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Australian volunteers abroad in the Asia/Pacific region: altruistic and egoistic desire in a neoliberal paradigm (2006-2009)

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AUSTRALIAN VOLUNTEERS ABROAD

IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION

Altruistic and Egoistic Desire in a Neoliberal Paradigm

(2006-2009)

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THESIS CERTIFICATION

I Nichole Georgeou declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Arts & Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies (CAPSTRANS), University of Wollongong, is wholly mine unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

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ABSTRACT

This study is the first detailed, long-term ethnographic study of an International Volunteer Sending Agency (IVSA) and its development volunteers. Through a comprehensive study of Palms Australia and its volunteers between 2006 and 2009 the thesis examines how neoliberal views of aid and development have affected the practice of development volunteering. A multi-sited ethnographic approach (Marcus 1995) was utilised to follow the idea of development volunteering through multiple locals.

This thesis unpacks and critically analyses assumptions about the role of development volunteers as understood from a range of perspectives including: the experiences and changing conceptions of a group of 13 Palms as they engaged in the complete cycle of volunteerism (initial contact with Palms, orientation and preparation into placement which was for some in Papua New Guinea and others in Timor Leste, and their return to Australia); literature on aid and development, development volunteering and volunteering in the Australian context, government policy, organisational policy of IVSAs, development volunteers, and host communities. Policy shifts in the area of development volunteering and their impact on IVSAs, volunteers and host communities is analysed and attention is drawn to the complexities and tensions surrounding altruistic models of volunteering, egoistic motivations and economic rationalist policy frameworks. Critical analysis highlights that despite the rhetoric of partnership and participation in both government and organisational policy, neoliberal ideology and the managerial framework it promotes has led to the increasing vocationalisation and professionalisation of volunteer sending programs.

The impact of volunteer sending models on volunteers is investigated and particular attention paid to the dilemmas surrounding the emerging trend of the incorporation of corporatist managerialist approaches in volunteering models. Tensions and paradoxes experienced by volunteers as they undertake their role and conceptualise their purpose in a complex development context are identified, which challenge altruistic and harmonious conceptions of development volunteering. Important contradictions are identified between the multiple roles that volunteers play in communities which dispute assumptions about the contribution that volunteers make upon their return to Australia. The study puts forward recommendations for future approaches to development volunteering.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABV	Australian Business Volunteers
AESOP	Australian Executive Service Overseas Program
AGVP	Australian Government Volunteer Program
AIPRD	Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Reconstruction & Development
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARC	Australian Research Council
ASPI	Australian Strategy Policy Institute
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
AVI	Australian Volunteers International
AWB	Australian Wheat Board
AYAD	Australian Youth Ambassadors for Development
CAP	Cycle Against Poverty
CARE Australia	Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe Australia
CECI	Centre for International Studies & Cooperation
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DIFF	Development Import Finance Facility (scheme)
ECP	Enhanced Cooperation Program
FDTL	Forcas Defensa Timor Lorosae (East Timor Defence Force)
F-FDTL	*Falanti-Forcas Defensa Timor Lorosae* (Falantil - East Timor Defence Force)
FRETILIN	*Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente* (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)
GNI	Gross National Income
GNR	*Guarda Nacional Republicana* (Portuguese Para-Military Police)
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTERFET	International Force for East Timor
IVSA	International Volunteer Sending Agency
MDGS	Millennium Development Goals
MSF	*Medicins Sans Frontiers* (Doctors Without Borders)
NCP	National Competition Policy
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation & Development
OGD	Other Government Departments
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PNTL	*Policia National de Timor-Leste* (National Police of East Timor)
RAMSI	Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
SCI-IVS	Civil Service International – International Volunteer Service
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
VIDA	Volunteers for International Development
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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Chapter 1.
INTRODUCTION: Questions and Concepts

In this thesis I examine how neoliberal views of aid and development have affected the practice of development volunteering, a sizable and growing sector of the aid industry. While no accurate figures exist, it is estimated that some 50,000 people from developed industrialised countries volunteer for development each year in developing non-industrialised countries (the Global South or Third World) (Engel 2005; Georgeou & Engel 2010).[1] This significant number includes only those who are part of an organised volunteer sending program, who volunteer for a period of two years or more, and who volunteer for humanitarian development. It does not include the many thousands of people who volunteer on short-term programs, or go abroad unattached to an organisation or program and volunteer informally, or for disaster relief.

Development volunteering is conceptualised as a form of development intervention in an ongoing transformational process in which different actor interests and struggles play out within communities (Long 1992: 9; Rossi 2006: 175). There are relatively few studies of development volunteering, and theoretical frameworks for its analysis are equally lacking. Lack of critical analysis or research may have been due to the obvious fear that admitting any shortcomings in the concrete impact of development volunteering on host communities could jeopardise fragile funding commitments coming largely from government aid agencies (Devereux 2008).

This thesis is the first detailed ethnographic study of an Australian International Volunteer Sending Agency, and contributes to the significant gap in the field of development volunteering. It is concerned with long-term development volunteering, which involves a time commitment of 18 months and over (usually spent overseas or in a developing community), has a development objective and takes programmatic form (Moore McBride et al. 2003: 176). Through 2006 to 2009 I undertook a comprehensive case study of Palms

[1] This is a conservative estimate, calculated by looking at the numbers of volunteers working overseas through NGOs, as well as those with IVSAs in 23 OECD countries, international organisations, a programs sponsored by developing countries.

Australia (Opening our Hands to the World), a non-profit International Volunteer Sending Agency (IVSA)[2] established in 1961.

The study unpacks assumptions about the role of development volunteers as understood from a range of perspectives including: literature on development aid and development, literature on volunteering in the Australian context and development volunteering, government policy, the organisational policy of IVSAs, development volunteers and host communities. Perspectives on the role of development volunteers, along with notions about volunteering as being reliant on altruism and an ethos of charity, are motivations recognised universally, and are critically examined in this thesis to gauge the impact of neoliberalism on the policy environment and practices of IVSAs in Australia generally, and on Palms, in particular. Significantly this study is the first detailed ethnographic study of an IVSA globally.

The thesis central focus is how Palms Australia's (hereinafter referred to as "Palms") international development volunteers construct the notion of "development" and the roles that Palms plays in this process. A multi-sited ethnographic approach (Marcus 1995) was adopted to follow the movements of a group of 13 Palms volunteers through the complete cycle of volunteerism from initial contact with Palms, orientation and preparation into placement which was for some in Papua New Guinea and others in Timor Leste, and to their return to Australia. The case study of Palms is focused on the following questions:

- What is the relationship between Palms and its volunteers? What is the impact of the Palms' preparation and orientation process on how its volunteers understand their role in development?
- What are the development volunteer's views of their purpose in the field?
- How do development volunteers experience the development context and what are their concerns and issues?
- What is the role of development volunteers within the Australian community prior to departure, while in the field and upon their return to Australia?

These questions are considered within the global context of neoliberal ideology and an important focal point is to what degree, if any, do neoliberal notions of development

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[2] International Volunteer Sending Agency (IVSA) was the term developed at a writing workshop from 30 June – 2 July, designed to workshop papers developed at the "Human Security and Development in Marginal Communities: A National Workshop on Volunteering Abroad in the Asia Pacific" in November 2005 at the University of Wollongong.

impact on Palms' conceptualisations of development. Although Palms does not support the ideas behind neoliberal development, is not constrained by the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) imposed funding conditions, and is not connected to the global donor funding systems, I argue that operating within the Australian context where neoliberalism has become more that an ideology played out in a set of economic policies, becoming now a philosophy that shapes how people understand the world and their place in it, neoliberalism has influenced it (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2001). Palms' context required that within my analysis of its impact on how volunteers understood and undertook their placement, that I also consider the development context where the volunteer's play out their conceptualisations of their role. To this end, local voices were included in the study as well as foreign experts in the field as well as existing academic literature and studies.

1.1. Background of the Study

I gained an Australian Post-graduate Industry Award (APIA) to join a collaborative research team of "Australian Volunteers Abroad in Communities in the Asia Pacific Region Project" (hereinafter referred to as "the Project") which was funded by an Australian Research Council (ARC) linkage grant. The Project involves a partnership between the University of Wollongong (UoW) and Palms. The project team included Roger O'Halloran, the Managing Director of Palms who enthusiastically and freely facilitated and participated in the research. Research on the Project focused on the nature and character of long-term community-based development volunteer programs and the role they have in contributing to Australia's regional linkages in Asia and the Pacific region. This focus informs my thesis which is concerned with the experience of volunteering, and builds on the preliminary research of the Australian Volunteers Abroad in Communities in the Asia Pacific Region Project research team. The preliminary research conducted by the research team was with a small sample of nine returned volunteers and was undertaken in collaboration with Palms in early 2004.

1.1.1. Palms Australia

Palms was originally founded by lay members of the Paulian Association in 1961 as a lay missionary branch of the Association (Paulian Association 1981).[3] It is one of Australia's longest serving IVSAs that has as its mission to deliver institutional strengthening and capacity building through knowledge and skills transfers by development volunteers to their partner communities. Palms sees itself as a Christian, faith-based organisation, but it is no longer part of any church institution. Since its inception in 1961, Palms has placed over 1,500 development volunteers in communities in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Pacific countries for a period of two years to assist in alleviating poverty. Currently it places an average of 30 volunteers per year. Palms history follows the typical trajectory of many IVSAs which begin with a charity/welfare model based on good will and development to a more institutionalised model with policy and practice informed by development theory.

One of the original motivations for the foundation of Palms was the recognition that lay people going to foreign missions needed support and preparation (Paulian Association 1981). The Paulian Association Lay Missionary Secretariat (PALMS) was set up to fulfil this need.[4] Initially several former lay missionaries helped Palms volunteers (who were then known as "PALMS Global Mission Volunteers") support the work of the religious community in missions in communities outside Australia. Support was provided in the form of preparation training and formation in order for volunteers to understand the life that lay ahead. Towards the end of the 1960s, more formal orientation and information courses were run by former missionaries, including priests, religious workers and laity (Paulian Association 1981). In the 1970s, Palms' focus moved from placing lay missionaries in missions, to placing "development volunteers" in local communities in "developing countries" which requested the placement of volunteers to provide assistance in developing health, education and other facilities (Palms Australia 2009). This change has

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[3] The first Lay Missionary Apostolates emerged in Europe in the 1930s. However, the surge in the number of people wanting to become lay missionaries did not occur until the 1960s and led to the foundation of numerous such organisations to meet the demand. In Australia, prior to the establishment of PALMS, lay people went on missions as individuals either through a religious order or through the pontifical mission office (Paulian Association 1981).

[4] The organisation was originally established with a local focus which was "to identify local issues, reflect on values and take appropriate action to address social inequality and assist people in need", and the program, initially involved the formation of groups in about 100 communities throughout Australia (Palms Australia 2009). However in 1961, the organisation's focus expanded to include overseas communities.

also been reflected in the Palms' orientation programs, which are now conducted by development practitioners and academics with additional involvement of returned volunteers.

Until the 1970s, Palms was strongly coordinated and integrated within church structures. It was set up in parishes in and around Sydney, and fundraising activities utilised church structures and networks.[5] However, in the 1970s the church's hierarchy changed, as did its focus, which became family life groups. At this time, volunteer programs working in parishes were asked to suspend their activities. The Paulian Association separated from the church, becoming an independent not-for-profit, non-government organisation and continued to run its programs. As the best funded of the Paulian Association's programs, the volunteer sending program separated from the Paulian Association in 2001. In 2006, it changed its name to Palms Australia with the motto of "opening our hands to the world".

Palms received AusAID funding from 1986 until 2005, (a period of 24 years). In the final year of funding for its volunteer sending program, Palms received AusAID funding to the value of AUD$250,000.[6] AusAID funding for Palms ceased when the Australian government began a process to formalise sustained dialogue between the Australian government and IVSAs and streamline the role of IVSAs in Australia's development aid program. This culminated in the volunteering program being tendered out. Palms is unclear as to why it was not awarded a contract. However, it is significant to note that no IVSAs with religious affiliations were awarded a contract. Furthermore, Roger O'Halloran, Palms' Managing Director, addressed the potential issue that Palms was too small to manage a large number of volunteer placements, through its initiation in 2004 of a Consortium to respond to the AusAID Expression of Interest Invitation (dated 23 October, 2004) to IVSAs, to assist in the execution and administration of the AusAID Agreement.[7]

After Palms lost its funding it received considerable financial support from returned individual development volunteers, including one who donated a sum of $20,000 to the

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[5] Examples include, the New Guinea Arts Co-operative located in a church owned building in Sydney city, which contributed to funding program activities by selling artefacts from Papua New Guinea to the public. Church networks were also used to promote and involve people in large, high profile community events. Events included walk-a-thons across the Sydney Harbour Bridge which involved thousands of people and raffles, where the prizes included items such as a car donated by a Sydney car dealer.

[6] All figures in Australian dollars, unless stated otherwise.

[7] The Consortium is discussed in detail on pp. 195-96.

organisation, as well as through its community fundraising initiatives, which called upon individual development volunteers to fundraise for their placement. In addition, Palms opened a café in Glebe, an inner-city suburb of Sydney in August 2006, in order to help fund its volunteer sending program.

Throughout these shifts and changes Palms continually restructured itself in order to operate effectively. During the accreditation and tender process, Palms employed one full-time staff member whose responsibility was to manage the increased level of administration. With the loss of AusAID funding, Palms responded again by scaling back some of the tasks of individuals and combining roles previously held by individuals under one job title. By June 2008, Palms had adjusted to its new situation and had begun to employ new staff for the organisation. This included the employment of a manager for the café, which although linked to Palms financially, operates as a different entity. Palms is at a challenging juncture in its organisational history. Its recent history, in particular, makes it an interesting case to study in terms of how it adjusted to new demands and priorities including securing funding for its volunteer sending programs.

1.2. Positioning the Research

Conventional scholarship on volunteering for development tends to locate it in studies of development practice, while ignoring the important contribution that national studies of volunteering make to understanding the context which informs the organisational form and program structure of IVSAs. In contrast, this thesis makes an important contribution to scholarship by drawing together these two domains of scholarship to create a contextualised understanding of IVSAs and development volunteers. Changes in the form of development volunteering are considered from two perspectives: the first is the relationship between changing notions of development over time and changes in the practice of volunteering for development; second, is the way in which changing ideas about the role of civil society organisations (CSOs) and their relationship to the state have shaped IVSA organisational structures.

As previously mentioned, the study's focus is on Palms, an Australian IVSA. Attention is given to the particular operating environment of CSOs in Australia because IVSAs are a subset of CSOs. The size and shape of civil society varies from country context to country context (Salamon & Anheier 1999). Haddad (2007) argues that this variation is due to a

two way interaction between the state and its citizens. Differing institutional structures, such as laws of incorporation and laws that enable tax deductions for donations, and institutional practices, such as the enforcement or non enforcement of the aforementioned laws, influence the size and shape of civil society. Social influences, such as citizen ideas about the responsibility and role of the government as well as the responsibility and role of individual citizens, also shape civil society. Haddad contends that the two way relationship between the state and citizens defines "norms of civic responsibility", which are expressed through volunteer participation in civil society (Haddad 2007: 18). She explains the relational dynamic in the following theory of volunteer participation:

> …norms are formed by the ideas that citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems and the practices of governmental and social institutions that support or inhibit volunteer organisations. The ideas citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility inform the content of a community's norms of civic responsibility, suggesting what types of organisations are prevalent in a community. The practices of governmental and societal institutions affect the strength of those norms, thereby influencing community participation rates (Haddad 2007: 11).

Australia's unique relational dynamic between the state and citizens has created "norms of civic responsibility" that are particular to the Australian context. As such, norms are not universal and take on different forms and meanings in different settings, the cultural context of how cross-national volunteering is understood has a number of political and cultural implications, especially as it is framed within a development context. This thesis contextualises the study of Australian IVSAs within Australia's unique history, socio-political and economic context to avoid assumptions of shared values (political, religious and gender) and to highlight broader power relations between nations.

1.2.1. Scope of the Thesis

This study is the first long-term study of development volunteering. It concerns itself with a three year period in Palms' organisational life (2006-2009) and its volunteers various experiences, reflections and self conscious understanding of their placement and role. Based on a detailed case study of Palms Australia, this study uses a multi-sited ethnographic approach by adopting Marcus' (1995) concept of following an idea through its multiple locales. In this case, the idea of development volunteering was critically interrogated at several sites: as policy documents, in the Palms organisational context, in-depth interviews of volunteers and several local people in the countries where the volunteers were placed. The experiences of the cohort of 13 volunteers are examined, and their changing

conceptions presented and critically analysed throughout the entire volunteer cycle as they move through the recruitment, preparation and orientation process into placements in Timor Leste and Papua New Guinea. These locations are important as they are both countries that have experienced recent civil unrest, which is significant because development volunteers are increasingly placed in societies that have experienced conflict of some kind.

The thesis is concerned with the closely intertwined relationship between the organisational and the personal. It investigates the relationship between Palms and its volunteers to critically analyse the significance of preparation and training programs in providing a necessary framework for volunteers to shape their individual conceptions of development and their role as practitioners. The manner in which this framework is applied by the volunteers at various stages of the volunteer cycle is examined within the broader framework of development theory and debates and discussions concerning the role of civil society and volunteering in Australia and development. This is particularly relevant at a time when development volunteers, as the "human face" of Australian development aid, are increasingly becoming a projection of Australia's national interest, in an era of global tensions typified by civil strife, "failed" states and global poverty.

The study's intention is to unpack and situate development volunteering – a particular practice of aid project intervention – within the complexities and contradictions that reside in the nexus of development policy and practice. It is particularly concerned with how neoliberal values have shaped approaches to development and how these operated in the context of volunteer sending programs and volunteers. This thesis thus contributes to the social anthropology of development through the perspective offered and through a detailed analysis of both the volunteer sending policy and practice of Palms Australia and its volunteers. The study also makes an important contribution to understanding Australia's foreign policy towards East Timor and Papua New Guinea, the role of development volunteering within that policy space, and how volunteers position themselves the development context.

The analysis presented adds to understandings of how volunteers operate in a complex development context and thus contributes to the on-going debates concerning the role of civil society organisations in development. It is also concerned with the experiences of volunteers after they had completed their placement and re-entered Australian society, and

tests central assumptions regarding their value, including that volunteers could be "effective agents of change" upon return to their own communities (Unstead-Joss 2008: 16-17) and that volunteers cultivate linkages and partnerships between their own communities and those abroad (AusAID 2004b). In this manner, the thesis unpacks altruistic and charitable understandings of development volunteering that assume a harmonious and seamless experience of participation and relationship building within recipient communities. By challenging such individualistic and often simplistic definitions, this thesis is designed to inform and re-shape future IVSA recruitment, training and sending programs.

1.3. Conceptual Framework

In my exploration of volunteering for development key concepts include "volunteering", "civil society" and "development", all of which are "fuzzy concepts" with definitions highly contested in theory and practice. I locate development volunteering as an activity that occurs within "civil society".

1.3.1. Civil Society

As a central focus of the research is development volunteering within an organisational context, the study is concerned with civil society as an arena of associational life. The thesis draws on debates from critical perspectives of the role of civil society as conceptualised by Gramsci (1971, 1978) and functionalist traditions as argued by Parsons & Smelser (1972: 21). These competing traditions are critically examined to analyse how the role of development volunteering is conceptualised and played out in policy and practice.

I recognise that there is much debate about the meaning of the terms "civil society" and "civil society organisation", however I use these terms rather than "non-governmental", "non-profit", "third sector" and "voluntary" organisations, because the latter tend to be used inconsistently by different researchers as each term has its own relevance for different types of organisation in different contexts. For the purposes of this thesis, civil society is conceptualised as the space between family and the government or "state" and differentiated from both the state and the economy.

Civil society organisations are neither government nor commercial businesses. The term refers to those organisations which are part of civil society and include trade unions,

religious groups, community-based organisations, associations of interest groups, such as farmers groups, co-operatives and other forms of citizen's associations, including IVSAs. Despite the blurred boundaries of civil society, CSOs and IVSAs in particular, can be seen to have local, national and international dimensions.

1.3.2. Volunteer(ing) and Development Volunteering

In the global context there are a wide range of definitions describing the concept of volunteering, and considerable variation regarding who or what is considered a volunteer. For example, the act of volunteering encompasses a wide range of activities including traditional philanthropic service delivery, mutual aid, environment stewardship activities, political or social activism and more informal community-based activities including cultural maintenance and so on (Petriwskyj & Warburton 2007: 9). The location of the activity of volunteering does not necessarily occur only within civil society and CSOs. Volunteering can also be an informal activity, in that it is not tied to a particular organisation or program, but can occur within for-profit areas such as aged care settings or government sectors such as hospitals (Petriwskyj & Warburton 2007: 10).

For the purposes of this research, which is primarily concerned with Australian development volunteers, it is necessary to explore the concept of volunteering as it is understood in Australia, an advanced industrialised capitalist country. Globally, varying "norms of civic responsibility" are central to the wide range of definitions describing the concept of volunteering because definitions are rooted in the cultural context of what it means to be a "good citizen" (Haddad 2007: 73-77). Australian notions of volunteering have emerged in a specific national context, and contemporary understandings tend to draw heavily on understandings of the role of CSOs and volunteers in mostly Western democracies. Exploring the assumptions behind Australian notions of volunteering is central to understanding the individual development volunteer's conception of their purpose in a development context.

In Western democracies, volunteering is generally understood as occurring within the realm of civil service: providing for the "needs of those in need" (Moore McBride et al. 2003). Conceptualised as an expression of civil service, volunteering is associated with the altruistic spirit of "doing good" for the sake of it, not for material reward, recognition or praise (Zappala 2000). In this understanding, volunteering is viewed as a selfless behaviour, motivated by an individual's selfless concern for the greater good of society as a whole and

other people in particular (Spicker 2000: 38). Definitions emphasise sacrifice, particularly financial, on the part of the volunteer. This emphasis stems from the Western capitalist context where conceptions of volunteering are linked to particular philosophical understandings of the economic value of labour (Ehrichs 2000: 2). However, ideas of sacrifice are balanced by understandings of voluntary action that emphasise notions of charity, egalitarianism and altruism and until recently, volunteering was associated with gift giving (Davis Smith et al. 2005).

In the Western conception, altruism and volunteering have been associated since the Enlightenment, where these acts were considered one and the same (Cowan & Shenton 1996). In modern definitions, volunteering has retained its altruistic connotations, whereby the act, or intention of volunteering, is considered to be selfless and therefore "good". As Vellekoop-Baldock noted:

> …volunteers themselves invoke altruism as part of an accepted vocabulary of motives, partly because the ideology of volunteerism assumes the need for altruism, partly because no other motives can be admitted to (Vellekoop-Baldock 1990: 102-3).

In this paradigm, it follows that the outcome of the act of volunteering must therefore be good, or at least aim to do good.

The altruistic assumptions behind notions of volunteering have endured, despite arguments that it is difficult to identify any altruistic action from which the giver does not in some sense benefit, even if it is only though a sense of self satisfaction (Spicker 2000: 38). Nevertheless, these assumptions colour how volunteers understand their motivations (Vellekoop-Baldock 1990: 102-3). Indeed, assumptions of altruism have tended to distort definitions of volunteering by defining "true" volunteers according to assumed motivations of altruism, such as financial sacrifice (Haddad 2007: 27). This is problematic, as the relationship between altruistic motivation and volunteering creates cultural bias – it privileges individualistic motivations to volunteer over the social motivations that often drive volunteer activity in other cultural contexts (Petriwskyj & Warburton 2007). Furthermore, as individualistic motivations at times contradict the collective purpose of CSOs, tensions and contradictions arise between the focus on the "individual" in Western liberal definitions of volunteering and the view that volunteering is an expression of civil and social service.

Yet another layer of complexity is added in light of the current market orientation of the neoliberal individual, intrinsically linked to the institutionalisation of the individual in society (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2001). Neoliberal policy has had large scale societal influence including: the comodification of public services through privatisation; the marketisation of the non-profit sector; "the individualisation of the social",[8] and growing disparity between the rich and poor (Ferge 1997; Jamrozik 2009). Within this changed social context a new phenomenon referred to as the "new philanthropy" or "venture philanthropy" has emerged, altering the philanthropic landscape as individuals seek to address the symptoms of poverty, often through the application of business models (Cobb 2002).[9] This trend is also evident in many Australian government and CSO development programs and policies.

Definitions of development volunteers draw heavily on Western understandings of volunteering. The following typical definition illustrates this point because it defines a development volunteer simply as someone who:

> …willingly works overseas (most often in "developing" countries) for a package that amounts to less than what s/he would be earning in the same capacity in his/her country of origin (Palmer 2002: 637).

While Palmer's definition emphasises the act of the individual, Sherraden's definition points to the increasingly institutionalised framework within which the experience of development volunteering takes place:

> …an organised period of substantial engagement and contribution to the local, national, or world community, recognised and valued by society, with minimal monetary compensation to the participant (Sherraden 2001: 5).

The emphasis in both definitions on the financial sacrifice of the volunteer is typical. This is important to note as what sets "domestic" and "international" volunteers apart is that "international" volunteers receive a stipend or living allowance.[10] That development volunteers receive financial payment is central to debates on whether they should be called

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[8] "Individualisation of the social" describes the rejection of social responsibility and corresponding explanations of socially created problems (such as poverty) and acceptance of the notion that explanations of social problems lie in the flawed characters of individuals (Ferge 1997).

[9] "New philanthropy" represents a "do-it-yourself" approach, whereby individual donors generally prefer to conceive and implement their own ideas. Current practice emphasises entrepreneurial problem solving, measurable results and value creation.

[10] To create a distinction between the two types of volunteering I have adopted Unstead-Joss' (2008) use the terms "domestic" and "international" volunteers

volunteers at all, with some arguing that a new term should be used to describe their activity.[11] Fuelling this argument is the clear distinction between how both groups undertake and experience volunteering. For "international" volunteers, the experience defines a distinct period in the life of the volunteer as they commit to another culture for a specific term (Thomas 2001: 22). In contrast, for the "domestic" volunteer, the experience is often a solitary act or donation of time that fits around day-to-day, real-life commitments (Unstead-Joss 2008: 4). In acknowledging this distinction, it is worth noting that typical definitions of development volunteering such as Palmer's ignore the significant burden, financial and other, that the volunteer's presence has on local communities. Perhaps this silence can be explained in terms of the assumption implicit in altruistic understandings of volunteering, that the volunteer does "good" and that their impact must therefore be positive. Altruistic associations and assumptions of "good" could also be the reason behind the dearth of research on the impacts of volunteering for development on the communities in which volunteers are placed.

Over the last decade, several factors have led to broader definitions of development volunteering. These include: a surge in voluntary activity which can be attributed to an increase in the number of people participating in programs; the diversity of programs; and an increase in the number of countries involved in volunteer sending (Davis Smith et al. 2005). A recent definition of development volunteering by Davis Smith et al. (2005) reflects a response to the increasing diversity of the field. The definition employs five characteristics: geographical scale; function; direction; level of government involvement; and duration. Significantly the definition is concerned with situating the activity within the development paradigm. This has been a common approach in scholarship which has seen a move from the activity being referred to as "cross-national volunteering" to "development volunteering". This change in definitions reflects a shift in the emphasis of programs from "friendship" to development outcomes. The second classifier, function specifically locates the activity within a development context, stating that it operates on a "development continuum" (Davis Smith et al. 2005: 64). The emphasis on development is reinforced by the third classifier, direction, which states that the direction that the volunteer moves in reflects the development aim of the program (Davis Smith et al. 2005: 64-65). This classifier suggests a North to South direction, ignoring the increase in South-

[11] I observed this debate at the Inaugural National Volunteering Research Symposium, (part of the 11th National Conference on Volunteering, in Melbourne Australia) in 2006.

to-South development volunteering, and is inline with the notion that "development" is something that the "North" does to the "South" (Rist 1997).

The fourth classifier, level of government involvement, is important as it points to various motivations for government funding of volunteer sending programs such as "maintaining a national presence abroad" and "helping to deliver on broader policy agendas" (Davis Smith et al. 2005: 65). Interestingly, while Davis-Smith notes that approximately 95 per cent of volunteer sending programs are administered by IVSAs, his definition does not consider that many of these organisations are funded by governments. Indeed Tvedt notes that, "…many NGOs in developing countries would collapse" without government funding which commonly comprises 85-95 per cent of their budget (Tvedt 2006: 679)

The final classifier, duration, attempts to take into account the diversity of development volunteering by including both short-term assignments (such as one week), and long-term commitments (up to two years and over) (Lewis 1998; Davis Smith et al. 2005). It encompasses the emergence of "gap year" volunteering, short-term commercially operated volunteer tourism packages, e-volunteering, international service learning as well as broader forms of civic partnership such as exchange programs between sister cities (Grusky 2000; Simpson 2004; Davis Smith et al. 2005; Esslinger 2005). It is notable that Davis Smith et al's definition of cross-national volunteering is the omission of financial sacrifice. This is of interest because low or local wage has been used as a feature of many development volunteering programs, which claim that receiving a local wage is central to objectives of solidarity and outcomes of relationship building, a global civil society and peace (Chalmers 2001; Parsons 2001; Watts 2002).

While Davis Smith et al.'s definition is useful for defining the activity of development volunteering, it is somewhat narrow. While it is concerned with situating development volunteering within the development paradigm, the definition does not provide a useful framework for exploring the motivations of the numerous "stakeholders",[12] or the varying contextually based relationships between them that the activity engages (Unstead-Joss 2008). These stakeholders include: host and sending country governments, host and sending communities, IVSAs and individual development volunteers. Here Moore

[12] I employ this term hesitantly as it is a market-based term and inherent problems are associated with its usage, such as issues of power and disempowerment. However, in this context, the term is used to indicate the various and differing agendas of the participants in the activity of development volunteering.

McBride, et al's (2003) definition proves more useful as it situates development volunteering as an activity that emerges from a particular cultural and historical context. According to their definition, development volunteering occurs within the realm of civil service: providing for the "needs of those in need". This line of thinking supports Pinkau's (1981; 2005) view that development volunteering is a distinct programmatic form of civil service. The term "civil" has been adopted to denote that the volunteers' actions occur in the public realm and have public benefit, and it restricts the behaviour to the field of voluntary action (Moore McBride et al. 2003: 176). In the case of volunteering for development, the form of service provided by volunteers is "development practice" with the "needy" being mostly poor communities in developing countries. Therefore the activities of the individual volunteers in the field are both at once an expression of civil service *and* development practice.

The public realm in which volunteering for development occurs is mostly in developing countries[13] as the service offered by the volunteers in placement is "development practice", primarily understood as technological and skills transfer (Rockliffe 2005: 35). The service of the IVSA is volunteer placement in developing countries however, the IVSA is situated in the context of the sending country. The implications of Moore McBride et al's (2003) "civil service model" for research on development volunteering is that it requires viewing the activity through both conceptions of civil society and interpretations of development. This broader focus points to the relevance of context in developing the theoretical lens through which to understand volunteering for development (Anheier & Salamon 1998; Davis Smith 1999). Contextual considerations include the history, politics, religions and culture of the IVSA, and the location of the "public realm" where the service is undertaken. Furthermore, the "civil service model" is a useful lens through which to view development volunteers' motivations because these point to particular ideas about service and the individual's role in the community (Unstead-Joss 2008: 5).

