteering in Kibera slum in Nairobi?

2. METHOD

The aim of this research was to explore the host community's perception of the role of international volunteering in Kibera slum in Nairobi. This section will explain how a particular goal was achieved by choosing specific research design and data collection method, by selecting criteria for choosing participants. It will also present the procedure of the research and will discuss any ethical issues related to this study.

2.1 Design

The qualitative research design was chosen as the most appropriate and naturalistic approach to investigate and to understand the community's opinions on particular matters within their own social environment. Consequently, by using the qualitative research design, this study aimed to attain a deeper insight into the host community's experiences with overseas volunteers and also to learn about life in the slum and the challenges that inhabitants have to face. By adapting qualitative research design it was also expected to achieve a detailed, informative and an explanatory interpretation of participants' social meanings; how they see themselves within community and how they relate to society on a global scale, by 're-presenting their social world' (Snape and Spencer, 2010, p.5).

In order to obtain this information, semi-structured interviews were selected as the most suitable tool to provide 'an opportunity for detailed investigation on people's perspectives,' and

an in-depth understanding of a personal context which provides the basis for their opinions. Accordingly, Richie (2010, p.36) has indicated that close contact between a researcher and participant is claimed to contribute to attaining the objectives of one's research, especially if it requires an understanding of 'deeply rooted' and 'delicate' matters (Ritchie, 2010, p. 36). Therefore, the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews was recognized as an appropriate instrument to provide an opportunity for detailed exploration of research participants' personal circumstances in relation to the subject of mater of this study (Lewis, 2010, p. 58).

2.2 Participants

The purposive sampling or criterion based sampling was used to identify the potential research participants. This kind of sampling, as indicated by Silverman (2010, p.141), requires one to think critically in order to choose criteria that is most appropriate for a particular case. Taking this into consideration, a sample of 7 individuals were invited to take a part in this research. One of the criteria for choosing interviewees was based on their experience with overseas volunteers. Some of the participants were involved through their work environment, some were volunteer hosts, and others were more involved on a planning and managerial level. In a few cases research participants' roles were overlapping, therefore it was expected to provide a basis for opinions from different viewpoints. The second sampling criteria was based on participants' knowledge about the challenges in the slum and their own experiences of living in the slum. The fact that 5 out of 7 participants at some stage in their lives were living in the slum and 2 of them still were residents there, was expected to provide an interpretive and rich description of the place.

The age of the participants varied from 23 to 45 years old. Two of the eldest participants

were involved with various NGO's and CBO's (Community Based Organizations); therefore it was hoped to contribute to a more professional or an 'expert' outlook on existing issues.

2.3 Procedure

In order to collect the data, semi-structured interviews were carried out in the Kibera area and Nairobi in January, 2015. Interviews took place in various previously arranged locations, including participants' homes, coffee shops and offices. The first few minutes are seen to be crucial for establishing a good rapport between the researcher and participant (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2010, p.145), therefore preparation and arrival on time was essential for a positive first impression. The importance of an appropriate dressing style was taken into consideration according to Kenyans' cultural norms and religious beliefs. Furthermore, greetings and simple phrases in a local Swahili language were learned and used in order to establish rapport and to open a 'conversation with the purpose' (Burgess, 1984, p.102).

Participants were introduced to the purpose of research, they were re-assured about confidentiality and were also asked for permission to use a Dictaphone. In a few cases it was apparent that the recording device made participants uncomfortable and they asked if they would be able to listen back over their interview. The researcher had to assure participants that they would be able to do this if they preferred, and if they asked to delete the interview or change something this would not be a problem. This reassurance helped to overcome their feeling of discomfort.

At the very first stage of interview, participants were asked to tell the researcher something about themselves. Most of the participants included their family status, age and work description in this information. This was then followed up by introducing main research

questions or topics and supplemented by follow-up questions and probes arising as the interview progressed. There was an emphasis on avoiding the use of leading and closed questions, open-ended questions were used instead. At the end of the interview participants were asked if they would like to add anything that had not been discussed, but in their opinion held some importance and value. The interviewees were thanked for taking part in this research and some of them asked if they could obtain a copy of the study after its accomplishment.

The length of the interviews was between 20-30 minutes. Interviews were held in English, which is a second state language in Kenya. People generally spoke fluent English, however, sometimes there was a necessity to rephrase the question to make it easier to understand and to respond to. Accents also contributed to difficulties with comprehension on a few occasions, therefore it was necessary for the researcher to repeat a word clearly or to rephrase a sentence. Another problem occurred in the later stage of the research, when data of one interview was accidentally deleted. Therefore, a certain member of the research was asked to do an interview for a second time. Thankfully, the participant agreed to do so.

Thematic analysis was used to identify, analyze and report patterns within data. Advantages of thematic analysis are seen in the fact that it can be used within different frameworks to answer different types of research questions, especially related to people's experiences, views and perceptions (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.79). NVivo 10 software was used to organize data and aid thematic analysis.

2.4 Ethical considerations

The main feature of the qualitative research is contact with 'human subjects in the field' (Silverman, 2010, p.152), therefore ethical guidelines have to be considered. There are a

number of principles that apply to every research, for example - voluntary participation and right to withdraw, confidentiality, assessment of potential risks and benefits to participant, obtaining informed consent and not doing harm to the participant (Silverman, 2010, p. 154). According to the Sociological Association of Ireland's [SAI] (2015) the purpose of ethical guidelines is to raise awareness about possible issues and conflicts of interests that might arise when conducting an interview.

Respect for the person is a core principle that focuses on equal treatment of every individual, respecting their values, attitudes and opinions. This principle aims to promote equality among various social groups, and does not tolerate discrimination based on age, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and race, etc. (SAI, 2015). Considering that this research was carried out in Kenya, the importance of this principle was recognized and a sensitive manner to cultural differences was maintained.

The potential difficulty of this research was seen in achieving honest and subjective outlooks in evaluating the international volunteering. The reason for this was seen in the fact, that members of this research might feel disadvantaged or intimidated when being interviewed by a white western national. This fact was seen as crucial as participants might also associate a 'white volunteer' with the interviewer. The clear explanation of the purpose of the interview was acknowledged in order to avoid confusion and the feeling of being 'cheated' as their expectation of involvement might not be met in an immediate beneficial way as they might have hoped. However, recognizing the difficulties that some people may have faced, small practical presents were presented to interviewees in a few cases only after the interview, so that participants would not feel obligated to take part against their 'initial judgement' (Silverman, 2010, p.171).

A safe environment was chosen in order to ensure the well-being of participants. Every

participant was informed that it is his/her own free choice to take part in this study and free to withdraw at any time if they wish. They were also informed about the nature of this study and the importance of their honest contribution to it. The confidentiality of participants was guaranteed by changing their real names and not providing any personal descriptive data. An informed consent letter with both the researcher's and supervisor's contact details was given to each participant to sign prior to interviews. However, the signing of the informed consent form raised concern and suspicion in a few cases. The letter was carefully examined and only after a detailed explanation did the participant agree to sign it. This difficulty was recognized in an application of ethical principles from western culture to other non-western culture. Accordingly, Silverman (2010, p.161) has pointed out that it is often hard to do it without any modification.

The potential challenge of evaluating data from the interviews was acknowledged in the light of the researcher's previous involvement with volunteering projects in Africa. In order to achieve the most transparency of this study, the distancing from the discussed issues and opinions and author's own experiences and judgments was recognized.

3. FINDINGS

The aim of this research was to explore the local community's perception of the role of international volunteering in Kibera. An interpretation of data led to the identification of four themes: volunteers – hope when 'locals don't bother'; volunteers and the value of their work; role of sending organization; and expectations - dependency.

3.1 Volunteers - hope when 'locals don't bother'

Kibera is a place of complete contrasts and extremes where people's desperation for survival and bleak prospects of a brighter future in many cases are main features of everyday lives. Despite all of the available information associated with the Kibera slum, such as poverty, unemployment and HIV, it is impossible to be prepared for the extent of it. The area 'surrounded by bad environment, pollution, sewage everywhere and smells' (Tabitha) unmasks the bitter reality of inhuman living conditions.

'The life in Kibera is very tough and hard', recognized Tabitha. Issues that inhabitants have to face are much more complicated and severe than western societies can imagine - 'just basic needs are problematic' (Vendy). The area is overpopulated, which leads to inadequate housing conditions. The constant water shortage and inadequate toilet facilities leads to sewage over-flooded streets which contaminate water, making it easy for various diseases and infections to develop and spread. The people were very much aware of their disadvantaged

living conditions and they were united in their opinions identifying such challenges. For example, Vendy has indicated:

> The main challenges are health, children, housing, no proper toilet facilities. Most of the people are jobless, high rates of HIV cases, single mothers cannot even afford to take children to school.

It is hard to stress or prioritize one particular problem, because they are all interconnected and often require multiple approaches. Take for example, housing, as Caplin described:

> The family living in one room- father, mother and children, sometimes even 6 children in one room...the children learn and see things that are not very good (...)very often children doesn't continue school (...) later it is a challenge to find a job for them.

Such living conditions and density brings children out onto the streets, where they are exposed to antisocial behaviour - drugs, changaa (cheap alcohol), and prostitution, resulting in unwanted pregnancies and in many cases of illegal abortions.

> The life is bad, especially for young people; young boys getting into drugs, girls get raped, prostitution, robbery. So there lots of things in Kibera which we wish in future wouldn't be here (...) Especially I wish for the young people. (Ester)

Many people acknowledged a connection between their problems in the past, intheir current situation and in future opportunities. They recognized that this is a cycle and that it is likely that 'they never come up' (Mercy). Very often this notion came across as a faith and hopelessness and disbelief in their own abilities. For example, Caplin indicated that 'people in the slums are not able to cater for their destiny', therefore there is a need for international organizations and volunteers to help to solve problems because 'locals don't bother' (Vendy).

In Kibera, there are no government clinics or hospitals. At the moment the main care

providers are religious groups, local and international charity organizations. The findings indicated that local people were not very knowledgeable about operating aid organization in the slum, but they were able to indicate areas. For example, Mercy acknowledged: **'I don't know them as much, but I know they are mostly providing the schools for children,'** or

> Some medical organizations, training and educating people, missionaries working in the schools, known as catholic schools, they are under the Catholic Church. They help feed children, pay salaries, and provide medical support. (Perez)

In general, the international volunteerism, as Faith explained has been present in Kibera since its independence, and 'the whole objective was to reach the gap between the West and Kenya after colonization'. Therefore, the international volunteering was seen as a hope to improve health services and education opportunities in particular as opposed to 'Kenyans themselves who do not think that volunteering is something valuable, they just think that they should be paid for everything', concluded Vendy. An education is seen to be a key area that needs to be focussed on, especially when it comes to female's education.