1.3.3. Conceptions of the Activity of Development Volunteering

Development volunteering is a form of development intervention and many of the ideas that inform understandings of development volunteering in developed industrialised

[13] It should be noted that many IVSAs also have volunteer for development programs that operate in indigenous communities within the sending country.

countries also underpin notions of "development", a social construct which has been, and remains, viewed by many as the means by which the goal of universal human improvement can be attained (Cowan & Shenton 1996; Rist 1997). The philosophical roots of development volunteering are historically linked to three main ideas and traditions: Christian ideals of charity, which combine Western post-Enlightenment scientific certainty and a belief in the linear progress of development with Christian reformist zeal; self-realisation or "actualisation" as a prerequisite to action, (understood as "formation" in Christian traditions), as well as an emphasis on the good of the community over the good of the individual, and the commitment to local action prevalent in communitarian philosophy (Moore McBride & Daftary 2005: 4; Georgeou & Engel 2010). The latter two traditions also run through modern development discourse, with the Christian tradition continued via modernisation theory to neoliberal development theories, where the belief in growth is central to dominant notions of development and surplus population is to be made productive and mass poverty eliminated through some form of empowerment both through and against the state (Cowan & Shenton 1996; Rist 1997). A communitarian tradition is visible in the collective hope for improving the conditions of life of humankind and the practice of creating economic growth through the expansion of the market system, as well as in liberation philosophy (Freire 1970) and some socialist and post-structuralist critiques (Rist 1997: 19; Georgeou & Engel 2010).

Changes in the type of projects that volunteers undertake reflect changing understandings of development. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Two, which identifies that in a development context, a core value of volunteers is their role in supplying skills and technical assistance to developing countries in a culturally sensitive manner (Rockliffe 2005: 35). As mentioned before, notions of development, as well as the origins and understanding of development volunteering, have their roots in a Western democratic context, particularly conceptions of civil society and the role of CSOs. Ideas about IVSAs are connected to broader perceptions of development CSOs, which were considered to be development's "magic bullet" in the 1980s. Assumptions of CSOs at that time included: they are more personalised and closer to the community; they are able to respond to minority values; they serve the collective good; are primarily concerned with the disadvantaged; they are controlled by the community, rather than by private investors or government; they have a strong relationship with moral values; and they are creative, innovative, flexible and quick to respond (Marshall 1996: 48-52).

CSOs were also linked to ideas about "participation" and "empowerment" (Mohan & Stokke 2000: 247). Valued as "bottom-up voices of the people at a grassroots level", CSOs were viewed by international aid organisations and government as friendly and responsible, and able to promote participation of local communities in development plans and to enable ordinary people to have capability in influencing public policy (Korten 1990; Lee 2000: 104; Ransom 2005). CSOs were considered "morally good", flexible, committed and independent in addressing global issues and responding to crises, as well as being able to operate across national borders regardless of race religion and politics (Korten 1990; Fisher 1997; Lee 2000; Tvedt 2002; Ransom 2005).

Development volunteering increasingly links its practice to concepts of "global civil society" and "social capital" (Lewis 2005). In this literature the emergent view is that volunteering for development builds social capital between countries, playing an important role in peace building (Davis Smith 2001; Spence 2001; Davis Smith et al. 2005; Lewis 2005).[14] This view is connected to the idea that all forms of collectives are agencies of civil society, irrespective of the goals that they pursue and the impact they have on the rights and freedom of all citizens. In this conception, any form of association is weighted positively and the proliferation of CSOs is considered representative of an active democracy (Mahajan 1999).

The focus on "partnership" in development scholarship, policy and practice over the last ten years is one of the reasons that scholars and practitioners of development have renewed their interest in development volunteering; it represents a grass-roots approach to development concerned with building people-to-people relationships (Lewis 1998; Mohan & Stokke 2000; Aldaba 2002; Tvedt 2002; Moore McBride et al. 2003). The emphasis on "the human side of development" and the focus on social capital in development, represented the "softer" focus of development after the failure of the technical transfer emphasis of development aid during the 1980s (World Bank 2001; World Bank 2006).

Proponents of development volunteering argue that volunteers humanise the development process because they:

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[14] I use the concept "peace building" as defined in 1992 by former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali as, "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict (Report of the Secretary General 1992: para. 21).

> …bridge the gap between the professionalised world of development experts and organisations and the "non-specialised publics" who engage with the ideas and practices of development (Lewis 2005: 16).

In this view, the wealth of expatriates working for international aid organisations alienates them from local people. Watts (2002) in a study of the motivations of volunteers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia argued that local or low wage was central to the volunteers' role of humanising the development process because it prevented the volunteer from entering the stereotypical expatriate world of big money, big houses, and big four-wheel-drive vehicles. It found that the volunteers in his study viewed local or low wage and the simple lifestyle that it afforded as a symbol of their commitment to their host community (Watts 2002: 64).

Watts' study also revealed that the motivation of many volunteers was to work towards a more equitable world. Volunteers saw working for local wages as a way of expressing the value of a more equitable world and their attitudinal commitment to sharing skills was facilitated by working alongside, and under the same conditions as locals (Watts 2002: 63-66). However, in Watts' discussion of power relations within the development paradigm, he did not consider criticisms of grass-roots community-based development that volunteers have traditionally undertaken, in particular the criticism that community-based grass-roots initiatives often ignore or perpetuate existing power structures which have led to poverty in the first place (Harriss 2002a).

In development, power relationships evolve around some people having resources that others want or need (Anderson 2000). Where economic and technical assistance is needed or requested, those who have the necessary money and skills have power. Issues of power and paternalism of Northern donors and international aid agencies are central to debates in development literature surrounding local (or indigenous) knowledge, and the relationship between notions of culture, tradition and identity (Spivak 1988; Fisher 1997; Gosovic 2000; Mohan & Stokke 2000; Briggs & Sharp 2004; Cornwall & Brock 2005). These issues can also be related to the traditional North-South pattern of development volunteering because this movement also raises concerns about the volunteer imposing "the dominant culture's way". These debates question to what degree the volunteer provides the tools for communities to initiate their own development approach, and which skills and views are transferred through the volunteer's presence and action.

While there has been considerable exploration of the power relations between local communities and international aid organisations, there has been little research exploring power relations between the volunteer and host community. One exception has been by Watts (2002). His study of VSO volunteers found that although the power relationship between volunteers is weighted in favour of the volunteer; because they have more technical and economic power to access resources than their local counterparts, their attitudinal commitment and their financial temperance motivated them to share their skills. By sharing their skills and by working alongside their counterparts, volunteers seek to ensure that even though there may be a disparity in power resources, the power relationship between volunteer and counterpart is recognised as legitimate on both sides (Watts 2002: 66). Here the acceptance of such hierarchies holds important implications for the role of development volunteering in legitimating the asymmetrical hierarchies of "aid donors" and "aid recipients".

Unstead-Joss (2008) also acknowledges issues of power in her study of the motivations of VSO volunteers. She found that:

> …although motivations prior to departure are in accordance with the reciprocal learning relationships and mutually enabling relationships called for within development, the volunteers' sense of detachment from the communities they were going to could reinforce issues of power and powerlessness between themselves and the local community (Unstead-Joss 2008: 18).

Despite this, she argued that volunteers' desire to change themselves as part of the transformational process of development indicated that they, "…can still be effective agents of change" (Unstead-Joss 2008: 17). She concluded that although volunteers did have difficulty integrating into local communities, they did build relationships with local people and continued to play a role in the development within the sending country upon returning from their placement.

While both these studies shed important light on the experience of development volunteers, their conclusions were drawn from interviews with the volunteers only and not with their host communities. This is important because while the volunteer may feel that they have decreased the power disparity, locals may have a different perspective altogether. Such methodological approaches to the analysis of development volunteering are restricted to the discourses and practices of IVSAs and their volunteers, and do not address the, "…narratives, interests, cultural repertoires, strategic actions and livelihood concerns" of local people in the development process (Long 2001: 89). These studies continue to

unhelpfully compartmentalise "aid givers" and "aid beneficiaries" and do not contribute to understandings of how volunteers and local people interpret, process and negotiate "development". Without understanding the "positioned strategies and perspectives" of volunteers and locals, understanding of the impact of development volunteers will remain incomplete (Rossi 2006: 29). While this study is more directed to Palms and its organisation, I have gone some way to include local voices, through conducting two interviews with local people working with volunteers and through observations of how locals and volunteers interact.

In Watt's work, a legitimate power relationship is connected to the act of the volunteer living like a local and sharing the day to day experiences of poverty. This view is expressed by many IVSAs (Australian Volunteers International 2007; Palms Australia 2009), however it holds a number of contradictions that require further exploration. One such contradiction lies in the very notion that the volunteer has to give up something (salary and "Western lifestyle"), to disempower themselves in order to empower their host community (Chambers 1997: 234). Chalmers (2001) argues that the reality is that the volunteer "pretends" to step down from power and privilege for a time and does not really give up their power, privilege or in the long-term, their affluence. In Chamber's view the pretence of stepping down from power can be read as a very powerful statement because it serves to demonstrate the power and privilege of the dominant culture that the volunteer represents. This power and privilege is thinly veiled and despite the volunteers' gesture of parity it must be apparent to the local people that the volunteer has considerable advantages that they do not. For example, unlike the locals volunteers can leave to seek expert medical attention if they become ill; they are insured and will leave at the end of their posting to return to their own country, many of them to higher paid positions because of their cross-cultural experience in a "Third World" country.

Another view that is also not explored in the literature is the dependency of the volunteer on the host community and the toll that this may take. For example, as the volunteer will more often than not be employed by a local boss, the volunteer will have to rely and depend on local people to culturally orientate them, help them learn the language and find where to buy fresh produce etc. The needs of the volunteer, at least initially, place them in a vulnerable position and they in fact may be a tremendous burden on the host community. Nevertheless, the power and privilege that the volunteer represents is evident in expressions of "hope" and feelings of "safety" when a volunteer lives and works in their

midst (Spence 2001: 76). In addition, volunteers are seen to have a legitimising effect on local non-government organisation projects which make the projects more eligible for funding from both state and other international funding bodies (Spence 2001: 76). This perception highlights global hierarchies and raises further questions about the power of the role of volunteers as "outsider witnesses".

To date the "outsider witness" perspective has been addressed from a development education perspective (Ollif 2001; Parsons 2001: 24; Simpson 2004; Lewis 2005). Central to this view is the idea that the individual volunteer can offer their personal experience of development. According to Parsons volunteers are in a:

> …privileged position; they live closely, for extended periods, alongside the people of another culture. This experience gives them the opportunity to develop unique insights and create lifelong friendships which cross cultural divides. We saw that these new perspectives and associations were invaluable in helping Australia analyse the real causes of underdevelopment, not only in distant countries, but also within our own borders (2001: 24).

Lewis' (2005) view is in line with Parsons', who argues that volunteering contributes to a range of contested stories about development that make up the public face of development. He states that a range of views contesting media stereotypes of poverty have an important development education role because they impact on perceptions of the poor and poverty held by people in the North as well as those in the South. Lewis also argues that this plethora of views has the potential to prompt shifts in the factors that currently shape relations between North and South, such as affording opportunities beyond the traditional giver to relationships of mutuality and partnership. While this degree of insight into poverty and its causes may be relevant to long-term volunteers it is highly contentious in relation to short-term or gap year volunteers. Grusky (2000) emphasises the development education potential of cross-national volunteering programs, however she warns that:

> …without thoughtful preparation, orientation, program development and the encouragement of study… these programs easily become small theatres that recreate historic cultural misunderstandings and simplistic stereotypes and replay, on a more intimate scale, the huge disparity in income and opportunity that characterise North-South relations today (Grusky 2000: 858).

Simpson's (2004) findings also support Grusky's view. In a study of volunteers who participated in short-term commercial volunteer programs she found that the experience reinforced stereotypes about poor people and the causes of poverty. Like Grusky,

Simpson advocated for a stronger development education component in such programs. Ollif's (2001) study of the impact of Community Aid Abroad – Oxfam Australia training on participants is testimony of the potential of development education programs. She found that the high priority of development education and advocacy in its program left participants inspired to become activists for social justice issues in the future, however it should be noted that in Ollif's study the participants already had an interest in understanding the political nature of poverty. Spence (2001) suggests that the scope of the impact of the cross-national volunteer experience goes beyond a development education focus as it simply opens up different understanding of ways of being. In her view, in an increasingly globalised world such understandings are important for peace building. While development education is a programmatic focus of both long-term and some short-term volunteer experience, the scope of its potential to create change has not been fully explored. Further research needs to be conducted on the scope of development education potential as well as the impact of returnee volunteers in their own communities. This thesis goes some way in addressing this concern.

A dominant claim within the literature on development volunteering is that it promotes international understanding and solidarity (Chalmers 2001; UNDP 2003; Spence 2005; Peace Corps 2006; Unstead-Joss 2008; Palms Australia 2009). Practitioners argue that development volunteering has the same outcomes at a global level as national forms of volunteering where research has found that, "…when networks of voluntary organisations are created which link different interest groups, the increased interaction leads to improved understanding and increased tolerance of diversity" (UNDP 2003: 1). Chalmers (2001) took this idea further arguing that volunteering offers a viable alternative to armed "deterrence" and domination through trade. These claims have captured the imagination of scholars concerned with the study of peace building. In a study of Australian/Timorese Friendship Agreements, Spence (2005) offers a more realistic perspective on the potential of cross-cultural network building to create a culture of peace. Her study highlights that friendship societies have the potential to contribute to a culture of peace through community to community linkages, however, in her view, the potential rests on the durability and depth of these relationships as well as their ability to meet the needs of the conflict-affected Timorese communities. However she warns against paternalistic views and recommends clear communication about intentions, capacity and limits to the relationship, as well as the long-term commitment. Her study has implications for IVSAs which include the potential of the returnee to have an impact in their home community.

Within volunteering for development there has been a growing recognition that volunteers' motivations are a complex mix of wanting an authentic experience of the "other", career advancement, doing something that "makes a difference" and so on (Unstead-Joss 2008). While there is little research evidence to suggest that volunteers' motivations impact on volunteer sending programs, a cursory glance at the history of modern volunteering for development suggests that both changing motivations and views on development have in fact played a role in the form these programs take (Ehrichs 2000). For example, in the 1990s in response to the shifting motivations of volunteers, many programs began to emphasise the professional development opportunities of volunteering as it became clear that many individuals volunteered in order to gain experience necessary to get a job as a "professional" development practitioner. As retirees also undertook development volunteering it became an activity at the "front-end" and "back-end" of careers, a trend that Kell et al. (2005) refer to as "bookending of careers". In line with this, Unstead-Joss (2008) identified in her study of the motivations of development volunteers that individual and organisational were intrinsically intertwined.

1.4. Chapter Outline

In order to understand how volunteers conceptualise "development" the study is focused on four key dimensions which create a rich context. These include: literature on development and development volunteering and civil society; Australian Aid policy; detailed case study of Palms; and the experiences of the volunteers in the field. The thesis explores the relationship between theory, policy and practice in two key domains of scholarship: development and civil society. It is organised in the following manner:

Chapter One has provided the background and scope of the thesis, as well as the conceptual framework for the analysis of development volunteering in which it defined key concepts used in the study.

Chapter Two contextualises development volunteering in debates and discussions of development as well as civil society. This chapter is divided into two sections. Section One provides the broader historical, philosophical and theoretical backdrop for the study. It maps the historical relationship between modern development volunteering and ideas about development. I highlight how the practice of development volunteering and development emerged alongside each other until the rise of neoliberalism in the late 1970s and the "associational boom" in the 1980s. The second section covers the historical period

between the late 1980s until 2008 when neoliberalism became the dominant ideology underpinning thinking about development and civil society. There is a critical examination of the impact of neoliberal theory on the practice of development, and on the way in which CSOs, development CSOs in particular, were understood in the neoliberal context.

Chapter Three locates the research in the Australian experience and provides the backdrop for the changes in Palms' structure and operations. It focuses on the way CSOs have been interpreted within Australia's particular socio-economic and political context relative to government and IVSA policy. Particular attention is paid to shifts in state-citizen relations under neoliberalism, and the impacts of this on policy regarding CSOs. Changes in Australia's development aid policy and the implications on Australia's relations with its aid recipients are mapped to illustrate the political and economic context of development that Australian volunteers enter. Issues of organisational repositioning in an increasingly marketised context are raised, to highlight the way in which national level shifts in attitudes and policy, including Australia's development aid policy, are in line with neoliberal views on the relationship between the state and CSOs.

Chapter Four describes the methodological approach to the study. It outlines how a multi-sited ethnographic approach was deployed to explore the intricate web of relationships and influences between the organisation, its donors, the broader Australian community and partners abroad. It introduces the volunteers who participated in this study, which includes providing a brief review of the volunteers and their placements. It describes the process of the organisational analysis of Palms Australia, as well as the fieldwork, which involved following thirteen Palms volunteers as they moved from initial contact with the organisation through the preparation and orientation process to placements in Timor Leste and Papua New Guinea.

Chapter Five offers an insight into the motivations of the development volunteers who do development volunteering. It lays the foundation for exploring the way organisational discourses play an important role in attracting and motivating volunteers, and in shaping their ideas and expectations about their development experience in the field. It critically analyses these motivations in the context of arguments about the value of development volunteering.

Chapter Six is concerned with the closely intertwined relationship of the personal and the organisational as it focuses on the links between volunteers' motivations and views on

development, with the form and emphasis of volunteer sending programs. It situates Palms' approach to development volunteering philosophically and theoretically in development debates and discussions on development, and provides a critical analysis of Palms' volunteer sending model. It considers how the volunteers interpret Palms' philosophy and approach through their understanding of their purpose and role in the field.

Chapter Seven focuses on the experiences of the volunteers in the field. It explores some of the dilemmas and tensions the volunteers experienced as they strived to forge "mutually equitable partnerships" with locals. The chapter identifies the social hierarchies volunteers enter as they undertake their placements and critically analyses the volunteers' "positionality" in the development context. It unpacks the dilemmas and tensions the volunteers experience as they become self-consciously aware of their position and institutionalised roles within the development hierarchy. It highlights the different ways in which locals and the volunteers interpreted both the relationship and the development process and critically analyses how interpretations of role operated to structure partnerships within placements.

Chapter Eight explores arguments that a central value of development volunteering is that it contributes to different understandings of being and development, and is central to peace building. This is done through a critical examination of Palms Training and other Palms programs aimed at assisting volunteers to network within the Australian community (Grusky 2000; Ollif 2001; Parsons 2001; Spence 2001; Simpson 2004; Spence 2005). It critically examines development volunteers' experiences of fundraising for their placement and the relationship between fundraising and the opportunity for volunteers to talk about their experiences. It considers the impacts of the development volunteering experience on individual volunteers, and how these impacts translate upon their return to Australia.

Chapter Nine concludes this thesis, making key observations and a number of recommendations for future research. Key observations include: the institutionalisation of development volunteering within a neoliberal context has led to its corporatisation; neoliberalism has led to the increasing vocationalisation of development volunteering and an emerging dichotomy in models; diversity is a programmatic issue and is ignored by policy makers operating within a neoliberal paradigm; asymmetrical relations between aid donors and recipients and individualisation and agency in development volunteering

undermine a participatory approach to development; and the multiple role and expectations of development volunteers are often contradictory.

Chapter 2.
HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter maps the history of development volunteering in order to situate the dilemma of today's IVSAs who tenuously balance views of development volunteering formed during the Cold War with the harsh realities of the modern neoliberal world. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first provides a comprehensive background on development volunteering, illustrating the origins of views of development that inform IVSAs and volunteers' notions of modern development volunteering today. It explores changes in the philosophy and mode of practice of development and development volunteering from the end of World War II until the end of the Cold War and illustrates how notions of development volunteering evolved alongside the theoretical conceptual frameworks that underpin development and inform IVSAs' philosophies, programming, and practice. The first part is organised historically, starting with the establishment of development institutions, a move that signalled the beginning of the development age and an emerging global system of governance. Two dominant models of development volunteering emerged over this period: the Charity/Welfare Model; and the Politisation Model. An examination of these models highlights the philosophical divergence between state-led projects and citizen-led projects as development volunteering became increasingly institutionalised. This provides the backdrop for the argument that historically development volunteering was originally a collective citizen-driven initiative based on notions of egalitarianism and ideals of solidarity.

The second part of the chapter situates current trends in development volunteering in a post-Cold War environment characterised by the globalisation of neoliberal ideology. It illuminates the way in which the ascendency and spread of neoliberalism has shaped understandings and conceptualisations of the dominant development paradigm, and illustrates how a neoliberal-neoconservative conception of civil society, which privileges the maintenance of the status-quo, has been adopted by multilateral institutions and governments. I argue that this has played a significant role in emerging networks of international aid which are driven by, and promote neoliberal practice and ideology in remote communities (Tvedt 2002). The central role of civil society organisations (CSOs) within this network is considered in order to draw out tensions between different conceptions of the role of CSOs in development. This section explores the important

question of whether IVSAs, a modern form of CSO, have become transmitters of neoliberal discourses and notions of development that underpin an emerging system of global governance (Mawdsley et al. 2002; Townsend et al. 2002).

2.1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT VOLUNTEERING: From the development age to the end of the Cold War

The "development age" describes the three decades from the end of World War II until the early 1970s. Arguably it began with Point Four of US President Harry S. Truman's inauguration speech on 20 January, 1949 which set in motion a new approach to international relations. Following the dissolution of the formal colonial empires, the naturalisation of the nation-state as the "key unit" of economic development and the post-war reconstruction of the capitalist order under the United States, development aid represented a new way of engaging with newly independent states and was a means of restructuring relations between "the colonies and metropoles" (Rist 1997: 70-72; Berger 2004: 37; Duffield 2005; Ayers 2009).

The notion of "trusteeship"[15] underpinned Truman's Point Four, the idea of which became central to both the doctrine and approaches of the age of development. Truman proposed optimistically that technical assistance would be extended to the poorer countries of the world creating prosperity and peace, conditions "…that will lead to personal freedom and happiness for all mankind" (Truman, in Rist 1997: 70-72). This proposition, was unconventional for the time as development approaches emerging from the Bretton Woods agreements were originally concerned with the reconstruction of a war-torn Europe. Truman's concept of Trusteeship was of particular significance because it divided the world into the developed and the underdeveloped, leading to the creation of the "third-world" (Rist 1997: 70-72).[16] The creation of the concept of "Third World" was integral to

[15] The notion of trusteeship referred to here refers to the idea that those who believed themselves to be developed were responsible for acting to determine the process of development for those deemed to be less developed and is central to paternal and parental styles of relationship. The notion was central to the view during the enlightenment that capitalists informed by positivism should act trustees for the wealth of society and humanity, taking responsibility for preserving and distributing wealth. For a more detailed discussion refer to (Cowan & Shenton 1996: 33).

[16] Originally the divisions were: Superpowers; developed; and developing. Later becoming: Western Bloc; Eastern Bloc; and Developing.

the systemisation of paternalistic power relationships that framed poor nations as needing the help of the industrialised North (De Senarclens 1997: 192; Rapley 2002).[17]

In this manner, continuing engagement with the decolonising and postcolonial world was rationalised through humanitarian concern and interventionist approaches to aid which attempted to improve living standards of poor colonies and poor nations through state administration (Power 2003: 30; Berger 2004: 39). In the same manner that Truman's trusteeship had framed the colonised as a form of "other", implicitly needing the help of the coloniser and unable to help themselves in the past, so it underpinned "development" as a concept and the institutionalisation of its practice. "Development" understood as economic and as being a state-led process, played a key role in the systemisation of relationships that created the "Third World" as an entity in dire need of help (Berger 2004: 39). Development had become:

> …an "international effort", a "collective enterprise" based upon an increase in production and better use of the world's natural and human resources. Now, to intervene is "to make resources available", to help others help themselves (a jackpot-winning formula!), "to encourage everyone to produce more". And from the great share-out, almost everyone will emerge richer and more prosperous (Rist 1997: 76).

Ideas underpinning Truman's Point Four, along with the newly created Bretton Woods system that prevailed from the end of World War II until the 1970s, played an important role in the emergence of a new system of global governance (Berger 2004: 41-42).[18] Truman's Point Four represented a move towards a system where the whole of human kind was included in the development paradigm, an approach legitimised through universality rather than the legitimacy of an organisation, as it had been previously with the League of Nations mandate system (Rist 1997: 75). It involved a system whereby relationships between leaders of nation-states were increasingly mediated through an arrangement of military alliances, regional organisations, and new international institutions

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[17] I use the terms "North" and "South" as they pertain to classifiers in definitions of development volunteering which refer to the flow of volunteers between developed industrialised countries and developing non-industrialised countries.

[18] The Bretton Woods system was comprised of International Financial Institutions which formed an international basis for exchanging one currency for another and aimed to provide economic stability to the post-war world. The US dollar was made to serve as the world's currency, and all other leading currencies fixed against the US dollar which was backed by gold reserves (the US$/gold system was abandoned in 1971/2 by US president Nixon). By tying their currencies to the US dollar each of the 44 member states aimed to free international trade and fund post war reconstruction. The Bretton Woods Conference also created of The International Monetary Fund (IMF), to monitor exchange rates and lend reserve currencies to nations with trade deficits, and The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now known as the World Bank) to provide "developing" countries with needed capital.

such as the United Nations. The new configuration represented an important shift away from earlier colonial projects in which imperial powers presided over colonies, to one in which two major superpowers (United States and the Soviet Union), oversaw a system of states which were formally sovereign states (Berger 2004: 30-40).

As the new system of global governance emerged "development" became an overarching objective for many nationalist movements and the independent states they tried to form during the process of gaining independence. At the same time, the label "underdeveloped" was accepted by both those who headed the newly independent states, and the colonised – for the former, because it was a way of asserting their claim to benefit from the "aid" that was supposed to lead to "development", and for the latter it was a way of affirming the international legal equality (as legal states) that was refused them (Rist 1997: 79; Berger 2004: 50).

The conceptualisation of "development" as state-led economic growth through industrialisation was central to modern economic theories and modern development theory such as Growth Theory and Big Push Theory, and later in Rostow's Stages of Growth (Rapley 2002: 10).[19] Great importance was given to the "modernisation" of production methods, and "bringing the tools of modern technology within the reach of all the people" (De Senarclens 1997: 193). The emphasis on technical assistance was a continuation of the colonial mode of development based on the assumption of a universal paradigm of economic, social, cultural and institutional norms applicable to all peoples on earth (De Senarclens 1997: 192). "Modernisation" theory therefore privileged the social and cultural evolution experienced by the already industrialised countries. It argued explicitly for wholesale technological transfer onto these newly independent countries, including the shedding of traditional modes of production (Rapley 2002: 193). In this paradigm economic growth became linked to political modernisation, and market economies were harnessed to Northern conceptions of "developed", such as an interventionist state, and ideas and processes including nation building, and social modernisation, which required fostering entrepreneurship and "achievement orientation" (Rapley 2002: 16).

Central to the modernisation perspective was the developed-underdeveloped binary, which underpinned the concept of the "Third World". Modernisation theory sought to identify

[19] Dependency theory also conceptualised development as economic accumulation, however the objective was class mediated exploitation through satellite relationships (Rapley 2002).

the conditions that had given rise to the development in the First World, and where and why these were lacking in the Third World. The North had progressed beyond it, but other countries lagged behind. The North however, could help speed up the process of development in the Third World by sharing its capital and know-how, to bring these countries into the modern age of capitalism and liberal democracy (Rapley 2002: 15). Development assumed a transitive meaning and was reconceived as an action performed by one agent on another (Rist 1997). A dichotomy began to emerge in development practice between the hard science of the "professional" development practitioner who worked with science and technology and was attached to development institutions, and the recipients of aid, whose cultures and traditions were considered inferior and an impediment to aid (De Senarclens 1997).

2.1.1.1. Charity/Welfare Model

The establishment of the IMF and World Bank along with the creation of the United Nations in 1945 led to a new framework for international development assistance which later became central to a broader system of global governance. These international regimes also set the stage for the institutionalisation of development volunteering in the 1970s. The United Nations' emphasis on the interdependence of nations, and the value of equality and global responsibility to relieve poverty, led to the emergence of bilateral and multilateral donors and CSOs. It also shaped the roles of the Bretton Woods institutions, all of which continue to affect relationships between rich and poor countries today (Lewis 2005). This trend was reflected in the organisation of volunteering for development after UNESCO convened the First Conference of Organisers of International Voluntary Work Camps in 1948 (Gillette 2001; Lewis 2005). The gathering created the Coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service and eventually led to the institutionalisation of cross-national volunteering in the 1970s (Gillette 2001). The initiative led to the formalisation of mutual sharing across borders of technical know-how on organisational problems, as well as a common search for more effective ways to promote education for international understanding (Ehrichs 2000). Prior to this, the activity of development volunteering was viewed primarily as an informal means of building friendship between young people of different European communities and supporting the reconciliation process and did not emphasise technological transfer.

In 1920 Pierre Ceresole, a Swiss pacifist and member of the Swiss Fellowship for Reconciliation, gathered a cross-cultural work force of French and German volunteers, including ex-soldiers who had previously been the enemy, and formed a "workcamp" to help rebuild the physical infrastructure of a small village near Verdun in France and its surrounds, including farms that had been destroyed during the war (Gillette 2001; SCI-IVS 2008).[20] Central to the establishment of the work camp in Esnes, as with numerous other cross-cultural European work camps that sprang up after the First World War, were notions of "peaceful revolution" and "solidarity" (Smillie 1995: 40; Ehrichs 2000: 2). Under the catchphrase "deeds not words" Cresole's vision was to bring together people from different countries and cultures and have them "bond" through working together on a common project to break down prejudices and barriers between nations (SCI-IVS 2008).

The catch phrase, reflected the view that words were not the only indicators of a sincere desire for peace, rather that deeds represented a human demonstration of willingness for peace which was more meaningful. The phrase embodies a collective hope of improving the conditions of life of the majority of humankind as well as an expression of citizen pro-activity in an attempt to mesh ideas based on feelings with practice. This sentiment was again repeated at the end of World War II, when groups responded to the destruction of the war by putting together teams of volunteers to contribute to the rebuilding of Europe's infrastructure (Gillette 2001). Similar projects led Ceresole to found Service Civil International (SCI) as an alternative to military service and during World War II Ceresole and SCI were very active in the effort to establish legal conscientious objector status in Europe.[21]

The notion of development as a collective action, combined with ideas of a common good, formed the foundation of modern volunteering for development. However the relationship between the volunteer and those in non-industrialised developing countries, although created with a non-profit or humanistic motivation, mirrored relationships created by private profit capital formation because the underlying assumptions were the same: "lack" and "need" (Ehrichs 2000: 5). In fact, while a peace movement centred on collectivist ideals of acts of solidarity, the relationship also embodied the same paternalism

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[20] Arguably the first secular Western volunteers to work in the South.
[21] The work camp was the initiative of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and led to the establishment of Service Civil International (SCI – International Volunteer Service) which is still active today (SCI-IVS 2008).

of dominant development models because volunteers considered that they were, "coming to the aid of those less fortunate than themselves". In this respect development volunteering was underpinned by Truman's notion of trusteeship as the dominant assumption behind the motivation of many organisations was that people in developing countries need help (Ehrichs 2000). The instrumental view that poverty was a problem to be "fixed" with modern technology propagated stereotypical notions of what constituted "developed" and "underdeveloped", and may have dictated the activities volunteers implemented, as well as affecting their attitudes toward the people with whom they worked. Subordination and dependence on the one hand and superiority on the other may have been perpetuated through these efforts (Moore McBride & Daftary 2005). As such many development volunteering programs emphasised an instrumental approach whereby technical aid was viewed as a practical modality of distributing aid resources, money and technical assistance. However, what set volunteering apart from other forms of technical cooperation was the conception of it as a "sensitive form of technical cooperation" as volunteers "actively worked for greater sensitivity to the cultural and development context" (Rockliffe 2005: 35).