> Girl child- girls' education sometimes is ruined; they get married at 14; they have lots of children (...) so we need the schools and high schools for the girls. (Mercy)

or

> For example, now is January, many kids have to go back to school, but parents cannot afford to pay school fees. They will end up, especially girls, not going to school, they end up in early marriages, early pregnancies. (Perez)

Besides healthcare and education the need for homes for disabled and elderly people were also identified. There are many cases where the young generation have passed away due to HIV and

AIDS, and they have left small children and older parents behind and 'they have no place to go' (Mercy). The findings indicated the importance of teaching micro-economics or micro-finances, or other practical skills that are needed to empower local people, 'so they can cater for themselves' (Caplin) and generate an extra income. Therefore, international help and volunteers are valued in Kibera as they are seen as a hope to achieve these goals.

> Most of the local organizations are not very staffed and not very knowledgeable because they do not get proper training. And it is very valuable to get people from the outside, who can see things from different perspective and who can make changes. (Vendy)

The findings also indicated a positive aspect of the presence of international volunteers as consumers in the area. For instance, Caplin explained: 'there is that up market area, they do not need volunteers, but when they spending one pound it is makes big difference'.

3.2 Volunteers and the value of their work

Kibera is a very popular destination for international volunteers. The length of volunteering varies, depending on personal goals, skills and the project. Local people are very welcoming and always happy to greet new arrivals, as they believe that these people have come to help them and make their lives easier. 'I always think that we are blessed, because you are coming to help us', admitted Mercy. In support of this notion Perez has reflected:

> They know that people are poor, they are not rich, they want to help (...) so the main reason why they are coming is they are want to help, especially in Kibera.

Furthermore, Faith talked about a sense of obligation when the volunteer 'feels that they have to give back to their society and the best way is actually to come to Africa and do it'. It was also

suggested that people might come to volunteer in Africa in order to compensate their own deficiencies in life. For instance, Vendy reflected:

> From my experiences, especially those ones who volunteer with children, they do not have children themselves, they feel that they have something to give (...) and these children lack many things – also education, which is children' right to have.

In evaluating the volunteers' work, opinions were different as they reflected upon different experiences. Despite the fact that 'we have to appreciate (...) that they giving back that percentage of their time' (Faith), there were experiences that were not always so positive. Occasionally, volunteers did not finish their projects because they were not well prepared for what they would see and often 'some need assistance because of the shock they found in the slum' (Sally), or they 'does not do good job because they impose their ideology on communities and it never sits well and it never brings any benefits (Faith).

The findings also indicated that there have been such cases when volunteers 'coming just taking photo of us' (Tabitha) and they think that 'they are special' (Caplin) that they are 'the star' (Sally), and demonstrates that they are better:

> Some people are friendly, some are not friendly (*meaning* not social). Sometimes they coming, they see how poor Africans are, they think that they are better. (Perez)

 or

> Some coming in the school, shaking their hands with children and goes to clean their hands. (Sally)

The length of volunteering does not necessarily reflect the quality or benefits of their work. It was indicated that the value of their work is more likely to depend on a volunteer's personality

and their own subjective goals. Sometimes short-term volunteers are more dedicated, while long term volunteers get too comfortable and forget their initial motivation and are 'not sure why they are there actually in a first place' (Faith). Of course, it also happens that short term volunteers come to work in a school, but 'they don't know how to be around children (...) we could do without them', said Tabitha.

Opinions varied in terms of an actual benefit of volunteering in the slum, as it becomes 'very difficult even see or even sense the impact that is created because there are lot of focus' (Faith) and 'maybe the help does not have any impact' (Mercy). Very often the benefit was associated with tangible things-such as money, clothes, food and other goods, and often cross-cultural experiences was not emphasized enough. For example Sally explained:

> Some volunteers giving the money or they like to give something tangible that can benefit the center or the school. Some - they don't want to give out the money (...) if it is the plate you need - they going to buy the plate. There are children who needs the uniform, they going and buying uniform to give to the needy children. They buy books and distribute to children.

However, Faith has indicated the importance of an intangible benefit 'in terms of change of attitude, change of doing things'. Volunteers, even by being in the school, interacting with children, encouraging them to speak and learn English, they boost their academic performance, and they 'always grasp something from volunteer'(Sally).

At the same time, the benefit for the volunteer has to be acknowledged, especially in terms of the emotional journey. Therefore, it is arguable who gains more- the volunteer, the whole community, or just a particular member of the community. Nevertheless, positive interactions

are essential to achieve the best outcomes for all parties.

> It is important that they come to learn and work with local community, they talk to local community, people likes to talk to volunteers, especially children they likes to greet white person. Important to be social and communicate to people, ask the questions. (Caplin)

In order to establish a good rapport with local people a volunteer requires an open mind and flexibility. Kibera is the place where volunteers cannot go with a 'fixed mind', they have to be open to surprises in order to avoid any 'bad feelings'(Faith).

3.3 Role of sending organization

The sending-receiving organization or individual agents can play an important role in overall satisfaction and benefit to both the volunteer and the host community. If the volunteer's participation is well organized, it will reflect in their level of motivation. 'Focus on the skills, what skills they have and the work what they doing, communication between them is important', emphasized Vendy. As opposed to that, if volunteers have not been prepared for the journey it can become very difficult, as they do not know what exactly their role is or what is required of them.

> It becomes very overwhelming for volunteers, because of condition and they don't know exactly how they supposed to relate and what they supposed to do because of conditions. (Faith)

The co-ordination of volunteers is very important, it has to be planned and structured properly, so that appropriately skilled people would be allocated according to project goals and objectives. However, it has not always been the case, and volunteers become demotivated due

to the lack of instruction before arrival and also on the ground. It has been evident especially in smaller projects, when a volunteer 'comes and see that nobody bothers' (Vendy). Accordingly Vendy continued the argument:

> Volunteers come, they never been here before, management of volunteers is important, getting to realize that these people is here to help and to make positive difference. There need a proper planning in place in terms what are the things they want to achieve on the ground. Planning is very important. Organizations should do this planning, for example student on the ground comes, don't do nothing (...) it has to be structured properly.

It can be a very dramatic experience if a person comes from Europe or another developed country unprepared. They are in shock, 'some even starts crying because of situation they found and some decides to terminate their contract', recalled Sally.

Furthermore, responses indicated that many agencies do not do their best to co-ordinate the work of volunteers. Very often they receive the payments from a volunteer or sponsor, but they do not contribute to the particular cause, for example a school, or particular child. The lack of transparency was seen as a major problem that allows such action. For instance, Mercy has pointed out: 'I think there is no transparency, but should be'. Therefore, as a reason of this, volunteer also can be used in a 'very bad way', because 'they don't know nothing, they just a visitors, they (agents) say that they will use the money for some certain cause, but end up just pocketing money', stated Perez. In continuing this point, she argued:

> It is like business (...) they maybe will make you pay certain amount of money to come to volunteer, they will say that they will invest in the school, or other project, but they don't do that (...) but in the school there maybe child who is really suffering. You know it is not fare.

The findings showed that there is a particular negative feeling about the agents that are providing certain children with sponsors. The major problem is that sponsors are somewhere in Europe or in America, therefore they do not have direct communication with the child and they do not have exact knowledge about the place. The agent uses this gap for his own benefit and some of them exercise very unethical practices. For example, Mercy explained:

> Sometimes they take somebody from the street as a child, they get a sponsor, but maybe they couldn't mentor enough, so child is gone back to street - you see - they using the child's name to claim the money from the sponsor. I think they have to do much better. They don't care where he lives, what he eats, they do not support fully. If they mentoring the child taken off the street, they have to mentor fully - full responsibility, full support, and then full love...sometimes they gather orphan children in rural area, they came to Nairobi they write whatever, they write to get sponsor (...) and then they don't get back'.

There is no doubt that there are many agencies who do their work to their best abilities and understanding, however it was suggested that it is useful for international sponsors and volunteers 'to follow up' (Perez) and see where their money is going and how it is used.

3.4 Expectations – dependency

There are always expectations and hopes associated with volunteers. These expectations are very often rooted in perceptions that white people are rich people, who 'has a solution for all their problems' (Faith).

> All volunteers, all white people, they have lots of money, because of your countries, the way your lifestyle is. (Sally)

or

> They think you are rich. If they see someone with white person, they think they
> got lots of money and lots of presents. (Tabitha)

Money was identified as the first thing that crosses one's mind when they see a white person, a possible expertise and the skills that volunteers could contribute to the community comes as an after-thought.

> They think – money - because they always think that people from overseas has a
> lots of money. Money crosses their mind, and then the next thing would be
> expertise and the people from overseas known for expertise. (Faith)

'This understanding brings a lot of confusion', recognized Vendy and 'that could be also challenge for volunteers, because you cannot give money to everybody' (Caplin), especially in the slum, when people expect that the white volunteer might pay their bills or buy presents and so on. The perception that 'mzungu *(white person-Swahili)* is different' has been passed from generation to generation. Also children distinguish the white person and reach out without the fear from a stranger, 'they likes to greet white person, they like to touch them', indicated Caplin.

> Even in the slums when they see volunteers, they think that they are millionaires
> (...) and when they come and give something, they think these people loves us so
> much. It is not a matter of money, they can carry some foods, some clothes to
> give out to the children and to the families - it is good to think about community
> in the slum, about families in the slum - just to carry something. (Caplin)

However, this expectation very often leads to a danger of dependency. It can be argued if overseas volunteering does not contribute to create the dependency syndrome, when disadvantaged communities in the slum expect more and more help from the outside, but do not

do much to help themselves. For example, Vendy indicated, 'they know that volunteers come to help, because people from outside more often will help rather than locals. Locals don't bother'. In general, volunteering in the slum is very popular, stressed Faith:

> Everyone wants to volunteer and take part in such projects, and because of that the slum people has formed already dependencies. They know that people will come - volunteers and local people bring stuff. There are people in Kenya that even once in a month take things to the slum (...) it becomes very tricky.

As an alternative to material help in the slum, the efficiency of projects that empower people by teaching them skills, which they can use after to support themselves was recognised. Vendy was able to name one such program -'grandmother's project' which offers sewing classes for grandmothers of orphaned children.