2.1.1.2. The Institutionalisation of "Friendship"

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Cold War shaped international politics and within this, and development played a role in the rivalry between capitalism and communism, providing an important rationale for foreign aid (Rist 1997: 80). Developmental states provided strategic partners in the Cold War balance of power as ideological sympathies were played out in developing countries, both politically and economically (Fowler 1998: 137).[22] Development aid programs were set up in the protection of national interest and political control beyond any expressed goals of aid or development – economic aid was a political strategy to retain geopolitical spheres of influence (Berger 2004: 39-47; Duffield 2005). The Marshall Plan, announced in 1947 and enacted by the United States for Europe's reconstruction, aimed to contain the communist threat and Soviet ambitions in Europe (De Senarclens 1997: 191; Berger 2004: 41). In addition, the Truman doctrine which accompanied the Marshall Plan, consciously sought to tie international aid with geo-political and economic concerns. This

[22] Developmental states is used here as regimes oriented towards national economic development (Leftwhich 1995).

affected subsequent relations between countries, including the orientation of international aid programs, and development volunteering (Moore McBride & Daftary 2005).

The Marshall Plan and Truman doctrine raise questions about the duality of paternalism and reciprocity as they were mainly concerned with wiping out the advance of "Castroism" in the Western Hemisphere and promoting economic and social change, democracy and the growth of transnationals corporations (De Senarclens 1997: 197; Berger 2004: 41). Significantly, modernisation theory, the dominant approach to development at this time, was anticommunist because it assumed that all societies progressed in a linear fashion along the same path towards capitalist development, from which fascism and communism were aberrations.[23] Hence, modernisation theorists could not easily accept that the Third World might differ fundamentally culturally and socially, from the first (Rapley 2002: 16).

Some volunteering for development programs were explicit tools for communicating cultural and diplomatic ideas as well as fostering learning across cultural divides (Moore McBride & Daftary 2005). These models, typically funded by the state, continued to structure their "aid" around group technical assistance approach and placed an emphasis on friendship and cultural exchange. These models were, "…the foundations for a new kind of internationalism, one based on friendship and on direct personal experience of development" (Smillie 1995: 42). An often cited example is the US government's use of US Peace Corps as a vital component in their competition against communism. During the Cold War years of rivalry between capitalism and communism, President John F. Kennedy launched the Alliance for Progress project in Latin America, which was soon reinforced by the Peace Corps. This model has been linked with critiques of development volunteering as a form of Northern Imperialism, as it was understood as a tool for primarily enhancing government interests rather than addressing issues of poverty (Devereux 2008). In this model, development volunteers were the human face of a broader government agenda which underpinned development aid – concern with pursuing the U.S. "national interest", in particular security. Another important example of this model was initiated in the early 1950s by the members of the Australian Committee of World University Service who created a volunteer sending program to teach English in Indonesia because they were

[23] See W. Rostow, (1960) *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, London, Cambridge University Press.

concerned about the negative impacts of Australia's "white Australia" policy (Smillie 1995: 40).[24]

2.1.1.3. Politicisation Model

In the 1960s and 1970s another form of development volunteering emerged alongside the instrumentalist technical aid models popular during the 1950s. This form, which I will refer to as the Politicisation Model of development volunteering, accompanied civil rights movements such as the anti-Vietnam War, and women's movements, and the much earlier movement for international solidarity, to resist fascism in Spain (Lewis 2005).[25] At the same time, civil rights, citizen participation and anti-war agendas heightened people's interest in the relationship between developed and developing nations. Indigenous movements for self-reliance, for community involvement, and for decentralised development had a hearing and a practice ground in new nations; and volunteers gained recognition for their role in promoting citizen participation in development (Pinkau 1978).

Dominant conceptualisations of the role of IVSAs were derived from an "alternative" set of themes and values other than those that came to dominate with the rise of capitalism (Howell & Pearce 2001). These themes, which mostly emerged through Marxist and post-Marxist critiques of capitalism, were captured within the solidarity movements of the 1970s and the activism of the 1980s, and underpin modern ideas about the role of CSOs in society (Howell & Pearce 2001: 31-37). Themes included: mutuality and solidarity; class, conflict and power; the idea that civil society is a realm where dominant values can be contested; ideas about the role of civil society as an agent for social change; civil society as autonomous from the state (Howell & Pearce 2001: 37). IVSAs were seen as actively working towards humanitarian ends with people on the margins (Lee 2000). Such a focus meant that they were conceptualised as being able to provide a genuine representation of disadvantaged groups and act as catalysts for the empowerment of disadvantaged people.

The practice of volunteering expanded to include forms of advocacy, criticism and opposition and at times, competition with the state's political agenda. The citizen participation agenda created a growing awareness that top down bureaucratic development

[24] The Australian government supported this program by providing £50 and a bicycle (Smillie 1995: 41).
[25] The movement for international solidarity led to the recruitment of volunteers from the United Kingdom and other parts of the world as the "International Brigade" to resist fascism in Spain on the republican side in the Spanish civil war (1932-36).

programs were not achieving their objectives, and greater control by local people and beneficiary participation was demanded (Ehrichs 2000: 4). Programs that were previously more server-driven began to shift their focus towards skill-driven and strategy-based approaches. The emphasis and service agenda of volunteering for development programs shifted from "for" to "with", whereby volunteers were to be learners rather than dispensers of knowledge, such as technical knowhow (Moore McBride & Daftary 2005). From "for" to "with" represented an attempt to deal with the problem of aid dependency. There was a movement towards people-centred development overall, and the use of participatory techniques as development CSOs actively sought out and supported Indigenous social movements and village structures working for change (Ehrichs 2000: 4). Earlier server-driven programs underwent marked change, re-focusing to skills-driven and strategy based volunteer roles aimed at mutual learning which led to the recruitment of more qualified and skilled volunteers. Development policy came into question, particularly whether funds should be spent on volunteers, or be used for direct assistance.

The change in emphasis and approach of volunteering for development programs from "for" to "with" was influenced by the emancipatory pedagogy of Paulo Freire (1970), and the Marxist-oriented school of Participatory Action Research (PAR), and Liberation Theology.[26] In the 1970s Freire's emphasis on respectful dialogue was central to the shift in philosophy from working for, or on behalf of another, to "working with". In volunteering for development, "working with" was often referred to as "solidarity". In Freirean terms, "development" was integral to the advancement of social transformation, and the result of individual self-awareness and subsequent collective action (Alejandro Leal 2007). Influenced by the arguments of Freire and other "liberationists", volunteering for development programs began to adopt the notion of transformational change and reject the "othering" of locals in favour of a "subject/subject" (or volunteer/local) construction

[26] Liberation theology is a predominantly Roman Catholic post-enlightenment movement that attempts to unite theology and socio-political concerns. Its biblical hermeneutic is shaped by the philosophical perspective begun by Immanuel Kant, which argued for the autonomy of human reason; and the political perspective of Karl Marx, which argues that man's wholeness can be realised only through overcoming the alienating political and economic structures of society (Moylan 1991). The movement emerged in the 1960s in the Latin American context, where Liberation theologians contended that their continent had been victimised by colonialism, imperialism and multinational corporations (Gutierrez 1973; 1987). Concurring with the neo-Marxist world-systems theorists, liberationists argued economic "developmentalism" placed so called underdeveloped nations in a situation of dependence, resulting in the local economies of Latin America being controlled by decisions in "New York, Houston, or London". Liberationists maintained that the development policies of the 1960s, which aimed to accelerate economic growth in and investment in the Third World, were based on leveraged economic relationships that perpetuated the disparity between wealthy and poor nations (Martin 2003: 72).

of discourse in order to create a counter discourse in development (Ehrichs 2000: 9). This led to volunteer-centred programs that focused on the critical consciousness of the volunteer – the process of "conscientisation" and prospective transformation. This view was underpinned by the belief in a common humanity and connectedness to people and their plight. The role of volunteers was that of a catalyst, resource, and fellow human being, standing alongside and sharing the same class struggle as locals.

Concurrently, the philosophy and practice of religious based IVSAs in particular, was influenced by Christian social justice teachings, and tenets of liberation theology, which taught that Christians must work for social and economic justice for all people. Liberation theologians tied the formation of the individual to personal participation in social transformation which required critical theological reflection on, "the historical praxis of man in history" (Gutierrez 1973: 9-10). Communion with God was predicated on identifying with, and sharing the plight of the poor and exploited classes, who held special significance as solidarity with the poor, "...implied a commitment to transforming or abolishing the social structures that perpetuated injustice" (Martin 2003: 71). Working at the community level, liberationists employed a process of conscientisation, influenced by Freire's "pedagogy of the oppressed", which involved "…reflection on experience, the reinterpretation of that experience through a radical rereading of Scripture and reflecting on the necessary changes in their social expectations and practices", a process intended to empower communities to re-enter history and challenge the dominant powers (Moylan 1991: 43).[27]

Volunteer programs were designed to heighten the volunteer's ability to discern and then act in ways that enhance mutual/shared power and mutual/shared learning. This was in line with the belief that, through the process of conscientisation, volunteers and IVSAs make explicit the human processes that create not only poverty in the South, but also ignorance and ethnocentricity in the North (Ehrichs 2000: 12). The placement of volunteers was central to this process which was understood as a transformational one. The working environment in which volunteers were placed was one which aimed to foster interaction with locals, and discourse became central. There was a move away from the

[27] Moylan points out that the work of liberationists at the community level "…can also be understood in terms of Gramsci's concept of 'organic intellectuals'. Although Gramsci himself never wrote of counterhegemony, he distinguished between those ecclesiastical and political intellectuals who maintain the historical continuity of a dominant structure and those who, as members of the subaltern class, work as 'constructor, organiser, permanent persuader' in the counter hegemonicmovement" (Moylan 1991: 62).

group technical assistance approach of the earlier Charity/Welfare model of development volunteering towards single volunteer placements in a community, sometimes in remote areas. Volunteers were encouraged to depend on local people and networks for daily living requirements and social life rather than the IVSA. Personal introspection was viewed as a life changing phenomenon as shifts in consciousness of the volunteer would be accompanied by, "…feelings of conflict, failures, resistance, disorientation and grieving to which they must surrender…" (Freire 1970: 11). Following the view that when outsiders speak the local language the power of the locals is reinforced, whereas if locals must speak the outsider's language, the opposite occurs, volunteers were given training in, and encouraged to learn the local language (Ehrichs 2000: 9). Minimal living allowance of volunteers was also used in an effort to keep economic differentiation between locals and outsiders to a minimum.

Leading on from the earlier solidarity movements of the 1960s and 1970s, alternative development thinking with new understandings of development came to the fore. By the mid-1980s the focus of development came to be social, and programs emphasised community development (Ehrichs 2000: 8). Following Amartya Sen's (1999) work on capacities and entitlements, development came to be understood as "capacitation" whereby the point of development above all, was "enabling" (Ehrichs 2000: 6). This view was reflected in the core definition of development in the Human Development Reports of the UNDP at this time, which was, "the enlargement of people's choices" (Ehrichs 2000: 6). In line with this thinking, the skill transfer mode of development became the focus of international development agencies, and "capacitation" overtook "liberation" as the mode of development of Solidarity Models of development volunteering.

In 1970 the United Nations Volunteers was founded as an "operational partner" to the United Nations Development Programme. This was the beginning of the institutionalisation of volunteer sending and a push to professionalise volunteering as a legitimate form of development practice (Smillie 1995: 34). In the West an increasing number of organisations were set up to coordinate the sending of volunteers abroad or the receiving of volunteers from abroad and development volunteering became increasingly professionalised.

2.1.2. The Institutionalisation of Development Volunteering and Emerging Tensions

As conceptual structures of development such as technical assistance, skills transfer and capacity building became heavily adopted by IVSAs, notions of development volunteering as citizen-led counter-culture, epitomised by the citizens and social movements of the 1960s and 1970s were challenged. While the institutionalisation of development volunteering can be seen as efforts by those working at the level of individual interface to become more rigorous, and legitimise their practice within the wider development establishment, it was also viewed as becoming part of a wider hegemonic project of global governance (Fisher 1997: 442, 444; Ehrichs 2000: 6; Korten 2000).

Despite growing concern about the political nature of development and of volunteering, there was still a top down transfer of knowledge; for instance, helping poor communities to become more like the North by emphasising the adoption of Northern ideas such as women's rights, and not just their technology. The struggle was concentrated on building infrastructures to help the poor in their fight against injustice. Volunteers were often recent graduates and it was assumed these young, motivated persons would achieve much in the public sectors of education and health in the Third World. In this paradigm the poor continued to be viewed largely as a passive undifferentiated mass (Ehrichs 2000: 3). The institutionalisation of volunteering for development from the 1970s also undeniably played a role in perpetuating the systemisation of the "Third World" as an entity that needed help from the industrialised North (Ehrichs 2000: 5).

2.1.3. End of an Era: Attacks on the State-Led Development Model and the Rise of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism was arguably entrenched in some states (including the U.S., U.K. and Chile) by the mid-1980s. The events that favoured its rise occurred against the backdrop of the globalization of capitalism and the emergence of transnational corporations and network organisations. These included: the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) formed in 1992, the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) formed in 1995. Significant in cementing neoliberalism were the policies and programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, both established in 1944. Other key factors were: revolutions in the fields of technological and

educational advancement, as well as four crises (the crises of the welfare state, the failure of socialism, the development crisis, and the global environmental crisis), which led to disillusionment with statist theories of development and a disillusionment with the idea that government is the sole legitimate agent for the accumulation and management of economic resources, and development decision making (Korten 1990: 28; Salamon 1994). The fiscal and legitimacy crises of the Keynesian welfare state during the 1970s, related to "stagflation", as well as the failing of domestic markets and the rise of mass unemployment, led to questioning the role of the state by conservatives. Debate for a solution tended to polarise between the views of advanced socialist and communist parties such as those in Europe, who argued for increased state control and regulation of the economy through corporatist strategy, and neoconservatives, who endorse the liberation of corporate and business power and reestablishment of market freedoms (Haque 2000: 217; Harvey 2005: 12-13).

The emergence and adoption of neoliberalism in the 1970s and 1980s was not however, due to its strength as a policy alternative, but occurred through its endorsement by intelligentsia and neoconservative political leaders, such as Margaret Thatcher in the U.K., and Ronald Reagan in the U.S. Neoconservatives rejected the prevailing political ideology of welfare liberalism, which viewed the government as having a legal and moral obligation to promote the welfare of its citizens, particularly the least advantaged, and argued that the private sector is superior to the public sector (George 1999; Haque 2000; McGary 2004; Harvey 2005). Central to neoconservative thinking is the notion of the "right of the individual" coupled with ideas about individual freedom (McGary 2004; Harvey 2005). In this view, the state does not have the right to use its coercive powers to create and administer policies and programs designed to redistribute resources, and that such polices violate the individual right to liberty when people are coerced by the state to pay taxes that are used to fund egalitarian aims (McGary 2004: 82-3). In the 1970s and 1980s, neoconservative ideas meshed with the neoliberal rejection of state intervention in the economy, and with the neoliberal argument that individual freedom could only be achieved by rolling back the state (George 1997; Harvey 2005).

Neoconservative views were further reinforced by the economic stagnation and political oppression that characterised socialist states in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Africa (Howell & Pearce 2001; Harvey 2005). Neoliberal ideology gained even greater currency in the 1980s, when the apparent failure of socialism and communism in the

collapse of the Soviet System, and regimes of populist nationalism in the South, provided the "proof" for proponents of the need to roll back state intervention in the economy (Peck 2004: 398; Colas 2005: 78). At the same time, anti-authoritarian movements in Eastern Europe and the South turned to the concept of civil society and its relationship to democratisation, and engaged in dialogue with Northern development and financial institutions, seeking a new impetus and agency in development processes (Howell & Pearce 2001: 15).

As donor governments shifted their emphasis from a foreign policy governed by Cold War imperatives to governance issues, democracy and accountability became conditions for aid, and civil society was looked upon as central to capitalist modernisation, development and good governance (Howell & Pearce 2001: 4). This move was underpinned by the idea that democracy was a precondition for development, which represented a significant shift from earlier models of development that assumed that democracy was the outcome of development – tenuous link between democracy and development (Howell & Pearce 2001: 39-40). Despite this, ideas about the relationship between a vibrant civil society and democracy began to inform dominant development paradigms in the post-Cold War era, while programs to strengthen and create civil society became a central focus of development strategy. This focus led to new relationships between donors and civil society organisations (CSOs) which would not have been conceivable during the Cold War when CSOs, "…were considered politicised voices of antistate opposition forces" (Howell & Pearce 2001: 16). The new relationship between donors, CSOs and increasingly institutionalised IVSAs points to a trend which saw IVSAs, along with other forms of development CSO, increasingly drawn into the broader system of global governance which had commenced with the establishment of the Bretton Woods system at the end of World War II (Mawdsley et al. 2002; Townsend et al. 2002).

2.2. CSOs IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA: Social and political impacts of the rise of neoliberalism on development aid and implications for IVSAs

The rise of neoliberalism as an ideology completely restructured the ideological shape of the state, market and civil society. Dominant Cold War conceptualisations about the organisation of society changed (Tvedt 2002; Katz 2006). Adapting the theoretical approach of Alexis de Tocqueville, neoliberalism calls for the separation of the state, market and civil society (McIlwaine 1998: 653). In this paradigm it de-emphasised the role of the state, and shifted power from the state to private property and the compulsions of the market, "…which is seen as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action" (Treanor 2005). The role of the state became limited to, "…defence against foreign aggression, provision of legal and economic infrastructure for the functioning of markets, and mediation between social groups in order to preserve and expand market relations" (Peck 2004: 397; Saad-Filho 2005: 114).

Fundamental to neoliberal ideology is the conceptualisation of the market as a "natural", rather than a socially constructed institution. This conceptualisation has a legitimising function as the market appears divorced from politics and unable to be challenged, in this manner it has provided key justification for social and political arrangements which favour the market in both developed and developing countries (Williams 1999: 82; Saad-Filho 2005: 118). The naturalisation of the market is underpinned by two other key concepts: "universality/formal equality"; and "social good". Neoliberal ideology claims the "universality/formal equality" of all people, who are viewed as detached rational agents (especially in the economic sense), bound together through market forces (Williams 1999: 82). In this view, social relations and political positions are reduced to market exchanges. It assumes both universality and formal equality through its denial of history as well as the role of culture, class and gender in society (Williams 1999: 82; Miraftab 2004: 242). In this conception, the individual's "pursuance of self interest" should occur within a capitalist market economy because it is the most efficient system within which individuals can maximise their material well-being. The assumption of "universality/formal equality" supports the idea that a capitalist market economy will enable all people to maximise their material well-being because all people are equal. These views lend themselves to the utilitarian justification of the market as providing, "…the best institutional structure for the

achievement of both individual and social material well-being understood in terms of welfare or utility" (Williams 1999: 83). In this conception of society, the individual's pursuit of self-interest is compatible with, and even necessary for the advancement of the general "social good" (Williams 1999: 82-83). The achievement of "social good" then, requires an unimpeded market, and "good governance" (understood as the framework of institutional structures of law, private property and contract), which is necessary to assure the natural functioning of the market so that all persons can contribute to, and benefit from economic growth. The globalising project of neoliberalism is concerned with interconnecting people using the market mechanism to, "…adjust labour, production and raw materials to rationally secure the optimal benefit for all" (Duffield 2005: 18). In development this has played out as a deepening process of international regulation through multilateral aid organisations and donor states (Tvedt 2002; Wallace 2004).

2.2.1. Neoliberal Theory of Development and its Ascendency to Hegemonic Ideology

The impact of the demand of neoliberalism for the sectoral organisation of society has been reflected in development theory and policy which has tended to conceptualise development models as state-led, market-led or civil society-led (Thomas 2000; Tvedt 2006). The neoliberal emphasis on the market compartmentalised development, at the same time, the focus on economic factors, ignored history and culture, denying the multifaceted nature of development processes (Brohman 1995: 303). Over the last thirty years, the adoption of neoliberal policies has led to the restructuring of the global political economy and the reconstitution of the international order (Tvedt 2002; Ayers 2009). However the ascendency of neoliberalism to hegemonic status was a complex political and discursive process, involving conjecture and transformation, as well as resistance (George 2000; Grabel 2002; Colas 2005; Harvey 2005).

The adoption of neoliberal principles surrounding the notion of development by multilateral agencies as well as governments in both the North and South has been complicit in its globalisation (McIlwaine 1998; Harriss 2002b). The neoliberal notion that development can only occur within a market economy has led to development policy and practice that seeks to replicate Northern capitalist market systems, with their accompanying social and political structures, throughout the world (Williams 1999; Thomas 2000; Harvey 2005). The term "globalisation" is often used to describe the visible and tangible outcomes

of the global spread of capitalism, such as the intensifying of socio-economic and political interdependence throughout the world (Harvey 2005). However a focus on the outcomes of market-driven neoliberal agendas ignores the fact that globalisation is not the natural outcome of an unimpeded capitalist market. It is rather, a process co-ordinated by identifiable institutions and driven by socio-economic and political antagonisms between and within social classes (George 1997; Peck 2004; Colas 2005; Harvey 2005).

Neoliberal policies such as the Washington consensus and post-Washington consensus, imposed and encouraged the adoption of market-based principles in the South.[28] The dominance of neoliberal ideas in development policy debates coincided with the move towards a neoliberal economic and political model in the United States, the United Kingdom and some European countries (Thomas 2000). In particular, the influence of the US government on key multilateral institutions and other OECD governments was instrumental in the emergence and diffusion of neoliberal ideas globally (Thomas 2000). The proclaimed failure of the developmentalist paradigm in the 1970s established the context for the Washington consensus and the rise of structural adjustment lending by Washington D.C. multilateral institutions, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as the U.S. Treasury Department (Harriss 2002b: 77; Colas 2005: 78; Saad-Filho 2005: 113).[29] In the 1970s, a developmental crisis became apparent in developing countries as import substitution policies had resulted in only partial industrialisation, the patchy achievements of which were apparent in persistent balance of payments problems, as well as chronic inequity and underemployment. Recession in the West and the OPEC oil crises added to this already difficult situation. In addition, spiralling inflation and inflated currencies led to increasing dependency on borrowing from Northern banks (Peck 2004: 398; Colas 2005: 78). The global North shifted to a high-interest rate regime, in part propelled by the monetarist strategies of the Regan and Thatcher governments. As a number of countries were forced to default on their variable-rate loans the debt crisis in the South was triggered (Peck 2004: 399). From the 1980s, powerful states such as the U.S., and influential multilateral institutions contributed to the spread of neoliberal ideology through their stipulation of structural adjustment as a

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[28] The phrase 'Washington consensus' was suggested by Williamson, 1990.

[29] The consensus was subsequently expanded to include other organisations such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and European Central Bank (Saad-Filho 2005). With the rise of the post-Washington consensus structural adjustment lending was re-named policy based lending.

condition for the disbursement of their grants or soft loans (Haque 2000).[30] States and institutions supporting the Washington consensus did not hesitate to use material and political capital to press a neoliberal agenda (Grabel 2002: 36). For example, by the 1990s no major national or multilateral lending institution would extend credit to countries unwilling to take structural adjustment. In addition, the financial community in both the North and South actively promoted neoliberalism, and private capital flows have provided the momentum behind neoliberal economic reforms (George 1997; Haque 2000: 223; Grabel 2002: 37).

Neoliberal policies of trade liberalisation and privatisation imposed on Southern countries cannot be separated from the "crisis of capital" in the North (Harvey 2005). Haque (2000) argues that these policies were put in place to deepen the subordination of developing countries to the U.S.-led global economy, and to weaken of economic challenge to the U.S. posed by the Newly Industrialised Countries such as South Korea, Taiwan and China. The prescription of market-orientated reforms (privatisation, deregulation, liberalisation) for these and developing countries was implemented in order to reduce their economic strength based on state intervention. At times some sections of local elites supported neoliberal prescriptions but at other times various international agencies were used to influence and pressure these countries to adopt such reforms (Chossudovesky 1997; Haque 2000; Engel 2010).

The rise of neoliberalism to hegemonic status in development theory has been traced to the vested interests, political motives, ideological agenda and global leadership motives of the U.S., under whose dictates the transition of policy preference of international finance and aid agencies has largely taken place (George 1997). It is also important to note the role of domestic social forces in the adoption of neoliberal policy in the South were in many cases in line with the interests and strategies of local power elites (Haque 2000:224-225). Examples of the adoption of neoliberalism for political purposes include Chile after 1973 where Smith et al. (1994) claim neoliberalism was adopted by military dictatorships to defeat opposition. Neoliberal policies have also served business elites in the South who, in alliance with many foreign (Northern) investors, have enjoyed considerable economic gain by purchasing public enterprises sold at nominal prices (Haque 2000: 226). This has led to

[30] Structural Adjustment Programs were implemented by the IMF and World Bank in the 1980s as a condition for receiving loans. While they no longer exist, many aspects have been incorporated into the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper process.

wealth being concentrated into fewer hands, in Asia, and as undervaluation led to a loss of government revenue, it also contributed to the overall increase in poverty in developing countries. For example Salleh (1995: 139) notes that in Malaysia, undervaluation of shares of Malaysian Airlines System, Malaysian International Shipping Corporation Building, Telecom Building, and Otomobil National among others led to a loss of US$3.73 billion in government revenue.

2.2.2. Neoliberal Conceptions of Civil Society in Development

With the rise of neoliberalism, the notion of a third sector with a distinct agenda and role that distinguished it from the roles of the government and the market began to take shape. The neoliberal conception of civil society was influenced by discussions on the role of the individual, the state and society and a concern with the tensions that occurred with the rise of capitalism and industrialisation (Howell & Pearce 2001: 17-18). Neoliberal/ neoconservative positions draw on the eighteenth century liberal roots of civil society thinking which viewed civil society as a necessary component in the process of economic and political change (Howell & Pearce 2001: 11-18).[31] In this conception, a "vibrant civil society" draws on liberal views that consider civil society essential to the establishment of a stable democracy as well as a conduit for political and economic democratisation, manifested through privatisation and liberalisation (McIlwaine 1998: 653). Democracy and the market engender each other and both are necessary for development to take place. Following "Rational Choice Theory", people are understood to be reasonable and rational (*homo economous*) and should have responsibility to live how they choose. It is assumed that because people are reasonable, the results of their political choices will reinforce the market, therefore, politics should be subordinated to the market (Amin 2001).

The neoliberal focus on the market was not initially concerned with the role of civil society in development because, according to the neoliberal conception, economic and political

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[31] The range of historical influences and themes that underpin this position include: the rise of the self determining individual; idea's about the link between commerce or economic progress and law, understood as an accepted regulatory framework; ideas that the rebirth of virtue within civil society can counteract negative tendencies of the negative tendencies of the division of labour within commercial society such as inequality and corruption as individuals pursue their own self interest; the emergence of the public sphere in Europe and accompanying ideas of the responsibility of individuals and mutual dependency for the sake of the once private issues of human production and reproduction as well as ideas about the public sphere as the forum for public opinion and the right to question the principles on which any government rests its right to govern; economic development and the problem of social solidarity; and social capital and civil society (Howell & Pearce 2001: 18-30).

liberalisation was intertwined, and democracy is associated with, although not determined by, free markets and capitalism (Salamon 1994; Smillie 1994: 160; McIlwaine 1998: 654). Under "pure" neoliberalism, CSOs were seen as playing a small role in the privatisation of public services and their role was limited to efficient alternatives to the state in providing public services or inexpensive delivery mechanisms for governments (Desai & Imrie 1998; McIlwaine 1998). However, the reconceptualisation of civil society as a "third" sector, independent of the state and the market was the basis for the beginning of a "partnership" between Northern development civil society organisations and multilateral institutions in the late 1980s which would mediate between donors and grassroots poverty.

2.2.2.1. "Social Capital" and the Instrumentalisation of Civil Society

In the 1990s, the economist Robert Putnam's (1993; 1995) concept of social capital and its concern with "good governance" which opened up space for "non-economic" factors in development and the term social capital, to which "participation" was central, entered the dominant development discourse. There are two key ideas underpinning Putnam's (1993; 1995) concept of social capital in development. First is the idea that the mechanisms by which an association generates prosperity is related to improvements in transactions. This comes from the work of Dasgupta (1988) who argued that through association with others, individuals have access to information which enables them to coordinate activities for mutual benefit. In this paradigm, higher levels of association mean access to more information and repeated mutually beneficial interaction generates trust, reducing opportunistic behaviour. Second, is the notion that social cohesion underpins growth and prosperity which is central to the link between social capital and economic development (United Nations General Assembly 2000). In this manner, social capital was understood to link concepts of individual responsibility and citizenship with participation in the institutions of community and democracy. Howell and Pearce (2001: 59) argue that this understanding tends to view the role of civil society as "system maintenance", whereby they were responsible for creating or strengthening, "…the democratic institutions that protect the rule of law, legitimate peaceful opposition and the expression of dissent in acceptable ways. An active and vibrant civil society is considered evidence of a strong democracy and volunteering is considered as a means to participate and collaborate with

the government leading to the promotion and protection of common interests (United Nations General Assembly 2000).[32] Within this paradigm however, "…political stability is as important as political freedom, and protection from the state is more important than positive conceptualisations, debate, and action around how best to develop the common interests of society" (Howell & Pearce 2001: 59).

Putnam's concept of "social capital", was central to the integration of civil society organisations into donor-controlled knowledge systems within an international system of aid dominated by states and donors (Tvedt 2002; Nelson 2006). In development theory, Putnam's concept extended the instrumental function of CSOs which became viewed as a means by which the poor can overcome poverty through building social relationships, collective action and involvement with local institutions. The interrelationship between social capital and economic development burst into prominence within and through the World Bank, becoming a dominant concept in international development policy (Fine 2001). The notion of social capital as the "glue" that holds society together fitted well with the United Nations' focus on the role of social development in sustainable development since the 1995 World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen (United Nations General Assembly 2000). An emphasis on "sustainable development" and "good governance" demanded that development be "transparent, accountable, representative and participatory" (Resurreccion et al. 2004: 521).