> So they learn how to sew the clothes and generate money from that. I think that this is really helping, because it is not just we giving you ready made, you are empowering them. (Vendy)

Perhaps to break a cycle of never-ending poverty and to improve their living conditions is a difficult goal for many inhabitants to achieve. They believe that only white people can help them as opposed to locals who do not care. The findings suggested that even encouragement from white people is valued more and was seen to be more effective.

> They can tell the people in the slum that they don't have to live their life there, that they can move out if people have ideas. That can help them to get out of the poverty. You can sell something, at least something that sustaining you (…) everybody needs something to do, that could bring food, shelter and clothing. (Mercy)

Emphasizing their problems was seen as a means of attracting more international help by using volunteers' connection 'back there' (*meaning – West).*

> I think when they go back they think of helping a lot, when they see houses, no water, and no toilets in here; they m**a**ybe encourage other volunteers to come, they should communicate with people like us, they know much more then agents, so in that way they can help much more to people. (Perez)

Local people tend to be very open about their problems and needs on a personal and community level. However, this openness was sometimes translated as a misleading request aimed directly to an individual volunteer.

> I want to tell volunteers, if we Kenyans approach them, do not take that negatively. Once volunteer came and we tried to tell the problems in the school; she felt that we been demanding the money, she went and told the agent, she left immediately. (Tabitha)

The media and modern technologies also play a role in spreading a message about existing problems in the slum across the world, as volunteers are encouraged to take videos and publish them - so the other side- those one who can not to manage to come, they see how people staying here (...) and some might help', concluded Sally.

The findings showed on a number of occasions the notion or a sense of differentiating between 'we' and 'you' or 'we here' and 'you people there'. For example, as Mercy has emphasized:

> We always happy to see them. All we see is 'mzungu' *(white person-Swahili).* 'Mzungu' is different. We believe in 'mzungu', because they are transparency, they don't hide.

4. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to lessen a gap in current knowledge of the host community's experiences and opinions about overseas volunteering. Consequently, this research aimed to explore the host community's perception of the role of international volunteering in the Kibera slum in Nairobi. In order to achieve this goal the existing literature was examined with a particular focus on the concept of volunteering in both a historical and contemporary sense; on motivations and possible benefits of volunteering to volunteers and the host community; on Kenya's colonial and post-colonial history; and on the Kibera slum, one of the biggest informal settlements in Africa. The qualitative research design was applied and 7 semi-structured interviews were conducted. The sample selection was based on participants' experiences with overseas volunteers and their knowledge about the life in Kibera. The interpretation of data analysis led to the emergence of four main themes: volunteers as a hope when 'locals don't bother'; volunteers and the value of their work; role of a sending organization; and expectations and dependencies. The findings of this research identified five roles associated with international volunteering: role of material/financial support; role of service provision; role of cross-cultural learning opportunities; role in connecting Kibera with the west; and the role in creating dependency.

The findings of this study indicated overall positive outlooks towards the presence of overseas volunteers in Kibera and their effort to make a difference which was appreciated

within the community. The importance of personal goals, motivations and individual qualities were identified as important factors that play a part in the actual outcome and perceived effectiveness associated with the role of international volunteering. Therefore, the act of giving back to the community was seen as a contributory factor that adds to the value of the perceived image and the role of overseas volunteer. Accordingly, the existing research poses the view that the volunteers, whose participation was based on a sense of duty to community or some kind of abstract collectivity, will enhance their dedication to the particular cause (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003, p.173). The results suggested that the volunteering based on intimate personal motives has potential to be more rewarding for both community and volunteer. A person's personal affairs, for example, deficiencies in their life very often manifest into an urge to help other people in more disadvantaged circumstances. Consequently, Sherraden, Lough and McBride (2008, p.399) support the idea that people in different life stages have different motives to participate, therefore their own goals and objectives play a significant role in the level of dedication to do their best. Considering that the volunteer is only a small unit within the large structure, the impact is felt on the smaller scale and the role of an individual volunteer as a donor is restricted by his/her own personal, often financial limitations. However, the findings stressed the volunteer's role as a potential consumer who spends money in the local market, thus providing the livelihood for local families by increasing economic activity in Kibera. Also Sin (2009, p.498) indicated the positive aspect of hosting the volunteers, which provides an important source of income for the community.

The results emphasized the importance of the presence of international volunteers in terms of intangible benefits in Kibera, for example, the cross-cultural interactions, the change in attitudes and the change in doing things differently. The encouragement plays a very

important role for adults to fight and to search for opportunities and also for children to learn and to do their best in school. The people from 'outside' see things from a different perspective, therefore the expertise and skills that volunteers bring can be used in a very effective way. Similarly, the existing literature suggests that successful implementation and execution of the short term projects is expected to promote the cross-cultural understanding and awareness of cultural norms and community's needs. (Raymond and Hall, 2008, p.533).