Ideas about the role of civil society as "system maintenance" inform neoconservative conceptions that development is about the "right set of policies". In this conception, prosperity is linked to political representation and civil society organisations are viewed as partners in development in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of policy – in short, a consensual approach to development among civil society, the market, and the state (United Nations General Assembly 2000; Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Howell & Pearce 2001; World Bank 2001). In this view, pluralities are designed to keep the government in check, preserve negative liberty and defend the individual against the mass (Howell & Pearce 2001: 59).

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[32] It should be noted that emerging research shows that increased association and participation at community level is not necessarily beneficial to the chronically poor. For example, in a study of the chronically poor in Tanzania, Cleaver (2005) found that the poor did not have an abundance of social capital, as assumed by Woolcock and Narayan (2000). Rather, he found that the very premise of social capital that assumes that it is through social relationships, collective action and local institutions that the poor may overcome poverty, may actually structurally reproduce the exclusion of the poorest.

2.2.3. Points of Interconnection and Tension Between Differing Conceptualisations of CSOs in Development

Debate about the nature of civil society and its role in society and the relationship with the government in particular, was reinvigorated by what Salamon refers to as the "associational revolution".[33] Howell and Pearce (2001) have noted that a lack of consensus is central to these debates and discussions on civil society, its role in society and relationship with the government. They argue, however, that these multiple discourses and nuances in conceptions of civil society can be organised within two groups or positions based on their intellectual roots (Howell & Pearce 2001: 17-37). In the 1990s these positions came to represent two dominant positions on the role of civil society in development discourse (Fisher 1997; McIlwaine 1998: 654; Howell & Pearce 2001: 13-38). These positions were the "alternative" and "neoliberal/neoconservative" positions. The alternative position has its roots in the solidarity and citizens movements of the 1960s and 1970s. In this view the role of CSOs is a politicised one whereby they are responsible for, "…illuminating the embedded power relationships that make development an often conflictual rather than consensual process" (Howell & Pearce 2001: 17). This view questions the compatibility between the pursuit of commercial interest and gain, and social and ethical responsibility to the wider society, arguing that a different set of values and priorities, other than capitalism, should guide the economy and development processes within it (Howell & Pearce 2001: 17). The alternative position also accepts that pluralism can often preserve interests often to the detriment of the collective or public interest (Howell & Pearce 2001: 60).

During the post-Cold War era, both proponents of the earlier "alternative", and "neoliberal/neoconservative" positions embraced civil society organisations (CSOs) as the solution to the eradication of poverty. Significantly, their rationales and premises for doing so were sometimes very different and at times conflicting. However, Howell and Pearce (2001) point out that these two positions interconnect in three key areas, giving the misleading impression of consensus between the two positions. These key areas are: ideas

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[33] "Associational revolution" describes the explosion of "organized volunteer activity" in the form of CSOs at the national level in both developed and developing countries, and in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, as well as Latin America (Korten 1990; Salamon 1994: 109). The "associational revolution" also manifested transnationally with a growing trend towards the establishment of umbrella organizations and networks that spanned national borders (Salamon 1994; Salamon & Anheier 1996). The trend saw a notable expansion in the size and number of CSOs, as well as an increase in the number of citizens who have initiated the formation of numerous networks and umbrella organizations across Asia and the Pacific.

about civil society as separate to the state; a concern with pluralism and strengthening civil society; and emphasis on participation and empowerment. Interconnection has had important implications within development discourse and has served to legitimise development aid underpinned by neoliberal ideology.

2.2.4. CSOs, Participation and Empowerment

In the 1990s, CSOs were viewed by international aid organisations and governments as people friendly and responsible, and able to promote participation of local communities in development plans and enable ordinary people to have capability in influencing public policy (Korten 1990; Lee 2000; Ransom 2005). At this time there was a shift toward softer humanitarian modalities of aid after the failure of earlier top down development aid models that emphasised technology transfer (World Bank 2001; World Bank 2006). There was also increasing criticism and disillusionment in the concept of development, and post- and anti-development theorists argued for the participation of local people in their own development (Escobar 1995).

Central to more recent debates on the role of civil society is the idea that globalisation has given rise to an increasingly complex and divided world, presenting economic, political and social challenges which require different conceptions of society, new institutional arrangements and consequently new forms of governance (Giddens 2003: 16-19; Barraket 2008: 2). Ideas about new governance combine neoliberal market models of service provision, with the conception of a "network society" which emphasises partnership and collaboration between sectors, within governments and between governments (Castells 1996; Giddens 2000: 82). Partnerships and networks are viewed as both a means of harnessing diverse resources as well as a means of addressing the challenges posed by a globalising world (Castells 1996). Within this paradigm CSOs play an important role in mediating civic and social participation with service provision that is responsive to the local effects of globalisation (Giddens 2000: 64-65, 123).

It was in the context of disillusionment with the concept of "development" that "participation" entered the institutional development world and has gained "buzz word status", and notions of "Participatory Development" entered development practice (Cornwall & Brock 2005). In dominant development discourse, "participation" became the orthodoxy in sustainable development initiatives and was central to efforts to ensure that the benefits of development are accessible to those marginalised by previous top down,

and technology transfer development initiatives. Ideas about participation are linked to both neoliberal and alternative positions on civil society, "participation" is however an elusive term which has different meanings and outcomes for both positions (Howell & Pearce 2001; Resurreccion et al. 2004). Despite this, in dominant development discourse these two positions converged.

Through the language of "participation" the optimistic term "partnership" coupled with "empowerment" and "poverty reduction" entered dominant aid discourse in theory, policy and practice (Cornwall & Brock 2005). The impact of these new buzz words is to suggest a new development strategy based on and collaborative relationships complete with a shift in the power dynamic which recognises the agency of the poor in their own development trajectory (Cornwall & Brock 2005).[34] However, in policy and practice, this has been interpreted through the lens of social capital which views it as a resource to be tapped, a productive asset which can be strategically mobilized by individuals and groups for particular ends (Cleaver 2005: 893). Such an interpretation is a far cry from the counter hegemonic approach to radical social transformation of the 1970s solidarity movements, from which the language of participation and empowerment had emerged (Cleaver 1999; Cornwall & Brock 2005). The historical associations of "participation" and "empowerment" with citizenship rights and voice have lent moral authority to current development discourse (Cornwall & Brock 2005). Despite this, in dominant development discourse, "participation" and "empowerment" retain the sense of positive transformation that these words originally embodied, and in turn provide an optimistic sense of purposefulness that continues to legitimise interventionist development practice (World Bank 2001; Cornwall & Brock 2005; World Bank 2006). Despite the left-leaning traditions and origins of the language of "participation", the concept has been co-opted to further a neoliberal agenda of rolling back the state, privatisation of public services, good governance and democratisation (Eade 2007).

[34] A key rationale to participation of local people was the relevance and importance of their knowledge to the development of sustainable projects (Chambers 1983).

2.2.5. Development Policy and the Restructuring of the International Development Paradigm

An overview of the so-called Washington and post-Washington consensus policies illustrates their central role in creating an entirely new context for development aid from the 1980s (Williams 1998; Haque 2000). The policies of these organisations have restructured both the dominant understanding of the social organisation of our world and the process of development itself. In particular, the policies of the World Bank, as the leading multilateral institution for the provision of development finance, has provided the form for donor states to integrate the principles, norms and rules of neoliberalism (Williams 1998).

The Washington consensus marked the beginning of the restructuring of the aid paradigm and along with the post-Washington consensus defined, and continues to define dominant notions of development. Clearly drawing on neoliberal notions of economic development under Washington consensus policy, the disbursement of grants or soft loans were linked to strict conditions relating to the structural adjustment of national debts, widespread privatisation and deregulation, public sector austerity and the opening of markets to international competition and foreign corporations (Peck 2004; Johnston 2005). Fiscal and monetary policy discipline was imposed in order to eliminate the government budget deficit, control inflation and limit the scope for state economic intervention (Haque 2000; Harriss 2002b). Other key elements central to Washington consensus policy were privatisation of public assets and the belief in free trade - Free-trade and privatisation would compel domestic firms to become more efficient, due to the pressure from foreign producers who presumably would be more competitive. The removal of trade barriers in developing countries would benefit the poor because it would increase demand for their abundant unskilled labour, expanding unskilled employment and earnings (Haque 2000; Saad-Filho 2005).

By the 1990s the Washington consensus approach to development was receiving criticism from a number of fronts. It was criticised for being excessively top down and driven by the voices of World Bank economists (Mosley 2001). The incapacity of neoliberal policies to deliver significant improvements in economic performance and the unnecessarily harsh measures included in the adjustment programs, which had a highly negative consequence for the poor was also criticised (Thomas 2000). Critics associated with the UNDP called

for "adjustment with a human face" taking greater account of welfare needs in the process of adjustment. Additionally, as the disparity between the rich and poor increased, it was clear that the structural adjustment programs were not working (Haque 2000: 226 - 230; Harriss 2002b: 77-78). Furthermore, the Washington consensus could not account for the economic success of East Asian tiger economies whose path to success was the antithesis of neoliberal free-markets as it seemed to depend on "governing the market" and involved active industrial policy pursued by the state. The success of the latter led to consideration of the role of institutions in providing the rules, norms and conventions that frame economic life. It became apparent that making markets work (better) depends on the government (Harriss 2002b: 78).

In response to growing criticism of the Washington consensus, the appointment of Joseph Stiglitz as chief economist of the World Bank from 1997-1999 led to revisions of the Washington consensus and a shift away from neoliberal orthodoxy in the late 1990s (Thomas 2000). Under the post-Washington consensus the focus moved away from the neoclassical emphasis on competition of markets, and towards the implications of market failure, the institutional setting of economic activity, and the potential outcomes of differences or changes in institutions. Post-Washington consensus thinking about development is concerned with "market friendly intervention" and "good governance", understood as being "…transparent, accountable, working within a clear and consistent legal framework, such as the conditions for effective and efficient markets" (Harriss 2002b: 78). While the focus on economic development through free trade remains, development now includes changes in the distribution of property rights, work patterns, urbanisation, and family structures. The provision of aid is tied to the existence of sound policy frameworks and attendant conditionality determined by the World Bank (Williams 1998). Policy frameworks offered guidelines for state intervention including not only changes to policy, but also detailed recommendations for legal and judicial changes (primarily in order to protect property rights and secure the profitability of enterprise), the development of market-friendly CSOs, financial reforms beyond the privatisation of state-owned banks, anti-corruption programmes, democratic political reforms (not primarily because of concerns with freedom and human rights, but in order to dilute state power and reduce its capacity to influence economic outcomes), and so on (Thomas 2000: 117). The new emphasis is premised on consensus seeking, collaboration and communication between diverse actors in civil society, government and the private sector as well as foreign investors and donors (Desai & Imrie 1998). The conditionality of World Bank policy is highly

political as the focus of the policy framework is on "good governance" and democratisation. Furthermore, the political conditionality of the Post Washington consensus in particular reflects the demands of the donor, the World Bank and its supporting donor states and not the recipients of aid (Williams 1998). Overall, Washington and post-Washington consensuses are committed to a flawed neoliberal paradigm which sees states as inherently inefficient economic actors and reduces development to a single process of technical policy that recommends very similar policies for poor countries. They are both highly conservative in fiscal and monetary policy, and support "free" trade, privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation. The only difference between them concerns the speed, depth and method of reform, because new institutionalisation accepts the potential usefulness of localised state intervention in order to correct specific market failures (Saad-Filho 2005: 118).

Neoliberalism moved from a set of economic policies concerned with markets and market failure, to an unquestioned system of beliefs after the 11 September, 2001, on the twin towers in New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. (hereinafter referred to as 9/11). Duffield (2005) argues that the post 9/11 emphasis on security has "reunited aid and politics" in the post-Cold War era. After 9/11 there was growing concern that underdevelopment had become dangerous. In line with these concerns and perceptions of underdevelopment, the United States and Washington's subsequent post 9/11 security agenda engendered changes in the way development was conceptualised.

The post-9/11 new global security agenda produced a new rhetoric of pre-emptive intervention against so-called "failing" states in the South, conceptualised as a security threat (O'Connor et al. 2006). In this paradigm "security" is understood as the cause and solution of all development dilemmas (McDougall & Shearman 2006: xi). Within the rhetoric of the post-9/11 global security agenda, lies the notion that, "…if we help people who are less fortunate than ourselves, not only is it good for them, it is also good for us", because it improves our security (Duffield 2007: 225). In the new security environment, the spread of democracy and the defence of civil rights in other countries was considered to be an important goal in helping to spread peace and hence to counter direct threats. Ayers (2009) contends that this has created an opening for neoliberal ideas about democracy and participation to inform development aid. She argues that the, "…promotion of 'democratisation' and 'good governance' serves the function of legitimating the extension and deepening of neoliberal capitalist accumulation", because it

creates the political institutions and the system of government that further a particular set of economic arrangements (Ayers 2009: 3-4). In this manner development can be seen as, "…part of an emerging and essentially liberal system of global governance" in which neoliberal thinking has become more than a set of economic policies, but through development aid has come to represent a means of socially transforming aid recipients (Duffield 2005: 16; Ayers 2009).

2.2.6. Implications of Dominance of Neoliberal Conceptualisations of Civil Society in Development Aid

CSOs have played an important role in the global expansion and penetration of neoliberal ideas. Multilateral institutions and governments, have generally adopted the neoliberal/neoconservative conception of civil society (Mohan 2002; Miraftab 2004). This conception has become central to the new policy agenda which is concerned with achieving economic and political liberalisation in the South (McIlwaine 1998: 654). The reconceptualisation of civil society, and the integration of CSOs into the international development aid system, has had a number of implications for development practice. Foremost is the centrality of CSOs in the networks of international aid that is part of an emerging system of global governance. CSOs have increasingly become conceptualised as complementing the market and as monitors of the "enabling state" which, according to neoliberal/neoconservative conceptions of social and political structures needs to drive development, but which must also be partly regulated. In this capacity CSOs have facilitated processes of economic and social change with respect to economic and political liberalisation.

Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s funds were directed away from the state-led development approaches and towards CSOs reflecting the shift in focus toward the potential of CSOs to eradicate poverty (Lewis 1998). However this occurred within a neoliberal framework which required CSOs to compete for all important development aid contracts. With the majority of funding coming from Northern governments and multilateral donors or foundations, the new funding agenda had a number of implications globally and, for example, is also considered an important factor in the growth of civil society in most Asian countries where development CSOs have been sustained by aid (Lyons & Hasan 2002). At the same time, donors became freer to impose new forms of upward accountability as well as whole solutions to poverty (Desai & Imrie 1998). This

means a donor-created, donor-led system in which CSOs have become a "transmission belt of a powerful language and of Western concepts of development" (Tvedt 1998: 75). Wallace argues that CSOs:

> …increasingly rely on donor funding and good will and as the conditionalities attached to that aid increase, they are inevitably drawn into supporting and even spreading many aspects of the dominant global agenda (2004: 203).

The integration of development CSOs into the international system is reflected in the deepening of the collaborative partnership between CSOs and the World Bank which has grown rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s. Over this period the World Bank has systematically encouraged operational collaboration and the number and proportion of World Bank financed projects that involved CSOs grew rapidly. More significantly however, over this period the World Bank has shifted the focus of its relationship with CSOs toward a pattern of consultation, structured to emphasise the exchange of ideas and expertise. In a brief review of development CSOs' interactions with the World Bank over this period, Nelson (2006) found that the expanding role of World Bank sponsored consultations is impacting on CSO agendas. Nelson argues that the opportunity for consultation has enabled the World Bank to introduce its approaches to an increasingly diverse range of participants in the development industry.

One effect of expanded consultations is the broadening of the Bank's intellectual influence. The influence and impact of the language, methods and conceptual frameworks the World Bank promotes has been noted in economic policy and project management, both with respect to the World Bank and more generally, more recently it has raised its profile in discussions of poverty assessment, project design, popular participation and 'empowerment', as well as governance and anti-corruption measures (Nelson 2006: 709).

An important implication of the emphasis by multilateral institutions on consensual partnerships is that it ignores conflicts and competition between groups with differing aims and ideological goals, and partnership in this paradigm is not conducive to pluralism (McIlwaine 1998: 655). Furthermore, the dependency of CSOs on donors (mostly states and multilateral organisations), within an international development aid system dominated by neoliberal doctrine, impacts on CSOs as it affects their policy, practice, professionalism, politics and independence (Mawdsley et al. 2002). For example, the neoliberal/neoconservative view of CSOs as service providers, stepping in to provide public services as the state rolls back, has resulted in partnership arrangements between

donor states where CSOs are subcontracted agents of governments in service provision or executing agencies for bilateral projects. Contracting draws CSOs into the role of government-client, and away from full independence (Smillie 1994). For example, an Asian Development Bank study of CSOs in the Philippines noted that subcontracting is the typical mode of CSO involvement with the government (1999: 44-45). The study identified that under this arrangement CSOs were:

> …constrained to work within a limited time frame under a rigid structure, often with little or no involvement in the overall project management or policy decisions. The needs of target communities and program strategies are therefore often predetermined rather than adopted through the community organisation process. The perceived strengths of [CSOs] – their flexibility and ability to adapt projects to local situations – tend to be compromised, and thus end up being constrained by rigid government bureaucracy and internal weaknesses (Asian Development Bank 1999: 47-48).

Furthermore, the study also highlighted that CSOs receive the majority of their funding from the government, however funding is predominantly from external or foreign sources including the IMF and World Bank which attach conditions such as alignment with broader international agreements including General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, GATT, APEC, Association of Southeast Asian Nations-East ASEAN Growth Triangle (Asian Development Bank 1999: 41-42).

In development aid practice, deepening ties between CSOs and their donors has meant that aid is driven by the interests and objectives of donors, which take precedence over the demands of the recipients of aid (Williams 1998; Townsend et al. 2002). Lister and Nyamugasira (2003) have connected donor interests to the narrowing of CSO roles in the development process. They argue that increased attention to social capital in thinking about development has led to changing trends in modalities of aid. These changes include a shift towards budget support of recipient governments and sector wide approaches (SWAPS), moving away from support for discrete delivery service projects. In this paradigm, proponents seek to achieve wide stakeholder ownership of poverty reduction strategies and envisage a role for CSOs as service providers, subcontracted by governments. Lister and Nyamugasira (2003) point out that such instrumentalist thinking about CSOs is narrow and confines CSO to specific service provision roles such as direct service providers to communities as sub-contractors to government, or as providers of the service of "accountability" (external monitors or work to stimulate demand among poor people for effective services). Under this conceptualisation donor funds flow through

sectoral ministries and, depending on the level of decentralisation, to district authorities responsible for contracting-out services instead of going directly to CSOs.

2.2.6.1. CSOs and Managerialism

Managerialism is one of the key approaches to development practice transmitted through Northern donors such as the World Bank, to development CSOs and Southern CSOs. As discussed earlier, development aid has combined policy programs with political goals (Desai & Imrie 1998: 636). Policy reforms have reflected donor agendas of concern among Northern states with the promotion of "good governance" through democratisation, rule of law, participation, decentralisation etc. Under neoliberalism there is a generalised governmental concern to promote efficiency in what were previously non-governmental spheres, such as civil society (Fitzsimons 1999). In a neoliberal context where there is an increasing tendency in the North to define social, economic and political issues as problems to be resolved through management, these changes have been associated with the introduction of "managerialism" (auditing, monitoring, reporting, reviewing) as a new mode of governance under restructured public sectors (Desai & Imrie 1998; Townsend et al. 2002). In addition, a neoliberal consumerist logic of participation views professionals as self interested providers and users as consumers (Desai & Imrie 1998: 643). This view is premised on a model of citizenship whereby the consumer has the right to choose whether and how to meet their welfare and/or service requirements (Desai & Imrie 1998: 643).

New policy directives reflect the neoliberal view that local government should enable and regulate the private and community sectors or public agencies rather than directly provide services (Desai & Imrie 1998: 637). Decentralisation of public services promotes a reduction in scope for ministerial discretion in the administration of government agencies, separating both the funding agencies from providers of services as well as separating advisory, delivery and regulatory functions. In this context policy reform has focused on the broader objective of seeking to develop new delivery and/or managerial systems for public services such as welfare, health education and so on, oriented around privatisation, deregulation and decentralisation. This objective follows a significant shift away from the emphasis on administration and policy to an emphasis on management systems that value economic efficiencies and measurable outcomes (Fitzsimons 1999; Travers & Leeks 1999). There is an emphasis on economic rewards and sanctions, as well as a reconstruction of accountability relationships and a doctrine of self management (Fitzsimons 1999).

Under the logic of managerialism, development CSOs and public services are being increasingly audited for procedural efficiency, for cost cutting and for service delivery rather than the difference actually made (Townsend et al. 2002). In this context concepts such as Putnam's social capital are attractive, because it suggests that networks and trust between people can be measured. While managerialism is presented as a politically impartial technology under its rhetoric of economic neutrality, this is not the case. Its auditing and reporting systems carry specific cultural values, definitions and understandings of the process of 'change' and the relative value of skills and capacities held in the North and the South which serve to perpetuate new and existing power dynamics within communities (Wallace, p. 211). In this manner, managerialism can be linked closely to the political agendas of Northern donors. For example, while managerialist procedures are supposed to make the public sector more accountable to the public, in reality forms of donor control over the activities of CSOs are imposed (Townsend et al. 2002).

Within a donor-led system, through the tools of managerialism, CSOs carry resources and authority from core to periphery and information and legitimisation from the periphery to the core (Tvedt 1998; Mawdsley et al. 2002). Globally, CSOs have increasingly adopted managerial tools for planning, such as log frames, as well as detailed procedures for reporting, monitoring and longer-term impact assessment to meet donor reporting and monitoring requirements. Wallace (2004: 211) argues that the tools of managerialism determine, "…what capacities are needed" to run programs and projects, and that these "carry specific cultural values, definitions and understandings around change and the relative value of skills and capacities held in the North and the South". The cultural assumption that these tools hold is that, "…change is a logical process, controllable, measurable and accountable", and in this manner they, "…shape the nature and quality of aid relationships (partnerships)" between Northern CSOs, who are familiar with the managerial tools and their application, and aid recipients who are less familiar or not familiar at all (Wallace 2004: 211). At the same time, dependency on donor funding has meant that rather than a diverse and varied mixture of locally conceived and driven projects and practices, we see, "…powerful waves of global development fashions sweeping everything before them" (Mawdsley et al. 2002: 1).

Managerialism also works to both draw some CSOs into the international development system while excluding others. Mawdsley et al. (2002) argue that the way that "partnerships" operate in practice – along with managerialism and the centrality of modern

communication technologies, "information loops", understood as privileged circuits of knowledge – have become difficult to access for smaller independent thinking CSOs who are also excluded from contributing information. They point out that this seriously compromises the supposed rationale of creating/inventing locally appropriate strategies, and is one reason why waves of "global" development fashions dominate the sector.

2.2.6.2. The Individualising of Poverty and the Poor

Another significant impact of the dominance of neoliberal conceptualisations of civil society is the emphasis on the role of the individual in development. The social philosophy of neoliberalism assumes that individuals are self sufficient, that they can "…master the whole of their lives, that they can derive and renew their capacity for action from within themselves" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2001: xxi). In this understanding, the concept of action has become individualised and empowerment depoliticised (Cleaver 1999). The individual is "disembeded" from society and the structural causes of poverty and marginalism are denied (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2001). The concept also suggests that it is possible to have an effective democracy without the inconvenience of contestational politics (Harriss 2002b: 115; Miraftab 2004: 241). However, Beck et al. (2001: xxi) point out that while the neoliberal notion of the "self-sufficient individual" ultimately implies the disappearance of any sense of mutual obligation in the collective sense of earlier established traditions of human mutuality and community, paradoxically a new collectivity of "reciprocal individualization" has emerged. Beck et al. (2001: xxii) note that "reciprocal individualisation" shows, "…signs that point towards the ethic of 'altruistic individualism'". Beck et al.'s concepts of "reciprocal individualisation" and "altruistic individualism" have important implications towards understanding the motivations of increasing numbers of individuals from developed industrialised countries who undertake development volunteering. It also goes some way towards unpacking the tensions between the discourse of IVSAs which remains rooted in the collectivist ideologies of the Cold War period and the reality of development practice for the market-orientated neoliberal individuals who undertake development volunteering.

In development practice, the rolling back of the state alongside the expansion and promotion of civil society led to the expectation that people were responsible for developing themselves. In the neoliberal development paradigm this meant that failure to "develop" became the fault of the poor. In policy documents the individualisation of the

concept of development assumed that the individual would and could take opportunities offered by development projects to better themselves, and so contribute to the development of the group or community. The individual became empowered through cash transactions in the market, or there were assumed benefits to individuals of participation in management committees (Cleaver 1999). The apparent successes of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and the Institute for Liberty and Democracy in Peru supported the idea that civil society played a role in providing livelihood opportunities for the poor (Korten 1990: 28). As a consequence many donors moved from funding "livelihood projects" to systems of rural credit and aimed at the elimination of barriers that prevent small producers from gaining access to the facilities and legal protection offered by participation in the "modern" sector (Korten 1990: 28). Within the neoliberal development paradigm, CSOs were unable to address power relations within the community because the neoliberal focus on social capital building depoliticised CSOs in the belief that development is predicated on the accumulation of "social capital" rather than natural, physical and financial assets. Within this framework, political confrontation with the power structure, or substantive change to the system is not required (Veltmeyer & Petras 2005: 124).

2.3. Conclusion

Chapter Two has mapped the way in which modern development volunteering, has become a form of development practice, within a broader system of global governance (Tvedt 2002; Lewis 2005; Tvedt 2006). It has argued that throughout the post-Cold War era, the hegemony of neoliberal development policy along with the neoliberal-neoconservative conception of civil society, saw a shift from Cold War imperatives where aid centred on strengthening the state apparatus as a means of promoting development and securing strategic partners, towards a conception of aid as part of an emerging system of global governance. The first part of this chapter provided an historical overview of modern development volunteering from the end of World War II until the end of the Cold War. It identified two dominant approaches to development volunteering over this period: the Charity Welfare Model; and the Politicisation Model. These models and their modes of development practice were shaped by the same changing world events and ideas from which the notion of development has emerged and evolved. It also identified that historically, development volunteering was originally a collective, citizen driven initiative based on notions of egalitarianism and ideals of solidarity. However, it has been influenced by dominant ideas and theories of development which evolved alongside it and as such, has

primarily been valued as culturally sensitive technological and skills transfer. The first part of this chapter examined how the institutionalisation of development volunteering has increasingly linked it with government development agendas and objectives. With the emergence and globalisation of neoliberalism at the end of the Cold War, the institutionalism of development volunteering from the 1970s led to increasing tensions between notions about the role of development volunteering, such as its potential to perpetuate dominant global hegemonies or to be used as a vehicle to challenge them.

The second part of this chapter illustrated how the rise of neoliberalism and its policies of globalising capital have had a significant impact on CSOs. It has highlighted the growing institutionalisation of CSOs, and pointed to the corresponding dependency on state funding which is central to a donor-led, donor-created system in which CSOs operate as a "transmission channel" for dominant development ideas (Townsend et al. 2002). Within this system, government's macroeconomic policies and emphasis on the private sector mean that efforts for social reform are undermined and the dominant political and economic interests of donor states are not challenged (Tvedt 1998; Williams 1998; Howell & Pearce 2001: 39-62). Furthermore, the close correlation between strategic donor interests and aid flows, has seen changes in donor funding priorities impact on modalities of aid (Packenham 1973; Desai & Imrie 1998). These trends have important implications for the development volunteers who are the human interface of government-funded volunteer sending programs.

Chapter Three examines the implications of these trends in the Australian context. I provide an analysis of how the rise of neoliberalism and accompanying principles changed conceptions of development and CSOs, have impacted on Australia's development aid program, and state-citizen relations. A central focus is on how these broader changes have impacted on Australian government-funded IVSAs and shaped Volunteer Sending Programs.

Chapter 3.
NEOLIBERAL DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM:
Social and Political Impacts on Australian IVSAs

In order to contextualise Palms, this chapter critically examines the socio-political environment in which it operates. The analysis maps the impact of the Australian government's adoption of neoliberal ideology on Australia's aid policy, Australia's CSOs, and the implications of these impacts on IVSAs. It argues that the adoption of neoliberalism has led to an overall defunding of IVSAs and a narrowing of diversity of IVSAs and volunteer roles in the development process. A government-client relationship between the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and IVSAs, as well as conditionalities attached to government funding, has meant that government-funded IVSAs have been drawn into a donor-funded, donor-led system, in which volunteer sending programs increasingly reflect the government's development aid agenda. Within this paradigm, the chapter considers the important question of whether IVSAs serve as a transmission channel for the dominant neoliberal discourses and concepts of development that are part of a wider hegemonic project of global governance.

3.1. Neoliberalism and CSOs in Australia

The shift in Australia's development aid policy has occurred against the backdrop of the adoption of neoliberal ideology in the national context. This has had a significant impact on broader state-CSO relations in Australia including IVSAs. Successive Australian governments, beginning with the Hawke-Keating government (1983-1996) and extended by the Howard government (1996-2007) have introduced neoliberal ideology through economic and social "reforms" (Lyons 1998: 419; Jamrozik 2009). However, the reforms weren't only informed by "pure" neoliberalism; equally the concern was often using regulation to create markets, and with the increased imposition of managerial standards on the public sector. They focused on the creation of quasi-markets whereby policy remained separated from program management or service and delivery, however structured as a division between purchaser and provider so that a culture of competitive tendering and

contracting was established (Lyons 1998: 420). Known as "new managerialism"[35] these reforms were designed to increase the efficiency of government, especially its service provision.

New managerialism was extended to government-funded CSOs under the National Competition Policy (NCP) which takes micro-economic reform into the realm of social policy and financial management reform (McGuire & O'Neill 2008: 237). As a result, social policy moved away from ideas about "universal rights" to a performance culture which emphasises performance measurement with predicted targets and outcomes rather than process or procedural accountability (McGregor-Lowndes 2008: 238). This meant a shift in funding arrangements from government grants with conditions for CSOs towards the market driven arrangements of competitive tender and quasi-voucher subsidy arrangements (McGregor-Lowndes 2008, 48). Historically, government grants to CSOs were the primary funding source for CSOs from the mid-1970s and throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Lyons 1998). Under new managerialism principles funding became defined by outputs and outcomes, with a greater emphasis on service cost analysis (McGuire & O'Neill 2008: 238).

The Australian government has long acknowledged the significance of CSOs in public service provision.[36] While this acknowledgement fits the neoliberal ideas of CSOs (and businesses) filling the gaps left by the withdrawal of the state, tension is emerging between the rhetoric of partnership – a dominant theme in Australian policy – and the reality of the relationship between CSOs and the government. The emphasis on partnership suggests the advocacy function of CSOs in a pluralist democracy, whereby citizens are able to shape policy through participatory politics, however this has been far from the case. Participation has become increasingly depoliticised within the context of partnership and is viewed as a non-political activity of service provision, rather than as a political activity of participation. The reality of partnerships between CSOs and the Australian government is a top down hierarchical relationship where the government is viewed as the major partner and the CSO as the secondary partner (Melville 2008: 117). Compared to North America

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[35] "New managerialism" is also referred to as "new contractualism", a "contract state" or "post managerialism" (Lyons 1998).

[36] CSOs provide the majority of social services in Australia. In the 19th and 20th century these were mostly church sponsored organisations, however, in the 1970s and 1980s there was a high growth in the number of organisations initiated and governed by local communities or groups of service users. Significantly, in 1976 the Royal Commission on Australian Government administration placed on the public record the significance of CSOs, in the area of health and welfare provision.

and the United Kingdom, the Australian government's investment in partnerships and collaboration has been relatively weak at the Federal level (McGregor-Lowndes 2008; Melville 2008). Furthermore, relationships between the government and CSOs tend to be *adhoc* arrangements, usually undertaken with one service provider unlike, for example, the whole of government-community sector arrangements of the United Kingdom (Melville 2008: 104).

The Liberal National Party Coalition government (1996-2007) introduced policies and practices relating to CSOs that were shaped by neoliberal "public choice" theory (Staples 2008).[37] These policies strengthened the hierarchical relationship between the Federal Government and CSOs and narrowed opportunities for CSOs to contribute to policy making (Staples 2008). Government rhetoric and policy framed CSOs as "special interest groups", outside the mainstream of society and outside the government view of representative democracy (Staples 2008: 267-269). The idea that CSOs are unaccountable and unprofessional was embodied in the operational managerial imperatives associated with the contract and tendering funding arrangements introduced by the Howard Government. Despite the policy rhetoric of "partnership", these arrangements became typically contract-based rather than partnerships in the legal or normative sense. Contracts emphasised transparent accountability mechanisms in their internal governance arrangements such as strict funding conditions and greater reporting requirements for both the accounting of funds and performance (McGregor-Lowndes 2008). While good internal governance of CSOs is necessary for donor confidence, the emphasis under the Howard government raised questions among many CSOs about the inordinate amount of resources, energy and time spent on internal governance at the expense of the core mission of the organisation (Staples 2008).

Purchaser-provider contracts took place against the backdrop of the defunding of CSOs. The combination of funding scarcity and the culture of tenders and contracts had a number of impacts on the internal and external functioning of CSOs. Some CSOs were forced to amalgamate, subsuming specific interest groups, while others prioritised the government's agenda over their members' interests. These changes resulted in the silencing of alternative

[37] Simply expressed, public choice theory holds that as CSOs have not been elected to government they are unrepresentative and unaccountable, therefore their demands are those of special interests and interfere with the market place (Staples 2008: 269).

views (Staples 2008: 272).[38] Other CSOs formed "hybrid" organisations that combined the logic of business with a not-for-profit mission. The Charities Bill (2003), which proposed (but not was adopted), a narrower definition of charitable purpose, threatening tax deductibility and the implementation in 2005 of two Australian Tax Office (ATO) rulings which had the potential to affect CSO tax deductibility criteria. It meant that all CSOs were touched by the neoliberal logic of public choice theory that underpinned the Federal Government's attitudes and actions under the Howard leadership (Staples 2008).

3.2. Neoliberalism and AusAID Policy

Australia, as the largest and wealthiest state in the Pacific Region, influences regional states through its overseas development assistance (ODA), its foreign policy, its trade policies and ability to project its military capacity (Hawksley 2009: 115). Aid is central to Australia's engagement and colours diplomatic relations between Australia and its neighbours. Since the 1980s, neoliberalism has increasingly informed the organising principle of Australia's ODA and its application has had a significant impact on the emphasis and approach of Australia's aid, and in turn on Australia's diplomatic relations.

Along with "poverty reduction", linking aid and the "national interest" has also been a consistent focus in Australian development aid policy since the Jackson Report[39] of 1984. At that time the so-called "triple mandate" of Australian Aid was: poverty reduction, the national interest and trade promotion (Committee of Review of Australia's Aid Program 1984). However, the Jackson Report's assessment was that the primary focus of aid should be on humanitarian reasons and to promote development, and not the "national interest". While the Report articulated an awareness of the reciprocal economic and political benefits to Australia in providing aid, these were considered of a secondary nature.

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[38] Staples also points out that the emphasis on contractual relations moved legal and financial risk to the CSO and stipulated that the emphasis on contractual relations moved legal and financial risk to the CSO and stipulated confidentiality clauses which restricted, or forbade CSOs to speak to media restricting public advocacy.

[39] Named after the Committee's Chairman, Sir Gordon Jackson AK, the Jackson Report was the most comprehensive examination of Australia's aid program to that date. See: (Committee of Review of Australia's Aid Program 1984).

Under Prime Minister John Howard,[40] the Liberal leader in a Coalition government with the National Party (1996-2007), Australia's development aid focus moved further away from a rights-based, humanitarian understanding of development to an increasing emphasis on development through market liberalisation (O'Connor et al. 2006). A number of factors contributed to the shift in Australia's development aid focus. Two of the main factors included: the adoption of a narrower neoliberal economic understanding of development concerned with "good governance" and "market friendly intervention" as expressed in the Post-Washington Consensus; and the appropriation of a post 9/11 global security agenda which linked the concepts of "security" to a focus on "fragile states" and "good governance" (O'Connor et al. 2006). Each of these factors are explored in order to provide the context for the reshaping of the policy and funding landscape of Australian IVSAs.

Shortly after assuming office in 1996, the Foreign Minister Alexander Downer[41] commissioned an advisory committee of academics, business people and former policy makers to develop Australia's first ever foreign and trade policy White Paper titled: *In the National Interest* (DFAT 1997). What is most significant about this document is not its continuities with previous aid programs, which are numerous, but its differences in approach and emphasis which represent specific choices, interpretations and definitions of national values, national roles and the international context, a process which involved specific re-configuring of national values and national roles as well as the international context (Gyngell & Wesley 2003: 26). The shifts in the respective strategic approaches to foreign policy outlined in this foundational document influenced the decisions of the government as well as the activities of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), creating a distinct period of foreign policy for Australia marked by strained relations with Asia and Pacific nations (Gyngell & Wesley 2003: 26; Hawksley 2009).

In 1997, the Simons Report, titled *One Clear Objective: Poverty Reduction Through Sustainable Development* was the first major review of Australia's aid program since the Jackson Report. The "one clear objective" that the Report referred to was to disregard the national interest and trade policy goals, and instead only appeal to the humanitarian objectives of aid (which

[40] John Howard was leader of the Liberal-National Party Coalition and Prime Minister from March 1996 until November 2007. Australia's 25th Prime Minister, John Howard was re-elected in October 1998, November 2001 and October 2004 and after 11years in office was Australia's longest serving Prime Minister after Sir Robert Menzies. He lost his seat and government in 2007.

[41] Alexander Downer was the only Foreign Minister in John Howard's four governments.

include poverty reduction). The government's response to the Simons Report, *Better Aid for a Better Future*, also accepted in principle the priority of poverty reduction as the sole objective of Australia's aid program (AusAID 1997). However this objective was modified at the time to include Australia's national interest: "To advance Australia's national interest by assisting developing countries to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development" (AusAID 1997: 16). With trade falling under the rubric of national interest through direct trade enhancement, its link with the aid program represented a distinct shift in the emphasis of aid away from a humanitarian focus as its primary objective (AusAID 1997).

Central departures from past policy included: the approach to "poverty reduction" and the notion of "national interest". The "poverty reduction" focus of Australian development aid has remained consistent since the 1970s. In the 2006 AusAID Whitepaper, *Australian Aid: Promoting Growth and Stability* the primary aim of Australian development aid outlined was still: "To assist developing countries reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development, in line with Australia's national interest" (AusAID 2006a). The quote highlights the central and enduring linkage between aid and "national interest"[42] that remains a key focus of Australia's aid policy.

The 2006 White Paper's emphasis on the promotion of trade "as a path to growth" was a complete reversal in focus of that of the earlier Jackson Report and the Simons Report, and reflected the neoliberal agenda that had come to underpin development aid programs globally (AusAID 2006a). The shift towards an aid program which prioritised "improving market access" and "improving the investment environment" for Australia indicated that the Howard government had adopted a view of development in line with the neoliberal conviction that trade was more important than aid in reducing poverty (AusAID 2005, May 10: 9; Nicholson 2007). This understanding shaped the way the Australia interpreted its role in poverty reduction; thus Prime Minister Howard stated in 2005:

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[42] "National interest" is generally understood to be "a subjective understanding of the common good of society – one that is more compelling and enduring than short-term preferences or sectional demands – to which all foreign policy must be oriented". It acts as an objective gauge of the appropriateness of a given foreign policy, an "iron necessity which binds governments and governed alike", the loss of sight of which constitutes the utmost failure of foreign policy. For Australia, as for most states, the national interest has invariably been defined as a combination of national security plus national prosperity, as well as an element of national values. The national interest reflects a judgement made at any time within the context of the conflicting sectoral interests of social and policy (Gyngell & Wesley 2003).

> I don't want to be heard to suggest that there isn't a significant role for [aid]. But trade is infinitely more important and the contribution it can make to poverty is very, very much greater (quoted in Shanahan 2005, 21).

Howard's comment highlighted Australia's acceptance of the dominant orthodoxy of neoliberal development which promotes a disengagement from humanitarian and rights-based approaches, and implies that poverty only occurs when markets have been constrained. It also justified the relative decline in Australia's aid budget that continued until just before the end of Howard's term in government.

The Howard government's shift away from the humanitarian and rights-based approaches to aid was underpinned by significant changes in the interpretation of the three key ideas and principles that informed its aid program (Anderson 2006). These ideas and principles were: nationalism, regionalism and international citizenship. Despite this, changes in the Australian aid program under Howard were slow and incremental.[43]

Under preceding governments, "nationalism", embodied the spirit of striving for independence in self and others' perceptions, and in a consequent push for independence in action. Nationalism emerged as a reaction against dominance by the allies, initially Britain and later the United States,[44] particularly under the guise of the "war on terror" (Vivaldi 1997: 100). The Coalition Government, in contrast, sought to strengthen its alliance with our old ally the United States (Hawksley 2009: 117). The second theme, "regionalism" described Australia's explicit Asian orientation, China, Japan and South East Asia, and later the Asia/ Pacific (Vivaldi 1997: 100). Importantly the theme of regionalism became quickly accepted and supported by the broader Australian public and later by the Liberal Party (Vivaldi 1997: 100). Under the Howard-led Coalition, the focus of Australia's relationship with Asia was global free trade, as opposed to the "engagement" policy of the preceding Hawke-Keating government, moreover the frame through which Asia and the Pacific Islands was viewed was normally as "security threat", which fuelled a growing sense of insecurity in Australia (Vivaldi 1997: 104; White 2006; Hawksley 2009: 117).

The third theme, "international citizenship" has two dimensions: internationalism and international equality. The former relates to the United Nations and support for

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[43] A major change involved the abandonment of Labor's Development Import Finance Facility (DIFF) scheme, which subsidised developing country imports of Australian goods.

[44] While central to the Labor tradition, "nationalism" has never been prominent in Liberal foreign policy.

international legal instruments and processes on issues such as human rights and anti-colonialism. The latter derived from the transfer of some broad Labor ideas on social democracy to international issues of equality, on issues such as development and aid. The theme of "good international citizen" has underwritten how many Australians understand their role in development and has sometimes determined Australia's foreign policy (Vivaldi 1997: 100).[45] This is important because while the Australian government was de-emphasising a humanitarian focus in its aid program, Australian citizens were increasingly supporting it. In a 2001 nationwide Newspoll survey, key findings included: 85 per cent of Australians support Overseas Aid, and the percentage of Australians who strongly support overseas aid had increased from 52 per cent in 1998 to 58 per cent in 2001(AusAID 2001). In complete contrast to the Australian government's shift in foreign aid policy focus, the Australian public viewed the reasons for giving aid were, "…to look after those who were less fortunate, for humanitarian and moral reasons, and because Australia is wealthy and can afford it", representing a clear disjuncture between the Australian public's view of development aid and that of the government representing them (AusAID 2001).

The 9/11 attacks and Washington's subsequent post 9/11 security agenda also engendered changes to the way development was conceptualised by the Howard government. As discussed in Chapter Two, the post 9/11 new global security agenda was built around meeting four basic classes of threats to the state and human security. These threats were constituted by: violent conflict between and within states; the proliferation of weapons, both weapons of mass destruction and conventional; non-state actors, in the form of terrorism and organised crime; and poverty, disease and environmental breakdown (as identified by the Millennium Development Goals) (Evans 2006). The post 9/11 new global security agenda produced a new rhetoric of pre-emptive intervention against so-called "failing" states in the South whereby "security" was understood as the cause of, and solution to, all development dilemmas (Hughes 2003; O'Connor et al. 2006).

In Australia, the 9/11 attack came after the 1997 Sandline affair[46] and the East Asian financial meltdown of 1997, the fall of the Suharto regime in Indonesia in 1998, the Timor

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[45] Examples include: Australia's foreign policy towards Indonesia's independence struggle, Curtin's post-war efforts and Whitlam's concern with development aid, as well as Fraser's concern with apartheid and human rights issues.

[46] In mid-January 1997 then Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, Julius Chan, entered into an agreement with 'military consultants' Sandline International, to assist the armed forces of PNG in a covert operation

Leste violence and INTERFET intervention of 1999 and the government handling of the MV Tampa and its asylum seekers (which occurred shortly before the 9/11 attacks and fuelled already heightened concerns about security in Australia) (White 2006: 19). The new threat of terrorism fed the growing sense of unease among Australians, reflected in the popularity of the big increases in defence funding promised in the 2000 White Paper (White 2006: 20). After the Bali bombings of 12 October 2002, Australia embraced the security focus of the post 9/11 new global security agenda. Subsequently, Australia's development aid program and regional security agenda post 9/11 became linked. The connection was highlighted by the Director General of AusAID, Bruce Davis, in a speech at an Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) "Defence and Security" luncheon when he specifically linked the aid program with the War on Terror (Davis 2005). Significantly, these events indicated the reduced importance of humanitarian and rights based approaches such as the idea that "equality and social justice does not end at national borders" (Vivaldi 1997: 99). This emphasis had been central to the preceding Labor leadership and had informed Australian foreign policy and development aid since World War Two.[47]

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against rebel group, the Bougainville Revolutionary Army. The contract was subsequently exposed, plunging the country into its most serious political crisis in 22 years of independence (Dorney 1998).

[47] These ideas and principles were not the sole domain of Labor and also appear in Liberal thinking prior to 1975. They can also be found in both Liberal thinking and policy after 1975 due to changes in the international system and the Whitlam legacy (Vivaldi 1997: 99).

The rhetoric of the post 9/11 global security agenda served to legitimise the Howard government's shift in the practice of development assistance from one where basic education, health and human rights are viewed as prerequisites for development, to one where "security" is viewed as a prerequisite for development. Securing the region against perceived threats of terrorism became a major focus of Australian foreign policy post 9/11, and from 2004 onwards there was an increased geographical emphasis on the Pacific, mainly the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. The emphasis was reflected in the increase of Australian aid to the area, which totalled 40 per cent of the 2005-06 budget, and comprised a 30 per cent increase over the amount spent ten years earlier (AusAID 2005, May 10). There was also a significant increase in funding to Indonesia in the form of an additional $1000 million over five years (half in the form of a highly concessional loan) allocated to fund the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Reconstruction and Development (AIPRD). The emphasis on counter terrorism saw the pendulum swing away from the earlier view of South East Asian states in consolidating the security and stability of the region as a whole, and back to what Vivaldi (1997: 104) argues was the Cold War view of South East Asian states as buffers or threats.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) clearly acknowledges the development and security nexus in the funding of ODA:

> In recent years, development issues have become increasingly interlinked with broader Australian regional and international policy priorities, including regional security, trade, economic integration, and transboundary threats posed by communicable diseases (AusAID 2005: 9).

In this paradigm "threat" came to be understood in terms of Australia's regional interests, including Australia's commercial or strategic advantage, specifically opening up markets for Australia and accessing resources (Wheen 2008). In 2005 the then Director General of AusAID, Bruce Davis, highlighted that under the Howard government, the Australian aid program had become an explicit tool of domestic defence and interventionist foreign economic policy when he said:

> …the times of just "doing good" with the aid program are now over. Instead the aid program today must focus on building a strategic environment that favours Australia's interests (Davis 2005).

Australia has a history of international intervention aimed at building Pacific states along particular lines, as part of colonial rule, decolonisation, the implementation of structural adjustment programs under Labor in the 1980s and post-Cold War attempts to promote

"good governance" (Fry & Kabutaulaka 2008). In this respect, Australia's move to impose structural change on its aid recipients was more or less a continuity of past programs. However, what made aid programs under the Howard government different was both their explicit link to security threats, which led to an increasing militarisation of the aid, and the conscious decision to ignore the devastating experience of structural adjustment programs of developing countries in the past.

Australia's focus on perceived "security" threats with the additional focus of Australian regional interests moved towards a strong emphasis on stimulating economic growth and building stronger governance as the basis for reducing poverty (Luke 2006). This was achieved by instituting "performance based" programs which made additional aid conditional on economic and public sector reform "milestones" to be achieved by recipient countries. In this manner, the aid program played a significant role in building Pacific states along particular lines – the imposition of an external political and economic model along the lines of Australia's (Wheen & O'Connor 2006; Fry & Kabutaulaka 2008). Such an approach raises significant questions regarding the appropriateness and sustainability of this statist model for Australia's aid recipients who have cultures, societies, social structures and local infrastructures vastly different to Australia's (Wheen & O'Connor 2006).

Political acceptance of the new Pacific model of state-building intervention was aided by the sense of legitimacy around the model, which appeared to embrace many of the principles advocated as part of the broad global debate on state-building intervention and to incorporate lessons learnt from past failures (Fry & Kabutaulaka 2008). In particular the "cooperative intervention" approach, launched by the Australian government from mid-2003 in Solomon Islands, embraced ideas including, state-building intervention that required longer time frames, and local ownership (Fry & Kabutaulaka 2008). While partnership and participation are central to claims of creating "ownership", significant questions regarding the way in which they are put into practice have been raised. For example, as Fry and Kabutaulaka (2008) point out, within the context of a militarised intervention, and conditionality of development aid, "partnership" cannot necessarily be seen as a dialogue between equals. Furthermore, the hierarchical power dynamic of the "partnership" along with the conditionality of Australian aid created tensions between Australia and its aid recipients in the Asia Pacific. In addition, a state-building project undertaken by numerous Australian "experts" leaves little room for the voices of locals to be heard (Fry & Kabutaulaka 2008). Finally, a significant critique of the Regional

Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) from a participatory intervention perspective concerned the need for greater cultural sensitivity, especially at the grassroots level (Oxfam cited in: Fry & Kabutaulaka 2008, 29).

The Howard government's adoption of the rhetoric of the post 9/11 new global security agenda, rationalised the implementation of military and police interventions in the name of stabilisation and "regional assistance", which were then integrated with longer standing development assistance programs (Anderson 2007). In line with the focus on governance and security, expenditure on "governance programs" more than doubled from 2000-01. For example, once elected the Howard government had a figure of $68 million set aside for "governance" programs in the first aid budget. This amount steadily increased, leaping to $295 million or 17 per cent of the total aid program, and by the end of the 2001 budget, it eclipsed the amount spent on health, infrastructure and rural development. The amount spent on "governance" in the 2005-06 financial year surpassed $1.1 billion or 36 per cent of the total aid program, overshadowing the amount dedicated to the combined sectors of education (14 per cent), health (12 per cent), and infrastructure (7 per cent) (Wheen & O'Connor 2006). Significantly, in line with the new focus on security, the main priority of governance funding was for the law and justice sector which received 47 per cent of the budget (O'Connor et al. 2006). This was in contrast to the funding allocated for "improved democratic processes", which received two per cent of the budget (O'Connor et al. 2006).

Alongside the focus on the link between aid, security and governance, "technical assistance" emerged as the means for implementing structural reform. This has resulted in Australia increasing the technical assistance quota of its aid program and the recruitment of more and more Australian public servants, private people and companies to work within recipient governments on "governance programs". For example, increased support for Papua New Guinea in the trouble-plagued Enhanced Cooperation Program (ECP),[48] and RAMSI, involved what the Australian government has termed a "whole of government approach" aimed at improving financial management, strengthening law and justice, developing civil society and strengthening political systems (Wheen & O'Connor 2006).

[48] While Australia's abrasive and "muscular" approach of the ECP was not well regarded in PNG, the condition of immunity for Australian personnel emerged as a problematic issue, as sections of the ECP agreement concerning the sovereign immunity of deployed personnel were found to be inconsistent with the PNG constitution (Patience 2008: 163).

The whole-of-government approach used the staff of all Australian government agencies to support the aid program, however it emphasised law and justice, military, police, and staff of other departments such as justice, customs and finance. Most of the funding was channelled through "Other Government Departments" (OGD) which included the departments of the Attorney General, Defence, Treasury and Immigration. Almost a third of the entire aid budget was being spent on governance programs employing Australian government staff, and no new money flowed into the countries said to be getting it (Jopson 2007).[49] Funding for OGD rose from $151 million in 2000 to over $563 million 2005/2006 financial year (Luke 2006; Wheen & O'Connor 2006). In 2006-2007, the aid budget received an increase of $358 million or a 5.8 per cent increase on the previous year. However a breakdown of these figures showed that the majority of this increase went to OGD, with $160 million going to "migration management", (essentially funding to detention centres - detaining some asylum seekers on Nauru and sending others home to Afghanistan), as well as $235.7 million going to peacekeeping in the Solomons (aid spent mostly through the Australian Federal Police, Department of Defence and Attorney General's Department, as well as full-fee paying scholarships for foreign students to come to Australia). Of more concern was the $668 million transfer of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) to one of DFAT's own agencies to cover a 17 year of Iraqi debt to Australia (Jopson 2007; Nicholson 2007). Finally, the change in funding agenda resulted in the marked politicisation of the aid program (O'Connor et al. 2006). Under the guise of the whole-of-government approach, Australian government departments such as the Treasury, Finance, Customs, Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Defence and the Australian Federal Police, which have no mandate for development, or training for development, have increasingly become "de facto" aid providers (O'Connor et al. 2006).

Apart from using the Australian aid program to fund Australian government departments, it was also used to fund the corporate aid industry. In a first of its kind major review of Australia's aid program, tabled in Parliament 20 March 2008, a significant finding was that 50 per cent of Australia's aid consists of "technical assistance" which feeds the corporate aid industry centred on ten or so large Australian companies holding $1.8 billion in contracts let by AusAID in 2006 (Jopson 2007; Wheen 2008). Despite the recent formal

[49] It should be noted that in the case of the ECP, there was "extra" funding, however it was taken from other aid programs.

untying of the aid program, a significantly large amount of aid money is still absorbed by private Australian companies and consultants, often funding large, tax-free salaries for those providing advice to local governments and service providers. Former Australian Wheat Board (AWB) chairman Trevor Flugge[50] and his million dollar AusAID consultancy in Iraq is a case in point. Another significant example is the shift in focus of RAMSI from "peacekeeping" to "business promotion". This shift was signalled in a 2004 BHP-Billiton-funded[51] Australian Government Report released through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2004), titled "*Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy"* (O'Connor et al. 2006). In this report, Australian business was promoted as the key to rebuilding the Solomon Islands economy. Indeed, John Ridgway, President of the Australia-Pacific Island Business council stated: "Australian businesses are the most likely to succeed in creating the type of private sector-led economic growth that is fundamental to the rebuilding of the Solomon Islands economy" (cited in O'Connor et al. 2006).

Australia's own aid objectives based on regional security and economic reform have become tied closely to Australia's own economic and strategic priorities, and are entirely at odds with international aid effectiveness criteria that emphasise locally managed aid, aid that is focused on poverty relief and which is untied from donor agendas (Duxfield & Wheen 2008). Implications of this narrow focus were that while some results have been achieved in "establishing security and financial stability" in the Pacific region, the aid program is not getting sustainable results in health, education, livelihoods and gender equality programs (Wheen 2008). Furthermore, Australia's emphasis on regional security after 9/11 and economic reform under the Howard-led Coalition government, signalled a move away from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were ratified by the Prime Minister John Howard in 2000. Australia supported the United Nations' MDGs, agreed to by world leaders as a blueprint for halving extreme global poverty by 2015, with the government promising to boost overseas aid to 0.7 per cent of the gross national income by 2015. The Howard government's promise to boost Australia's overseas aid to 0.34 per cent of the GNI by 2010, (a figure well below the 2007 country average of 0.46 per cent). The current Labor government has not yet met that goal however, it has

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[50] Australian Government Contract no. 1109570. Under CPA Australia Flugge received AusAID money totalling $979,000 for his position with AusAID to provide high-level advice on agriculture reforms and food security issues to the Iraqi Ministry of Agriculture. Flugge, a grain trader rather than agricultural development expert arguably put his own interests before the development needs of the Iraqi people. Flugge's role was to "protect Australian wheat markets from the US" and ensure the growth of Australian wheat exports to Iraq.
[51] BHP Billiton is an Australian mining giant.

committed 0.33 per cent of the GNI in its 2010-11 budget (Australian Government 2010). This is an increase from the 0.31 per cent of the GNI in its 2009-10 budget and represents a significant increase in foreign affairs and economic aid, which the demonstrates a commitment to raise the level of Australian ODA over the long term (Australian Government 2010).

Another significant impact of the Howard government's approach to development aid in the Pacific Region was strained diplomatic ties between Australia and its neighbours who felt that Australia was increasingly meddling in their internal affairs (Hawksley 2005; O'Connor et al. 2006; Hawksley 2009). The Howard-led Coalition's loss in the November 2007 elections to the Australian Labor Party, led by Kevin Rudd, augured a marked change in diplomatic relations. Upon taking leadership, Rudd set about mending relations with Papua New Guinea and the Pacific, delivering further increases to the aid budget and making a commitment to improving access to public health (Wheen 2008). After two years of Rudd leadership, while Pacific leaders feel more involved in the process of building "good governance", there has been no real change in Australia's aid programs. Rather, we see a continuation of the neoliberal policy agenda of the previous Howard government, although linked specifically to the MDGs. As Hawksley states: "…the newness of policy is more of style than substance" (2009: 116).

3.3. Implications for Australian IVSAs in a Neoliberal Development Paradigm

With the Australian government's increasing adoption of neoliberal values, it emphasised the adoption of "business" values of efficiency, economy and competitiveness within the government as well as within the organisations it funds. At the same time, its attitude began to move from the general consensus that it was the state's responsibility to fund welfare services and that CSOs complement and supplement the mainstream work of the public sector, towards a culture of contracting out of services. This shift in focus brought with it increased demands on CSOs for "efficiency" and "effectiveness", the search for "market niche", performance indicators and the need for "strategic planning". IVSAs were also affected by this shift.

In line with broader trends in industrialised countries of changing relationships between the state and civil society, whereby policies designed to "enhance" the relationships with state

and civil society have been implemented, the Australian government began a process of integrating government-funded IVSAs into its country programs. This involved the "professionalising" of volunteer sending by tasking volunteers to achieve specific outputs within set timeframes, which can be reported in the program cycle (AusAID 2004c). The process took place in two phases. In the first from 2001-2004 the Australian government instituted an accreditation process for all IVSAs (Milligan & Fyfe 2005).[52] The second took place in 2005 and resulted in major sector changes including the number and types of IVSAs when AusAID put out a tender process requiring IVSAs to bid for AusAID funding.[53]

Throughout 2005 and 2006 AusAID finalised contracts with the three IVSAs that had been awarded contracts. Organisations were contracted by the government to provide development volunteers for different development capacities, including long-term, short-term and youth to developing countries. IVSAs Australian Business Volunteers (ABV), Australian Volunteers International (AVI) and Volunteering for International Development (VIDA), which is managed by Austraining International, currently form one part of the two part Australian Government Volunteer Program (AGVP) and Australian Youth Ambassadors for Development (AYAD), also managed by Austraining International forms the second (Kwitko & McDonald 2009).[54] The two parts of the AGVP have separate policies, contracts and performance frameworks.

The new arrangement was intended to formalise sustained dialogue between the Australian government and IVSAs and "streamline" the role of IVSAs in Australia's development aid program. Yet there is diversity among the contracted IVSAs in how they approach their volunteer sending programs which largely reflects differing organisational histories and focus. AVI and ABV are well established non-profit incorporated companies with long-term experience in volunteer sending. ABV works with CSOs, public and private sector organisations, utilising locally engaged In-Country Managers on a contracted assignment

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[52] In 2000/2001 the Managing Director of Palms, Roger O'Halloran, queried the rationalisation of AusAID funding as the organisation received the same amount of funding each year, regardless of how many volunteers were in the field. Within the context of the changing political ideology that underpinned Australian policy outlooks, this query may have been the catalyst of the accreditation process of IVSAs.
[53] Until 2005, AusAID had provided grant support for four IVSAs: AVI, Palms Australia, Interserve Australia, and AESOP Business Volunteers (now ABV).
[54] AYAD places Australians aged 18-30 on short-term assignments of up to 12 months and as such is not fall within the scope of this study which is to examine Australian IVSAs which place volunteers in long-term placements of 18-24 months.

basis, while AVI staff are engaged as In-country Managers, utilising its development framework and a partnership approach (Kwitko & McDonald 2009: 6). VIDA was created in 2005, in collaboration with CARE Australia and two Canadian IVSAs.[55] VIDA utilises consultant and sub-contractor networks (in Australia and overseas), locally engaged In Country Managers, as well as Austraining International staff in regional offices, in developing partnerships with Australian and international partner organisations (Kwitko & McDonald 2009: 6).

The relationship between AusAID and IVSAs moved from a system of grants to a contractual one. Within this contractual relationship development volunteering is viewed as a non-political activity of service provision. This attitude is reflected in AusAID documents which refer to IVSAs as "Volunteer Service Providers" (AusAID 2004c). It is also reflected in the contractual arrangement between AusAID and IVSAs which involves the overall management of Australia's Volunteer Program lying with the Community Partnerships Section, within the Global Program Division.[56] The arrangements see the Community Partnerships Section responsible for monitoring the performance of IVSAs, while IVSAs are responsible for managing the full volunteer cycle including sourcing assignments, monitoring progress with volunteer assignments, recruiting volunteers, pre-departure medicals and briefings, security arrangements, monitoring progress with volunteer assignments, on return debriefings and in-country support (AusAID 2004c). Within a donor-created, donor-led system the tendered volunteer program has fashioned a government-client relationship giving the Australian government significant influence on Australian IVSAs. This influence goes beyond that of funding and includes a role in shaping the political and social environments in which these agencies operate.

In 2005 the relationship between AusAID and IVSAs is a top-down hierarchical arrangement despite claiming to be based on a "partnership model with the Australian government", which "takes into consideration community values and interests" (AusAID 2004c: 1). While this suggests a collaborative relationship between AusAID and IVSAs, it is typical of "partnerships" between the state and CSOs in a neoliberal paradigm, whereby, as the donor, AusAID holds the power as it provides resources directly or indirectly, for

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[55] These IVSA (referred to as Volunteer Cooperation Agencies in Canada) are Centre for International Studies and Cooperation (CECI) and World University Service Canada (WUSC).
[56] The Global Programs division supports a range of activities including CSOs and multi-lateral partnerships. It is not directly programmed on a country by country or regional basis.