The findings indicated different attitudes towards the sending-receiving organizations in comparison to individual volunteers. While the majority of respondents expressed their positive feelings about the presence of overseas volunteers, the actual activity and practices of the connecting agencies was seen in a less attractive way. The role of a sending organization is crucial in the general planning and structuring of volunteers' involvement. However, the results have showed that many organizations do not prepare the volunteer enough, which leads to cultural misunderstanding, the shock and withdrawal from the project. The various studies have pointed out the lack of preparation, lack of assistance and lack of responsibility towards the host community and the individual volunteer (Raymond and Hall, 2008, p.530; Coghlan and Fennel, 2005, p.384). The findings showed that many international volunteer organizations are perceived as businesses that are designed to benefit themselves. The local community believes that these organizations and agencies have the potential to make a difference and play a more beneficial role in the slum, but very often they have very different interests and focuses. The lack of transparency was seen as a major problem that diminishes the role of overseas volunteering and disrespects the community's needs. This concern has been examined by various researchers previously. For example, Coghlan and Gooch (2011, p. 714) discuss the need for transformation and change within the volunteer sector that currently does not care

about the people but uses the peoples' problems for their own profit (Barcott, 2000, p.13). The findings suggest that this situation is created by the fact that the sponsor does not follow up on how their money or other resources donated for particular purpose are invested. The problem of accountability and transparency in the Kibera slum has also been indicated by Ihlebæk (2006, p.22) and De Feyter (2011, p. 39), when a local organization uses the existing problems to attract international capital, including the fee-paying volunteers, but this money does not 'trickle down' to the community. In the context of this particular problem, the perceived role of international volunteering involves the supervision of local organizations by continuous check-ups on how their contribution is used. Furthermore, the findings indicated that the local community believes that only white people can solve their problems and the volunteers are seen as agents that have the capacity to spread the message across the Western world, so the people overseas can see their problems and can help them.

The findings indicated that the perceived role of an international volunteer involves the fulfillment of host community's expectation; however the satisfaction of these expectations involves potential risk of dependency. The results have pointed out the fact that overseas volunteering plays a role in the development of dependency in the slum, when people heavily rely on the gifts and donations and therefore are not motivated to fight the problems themselves. The existing research examines the challenges of dependency on the larger scale. For example Moyo (2009) suggests that many African governments and people have become addicted to foreign aid. They have developed dependency and they cannot imagine their lives without overseas assistance. People are stuck in this trap and therefore they do not seek any progressive ways to generate the income. The author compares this kind of aid to a 'Band-Aid' that provides only immediate relief. The results have recognized the role of international

volunteering in promoting an alternative way of helping through the empowerment of local community by teaching them skills, which they can use to support themselves.

The findings stressed that the length of volunteering does not necessarily reflect the scale of benefits. Sometimes short term volunteers are more dedicated to the cause and want to achieve as much as they can within a short period of time as opposed to long term volunteers who often get too comfortable and forget why they are there in the first place. The existing research has shown slightly different results, when the role of short-term volunteering is seen to be less valuable, unclear (Sherraden et al., 2008, p.398) and even egoistic (Coghlan and Fennel, 2005, p.384).

The results indicated the importance of mass media and technologies that can aid the volunteer's stories with visual images and messages about the life and challenges in Kibera. The media was recognized as a powerful tool that is used to attract the attention and seek assistance internationally. Very often the volunteers are encouraged to take pictures and videos and to publish them online, so people 'from another side' can help. Considering that media is a relatively new phenomena in the slum, the research related to this matter is very limited. Therefore, the findings identified the need for further research to explore the role of mass media and its impacts on community in the Kibera slum.

4.1 Limitations

The thesis was limited by the fact that the sample of research consisted of female participants only. The intention of this research was to involve male and female participants, however due to the time restrictions and ineffective planning this goal was not achieved. The criteria for selecting the sample was focused on experience with overseas volunteers, therefore the gender

was not considered as a determinative factor to access the qualitative data. A further limitation of this thesis is recognized in the researcher's lack of experience in the field and personal relation to the subject of matter of this study. This provides the potential danger of the study being influenced by the researcher's personal bias. However, the nature of qualitative study always involves a certain risk of bias; therefore this particular case is treated as an unavoidable factor that requires extra attention to minimize its effect.

4.2 Recommendations

International volunteering has become a very popular practice across the globe in the last decade, which from a small niche, also exclusive practice, has become a powerful industry driven by economic forces. There is no doubt that the impacts felt by both- volunteer and community in host destinations requires the examination in order to understand the effects of this practice. The existing research has been more attentive to the volunteer's experiences than the host community's experiences. Therefore, this study suggests that there is a need for more detailed research with local people in order to improve their experiences and maximize the outcomes of volunteering. The importance of co-operation between sending and receiving organizations in the selection of volunteers with relevant skills and evaluation afterward would add an extra value to the overall benefit. It is also suggested that the volunteering 'business' should be regulated and the responsibility should involve training and preparing volunteers before departure and assistance on the ground and after returning if it is required.

Further research is necessary to investigate areas and ways that can be used as a basis for development of programmes that empower the local people in the Kibera slum. Also, a further recommendation for future research would involve the role of media on the community

in Kibera. The technology 'boom' is relatively new there in comparison to Western societies, therefore the impact is still in progress and requires investigation into how this powerful tool can be used to relieve the current situation and to promote development.

4.4 Conclusion

The aim of this research was to explore the host community's perception of the role of international volunteering in Kibera. The research findings indicated that the individual volunteers can be seen as a small unit within the larger structure, therefore their contribution, such as providing food, educational fees or school uniforms more often will be sensed on a smaller scale and will impact the individual or family rather than the community for a shorter period of time. The results indicated that local people believe that overseas volunteers have the best intentions to help, but their capacity is limited. To oppose this statement, volunteering organizations have the potential to make a difference on the larger scale, but very often do not do their best. The perceived role of international volunteering firstly reflected the material expectations, also the provision of services, followed by exchange of cross-cultural experiences that have the potential to change the attitudes and encourage new ways of doing things. Also the volunteer's role as a medium between Kibera and the West was recognized, followed by a potential role in creating dependency from external agents.