IVSAs. In its regulatory capacity, the government also dictates the conditions under which aspects of the work of IVSAs is carried out, such as standards, qualifications required, financial accounting requirements and the conditions under which voluntary agencies may claim tax exemption (Taylor 1996: 15). Accreditation for tax deductibility alone requires that CSOs commit to a simplistic division between development and welfare, in which welfare is not just delegitimized but banned. As IVSAs are increasingly tied to the AusAID development agenda, the government also impacts on public opinion of the work of IVSAs through spreading notions of "deserving or undeserving causes" (Taylor 1996: 16).

Through the alignment of volunteer sending programs with the objectives of the Australian aid program, the Australian government has come to view development volunteers as providing a "human dimension" to the aid program (AusAID 2004c: 1). This approach, outlined in the AusAID document "Volunteers and Australian Development Cooperation", is framed by a set of guiding principles that define volunteers' contributions as: capacity building, strengthening partnerships and raising awareness of development issues, as well as contributing to mutual understanding between Australia and the countries in which they are placed (AusAID 2004c). In theory these principles give a central role to host organisations in the partnership, in particular suggesting they need to be involved in all consultations to ensure that volunteer placement is demand driven and that there is local ownership of, and shared commitment to, the assignment. However, it is significant to note that organisations hosting volunteers are not mentioned within the document. The failure to mention their role within the partnership again emphasises the unequal nature of "partnership" between "aid donor" and "aid recipient". The accent on the roles of the AusAID and Community Partnerships Section suggests that these players are the drivers behind the volunteer placement, while the IVSAs and development volunteers as service providers are merely tools within the hierarchical arrangement.

The tender process was accompanied by a managerial approach to "good" organisational process outlined in the documents which involved monitoring devices, audit requirements and measurements. This approach foreshadowed the bureaucratic and managerial requirements of the contractual partnership between AusAID and the IVSAs that were successful in securing government funding for their programs. These new contract based arrangements emphasise transparent accountability mechanisms in IVSAs' internal governance arrangements, including strict funding conditions and increased reporting and auditing procedures for both accounting of funds and performance on the part of the

IVSA. A significant impact of the contract based nature of funding has meant that the volunteer cycle is tied to donor funding cycles rather than project cycles in recipient communities, impacting on project continuity. This arrangement continues despite the government's endorsement of the Paris Declaration (2005) and the Accra Agenda for Action (2008), both of which commit donors to integrating aid programs to recipient country needs and funding systems (OECD 2008).

The new contractual relationship between AusAID and the IVSAs they fund, along with the new managerialism it requires, has led to a shift in program focus accompanied by changes in management processes. Significantly IVSAs are required to contribute to the objectives of the Australian aid program (AusAID 2004c). One change in line with this shift is that government-funded IVSAs now come under Subsidiary Arrangements (SAs), which are under umbrella Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) between AusAID and countries in which volunteers are placed.[57] This new arrangement to ensure partner government support for the program, means that development volunteers cannot be placed in countries that are not within the scope of Australia's aid program priorities.

A further requirement is that volunteer placements be aligned with AusAID Country Strategies (AusAID 2006b). This involves the development of Volunteer Country Strategies developed in consultation with partner governments, AusAID post/desk, Community Partnerships Section and other "stakeholders". This has led to increased government influence over volunteer sending programs as Volunteer Country Strategies are viewed as a, "…mechanism for the Post/Desk to ensure that the [volunteer] placements fit the program priorities" (AusAID 2006b). Within this arrangement, AusAID requires that 75 per cent of volunteer placements be aligned with Australia's aid program priorities while the remaining 25 per cent of placements meet a range of needs in non-priority areas, such as "sport and disability services", identified by the partner country or post (AusAID 2006b). Despite the seeming flexibility of this arrangement, it is not within the scope of volunteer-IVSA contracts for volunteers to be placed in non-priority areas, as Country Strategies have always provided a structured framework for all volunteer placements. The assumption that this has not been the case reflects the idea that IVSAs have in the past been *adhoc* and unprofessional operators – an idea central to "public choice theory".

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[57] Previously IVSAs had sought their own MoUs with host governments.

IVSAs are required to meet AusAID defined "targets" or quotas for particular countries (AusAID 2006b). The higher the target number of development volunteers, the higher the country's priority within the aid program. For example, Papua New Guinea, Australia's greatest recipient of ODA, also has the highest target number of volunteer placements (AusAID 2006b). The alignment of development volunteer placements with Australia's aid program, has significant implications for the volunteers themselves. Considering the aid program's "security" emphasis, development volunteers are increasingly placed in countries that have recently experienced conflict. AusAID's emphasis on "governance" also means that volunteers are placed in central locations where the potential for conflict is highest, the civil unrest in 2006 in Dili, Timor Leste is a case in point. Another significant issue regarding the alignment of the AGVP with the aid program is that placements increasingly reflect the government agenda of "national interest", increasingly interpreted as Australia's economic interests. This is contrary to the Paris Declaration and Accord Agenda. It is also in conflict with the overall Australian public view of ODA (and Australian development volunteers) who believe that aid should be given for humanitarian reasons (AusAID 2001).

Other significant issues concerning the placement of development volunteers include: that the AusAID Post[58] may identify a need for a volunteer and that development volunteers be placed under a direct Desk/Post contractual arrangement. Managing contractors or commercial contractors by implication are appropriate hosts for a volunteer (AusAID 2006b). Considering the economic rationalism behind the change in focus of Australia's aid policy, a cynic may argue that the government views development volunteers as a form of cheap labour within its aid program, a tension of which AusAID is quite aware:

> If the volunteer placement is with a commercial contractor careful consideration should be given to their role and interaction with more highly paid advisers as there is potential for conflict between them over both the work ethic and $$$ paid (AusAID 2006b: 6).

Placement of development volunteers with a commercial contractor demonstrates a contradiction between AusAID's rhetoric that volunteers are the "human face" of the development aid program, and managerialism designed to cut costs. The above comment juxtaposes the work ethic of development volunteers against paid aid practitioners suggesting a government perception of development volunteers as less professional as they

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[58] "AusAID Post" describes the person who is the representative of AusAID in country that AusAID has a development aid arrangement with.

receive less money, and supports the economic rationalist view that the use of volunteers is a cost cutting measure.

The review of the Australian Volunteer Program undertaken by Kwitko et al. (2009) identified a number of examples outside the AGVP where AusAID country programs had integrated development volunteers directly into their programming. These included the PNG Sports for Development Program, supporting Australian volunteers and funded by the PNG Democratic Governance Program directly through Papua New Guinea's AusAID Post; and the Vanuatu Post which funded VSO volunteers as part of their Country Program focus on HIV/AIDS (Kwitko & McDonald 2009: 10). The placement of development volunteers in capacity building projects where the host and local community are absent suggests that AusAID is paying lip-service to its development volunteer program stated objective of requiring capacity building initiatives to promote a, "strong commitment to developing partnerships with hosts" (AusAID 2004c). The new approach to development volunteer placements also reflects the government's development aid priority of privatisation and trade over the previous view of development aid as the "safety net for the world's poorest people" (Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs 1999: 2).

3.3.1. IVSAs and Vocationalisation

The volunteering contracts push the "vocationalisation" of government-funded volunteer sending. This is seen in the move away from a volunteer-centred placement cycle, which emphasises a cross-cultural approach and "politicisation" of the volunteer, to a funder-driven "programmic approach" (Hocking 2005). A programmic approach is a long-term, project-based instrumental model which focuses on the technical skills required within a broader strategic framework (Hocking 2005). Serial volunteer placements are central, and volunteers are placed according to the skills required at particular points in the project cycle. Depending on the project focus, sectoral clustering of volunteers, or placement of multiple volunteers within the project at one time may also be required. In this model, volunteer placements have become "assignments" requiring particular "skill sets" within the development project. In short, the programmic approach places emphasis on the job to be done by the development volunteer and its development outcomes, to the detriment of broader benefits of volunteering such as collaboration and relationship building between the development volunteer and local counterparts (Hocking 2005).

In a vocationalised volunteer sending program, recruitment of development volunteers by government-funded IVSAs is focused on attracting skilled and experienced people who match the requirements of the "assignment" (Hocking 2005). The result is that volunteer recruitment is increasingly centred around the Australian government's emphasis on "good governance", with 45 per cent of volunteer placements in AGV Programs being placed in the governance sector in professional bureaucratic positions in government departments, and in many cases, in positions above their skill set and experience required in a similar position in Australia (Kwitko & McDonald 2009: 7). IVSAs have shifted to direct recruitment which involves focused sectoral promotion and advertising specific "assignments" within the job recruitment sections of newspapers and websites. The effect is that seeking out and undertaking a volunteer placement is akin to applying for a job in the market place, and increasingly reflects government recruitment and practices with applications for specific positions and addressing selection criteria. The emphasis on work outcomes is illustrated by AYAD who requests that its volunteers write a job plan two weeks after arriving at their placement. It also has a number of implications for applicants who tend to be more job focused, and less aware of non-job related issues (Hocking 2005). An emphasis on work outcomes also lends itself to the view of development volunteering as a stepping stone into a career in the development industry (Hancock 1989: 81; Brook et al. 2007). If viewed along such instrumental lines, development volunteering is arguably:

> …a generous government-subsidised training scheme for their workers, carried out with limited accountability to the supposed beneficiaries – the poor in developing countries (Engel 2005).

Finally, the requirement for development volunteers with more specific skills and competencies lends itself to a smaller pool of applicants, particularly during periods of financial growth. This poses problems for a programmic approach which requires particular skill sets at particular points of the project cycle (Engel 2005). Interestingly this trend sits alongside another one, namely the significant number of older volunteers, indicating a trend of volunteers' "bookending" their careers, as volunteering is viewed as both a means to gain skills at the beginning of ones working life, and as continuing to use them at the end (Kell et al. 2005).

3.3.2. IVSAs and Managerialism

A closer alignment of government-funded sending programs to the development priorities of governments, along with the programmic approach to volunteer placements, has been

accompanied by the tools of managerialism. The programmic approach imposes donor control through its emphasis on monitoring mechanisms, evaluation and reporting on "assignment" outcomes and impact. The use of managerial principles by government-funded IVSAs is in line with the broader trend of CSOs adopting managerial tools to meet donor reporting and monitoring requirements. It is important to note that the endorsement of these approaches within the "partnership" between the IVSA and host organisation creates a cultural bias which shapes the partnership, as the tools of managerialism favour the donor, rather than the host (Wallace 2004; Engel 2005). Managerialism in volunteer sending programs also serves to transmit these approaches valuing economic efficiency and measurable outcomes to the grass roots of host communities (Townsend & Townsend 2004). The vocationalisation of development volunteering however, with its emphasis on a technical approach, reflects a move away from concepts of exchange and the development of capacities and skills of local people (despite official rhetoric which states to the contrary) and favours bureaucratic elites. IVSAs and volunteers who possess structural power in relation to the recipient organisation and push for the "professionalisation" of volunteering can only exacerbate these power differentials. IVSAs are increasingly subject to the neoliberal agenda of Western donors and may be witting or unwitting agents in the process of transferring this agenda to local agencies and communities.

While the guiding principles of the volunteering program may emphasise the development education role of volunteers, it is significant to note that the volunteers themselves receive very little development education in their pre-departure and preparation. For example, AVI's pre-departure briefing is only three days (Australian Volunteers International 2010). Furthermore, upon return IVSAs provide few opportunities for volunteers to share their experiences (Esslinger 2005). The trend has been an overall movement away from development education components within government-funded IVSAs since contracting. This is significant as there is strong evidence suggesting that volunteer sending programs with development education components enable participants' to better understand the structural causes of poverty, and the critical conditions for enhancing sustainable development (Ollif 2001; Simpson 2004; Van Eerdewijk et al. 2009).

It is important to point out here that the diversity of the volunteer sending programs among government contracted IVSAs, while initially attractive, has eroded through the increasing compliance of IVSAs with the Australian government's development aid agenda,

complete with its managerial requirements of auditing and reporting. This is a point of tension in the review of the AGVP undertaken on behalf of AusAID, which on the one hand acknowledges a need for diversity in the AGVP to address changing development needs in the region, yet recommends more streamlined management and implementation of the program complete with a coherent AGVP brand (Kwitko & McDonald 2009).

Volunteering for development is viewed by the Australian government as a community service program. The vocationalisation of development volunteering however, with its emphasis on a technical approach, reflects a move away from concepts of exchange and the development of the capacities and skills of local people (despite an official rhetoric which states to the contrary), and favours the bureaucratic elites. Furthermore, the Australian government's approach attempts to decouple development volunteering from the political realm, as vocationalisation ignores ideas about responsible citizenship and collective endeavours as well as the history of influences like social movements and government policy on efforts to improve society (Brodie 2007). Rather, vocationalisation emphasises development as a job to be done and measured, it individualises development volunteering and embraces a depoliticised vision of citizenship which promotes "service" without encouraging critical assessment of social, political and economic structures beyond surface causes. In this model then, development volunteering can be viewed as citizenship without politics.

The vocationalisation of volunteer sending programs privileges individual acts or jobs over social action and pursuit of social justice. Emphasis on the individual revolves around the primacy of individual choices and open systems that empower people to make their own choices about how they will live their lives – a notion that distracts attention from analysis of the causes of social problems. While the long-term project vision is commendable as it aims to foster institution-to-institution trust and commitment to collective efforts, the new emphasis placed on personal competencies, responsibility and character is an inadequate response to broader development issues. In fact, the emphasis placed on individual character and behaviour can obscure the need for collective and often public sector initiatives (Bauman 2002: 68-69). In this paradigm, volunteerism is conceptualised as an individual act of kindness and, as such, is decoupled from politics and policy.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has provided the backdrop for the study of Palms Australia, an IVSA which operates within Australia's development policy and development aid context. The increasing institutionalisation of IVSAs has increasingly tied Australian government-funded IVSAs to the government's development aid agenda which reflects the neoliberal view of development as an economic process. The increased emphasis on regional security has promoted the militarisation of aid, which along with the conditionality of the "good governance" focus has created tensions between Australia and its aid recipients in the Asia Pacific. This was particularly the case under the diplomatic approach of John Howard, which created the growing sense that Australia was meddling in the domestic politics of independent states and has implications for Australian development volunteers who are conceptualised by the Australian government as the human face of Australia's development aid program.

The neoliberal ideology underpinning Australian development aid policy has led to a focus on private contracting, as well as private business and institution building through structural reforms. At the same time, the government excluded CSOs from the "partnership" paradigm, preferring instead to focus on fostering government-to-government relations rather than focus on aid-based approaches that respect independent communities. From 2001, the neoliberal ideas that informed the shift in Australia's development aid focus from a rights-based humanitarian understanding of development with an emphasis on literacy, health and education, to an economic one, led to significant changes in policy and funding for Australian IVSAs and resulted in a vocationalisation of AusAID funded volunteer programs. The culture of contracting out underpins the neoliberalism of Australia's development aid program and became central to development aid provision after the untying of aid impacted on volunteer providers.

From 2003, the Australian government began to focus on its volunteer sending programs and adopted cross-cultural volunteers as the human face and good will behind Australian development aid. Given the disillusionment with CSOs in the late 1990s as having not fulfilled the expectation that they would be the "magic bullet" for poverty eradication, and the vagueness surrounding whether or not they were responsible for facilitating a democratising process, it seems clear that economic rationalism was a key motive behind the government's moving funding priorities away from CSOs and placing new emphasis on

program-integrated volunteering for development. This is to be expected as, after all, the neoliberal paradigm that informs Australia's aid policy and all social policy, imposed a vocational volunteer sending model on government-funded IVSAs and prioritised their placements in government institutions.

By 2005-06, these changes in policy direction and focus had led to significant changes within the management and organisational structure of AusAID funded IVSAs and impacted on the sending models of these organisations. The administrative requirements of the tender process were an indication of the extensive reporting now required by AusAID as the major funding body. These requirements were central to the new managerialism that emerged through neoliberal practice. Apart from the increased time, energy and focus required by IVSAs to meet donor reporting and auditing requirements, the new managerialism also impacted on cross-national volunteer sending models and development projects. The volunteer recruitment and placement process is increasingly tied to AusAID funding cycles. Furthermore, country placement and partner organisation priorities are also defined by AusAID priorities, for example where the volunteers are sent is in line with the Australian development aid agenda and organisations have to meet quotas for particular countries.

It is important to consider that historically Australian IVSAs' notions of effective development are based on empowerment and capacity building models in which local people organise themselves to identify their own means of alleviating poverty and make their own decisions about how to use their resources. Conversely, the Australian government's ideals of development, as reflected in AusAID policy, are markedly different. The Australian government's "national interest first" approach is in contrast to the humanitarian concern of many of the Australian citizens who support development aid.

The alignment of government-funded IVSAs to the Australian aid program occurred within a global donor-led and donor-created system in which CSOs operate as a "transmission channel" for a dominant development paradigm underpinned by neoliberal discourses and notions of development. The role of development volunteers, if any, in transmitting neoliberal discourses within this paradigm requires consideration. In approaching this question, consideration of the relationship between IVSAs and development volunteers is key, particularly with regard to how development volunteers conceptualise development. Chapter Four outlines the methodological approach taken and

the position of the researcher in the research process of critically examining how development volunteers conceptualise development. It also provides an overview of the volunteers in the study and their placements.

Chapter 4.
QUALITATIVE APPROACH TO RESEARCHING DEVELOPMENT VOLUNTEERING

Chapters Two and Three situated the study in the literature on the globalisation of neoliberal ideology within the international aid system, to locate the case study of Palms Australia, an IVSA, within Australia's development policy and development aid context. This focus has been central to identifying the important links between the transmission of ideas about development, funding sources and organisation philosophy, and the policy frameworks and practice for sending model preparation and orientation programs.

An important focal point of this thesis is to what degree, if any, do neoliberal notions of development impact on Palms' conceptualisations of development, and the relationship between its organisational conceptions of development and those of its development volunteers? To this end, I frame the research questions within the links between donors, CSOs and the transmission of ideas identified in Chapter Two, where I argued that CSOs' dependency on state funding led to a donor-led, donor-created system in which CSOs operate as a "transmission channel" for a dominant development paradigm underpinned by neoliberal ideology (Townsend & Townsend 2004). In Chapter Three, I demonstrated this hypothesis in the Australian context. By focusing on Australian government-funded IVSAs, I highlighted their increasing alignment since 2005, with an Australian aid program that is underpinned by neoliberal ideology. I argued that in line with this, Australian government-funded IVSAs had become part of a donor-led system which has impacted on organisation policy and practice. Key tensions between the potential homogenising impact of government policy on government-funded IVSAs, and the reality of the diversity of development as practice were highlighted, as was the issue of the increasing number and diversity of IVSAs that are not government-funded and often operate as commercial enterprises. I further raised the question of if, and if so how, IVSAs that do not receive government funding are impacted by the dominant neoliberal ideology. In order to critically examine this question, I undertook a case study of Palms and its development volunteers as Palms has not been funded by the Australian government since June 2006.

There has been little research into the impact of sending models on the volunteer in the field, and none on the model used by Palms. As the extent to which amorphous notions of

building "global civil society" and participatory development are concretised by development volunteers is central to this study, understanding the relationship between organisation and volunteer was identified by the research team and Palms as a research priority. The relationship between a training and preparation model and the volunteer's approach to development is most certainly linked to understanding the impact that the volunteer has on a host community. A commitment to exploring this process is an important step towards raising necessary questions about volunteer sending programs and practice in the field.

The case study of Palms is focused on the following goals:

- To examine the relationship between Palms and its volunteers, particularly the impact of the Palms preparation and orientation process on the manner in which its volunteers understand their role in development.
- To describe and critically analyse the development volunteers' views of their purpose in the field.
- To describe and critically analyse the experience of development volunteers in the field, particularly their concerns and issues.
- To describe and critically examine the development education role of development volunteers within the Australian community prior to departure, while in the field and upon their return to Australia.

The broader impact of the volunteer on the host community is an area of great interest and legitimate concern that clearly requires more research, but it was not within the scope of this project. The study however sought to make "local" voices heard as they are a significant part of the context in which the individual volunteer's ideas about development mature. To this end I interviewed two locals, one of whom was a Palms volunteer counterpart, and observed the interaction between locals and the volunteers in the study.[59] I also interviewed three foreign experts who had long-term experience working with development volunteers from a range of organisations. As highlighted earlier a significant gap in the analysis of cross-national volunteering lies in the lack of local voices. This thesis contributes towards building the knowledge base around this theme, while acknowledging its own limitations in attempting to fill this gap.

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[59] "Local counterpart" describes the local person who works alongside the volunteer throughout the placement. This role of this person is to orient the volunteer to their role and the local culture and exchange skills with the volunteer.

4.1. Research Design

Since the main purpose of this study is understanding and interpreting the experiences of the individual volunteers, a qualitative approach was best suited to analysing these phenomena. Qualitative research describes the research methodology which is used to study spoken and written representations of human experience, using multiple methods and multiple sources of data (Punch 1998: 174). This research therefore draws on an amalgam of qualitative approaches to gathering and analysing data: multi-sited ethnography, case study, document analysis, interviews, participant observation. Methods are concerned with processes, independent variables and with meanings, but qualitative research entails in depth analysis that highlights causes, effects and possibly dynamic processes by elucidating subtleties in participant's behaviour and response, and reasons for action (Strauss & Corbin 1998). In the context of the research focus of this study, in-depth information on participants and qualitative descriptions played a significant role in suggesting possible relationships between individual motivations, background and previous social experiences, life goals, self conceptions etc., as well as the impact of Palms' model of volunteer sending on the way volunteers understand their role in development.

The meanings that individual development volunteers gave to their experiences in the field formed the central focus of this study. A range of qualitative approaches were used, including participant observation, individual taped interviews. As social reality is a "product of meaningful social interaction as perceived from the perspectives of those involved and not from the perspective of the observer" a qualitative research approach provided the opportunity for in-depth probing of the way in which individual development volunteers construct meaning in the context of their experiences in the field (Burns 1997: 292). The openness and flexibility of a qualitative approach was advantageous as it enabled modification of interview questions as new themes and issues arose (Burns 1997; Punch 1998). In conjunction with a qualitative research approach, an organisational study of Palms was undertaken to consider both the impact of contextualised understandings of CSOs in the Australian national context. This was done because, as argued in Chapter 3, these understandings have shaped the organisational structure and practice of CSOs in general, and of IVSAs in particular.

The purpose of a qualitative approach to research is to begin to establish theoretical frameworks in areas devoid of them (Ezzy 2003: 3). It is a methodological approach that is

directed towards context bound conclusions, with the potential of generating and developing theory and pointing the way to new policies (Burns 1997: 12, 299). In this respect a qualitative research approach enabled the study to meet both the practitioner needs of the "industry partner", Palms which has an interest in developing organisational policy, and to practise as well as the academic demands of the university.[60]

4.1.1. Multi-sited Ethnography

An ethnographic research approach is central to this study. Hammersley and Atkinson define ethnography as:

> …referring primarily to a particular method or sets of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions—in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (1997: 1).

The ethnographic method aims to present life-worlds of peoples, communities and/or groups through the researcher's sustained long-term participation among them. However in a complex globalised world, the idea of a bounded community is problematic. In today's world flows of people, images, ideas and wealth have engendered ongoing configuration of social identity and relations of power. Development volunteering, which involves the flow of people from one country to another, involves exchange, and is concerned with the development and maintenance of personal and professional linkages. By its nature it is transnational, and part of the process of social and global configuration. Transnational processes require a multi-local research approach that both captures people's understanding of their shifting milieus, and interconnecting systems (Marcus 1995).

Multi-sited ethnography describes the method of following connections, associations, and putative relationships in order to understand the links and interrelationships between the local and global phenomena. Marcus (1995) argues it involves:

> …putting questions to an emergent object of study whose contours, sites, and relationships are not known before hand, but are themselves a contribution of making an

[60] Palms has a specific interest in the relationship between their training and preparation model and the volunteer's approach to development during the first six months of placement. Palms was particularly interested in developing policy that leads to positive interactions and exchange between international volunteers and their host organisation, as well as 'sustainable' development which fits the host community.

> account that has differently, complexly connected real world sites of investigation (Marcus 1995: 102).

Multi-sited ethnography's concern with transnational connections between, "people, information and ideas" thus contributes to an anthropology of "the global" and makes an important contribution to understanding the processes of the donor state-CSO relationship within the international aid system (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 2).

The use of multi-sited ethnography enables the movements of a particular group of initial subjects to be followed. It allows analysis of the significance of what happens to the subjects in the other sites. By juxtaposing the local and global this method enables exploration of the connection between ethnographic portraits of subjects and the posited relationship of these portraits to these same subjects in their locations (Marcus 1995: 106). As a participant observer within Palms from 2006-2009, I was uniquely positioned to undertake a multi-sited ethnographic approach. This involved multiple research sites during the period of the study, including Palms Australia, which changed offices; Palms Fair Trade Café, the site of Palms preparation and orientation course; and different locations for fundraisers conducted by volunteers. It also involved four different sites in Timor-Leste and five in Papua New Guinea.[61] By following the trajectory of individual volunteers as they moved from initial contact with the organisation, through orientation and preparation, into placement and home again, I was able to follow the expression of ideas about development, and more broadly salutary social change, from donors to stakeholders (Markowitz 2001).

I utilised a multi-sited ethnography in my study to explore how individuals behaved in the volunteering cycle because it enabled me to identify the processes that explained how the individuals behaved, as well as those processes that explained what was happening in specific social settings (Burns 1997: 14). As the development volunteers moved from orientation and preparation to placement, they created new alliances and tensions which in turn bore shifting connections with the distant IVSA, as the volunteers left Palms to work in developing countries their focus turned to adjusting to their new organisation and environment (Markowitz 2001). Tracking these shifting connections required doing local fieldwork within a web of unstable relationships among diverse people, none of whom were known to me prior to the study. Following individual participants into the field

[61] Locations of volunteer fundraisers and placements cannot be disclosed due to confidentiality arrangements.

enabled examination of the way development was defined in particular contexts. Participant observation was used to provide a critical analysis of the how the volunteers conceptualised their own roles, the roles of the host organisation and community, and the relationship between their experiences and the Palms approach to development and development volunteering. A multi-stied ethnographic approach also enabled me to track the volunteers' perceptions of key development issues throughout their placement. It also enabled an analysis of the impact of Palms loss of AusAID funding on the volunteers it sent.

4.1.2. Case Study

This study focuses on the particular interpretations of development policy as the individual Palms development volunteers understand and implement it in their practice. An in-depth organisational case study of Palms Australia was central to the research because organisational studies of CSOs provide important insights into dominance and dependency in the global political economy, as well as the impact of transnational processes (Markowitz 2001: 40). This focus lent itself to obtaining a clear understanding of the way in which the organisation's philosophies and ideologies played out in both the structure of the organisation, its volunteer sending model and how it interpreted and responded to the policy environment in which it is embedded.

This study is concerned with the ways in which Palms operates in the Australian CSO and developing country settings. According to Morse and Field (1996), the way individuals behave is influenced by their environment and that the context in which a study takes place should be described and taken into account when analysing data. An in-depth organisational study of Palms is central to the analysis as individual development volunteers' relationship with Palms is integral to each volunteer's conceptualisation of their work and purpose in the field. Equal attention was paid to development policy and practice of Palms, and the social processes of informal relationships and real-life situations of the volunteers as they interpreted Palms policy in the field (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 3).

Unpacking the relationship between development volunteers and the Palms volunteer sending model and the manner in which volunteers undertake their placements, particularly an individual volunteer's attitudes to development, involved examination of a number of data sources and strategies including the interpretation of records and documents, which were informed by data gathered through interviews with the Executive Director,

attendance at staff meetings and fundraising events, as well as informal in-depth discussions with staff. Issues were clarified through other strategies including participant interviews, a literature review which informed the background of the study and the collection of reflective stories which were grounded in the literature on development and CSOs. This approach provided a range of meanings held by participants on "development". Analysis of Palms in the host country's cultural, political and historical context was also undertaken, as well as analysis of the individual community and organisations in which the respective volunteers were placed.

4.1.3. Ethical Considerations

Ethics approval was sought from the University of Wollongong Office of Research for the preliminary study conducted in 2004 for the ARC research grant application, this approval was extended to cover the current research (Ethics Approval no: HE 04/182). Participants (Palms development volunteers, staff and counterparts) gave their consent with the understanding that they were free to withdraw at any time during the study if they wished and the data concerning them would be withdrawn and destroyed.

Confidentiality was guaranteed to participants and they were made aware that the data collected would be used solely for the purpose of this study. While the research refers to the IVSA studied as Palms Australia, extreme care has been undertaken not to reveal the identity of any of the participants who took part in the study. Anominity has been ensured by use of pseudonyms. No individual will be identified unless requested in writing by the identifiable party. All participants have been provided with full information as to the purpose of the study and how the outcomes will be used and have signed consent forms. All participants had the right to reject my presence and were able to terminate interviews at anytime. All field notes, analytical logs, transcripts and any other identifying information were only handled by myself.

4.2. The Study: Determining the Research Sample

Participants in the study were selected because they were Palms development volunteers or staff between 2006 and 2009, which was the period the study took place. Criteria for participants included: only Palms volunteers who have undergone the Palms Preparation and Orientation prior to their placements, and who were currently in-country. Participants for the study were not chosen randomly, rather they were approached with the expectation

that they would provide the maximum amount of information. This method was considered to be most appropriate as the sample size was small and limited to volunteers in placement who were willing to participate.

At the time of the study, volunteers were clustered in Timor-Leste and Papua New Guinea. Clustering of volunteers lent itself to the country focus of the study. The rationale underpinning the focus on development volunteers in these countries was primarily due to the fact because as communities in Timor-Leste and Papua New Guinea are the main recipients of Palms volunteers. A two country study would enable following a cluster of volunteers who had experienced the same preparation and orientation into countries with different development needs. Timor-Leste is debatably a "failing" or "fragile" state" in the post-conflict stage of its development, and Papua New Guinea is a developing country, committed to rapid industrialisation en route to the achievement of "trading state" status (Cotton 2007: 14). Context has a number of implications for the research because a country's particular history, political, cultural and economic situation impacts upon the way development is defined. Focusing on two clusters of participants enabled identification of common themes not directly related to a particular cultural context. It also allowed comparisons to be made between departure experiences and term length.

Following Morse and Johnson's (1991) recommendation as to the qualities that participants need to have for inclusion in a study, informed by grounded theory the participants had knowledge of the phenomenon that was being studied and were willing to participate. A letter was sent to potential participants through Palms, informing them about the study and inviting them to participate. A consent form for participants to sign and return was attached to the letter (See Appendix VI: Letter of Consent). Palms also sent a letter to potential participants encouraging them to participate in the study. The letter stated that Palms authorised and supports the study, viewing it as beneficial for the support of future volunteers. Other criteria were that participants must have the time to participate and are articulate in expressing their views.

Following is a description of participants and an overview of their country context and placements. (Please note that Appendix I provides an overview of the fieldwork sources and Appendix II provides an overview of Palms volunteers who participated in the study and their placements.)