The reflected perspectives of local community are aimed to enrich the learning experience for western people and help them to understand the challenges of interactions between international volunteers' and the hosts and look at them from different viewpoints. The potential contribution of this study is seen in the added knowledge about life in the Kibera slum, which can be used as a starting point to build on the awareness and responsibility among

the future volunteers.

REFERENCES

Barcott, R. (2000). The Kibera Slum, Kenya: Do NGO's Help? *Anthropology News,* 41(9), pp.13-13.

Boyer, K. (2014). *2012 Official Volunteer Abroad Report*. Retrieved November 16, 2014, from Go Overseas website: http://www.gooverseas.com/volunteer-abroad-report

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), pp.77-101.

Bremner, R.H. (1996). *Giving: Charity and Philanthropy in History.* New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Burgess, R. (1984). *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Bussell, H., & Forbes, D. (2002). Understanding the volunteer market: The what, where, who and why of volunteering. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 7 (3), pp.244-257.

Comhlámh, (2014). *Historical context*. Retrieved November 22, 2014, from http://www.comhlamh.org/issues-to-consider/historical-context/

Coghlan, A., & Fennell, D. (2009). Myth or Substance: An examination of altruism as the basis of volunteer tourism. *Annals Of Leisure Research*, 12(3/4), pp.377-402.

Coghlan, A., & Gooch, M. (2011). Applying a transformative learning framework to volunteer tourism. *Journal Of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(6), pp. 713-728.

De Feyter, S. (2011). Impact of international donors' new policy agenda on project collaboration between community-based women organizations and NGO's in the Kibera slums of Nairobi, Kenya. *Afrika Focus*, 24(1), pp. 33-50.

Graham, M. (2004). Volunteering as a Heritage/ Volunteering in Heritage. In R.A. Stebbins & M. Graham (Eds.), *Volunteering As Leisure/leisure As Volunteering: An International*

Assessment (pp.13-30). Wallingford: CABI Publishing.

Guttentag, D. A. (2009). The possible negative impacts of volunteer tourism. *International Journal Of Tourism Research*, 11(6), pp.537-551.

Hustinx, L., & Lammertyn, F. (2003). Collective and reflexive styles of volunteering: A sociological modernization perspective. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 14(2), pp.167-187.

Ihlebæk, H. M. (2006). *Water or Soda: Volunteers in Kampala Slum.* Bergen: Department of Social Anthropology.

IRIN humanitarian news and analysis, (2014). *Kenya: Grappling with the burden of expanding slums in Nairobi.* Retrieved November 22, 2014, from http://www.irinnews.org/report/50119/kenya-grappling-with-the-burden-of-expanding-slums-in-nairobi .

Legard, R., Keegan, J., & Ward, K. (2010). In-depth Interviews. In J. Richie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 138-169). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Lewis, J. (2010). Design Issues. In J. Richie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 47-76). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Lyons, K.D., & Wearing, S. (2008). Volunteer Tourism as Alternative Tourism: Journeys Beyond Otherness. In K. D. Lyons & S. Wearing (Eds.), *Journeys of Discovery In Volunteer Tourism: International Case Study Perspectives* (pp. 3-11). Wallingford: CABI Publishing.

Lyons, K., Wearing, S., & Benson, A. (2009). Introduction to the Special Issue on Volunteer Tourism. *Annals Of Leisure Research*, 12(3/4), pp. 269-271.

Marras, S. (2008). *Mapping the unmapped*. Milan: Department of Sociology and Social Research University of Milano-Bicocca.

Moyo, D. (2009, March 21). Why Foreign Aid Is Hurting Africa. *The Wall Street Journal.* Retrieved 21 March, 2015, from http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB123758895999200083

Mustonen, P. (2006). Volunteer tourism: Postmodern pilgrimage? *Journal of Tourism and*

Cultural Change, 3(3), pp. 160-177.

Ndege, O. P. (2009). *Colonialism and its Legacies in Kenya.* Retrieved November 21, 2014, from http://international.iupui.edu/kenya/resources/Colonialism-and-Its-Legacies.pdf

Ngau, P. (2013). *From Town and Country: A new approach to urban planning in Kenya*. London: Africa Research Institute.

Nulty, C. (2012). The Kenyan Development Experience: A History of Hindrances and Limiting Factors. *Colgate Academic Review.* 3 (1), pp. 100-108.

Online Etymology Dictionary, (2014). *Volunteer.* Retrieved November 12, 2014 from http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=volunteer&searchmode=none

Osman, J. (2014). *On tour with the slum tourist in Kenya*. Retrieved November 22, 2014, from Channel4 website: http://www.channel4.com/news/slum-tourism-poverty-kenya-kibera-africa-jamal-osman

Raymond, E.M., & Hall, C.M. (2008).The Development of Cross-Cultural (Mis) Understanding Through Volunteer Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism.* 16(5). pp. 530-543.

Richie, J. (2010). The Applications of Qualitative Methods to Social Research. In J. Richie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 24-46). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Sherraden, M., Lough, B., & McBride, A. (2008). Effects of International Volunteering and Service: Individual and Institutional Predictors. *Voluntas: International Journal Of Voluntary & Nonprofit Organizations*, 19(4), pp.395-421.