4.2.1. Overview of Participants

Palms development volunteers are diverse in age, ranging from late twenties through to early sixties. They are predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class, with some form of tertiary education and some form of involvement with the Catholic faith. Thirteen Palms development volunteers participated in the study, recorded interviews were undertaken with all of the volunteers except one, (Pam), who did not want her interview recorded. Two recorded interviews were also undertaken with Roger O'Halloran, Palms Managing Director and one with Palms In-country Officer for Papua New Guinea.[62] Five interviews were undertaken with people who worked alongside development volunteers, two of these people were locals. In total there were twenty participants in the study.

4.2.2. Country Context: Timor-Leste

Timor-Leste is a small Southeast Asian Republic separated from Australia's north, by the Timor Sea. It has a land area of 15 000 square kilometres, less that one quarter the size of Tasmania. Australia's complicity in the brutal history of Timor-Leste post 1975 evokes strong emotional responses from Australians, with many forming a life long commitment to Timor and the Timorese (Spence 2005; Spencer et al. 2008). In this respect, some of the Palms volunteers interviewed felt that the plight of Timor-Leste was a personal issue, one in which they felt they had a stake in righting. The current situation in Timor Leste is defined by a history of conflict, displacement, and poverty.

Timor-Leste society has been shaped by three major episodes of conflict all of which have resulted in the violent, forced displacement of people. These episodes include: a civil war in 1975 and two violent crises verging on civil war (only checked by international intervention) in 1999 and 2006. After Portugal's withdrawal from its South East Asian colony of over 400 years in 1974, the fighting that ensued between FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) and UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) became a bloody civil war with thousands of people killed and tens of thousands displaced to Indonesia's West Timor (OHCHR, 2 Oct. 2006: 16). On the seventh of December 1975, just days after the FRETILIN movement had declared the independence

[62] For reasons of confidentiality, pseudonyms are used for all study participants, except Palms Executive Director.

of Timor-Leste, Indonesia invaded.[63] Again there were large-scale displacements as people fled the advancing Indonesian soldiers or were re-settled as the Indonesian army sought to increase its control over the territory and crush support for the FRETILIN rebel movement.

During the subsequent Indonesian occupation there was a pattern of state violence inflicted on the civilian population within the framework of an imposed authoritarian state (Shoesmith 2007: 24). Between 84,000 and 183,000 people, died during Indonesia's occupation, mainly due to hunger and illness (CAVR Report 2006: 143-144). The estimate of 183 000 deaths was about one-third of East Timor's population at the time of invasion, making it one of the worst cases of genocide of the twentieth century, and during this period almost all East Timorese experienced at least one period of displacement (CAVR Report 2006).

The second violent episode occurred during 1999. Months prior to the 30 August 1999 UN sponsored referendum an estimated 60,000 people were displaced from their villages to urban centres as the Indonesian army encouraged its pro-integrationist East Timorese militias to use violence to intimidate supporters of independence (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre 2007). The campaign of violent intimidation led to bloodshed and systematic destruction following fourth September when the overwhelming vote against autonomy (and therefore independence) was announced. Timor-Leste began its transition to independence in 1999 after intense violence and widespread human rights abuses by the militias led to the destruction of much of the proto-state's infrastructure and housing, the collapse of the economy and existing institutions and the forced displacement of 80 per cent of the population. At this time 50,000 people sought refuge within Timor-Leste while 240,000 crossed the border to West Timor (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre 2007). INTERFET, a UN sanctioned peacekeeping force led by Australia was deployed to restored order until the peacekeeping component UNTAET could take over in December 1999. UNTAET operated until 20 May 2002 when independence was formalised. But independence was a bittersweet victory for the people of Timor-Leste who were now

[63] This was the day after U.S. President Ford's visit to Indonesia, and what people have suspected as being a "green light" to invade. At that time, Indonesia had military, economic and political support from countries such as UK, USA and Australia, for various reasons including the oil and gas reserves, a strategic location, various trade and cheap labour related interests.

confronted with the enormous social, economic and political problems that were the consequence of the recent violence (Shoesmith 2007: 24).

In December 2002, within seven months of independence, there were serious riots and killings in the capital Dili when police fired into a crowd of demonstrators. This was a precursor to the third major episode of violence in May-June 2006 (Shoesmith 2007: 24-25). In February 2006, the bulk of the second recruitment of the Falantil-East Timor Defence Force (F-FDTL), some 600 soldiers originating from the western districts, left their barracks and went on strike. The "Petitioners" as they came to be known, claimed that as "westerners" they had been denied promotion and preferment because military command was dominated by "easterners", many of them original members of the resistance (Cotton 2007: 15). Fuel was added to the fire on 23 March, when President Gusmao, Commander in Chief of the F-DTL, referred to his home district of Manatuto as being "*loromonu*" or "western" in a national speech. His reference gave legitimacy to east versus west ethnic divisions. Significantly some commentators pointed out while there are ethnic divisions throughout Timor-Leste, the east versus west issue raised in Dili had been unheard of previously and was being used as a political lever by FRETLIN supporters. The rationale for the new focus on issues of ethnic divisions, "east" versus "west" (*lorosae* vs *loromonou*; or *Firaku* vs *Kaladi*) has its roots in the resistance era when Falantil operated mostly in the east and relied upon the populations there for support. By contrast the more populous west was better integrated into Indonesian authority structures and the use of Bahasa Indonesian was more prominent. Another reason put forward was the influx into Dili of traders from the east, and the resentment of this movement by local populations, often Mambai (or Tetum) speakers.

While some of these issues are generational, the tensions were compounded by friction between the FDTL and the National Police of East Timor (PNTL) (Kingsbury & Leech 2007: 6). Many of these tensions have deep roots stemming back to the period of Indonesian occupation and the management of key security institutions in the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the post-independence period (Kingsbury & Leech 2007). As PNTL recruitment had produced a force, some members of which had formerly served in the Indonesian police, they were seen as partisan towards the causes of the west. Though this motive was not generally acknowledged, there was clearly some elite manipulations of these developments with the prize undoubtedly access to the country's oil and gas (Cotton 2007). Kingsbury argues:

> Resentments within the F-FDTL between former Falintil fighters from the east and new recruits from the west, over who had contributed more in the war of resistance, were compounded by apparent cases of institutionalised discrimination in promotions and living conditions against those from the west (Kingsbury & Leech 2007: 5).

The public protests of the petitioners triggered disaffection from a range of disgruntled groups. Issues include: a high level of unemployment and concerns over a lack of transparency in the appointment of civil servants (Freedom House, 2005), the introduction in 2006 of a criminal defamation law inhibiting freedom of the press, substantial evidence of human rights violations by the PNTL (HRW, 2006) and wide spread allegations of government corruption and intimidation (Kingsbury & Leech 2007: 6). In mid-March 2006, the government, supported by the United Nations, sacked the 600 "petitioners". The sacking of the petitioners precipitated an army rebellion, military attacks against the police and gang violence. Many of the gangs that proliferated in Dili, who were the chief actors in the violence that displaced so many of the city's inhabitants through that year, also openly affirmed their geographic identity (Cotton 2007: 15).

The tensions between the PNTL and F-FDTL and the use of these forces by antagonistic factions within the political elite, the most notable example being the killing of nine members of the PNTL by military personnel on 25 May 2006, demonstrated fundamental disagreement on the locus of control of deadly force. The violence of the preceding months had demonstrated that there was a major and seemingly unbridgeable fissure within the ranks of the political elite. Major youth unemployment and the growth of the phenomenon of gang membership, especially in Dili, illustrated the need for mass unrest to be recognised (Cotton 2007). Significantly, when Jose Ramos Horta was sworn in as Prime Minister on the tenth of July, he did so only after the insertion of an Australian peacekeeping force, comprised of troops and police which was augmented by Malaysian and New Zealand personnel, international United Nations (UN) civilian police (civpol) and Portuguese para-military police (GNR) that were committed on the (presumed) condition that Prime minister Alkatiri stand aside.

Violence erupted again in August 2007. The violence was triggered by what the FRETILIN party has referred to as political wrangling when President Jose Ramos Horta appointed his predecessor Xanana Gusmao prime minister after asking him to form a coalition without the Fretilin Party. In the ensuing violent protests, FRETILIN supporters lashed out at anyone they considered against them, including members of the Catholic Church because of their demonstrations against the Mari Alkatiri-led FRETILIN

government in 2005 and their role in the overthrow of Alkatiri in 2006. At this time the Australian government was viewed as complicit in the overthrow of Alkatiri and his replacement with Ramos Horta. Australian Prime Minister John Howard had called for Alkatiri's resignation, but Australian politicians and media had also played a significant role in pushing for this outcome by blaming Alkatiri for the violence unleashed by the mutiny in the security forces (led by officers Alfredo Reinaido and Vicente Rai Los da Conceicao), allegations that were later discredited. Testimony to the anti-Australian sentiment was graffiti on buildings in Dili and surrounds and no distinction was made between individual Australians and government policy. Graffiti such as *"Otomlnista/Haluha – Gil Alves, Joao Cancio and Julio F.Pinto"* (Those that sought autonomy/Forgotten, then the names Gil Alves, Joao Cancio and Julio F. Pinto), *"Ami haluha otomoni"* (We forget autonomy – traitors) and the graffiti in large red letters on the wall in front of my accommodation in Dili that was politely translated for me as: "Gusmao sucks up Australia's bottom", alludes to the cosy relationship between the Timor-Leste's political elite and Australia and suggests that East Timor is still being colonised.

Figure 1 - Graffiti in Dili

"Otomlnista/Haluha – Gil Alves, Joao Cancio and Julio F.Pinto" (Those that sought autonomy/Forgotten, then the names Gil Alves, Joao Cancio and Julio F. Pinto).

Throughout the civil unrest in 2006 and 2007 it became clear to observers that force, fear and intimidation were seen as acceptable political behaviour: Xanana Gusmão argued that the culture of political violence in Timor-Leste was a legacy of Indonesia's 24 years of brutal occupation. During this period the Indonesians created a division, "…between those on the margins protected and paid by Indonesian Intelligence, and those who were nationalists" in its attempts to defeat the clandestine independence movement. By

encouraging gangs and paying for spies and informers, rumours and misinformation were weapons of war. This left a legacy of distrust. "The pervasiveness of the system," according to the CAVR report, "…sowed deep suspicion among the East Timorese population, and social bonds and cohesiveness were casualties' of this undercover element of the conflict." (CAVR Report 2006; Hyland 2006).

Figure 2 - Gang Violence

This image depicts Fretilin supporters engaged in a motorcade in support of their presidential election candidate Lu'olo, outside the Australian Embassy in 2006. Each truck is filled with members of the community, some of whom were gang members, when a gang fight broke out as they passed through another gangs territory.

Timor-Leste's current political violence can be attributed to many factors including; underlying social rifts due to regional and ethnic rivalries, political factionalism and high unemployment. Timor-Leste is a society which has seen fragmentation resulting from different world outlooks, including those who were member of the Timorese Diaspora between 1975 and 1999; those who remained in Timor-Leste are divided between those who fought for independence and those who cooperated with Indonesian rule or acquiesced in it (Dr Atul Khare 2008). Overlaying this complex social mix is a long history of suppression of Timorese political aspirations, first by the Portuguese and then by the Indonesians. This is further complicated by the issue of whether or not the East Timorese have their own particular national identity.

At the time of this study, 150,000 IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) sought refuge in refugee camps or were hosted by friends and families in and around Dili and in the districts after the civil unrest that rocked Timor-Leste in 2006. Another 4000 people were displaced after the civil unrest triggered by the formation of the new government on 6 August 2007,

just prior to my visit. At the time of my visit it is estimated that 100,000 people remain displaced in the country with approximately 30,000 living in camps in Dili and 70,000 living in the rural districts, mainly with host families (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre 2007).[64]

The high visibility of the squalor of the over 50 camps scattered throughout Dili reflects the hidden poverty within the East Timorese community. World Bank statistics indicate that annual per capita income is around US$380 or about US$1 a day, ranking East Timor in terms of income, as one of the poorest countries in the world. Forty per cent of the people are considerably poorer, falling below an arbitrary poverty line of US$0.55 a day (UNDP). However income figures in a country where barter remains a regular form of exchange can be meaningless. The United Nations' 2006 Human Development report did not produce a per capita income estimate for East Timor, making it one of the few countries not rated. About half the population is illiterate, and even fewer have access to electricity and safe drinking water. The 2004 census for East Timor identified a population of 924 000 that was growing at four per cent per annum, the fastest rate in the world. Timor-Leste has the highest fertility rate in the world with the number of births per female of child-bearing age at 7.8 births per woman, a rate that would double the population in under twenty years (Cotton 2007: 15). East Timor is ranked 142nd in the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI), grouped with Caribbean and African states.

Most people living outside district centres have no electricity or running water or access to telephones, and those in district centres only have power for a few hours each evening. Timor-Leste lacks a diversified economy, it has very little industry and the state is the largest employer of labour. It is dependent on exports of coffee, although oil revenues are the largest source of state income. Many of the small towns and village centres do not have shops or kiosks because the people have no money.

4.2.3. Description of Timor-Leste Cluster of Development Volunteers

Tiffany is female, single and over 30 years old. She is tertiary educated and had worked for a state government department in Australia prior to volunteering. In Australia she worked

[64] In 2007 there were more that 50 camps in Dili, with as few fifteen people and as many as 14,000 people (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre 2007).

with marginalised and disadvantaged people and saw her work as contributing to the broader community. There was regular contact between Tiffany and myself while she was in the field, and I interviewed her twice after she had been in Timor-Leste for twelve months. Tiffany studied Tetum and used it socially and professionally. She lived in a remote rural community in a small subdistrict centre in the mountainous region in eastern Timor-Leste, where she worked as an English teacher in a secondary vocational girls' school. Her home was in a compound approximately five minutes walk from the school, next to an orphanage run by a Christian religious community and she shared all meals with the community of sisters at the school. Her accommodation was a simple affair, a basically furnished semi-detached two bedroom house with a kitchenette and separate living room. Each bedroom had an ensuite and power was available from 6:00pm to 12:00pm each evening. The availability of running water was unpredictable; however it was usually available for a limited period during the day.

James is male and over 35. He had married a local woman but had been a widower for one year at the time of the field visit. He is tertiary educated and used Tetum in his social and professional dealings with local people. His ability to speak the language and understand cultural nuance were central reasons for his appointment as Palms in-country manager. In Australia James had worked as a primary school teacher primarily in physical education, in remote regional areas with indigenous Australians. I interviewed James after he had been in the field for six years and after he had undertaken several Palms placements in Timor-Leste. At the time of the fieldwork, James lived on a small mountainous island off the mainland of Timor-Leste. The island has a population of about 8000 mostly subsistence farmers and fishermen who live in five villages. The island is accessible by ferry three times a week, however local boats can also be chartered to go to the mainland. James' placement had a capacity building focus, involving training local fishermen in reading building plans and carpentry. At the time of the interview, James was running an eco-tourism lodge that he and his wife had initiated and built with the fishermen from a local village.

Cherie is female, single and between 30-35 years of age. She is tertiary trained and worked as a physiotherapist in Australia for three years before her first development volunteer experience in Asia. Her current placement is her second development volunteer placement, however it is her first placement through Palms and her first in Timor-Leste. Both experiences were in disability services. When I interviewed Cherie she had been in her placement for four years and used Tetum in her professional work as well as day to

day living. Cherie lived in a large city in Timor-Leste, where she shared her semi-detached home with another volunteer from a different organisation. The home had power and running water, although black outs were frequent. Significantly Cherie had found her own placement and Palms facilitated it. The project was initiated and funded by a large international CSO experienced in disability services. The position requested the volunteer to commit for five years. At the time of the interview Cherie worked for a CSO that provided services to people with disabilities. It was projected that these services would be taken over by the Ministry of Health in four to six years. At the time of my visit in 2007, the Ministry was funding about 55% of programs, which included prosthetics and community-based rehabilitation, while intended programs included a wheelchair program for disabled people. Initially Cherie was responsible for building and setting up a centre to provide Prosthetic and Orthotic services. Cherie also selected trainee Prosthetist Orthotists for a training program in another developing country; established a National Board of Directors and trained local technicians. At the time of my visit she was responsible for running both centre based and community-based rehabilitation activities.

Paul is male, aged over 50 years and married to Pam. Paul had worked in administrative roles professionally and had been involved in "basic" voluntary work throughout his life. At the time of the field work, Paul was living with Pam in a rural village near the border of Indonesian West Timor. The village is situated on a main road transport route to West Timor and was one of the many areas that felt the brunt of the 1999 destruction. Paul and Pam's home was a basically furnished, simple local style hut which he and Pam had made some adjustments to, such as laying a concrete slab out the back. The couple had also purchased a generator which they operated 24 hours a day in order to run a refrigerator which stored medicines for the local community. They used their home as an office and meeting place as it is centrally located in the village and they had access to a car, which they also used for both personal and work purposes. At the time of the field work Paul and Pam had been in placement for 12 months, they both tended to use English in their professional work and social interactions with local people. Paul worked alongside a local man in his role as Community Development Officer. A central focus of his role was to develop skills among youth towards effective community participation, provide training and support to the indigenous nurses and staff in the health promotion, community education, water supply maintenance and project management. He was also responsible for maintaining and building networks between the parish in which he was located and a CSO in Australia.

Pam is female, aged over 50 years. Pam is tertiary trained and had worked as a health professional in remote Indigenous Australian communities on preventative health programs prior to retirement. Like her husband, Pam had also been involved in voluntary work throughout her life. At the time of the fieldwork Pam worked with two local women, and assisted with skill development in clinical care and health education focusing on women. Pam also planned and managed community-based health services.

4.2.4. Country Context: Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea (PNG) is located west of the Indonesian province of West Papua (Irian Jaya), and about 150km north of Cape York, the northern tip of Australia, but only a few kilometres from the islands of Boigu and Saibai in the Torres Strait, making it Australia's closest neighbour. It comprises the eastern half of the island of New Guinea, and over six hundred other islands, mostly of the Bismark Archipelago. With its population of over 6.1 million and over 840 distinct languages spoken, but no dominant ethnic groups, PNG is one of the world's most ethnolinguistically fragmented countries and it has one of the most fragmented social structures in the world (Reilly 2000-2001:163 & 170). *Tok Pisin* (Pidgin), and *Motu* (the lingua franca of the Papuan region) are the official languages, along with English. The majority of Papua New Guinea's population live in rural areas with only 15 per cent living in urban areas which include the main cities of Port Moresby (capital), Lae, Madang, Wewak, Goroka, Mt Hagen, and Rabaul (DFAT 2009).

PNG is a colonial construct. Its society comprised of numerous, diverse, small and largely independent tribal units prior to European contact (Reilly 2008: 13). Governed by three different colonial administrations which divided the region into three different areas of responsibility, PNG has a complex colonial history (Hawksley 2006: 162). The Dutch, administered the western half of the island of New Guinea to the 141ist meridian from 1824. The eastern half of the island was a colony of the British colony of Queensland (now part of Australia) from 1883, but was annexed as the British Protectorate of New Guinea in 1884, and in 1906 it became the Australian territory of Papua. Germany annexed the northeast quadrant and the New Guinea islands in 1884, but early in the First World War, Australia occupied it, and then held it under the League of Nations as a mandated territory until 1949, when the United Nations confirmed Australia as the responsible power under the Trusteeship system. The two territories, Papua and New

Guinea, were effectively under combined administration for 1947, and on Independence from Australia in 1975 became Papua New Guinea.

4.2.4.1. Poverty and development in Papua New Guinea

The UN 2009 Human Development Report ranks Papua New Guinea 148 out of 182 countries, lower than the four other independent states in the Pacific region: Fiji (108), Samoa (94), Vanuatu (126) and Solomon Islands (135) (UNDP 2009a). Around 40 per cent of Papua New Guinea's population live in poverty, however 85 per cent of the population are able to meet their basic needs (shelter, food and water) without a cash income as they derive their livelihood from farming (Dickson-Waiko 1999:44; DFAT 2009; AusAID 2010). Poverty is exacerbated by high rates of crime and violence and rural isolation due to Papua New Guinea's mountainous geography and poor transportation infrastructure (UNDP 2009b). Other challenges to Papua New Guinea's development include a burgeoning HIV/AIDS epidemic with the country having the highest rates of HIV prevalence in the region (UNDP 2009b).

There are a number of factors that hamper development in post-independent Papua New Guinea, however political instability has been one of the country's greatest challenges (Hawksley 2006: 167; UNDP 2009b). Constant change at the political and bureaucratic level, along with "political cronyism and entrenched *wantok* (nepotism) networks" impact on the delivery of aid, which is channelled through the large and unwieldy bureaucracies of the national or provincial governments (Dickson-Waiko 1999: 44; DFAT 2009).[65] Due to the lack of formal employment, the state lacks an adequate base of taxation and revenue, so is unable to maintain either its bureaucracy or basic services in health or education. PNG thus has always relied on foreign aid, particularly Australian foreign aid, to fill this void (Dickson-Waiko 1999:44; Hawksley 2006: 169). It is important to note, however that churches have a long history of providing the infrastructure and service delivery of education and healthcare in Papua New Guinea and are the main providers, with the state only playing a role in the 1960s (Hawksley 2008). To increase the efficiency of its aid delivery programs, in 2004, the Australian government announced that it would support the existing church service delivery infrastructure by providing a group of churches with

[65] *Wantok* is literally "one talk" and denotes a system where the first allegiance of any office holder is to their tribal identity.

$2.9million in the first year of a five year program to bolster essential health and education services (AusAID 2004a).[66] This approach to aid deliver, which by passes the official of the state can be viewed as a vote of no-confidence in the government of PNG to deliver essential services to its citizens.

Figure 3 - Poor Transportation Infrastructure

This image depicts two vehicles unable to move and blocking traffic as the road had collapsed.

4.2.4.2. Law and Order

Since gaining independence from Australia in 1975 Papua New Guinea has experienced rising levels of criminal violence in urban centres, periodic banditry in many rural areas, and intermittent tribal conflict in parts of the Highlands (Dinnen 1997: 57). Indeed the deterioration in law and order in Papua New Guinea over recent years is relatively well known. Reilly attributes much of this violence to PNG's fragmented society, arguing that PNG has a high number of politicised ethnic identities or clans which represent "political units" (Reilly 2008: 14). Clans operate as interest groups, competing with each other for access to resources prestige and public goods.[67] Most conflict in PNG occurs at the local

[66] Participating institutions are: Anglican, Baptist, Catholic, Lutheran, Seventh Day Adventist and United Churches and the Salvation Army (AusAID 2004a)

[67] Reilly categorises PNG's ethnic political violence into three groups. The first is large scale separatist conflicts, such as the decade-long civil war on Bouganville (a brief outline of this conflict is provided on page…). The second comprises major regional conflicts, such as those in the Southern Highlands which forced the abandonment of the 2002 elections in much of the province. The final category encompasses micro-level violence between small competitive ethnic groups. It should be noted that all of these forms of

level where approximately 20 per cent of the population is affected. While local or "tribal" violence is common, urban violence has also been on the increase since the late 1960s (Dinnen 2001: 33).

In addition to "tribal' violence, the breakdown of traditional cultural norms through the processes of colonisation, decolonisation and modernisation in PNG, along with the urban drift, have led to increasing urban crime or *raskolism* (derived from the Pidgin *raskol* for street criminal) (Dinnen 2001: 36). The danger of urban areas in PNG can be seen in Port Moresby, the capital where businesses and residences are barricaded behind razor wire, electronic gates and armed security guards. Finally, it should be noted that many incidences of violence are against women in PNG. Indeed, Kewa argues that, PNG society has normalised most of the incidents of rape, incest, suppression and allows the integrity and dignity of women to be compromised through cultural practices like bride price, polygamy and others (Kewa 2007).

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conflict involve the use of firearms which have replaced more traditional weapons in conflict between clans or "tribal" groups.

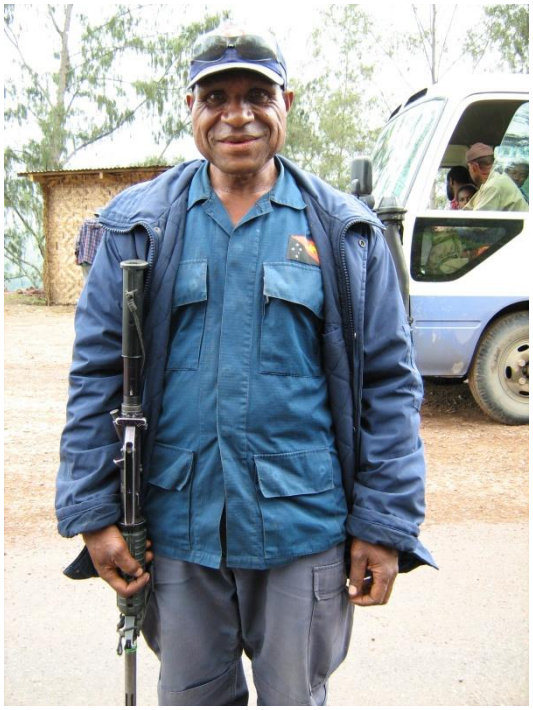

Figure 4 - Policeman

4.2.4.3. Australia's relationship with Papua New Guinea

Australia has maintained close ties with PNG since the Pacific nation's independence. Economically and politically, and as the largest bilateral donor and through regional institutions such as the Pacific Islands Forum, Australia has had a significant influence on nation building and development processes in the newly sovereign state (Hawksley 2006; Firth 2008: 120-21; DFAT 2009). Indeed, as discussed previously in Chapter Three, Australia's emphasis on "failing states" and "security" in particular post 9/11 saw Australia take an increasingly interventionist role in the South Pacific (Firth 2008). In PNG, this involved the decision in 2003 to implement the Enhanced Cooperation Program to "assist" Papua New Guinea's efforts to improve law and order through in-line policing, and the placement of Australian advisers in key government Ministries. The idea was to build "institution-to-institution relationships" between PNG and Australia (Fry & Kabutaulaka 2008: 7; Patience 2008:163). The policing component of the ECP was later abandoned after a legal challenge in the PNG courts to the sovereign immunity of Australian Federal Police, however the advisors remain to this day (Hawksley 2005). Interventionist strategies also saw an increase in aid to the region including an increase in aid to Papua New Guinea which has steadily increased from approximately $300 million a year to a promised $414 million in aid funding in the 2010-11 budget (Fry & Kabutaulaka 2008: 7; Australian Government 2010). Increasingly this aid delivery has been couched in a rhetoric of greater

cooperation after the Howard years, and in 2008 the Rudd government negotiated with PNG a "Pacific Partnership for Development" which, as Hawksley (2009) argues, is a neoliberal instrument linking the provision of Australian directed aid services to progress on Millennium Development Goals in PNG. By DFAT's own admission over 80 per cent of Australian aid to PNG is spent in Australia, supporting Australia's "Aid Industry", which has led to Australian aid being termed "boomerang aid" (Werden 2009).

Figure 5 - Thank you Australia

Signage depicting Australia's aid relationship with PNG.

4.2.4.4. Description of Papua New Guinea Cluster

Michelle is female, aged 30 and married to Craig who is also 30 and a Palms volunteer. Michelle and Craig are both tertiary trained and worked as health professionals before volunteering with Palms. At the time of the field work Michelle and Craig had been in placement for eight months. Michelle had volunteered in a number of capacities for large established charity organisations since she was a child. Michelle and Craig met through their volunteer work. Craig studied Tok Pisin (Pidgin) prior to his placement and continued to study while in placement, he often used the local language in his professional work with locals. Their placement was in a remote village in the highlands of Papua New Guinea where they lived in a simply furnished house in a Christian Brothers compound. They had tank water, electricity and a four wheel drive car that they used to travel to remote communities for community-based rehabilitation and training.

Susan is a single female aged between 30 and 35. Susan is tertiary trained and worked for a statutory authority within the portfolio of a Federal government Minister. Her work, although part time, had involved long hours at the computer and negotiations with for-profit companies, an experience that she found very stressful and unfulfilling. At the time of the field work Susan's placement was with a Catholic organisation that worked for people with disabilities. The organisation had been operating in Papua New Guinea for around 50 years and is Palms' main partner there, providing the placement for five of the six development volunteers at the time of my visit. Susan was based in the highlands of Papua New Guinea and lived in the organisation's compound. She had a car as part of her placement and worked to train staff in business practices, within an organisation where profit was funnelled into programs to assist hearing impaired children in regional areas. Susan used some Pidgin, however tended to rely on English in the professional sphere. She worked alongside and trained Sabine, a local woman.

Peter is male, aged over 50, and married to Nola, also over 50. Peter's work throughout his professional life had spanned a number of different sectors of employment, however prior to volunteering with Palms Peter had worked as a health professional in Australia, Nola and Peter have three children. With no grandchildren or elderly parents to care for, Nola and Peter saw this period in their lives as an opportunity to have time for themselves. Nola and Peter considered development volunteer work a luxury to be enjoyed in retirement. They worked for the same large Catholic organisation as Susan and lived in its main compound which was located in a large coastal town. The accommodation was secure, with caged windows and outdoor sitting area and simply furnished. They had a small four wheel drive they used to travel to remote regional areas to train local staff in physiotherapy. At the time of the visit Peter worked as a Logistics Manager, providing training to local staff in finance matters, specifically in project management. Both Peter and Nola also took a group of disabled people for swimming at a local beach on Saturdays, this activity was separate to their work responsibilities and greatly appreciated by the participants.

Nola is tertiary trained and had worked as a health professional in her own business which she closed down prior to undertaking a development volunteer placement with Palms. Nola also worked as a health professional, extending physiotherapy beyond the main centre to rural areas and trained local staff in Community Rehabilitation. Both Peter and Nola spoke some Pidgin but tended to rely on English in their professional work, however Nola used more Pidgin due to the community-based nature of her work.

Brian is a single male, and aged over 55. Brian is tertiary educated with post-graduate qualifications. Prior to volunteering with Palms, Brian had worked in the steel industry for thirty years and was beginning his second placement with Palms in religious tertiary education but this was his third development volunteer experience overall. For Brian, development volunteering was a "calling". Brian spoke fluent Pidgin. He worked to manage the school's accounts, as well as working as an educator in the field of theology.

Grant is male, aged between 55 and 60 and married to Lisa a woman aged between 55 and 60. Prior to volunteering Grant had worked for an Australian state Government managing their Taxi Subsidy Scheme for disabled people. Lisa had volunteered for an outreach program in an Australian state capital city which uses "touch therapy", a form of massage, with homeless people, many of whom are mentally, emotionally or physically disabled. Grant and Lisa decided to volunteer after they visited Grant's sister who was working in Papua New Guinea. They said that the experience made them aware of "needs" in developing countries. Grant and Lisa arranged their own placement, which was facilitated by Palms and its local partner in Papua New Guinea.