Silverman, D. (2010). *Doing Qualitative Research.* (3rd ed.). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Sin, L.S. (2009). Volunteer Tourism- "Involve me and I will learn"? *Annals of Tourism Research,* 36(3), pp. 480-501.

Sociological Association of Ireland [SAI] (2015). *Ethical Guidelines.* Retrieved March 25, 2015, from http://www.sociology.ie/uploads/4/2/5/2/42525367/sai_ethical_guidelines.pdf

Snape, D., & Spencer, L. (2010). The Foundations of Qualitative Research. In J. Richie & J.

Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 1-23). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Soderman, N., & Snead, S.L. (2008). Opening the Gap: The Motivations of Gap Year Travellers to Volunteer in Latin America. In K.D.Lyons & S. Wearing (Eds.), *Journeys of Discovery In Volunteer Tourism: International Case Study Perspectives* (pp. 118- 129). Wallingford: CABI Publishing.

Stebbins, R.A. (1996). Volunteering: A Serious Leisure Perspective. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly,* 25(2), pp. 211- 224.

Stourton, E. (2009). *The Missionaries.* Retrieved March 15, 2015, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/christianity/history/missionaries.shtml

United Nations [UN] (2011). *Kenya At The United Nations*. Retrieved November 21, 2014, from http://www.kenyaun.org/AboutKenya.aspx#.VG-54NKsUrg

UN- Habitat (2005). *Kenya: Urban Sector Profile*. Nairobi: United Nations Settlements Programme.

UN- Habitat (2014). *Kibera: Integrated Water Sanitation and Waste Management Project.* Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlements Programme.

UN- Habitat (2006). *State of the World's Cities Report 2006/7.* Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlement Programme

United Nations Volunteers [UNV] (2011). Volunteerism in Universal. *State of the World's Volunteerism Report 2011.* Retrieved November 14, 2014, from http://www.unv.org/fileadmin/docdb/pdf/2011/SWVR/English/SWVR2011_full_%5B04%5D_chapter1.pdf

Volunteers Magazine (2014). *Top 10 Volunteer Abroad Destinations 2014*. Retrieved November 23, 2014, from http://www.volunteersmagazine.com/top-10-volunteer-abroad-destinations-2014/

Wesolowski, A., & Eagle, N. (2010). Parameterizing the dynamics of slums. In *AAAI Spring Symposium: Artificial Intelligence for Development*.

Wearing, S. (2001).*Volunteer Tourism: Experiences that make a difference.* Wallingford: CABI Publishing.

Wilson, J., & Musick, M. (1999). The Effects of Volunteering on the Volunteer. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 62(4), pp.141-168.

Zeleza, P. T. (2010). *The Developmental and Democratic Challenges of Postcolonial Kenya.* Retrieved March 21, 2015, from http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3bh758jz

**Dublin
Business
School**
Excellence Through Learning

Exploring the local community's perception of the role of international volunteering in Kibera slum in Nairobi

My name is **Sanita Lielbarde** and I am conducting research that aims to explore the host communities perception of the role of overseas volunteering In Kibera slum.

You are invited to take part in this study and participation involves an interview that will take roughly 40 minutes.

Participation is completely voluntary and so you are not obliged to take part. If you do take part and any of the questions do raise difficult feelings, you do not have to answer that question, and/or continue with the interview.

Participation is confidential. If, after the interview has been completed, you wish to have your interview removed from the study this can be accommodated up until the research study is published.

The interview, and all associated documentation, will be securely stored and stored on a password protected computer.

It is important that you understand that by completing and submitting the interview that you are consenting to participate in the study.

Should you require any further information about the research, please contact
Sanita Lielbarde (saniliel@yahoo.ie) or **Niall Hanlon** (**Niall.hanlon@dbs.ie)**
Thank you for participating in this study.

Participant Signature: _____   Date: _____

Research Question: What are the host community's perceptions of the role of international volunteering in Kibera slum?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS/TOPICS

1. Tell me what you know about international volunteering?
2. Tell me how u been involved with overseas volunteers?

3. How would u describe Kibera ? How is life in Kibera? What are the main challenges and problems? What is the positive side of Kibera?

4. Why do you think people from other countries decides to volunteer in Africa, Kenya? What motivates them? Why they choose Kibera slum?What is the attraction of slum?

5. How would you value their work?

6. In what ways does local people benefit from volunteer involvement?how they contribute or they do **not? What do they do** (from their perspective)

7. Can you give some examples from your experience about volunteers' work?

8. Can you name some overseas projects operating in Kibera. What do they do; how would you describe their work and the benefit to local community.

9. Is there any areas, fields (education, health, other) that would need more persistent international involvement? Maybe some areas that has not received the necessary attention?

10. Expectations associated with overseas volunteers. Short-term vs long-term volunteer?

11. Could u tell me more about your personal experiences with overseas volunteers?
     - Positive. Do u still keep in touch? Did u learn something from them?
     - Negative. Very different lifestyle maybe? Norms and values?Lack of experience?
     - Different attitudes (likes or dislikes) depending from the volunteers' country of origin maybe?
     - Does ethnicity or race matter ? Black – white volunteers?

12. How would you describe relations between locals,volunteers and agencies?

13. What do you think local people thinks about overseas volunteer when they see them?

14. What would be an 'ideal' volunteer?