4.2.4.5. Overview of Participant (development volunteer) Placements

Palms volunteers were attached to Catholic organisations as Palms is affiliated with the Catholic Church. For example, in Timor-Leste they were attached to Parishes, and in Papua New Guinea seven out of eight volunteers were placed in a Catholic organisation working with people with disabilities. The organisation is well established and has been operating in PNG for around 40 years. In both Papua New Guinea and Timor Leste the Church is highly regarded. There is a profound respect for the Catholic Church in Timor-Leste partly due to its instrumental role in getting word out about what was happening internally during the Indonesian occupation (Timor Link 1985). At the same time, the Catholic Church spoke out openly and repeatedly about its concern for the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of the people of Timor-Leste and under Monsignor Lopes and Monsignor Belo (later Arch Bishop and Nobel Peace Prize winner), the church condemned human rights violations under the Indonesian occupation. In addition, the church's humanitarian activities are considerable and include a wide range of programs such as orphanages, work projects for widows and schools of various levels. Today approximately

80 per cent of the Timorese population are Catholic, making the Catholic Church the largest and most significant institution in Timor-Leste.

In Papua New Guinea 96 per cent of people are members of Christian churches and like Timor Leste, the role and influence of churches is significant to the social, political and economic life of the country. In particular, the church has filled gaps in social services left by the state, among their broad range of contributions, they provide many of the services in health and education, particularly in rural areas. According the PNG Church Partnership Program:

> The churches run 46 percent of health facilities in PNG including 60 percent of rural health services, five out of eight nursing schools, and all 14 Community Health Worker schools. In the education sector, the Churches run 47 percent of elementary schools, 53 percent of primary schools, 30 percent of secondary schools, 41 percent of vocational schools, and 67 percent of teacher education institutions. There are also Church-run schools for the disabled (2006: 9).

4.2.4.6. Other Voices

Five interviews were undertaken with individuals who worked with volunteers during their placement: Sabine, Palms volunteer Susan's local counterpart in Papua New Guinea; Robert, a local Papua New Guinean who had worked with development aid practitioners, including those from AusAID and development volunteers from a number of countries. Robert was working with a local community development group in Papua New Guinea managing local volunteers; Andrew from the United States, had been involved for twenty five years with development volunteers from both Australia and the United States in a number of capacities, including both volunteer and trainer. He had also been involved in sustainable development and capacity building programs and worked with Robert assisting a local community development group in Papua New Guinea; Tanya and Sally are both Australian citizens who had been working for development NGOs in Timor Leste since 2000. Both women have worked alongside development volunteers on numerous occasions. Tanya is an accountant and Sally is a health practitioner. Tanya made short trips to Timor Leste, with each trip being from one week to a month in duration. Sally visited Timor Leste regularly however, her visits were up to three months in duration.

4.2.5. Data Collection

The data collection and analysis process of this study occurred in three phases. The first phase commenced after attending and participating in the Palms Preparation and Orientation and involved fieldwork in Palms Australia; this was an ongoing process occurring between January 2006 and January 2009. The second phase was the field trip to Timor-Leste, September-October 2007, and the third phase was the field trip to Papua New Guinea, February-March 2008. It should be noted that both the field work phases of data collection and analysis were postponed nine and twelve months respectively, due to civil unrest in both fieldwork sites.

Bluff (2000: 119) recommends a variety of collection methods to help verify the "truth" of the data. A major strength of this study was the collection of multiple data sources as well as a combination of methods of data collection. Triangulation refers to the process of corroborating evidence from two or more data sources, or methods of analysis (Burns 1997). This comprehensive approach was undertaken to corroborate findings as what is said during interviews may not completely reflect reality. In this study the triangulation used included literature reviews, observation of participants prior to placement, during placement and in some cases after returning, in-depth open ended interviews with participants while in placement, and an organisational study of Palms involving document analysis.

Qualitative methods were employed for data collection as they exposed the multiple realities of the subject. Primary sources of qualitative data collection included: interviews, participant and non-participant observation, field notes and documents, records of correspondence with participants by e-mail and phone, in-depth conversations with participants and non-participants and attendance at meetings and fundraising events. Records were kept in field note diaries.

4.2.5.1. Interview Process

Recorded one-on-one interviews enabled information to be obtained in the participant's own words. Interview schedules were developed by drawing on key issues and themes that emerged from the research group's focus group interview, and interviews of seven returned

volunteers from a range of countries including Kiribati, the Solomons and Papua New Guinea.[68] Three phone interviews were conducted with two volunteers who had recently returned from Timor Leste and one volunteer who had returned from Solomon Islands. The interview schedule "test run" was used to confirm the relevance of the themes initially identified and was an opportunity to draw out any potential new themes that emerged.

Participant interviews were between 60 and 90 minutes, structured around open-ended questions and tended to proceed like a conversation. Open ended questions were chosen to provide participants with the opportunity to talk freely about the issues that were important to them. Interviews were semi-structured and involved the use of an interview guide of key concepts and placed special emphasis on perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding their role and achievements, as well as those of Palms. Interview questions included the participant's individual motivations, self-conceptions, socialising experiences, life goals, interpersonal relations and life satisfactions. Interviews focused on perceptions of what hindered or helped the accomplishment of their objectives. This approach was used to collect a wide range of data and provide the opportunity to probe for detail on specific issues as they arose. Field notes were made after each interview, and recorded the location, atmosphere of the interview including subtle expressions and physical responses that could not be captured on tape.

As the theory was drawn out of the data, collecting data became more focused and was modified to allow concentration on those issues that facilitated the development of a conceptually dense theory. If concepts of importance to the developing theory were not mentioned by participants, questions were asked to obtain the participant's view. This strategy was undertaken to facilitate the development of a theory in which concepts are clearly related to each other and numerous variations in the phenomenon are identified (Strauss & Corbin 1998).

4.2.5.2. Participant Observation

Observation of situations and events enabled interactions of individual volunteers with others and their environment to be witnessed and interpreted. The main site of observation was the Palms office which was visited for at least two consecutive days every

[68] Please see the Interview Question Guide in Appendix VI for an overview of these themes and issues.

four weeks over the three year duration of this research project. I was invited to attend formal staff meetings. This was an opportunity for me to note Palms staff contributions or reactions to particular concepts or concerns. However, much of the information was gleaned from observing the flow of the day, following up in informal conversational style meetings about how volunteers or placements were doing, or discussing an observation with individuals. The shared interest in others, the volunteers, the staff, their friends and families, was an invaluable doorway to understanding the position of the people within the organisation itself and ultimately the organisation itself. Informal interludes with Palms staff enabled me to clarify key concepts and issues that were of concern to the staff and the organisation.

Observations of Palms staff and development volunteers also included attending both the 2006 and 2007 Palms orientation and preparation courses in order to meet the volunteers. In 2006 the orientation and preparation course was attended to gain an insight into Palm's organisational philosophy and to experience first hand the information that the volunteers received prior to departure. As I had already participated in the Pre-Departure and Orientation Course in 2006, in 2007 I only attended one day to meet the volunteers. Participant observation also involved attending fund-raisers for Palms development volunteers, general social activities with Palms volunteers such as coffee, lunch and dinner, and regular phone and e-mail contact.

Each development volunteer was visited for three to four days in placement and observed how they defined and undertook their respective roles. Volunteers were accompanied as they went about their daily life. These involved sharing accommodation, meals and household duties with development volunteers and in some cases, when requested, direct participation in the working life of development volunteers. It also involved meeting with and talking to development volunteers' host partners and counterparts. In-depth conversations about individual development volunteers' experiences were undertaken throughout the duration of field visit to each development volunteer. Several hours were spent with each of the two participants who were evacuated from Timor-Leste to Australia during the civil unrest in 2007.

4.2.5.3. Field Notes

To enhance all methods of data collection, field notes were kept to record the context in which the research was taking place and to record aspects of nonverbal communication (Morse & Field 1996). Field note diaries were also used to record the reflective stories of a range of participants in development volunteering. Diaries also doubled as a personal reflective record with notes on how I may have influenced the participants or vice versa, and the potential effect on the research.

4.2.5.4. Documents

Documents on Palms included: internal documents on the organisation's vision and mission statements, Country Strategies (Timor-Leste and Papua New Guinea), Palms Australia: Risk Management Assessment Table and Risk Management Matrix, Palms Australia: Quality Assessment Framework, Global Volunteer Network (Consortium) Meeting Minutes, correspondence between Palms and AusAID, Palms tender response, Preparation and Orientation Program Modules as well as, Palms Post and Palms CommUNITY Newletters from participating and past volunteers. Other Palms documents included files directly concerning participants and their placements such as placement description and selection forms, and records of correspondence between the host partner and Palms including MOUs and evaluations of the placement by the participant and the host organisation.

In analysing the Palms documents, underlying theories of development were elicited. Questions that emerged were explored in taped interviews and in-depth dialogue with Palms staff. As Palms sought to engage with AusAID throughout the tender process and afterwards, documents revealed a snapshot of the organisation within the Australian context of changing state-CSO relations. Most importantly, they highlighted that points of apparent convergence articulated in the discourse between Palms and AusAID, were in fact underpinned by two different and contradictory theoretical positions on the role of CSOs in development. This evolving awareness raised more contributing questions regarding how each position has shaped the approaches of Palms to its volunteer sending program, and AusAID to the Australian Government Volunteer Program (AGVP). It also guided the methodology to determine the nature of development volunteers' experiences in the context of Palms.

Documents on the historical background of the organisation were also used. These provided snapshots of the organisation's approach to development volunteering over time. An historical analysis enabled identification of continuities and discontinuities within the organisation throughout its life span. Palms historical analysis was corroborated with a broader literature review to identify the changing global context and its impacts on Australia's CSOs generally and IVSAs in particular.

4.3. Data Analysis: An Ongoing Process

Data analysis was undertaken simultaneously with data collection due to the long-term nature of the study. Field notebooks provided ongoing opportunities for reflection on both data and "postionality". In line with Glesne's recommendation that "it is particularly important to capture [these] analytic thoughts as they occur", field notebooks were kept both in and out of the field (1999: 131). The triangulation process of the research required a bi-monthly checking of themes arising from the field-notes against those arising from Palms historical and organisational documents. Dominant themes, issues and propositions were reviewed and "analytic thoughts" were organised into memos around the themes, which included issues and topics and propositions, and placed into "analytic files" (Glesne 1999).

The themes around which the analytic files were organised formed the basis of the coding scheme utilised in the interview analysis process. These broad themes included: "motivations", "conceptions of volunteering", "expectations", "placement" and "Palms". Underlying issues identified across these themes were: "tensions between collectivism and the individual", and "the transmission of notions of development". The process of classifying material into "themes, issues and topics and propositions" drove the ongoing data collection, shaping the form that the study took as it provided both the basis and direction of the study (Burns 1997: 339).

All interviews except one, (which was transcribed by hand at the time of the interview), were taped and transcribed upon returning from the field visit. Interviews with Palms staff however were transcribed immediately afterwards. I read through each transcription several times, checking them against the themes and issues identified in the analytic files. Once dominant themes and key concepts in the interviews were identified, they were coded

using the open coding technique (Strauss & Corbin 1998). Initial themes were adjusted as new evidence arose from the data.

Throughout the ongoing data collection and analysis process I revisited the themes and issues in the analytic files, organising and linking new relations and patterns of new data sets with previous ones. In line with Marshall and Rossman's (1995: 116) recommendation that the researcher should search for, identify and describe other plausible explanations of the patterns that emerge from the data, I undertook an ongoing process of seeking alternative explanations on the credibility and usefulness of the coded concepts. Revisiting, reorganising and reassessing categories and propositions assisted me to reduce data and draw conclusions (Glesne 1999: 135-144).

"Grounded theory" (Strauss & Corbin 1998) was relevant to this research as there is very little research on development volunteers' experiences in the field, let alone on the relationship between how development volunteers conceptualise "development" and the relationship between volunteers and their sending organisation. The overall lack of empirical and theoretical knowledge on IVSAs and their development volunteers has resulted in a raft of assumptions built upon the meshing of development theory and particularised national notions of what it means to be a volunteer. The contribution that this study makes to this gap in knowledge is presented in Chapters Five to Eight.

4.4. Positionality and the Reflective Research Process

All social research is participative, and multi-sited ethnography in particular, requires the researcher to have some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites (Marcus 1995: 112). However, this process has a distinct set of data gathering complications centred around "positionality" when studying CSOs in the development context (Markowitz 2001).

> …situating oneself as a researcher within the nexus of fluid interpersonal and institutional relationships, while simultaneously linking these evolving relationships to the variable flows of money and influence in the name(s) of development" (Markowitz 2001: 41).

In the case of the research on Palms this involved being situated within the changing web of relationships formed as volunteers moved from orientation and preparation to placement. This process created new alliances and tensions and in turn bore shifting connection with the at times distant IVSA. Ongoing regular contact, both professional and

social, with both Palms staff and volunteers participating in the study precluded the research being undertaken as "detached". Awareness and reflection on the question of "positionality" on the continuum of mostly observation to mostly participation was required (Glesne & Peshkin 1992: 40).

4.4.1. Positionality and Palms

Tension in defining the research position in relation to Palms, the "industry" partner and funding contributor, revolved around the desire to fit into the organisation and the critical, analytical role of an academic researcher: the former involved forming relationships of trust and respect with the organisation; the latter required asking questions that were the taken-for-granted "common sense" of the people in the organisation. Blurring of the researcher's critical perspective is a common problem in the study of CSOs, which often occurs because researchers are attracted to organisations that share values that fit their own world view model (Markowitz 2001). In the case of this study, one of the key criteria in the selection of a researcher was an applicant with "…a strong sense of social justice", which had the potential to contribute to a bias in the study as I shared particular ideological perspectives with the organisation. Aware of the potential for bias, I was mindful that critical analysis could be marred by the same taken for granted assumptions that were shared by the organisation. To adequately address this potential for bias, field notebooks were used as a reflective tool to recognise the "consistent tension between assuming certain knowledge and learning anew" (Ganguly-Scrase 2001: 34).

Needless to say this study was approached with a passion and keen interest in the subject of development as well as ideas about volunteering as an expression of civil society. This research follows a Masters thesis on the relationship between changing state citizen relations and changing notions of volunteering in Japan, which was spurred by the life changing experiences of founding and operating a development volunteer program in Japan, and community-based capacity building projects in Australia, which successfully addressed local social issues. My own motivation to volunteer, both within my own community in Australia and for development, was driven by the attitude expressed in the following quotation by Everette Halle (1822-1909), a North American author and Unitarian clergyman:

I am only, but I am one
I cannot do everything, but I can do something.
And I will not let what I cannot do interfere with what I can do.

When I began this research project, there was a distinct cleavage between my attitudes to development and volunteering. My attitude to volunteering was generally positive and based on humanitarian feelings of empathy for others, driven by a strong sense of social justice. Notwithstanding, I held a particularly critical position on development as a social construct and practice that had failed many.

My own experience of working in international development had shaped my critical view on the development industry. I first became involved in development in my early 20s. After visiting Vietnam I returned to Japan, the country I called home for five years. Tired of listening to my peers talk about poverty and social injustice from the privileged position of our comfortable lifestyles, complete with good salary, education and bright futures, I wanted to "do something". I decided to raise awareness about women and poverty in Vietnam and support existing development programs through the process. I gathered others who felt the same way and created the CSO called Cycle Against Poverty (CAP) whose mission was to support women's literacy and income generation programs in Vietnam, through development education and fundraising throughout Japan. At the time I believed that development was best left up to "experienced professionals" working in the field, and that the role of volunteers was to support existing programs through development education and funding initiatives in their home country. This view emerged after numerous trips to Vietnam and consultations with the Vietnam Women's Union and UNICEF Hanoi which made me extremely sensitive to the resource burden that volunteers impose on poor communities as well as the numerous cultural issues and program logistics that community-based volunteering in developing countries involves. In line with this thinking, CAP supported UNICEF and Vietnam Women's Union joint projects in the poor provinces of northern Vietnam, and gave numerous multimedia presentations throughout Japan on development issues in Vietnam. CAP, with the support of UNICEF and the Vietnam Women's Union, ran two cycling campaigns, one throughout Japan and the other throughout Vietnam as an expression of solidarity with the people of Vietnam (who rode bicycles), and as a means of demonstrating the physical hardship of poverty. These efforts, and those of the volunteers involved, raised a total of US$60 000 in a 12 month period for the joint Vietnam Women's Union and UNICEF programs.

The necessity of volunteers to have a relationship with a development organisation, was affirmed when I heard stories of funds and goods from well meaning autonomous volunteer groups disappearing at airport customs to line the pockets of bureaucrats rather than funding projects for the poor. However, tensions emerged, surrounding the role of volunteers in development particularly during the campaign in Vietnam when volunteers wanted to participate directly in development rather than support the efforts of local people and organisations. Some of the volunteers felt that they had put in time, money and energy and wanted a more "authentic" experience of poverty in Vietnam than cycling though the country visiting VWU programs and tourist spots. The most significant tension that arose was when the volunteers observed the clear disparity between the lifestyle and pay of foreign consultants and locals. Discussions with smaller local CSOs enforced the growing perception that the "development machine" did relatively little to serve the poor, but was rather more concerned with its own perpetuation. We were unable to reconcile the effort required by volunteers to raise awareness about development in Vietnam, and funds for the projects there, as well as the poverty in the northern districts, with the generous travel and meal allowance of foreign development consultants. A conversation with a staff member of the Australian Embassy responsible for administering AusAID funding, supported this creeping cynicism as he outlined the negative impacts of large scale development aid and intervention, such as a culture of dependency, enhanced opportunities for political corruption and distortionary macro-economic effects. In his view smaller, local NGOs with long-term commitments and grass-roots projects, were the ones that have the greater impact.

The opportunity to study volunteering for development provided me with the opportunity to again consider some of the questions and tensions that my earlier development volunteering experience had raised. My cross-national experience of operating a CSO in Japan, as well as my research on notions of volunteering in Japan, led me to understand the relevance of social, political and economic context in shaping relationships between the state, private sector and civil society in a particular national context. These relationships have a significant impact on CSO policy and organisational structure and on volunteers' notions of being a volunteer and the act of volunteering itself, especially with regard to ideas of individual worth and agency. The relevance of these relationships is primary to a central priority of my research – the contextualization of IVSAs in Australia's civil society.

Through my experience of volunteering and working with volunteers in Japan, Vietnam and Australia, I more than understood volunteering as a means for hundreds and thousands of people to give expression to, and act upon, shared values, and that in the majority of cases good intentions and humanitarian concerns are at the core of this action. Humanitarian concern also most certainly drives and rationalises development as a whole. However, despite being couched in humanitarian terms, the effects of dominant interventionist approaches to development have contributed to a widening gap between those who give and recipients of aid. The study of volunteering for development holds a certain tension for me as it is in many ways the embodiment of the tensions at play in development. Its humanitarian agenda of civic service, defined by Sherraden (2001: 5) as, "an organised period of substantial engagement and contribution to the local, national, or world community, recognised and valued by society, with minimal monetary compensation to the participant", sits in contrast with the social construct of development, its institutionalisation and its practice which has a history of devastating failure the majority of the time. A central question for me in undertaking this research was reconciling this tension. This involved challenging some of my core beliefs.

There is no doubt that I hold what Fisher (1997) would describe as a "critical" view of development as I tend to view both the development paradigm and the implementation of it as fundamentally flawed. In this view, development is an historically produced discourse whereby policy is the expression of a rationalising process that obscures class relations and conceals the true hegemonic intent of development (Escobar 1984; Fisher 1997; Mosse 2005a). My view of the role of CSOs is also in line with Fisher's understanding of the way that the critical position tends to view CSOs. In this view CSOs are vehicles for challenging the existing dominant global hegemony, and play an important role as political agents because they have the ability to politicise issues and offer alternatives to development (Fisher 1997). In view of this "positionality" one of the sub-questions that I formulated was: "If Palms does not share the dominant view of development, and if it is not connected to the global donor funding systems and is not constrained by AusAID imposed funding conditions, do its volunteer placements still spread the dominant neoliberal ideology?"

4.4.2. Issues of Access and Gate-keeping

"Access" in the research process is qualified, and the ways in which it is qualified has specific meaning (Glesne & Peshkin 1992: 33). The connection between relationship, trust and access was central to my research process. Reflection on the reasons and motives behind the guarding of certain sites and not others was a means of understanding the values of the organisation. As the research project was a collaborative one, access to the sites that Palms occupied, such as its office, Fair Trade café, meetings, and events, staff and the volunteers, did not pose significant problems. Palms staff were actively cooperative in supporting the research by answering a broad range of questions about themselves and the IVSA context, in accessing volunteers to participate in the research, and in allowing access organisational documents. However they were very protective towards the files of volunteers, many of which contained personal correspondence between the Palms in-country co-ordinator and the volunteer. Even after volunteers signed consent forms stating that they were willing to participate in the research, permission to access to volunteers' personal files still remained a site that had to be negotiated. In the end, the extent of access to these files was only extended to the documents that were also able to be accessed by the board of directors. These documents included: the volunteer's placement description and any documented changes to this; and both the volunteer's and partner's 6, 12, and 18 month evaluation of the placement undertaken.

While fuller access to personal correspondence may have contributed to a deeper and more nuanced understanding of how individual participants reached their own particular understanding of development, this site was considered deeply personal by the organisation who viewed granting access as breaching the trust of the volunteers. However, an exploration of the reasons and motives behind Palms granting access to some sites and not others provided an opportunity to see what Palms valued. The collaborative attitude of the staff, especially with regard to the organisation itself highlighted the importance Palms places on the reflection of its own practices, demonstrated by the staff's commitment to the research in terms of partial funding and resources. Palms is the only IVSA that I am aware of that has actively participated in an organisational study of this kind. Furthermore, the guarding of the "personal sites" of its volunteers, illustrates that it places great emphasis on the relationships it fosters with its volunteers.

Gaining access to Palms as an initial undertaking was one issue, however maintaining the relationship raised others. Central to maintaining this relationship was the development and maintenance of trust, in particular, maintaining the organisation's trust in the thoroughness of the integrity of the research process and in myself as a researcher. This was achieved through regular presence and engagement with the organisation, and by cultivating and maintaining dialogue with the staff to keep them informed of the progress of the research, to address any concerns about research methodology and approach, or changes in the focus of the research.

Maintaining confidence in the research was also crucial particularly because this kind of study is new in the field of development volunteering. As the following quote highlights, the absence of previous research in this field has been connected to the demands of funding sources. That Palms is no longer government-funded meant that it could take the risk and open itself up to the scrutiny of research:

> To be fair, the international volunteer co-operation sector has not done itself any favours by its overall lack of public/reflection/research or transparent self-criticism. This public silence may have been due to the obvious fear that admitting any shortcomings in its concrete impact overseas could jeopardise fragile funding commitments, largely from government aid agencies (Devereux 2008: 361).

The researcher's relationships define what the researcher is able to achieve in practice (Glesne & Peshkin 1992: 33). Central to relationship building is the development of trust because it "…needs to be developed before people can be willing to release certain kinds of information" (Glesne & Peshkin 1992: 35). Trust was developed through the exchange of information and clear communication channels. Articles considered of interest to the organisation and myself were exchanged, as was information on the participants and their experiences. In the latter exchanges confidentiality wishes of the participants were respected at all times.

4.4.3. Positionality and the Field of Relationships

The long-term approach to the study meant conducting research within a constantly shifting field of unstable relationships. The field was further complicated by the varying levels of intimacy in relationships with the research participants. Genuine friendships were struck up between myself and participants, whose socio-economic context and lives were close to my own. These friendships involved the sharing of confidences and emotional disclosures that at times blurred the traditional professional boundaries between researcher

and participant. However, while participants shared intimate experiences, they often became guarded when interviews were taped. That the depth of rapport changed when participants were taped raises significant issues regarding perceptions of the role of the researcher, as well as the value of close or first hand relations with participants. On the one hand, close relations with those studied heightened sensitivity of the subject because I was more likely to be privy to the participant's more subtle, implicit underlying assumptions that would not have been as readily accessible through observation or interview methods alone. On the other hand, the responses of participants changed when they perceived my role to change from confidant to researcher, and were shaped by how the participant perceived the role of "the researcher".

These perceptions placed me at different points along the participant observer continuum, and at times multiple positions simultaneously. Relationships also changed as participants became vulnerable. One participant, who was initially cooperative and engaged in the research, became extremely negative about the research. She declined to have her interview taped, and as we sat down to conduct the interview, which I was transcribing by hand as we spoke asserted that, "…academic research does not make a difference to anyone and would end up gathering dust on a shelf." This change occurred after her experience of being misquoted in the press by a journalist, and was also possibly a reaction to the uncertainty that many volunteers experienced regarding their practice in the field, as expectations about what they thought they would achieve clashed with the reality of what was achievable. While her discomfort with being taped ultimately posed no issue for the data collection, it did have a personal impact on me, and I resolved to disseminate my findings broadly.

First hand relations with some respondents and not others was raised as a site of potential bias in the research. The following personal correspondence from Roger O'Halloran on 11 February, 2008 expresses this concern:

> Something that arose for me from Friday's discussion was a concern that the research does not get slanted by the relationship you and the volunteers have with one another. While it can be enhanced it also can be difficult for any of us not to cast a positive perspective on those closest to us and a negative one on those with whom we have most difficulty relating. I'm not sure how you address this, how you remain entirely objective, and one does not want to overcompensate.

The role of ethnographer is to reveal the multiple truths apparent in others lives. At the same time, social research is a participative endeavour as it is impossible to study the social

world without being a part of it. As Maguire (1987: 20-21) asserts, "without close, empathic, interpersonal interchange and relationships, researchers will find it impossible to gain meaningful insights into human behaviour or to understand the meaning people give to their own behaviour" (cited in, Busier et al. 1997: 116). In this respect deeper relationships with some participants provided an additional layer to the research, as intimacy provides a more nuanced interpretation of the experience of Palms development volunteers and reflective platform for myself (Busier et al. 1997).

Questions regarding my subjectivity were addressed through systematic arranging and presenting of the data. Central to this process was triangulation. This was an ongoing process occurring between January 2006 and 2009. The triangulation process enabled me to examine the research question from more than one perspective in-order to test the validity of the data.

As the interviews and field visit only represent what the volunteers were thinking about and feeling, and what they chose to disclose to me at that particular point in time, the interviews were analysed within the context of literature on development and cross-national volunteering, policy and "other views", which included the views of counterparts and partners, as well as volunteers from other organisations and representatives from other organisations. Findings from the interviews were checked against each of these other areas and either validated each other or inconsistencies were highlighted. Likewise, assumptions within the literature or policy etc. were also referenced against the findings in the interviews.

4.5. Conclusion

Throughout the chapter I have shown the various methods deployed in the gathering of data. Participant observation and multi-sited ethnography were important components of my research, however the discussions above illustrate the shifting perception towards the researcher during field work which further highlights the need for combining different methods. What I was unable to gather through one approach was complemented by another, to provide a more comprehensive view of the workings of Palms and its volunteer cycle.

The following chapters, Five to Eight, analyse in a thematic sense the findings of the research.

Chapter 5.

MOTIVATION: Altruistic and Egoistic Desire

The main focus of this thesis is to investigate how development volunteers conceptualise development. The study examines the influence of organisational policy and practice on individuals within the development process. This chapter provides an analysis of the interviews with the volunteers and draws on fieldwork observations to construct an idea of what motivated them to undertake development volunteering. It lays the foundation for exploring how organisational discourses attracted and motivated the volunteers and shaped their ideas and expectations relating to their experiences in the field. In my analysis I use a "functions framework" to organise the volunteers' motivations (Omoto & Snyder 1995; Clary et al. 1998).[69]

This chapter is divided into two parts. In the first section, I examine volunteers' motivations and consider the issues of power and transformation raised in Chapter One which highlighted that the sense of social responsibility that motivates many volunteers is itself central to the belief in the same transformative process from which the notion of development grew. The optimistic conception of transformation of both volunteering and development, is an expression of a sense of power whereby the individual believes themselves capable of making a better world (Ehrichs 2000; Unstead-Joss 2008). In this chapter I analyse this assumption in order to provide the foundation for Chapters Six, Seven and Eight which unpack the premise that while issues of power were more evident in initial motivations to volunteer, when coupled with the desire to transform oneself, volunteers could be "effective agents of change" upon return to their own communities (Unstead-Joss 2008: 16-17).

In the second section of Chapter Five I examine the relationship between volunteer motivations and choice of IVSA, how volunteers initially came to the organisation and why the volunteers chose Palms over other available options. This section follows a central concern of this thesis, which is an exploration of the relationship between the

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[69] Omoto and Snyder are known for their study on the motivation among AIDS Volunteers, and contributed to understandings that an individual's motivations are a complex combination of a number of factors. From their study they developed a "Functional Theory of Motivation" which identified five main motivational functions (Omoto & Snyder 1995).

organisational basis of development and the individual motivations for "doing" development.

5.1. Motivational Functions

In my analysis of volunteer motivations, I build on Unstead-Joss' (2005) analysis of the motivations of VSO volunteers, the most comprehensive study of long-term development volunteer motivations to date. The study uses a framework of motivational functions developed by Clary et al (1998) to categorise the motivations of interviewees into functions. In designing her study, Unstead-Joss assessed the relevance of the functional approach to her investigation, and found it a useful tool for understanding and organising otherwise complex data (2005: 24-26). In view of her analysis and its conclusion, I also use Cleary et. al's (1998) functional framework to organise the data, and also draw on Omoto et al. (1995) and Unstead-Joss' analysis in defining each function. Table one on the following page provides an outline of the motivational functions employed in both studies:

It is important to note variations in the research samples. First and foremost the purpose of the studies differed; the focus of this study is how volunteers constructed notions of development and the role of the IVSA in this process, while Unstead-Joss' (2005) study is concerned with changing motivations throughout the volunteer cycle. Secondly, her study of VSO volunteers was retrospective, primarily due to the focus of the study and time and money limitations. In her study participants were returned volunteers and a period of between one and nineteen years had passed since completion of placement. Unstead-Joss also acknowledges that, "…the interviewees' reflections on their motivations to become volunteers might be affected by hindsight" (2008: 7). In contrast, my study is long-term study were participants were interviewed while in placement and observations began prior to departure. Despite these differences, both studies consider why the volunteers' were motivated to undertake development volunteering in the first place. Where the Unstead-Joss study identified a link between organisation and motivation, the purpose of my thesis is to probe the identified link.

Table 1 - Definitions of Motivational Functions

Function	Distinguishing elements of the function
Values	The expression of personal principles or beliefs, such as the humanitarian obligation to help others.
Understanding	A quest for knowledge such as learning about a specific issue or to gain a different perspective on life, or to use skills and abilities that might otherwise go unused.
Social	Encompassing "social" reasons such as meeting like-minded people, or to be engaged in an activity viewed as favourable by important or significant others.
Career	To explore different career options, or to improve on one's resume.
Protection	Escape from other pressures or stress (e.g. work or home), to feel needed or to feel better about oneself as well as to reduce guilt over being more fortunate than others.
Enhancement	Personal "development" through having new experiences challenging and testing personal skills and learning about oneself.

5.2. Analysis: Volunteer Motivations

Chapter One highlighted the relationship between altruism and volunteering, and ideas of being a good citizen and volunteering. It identified that the association of volunteering with altruistic behaviour colours how the motivations of volunteers are understood by the volunteers themselves (Vellekoop-Baldock 1990: 102-3). It drew attention to the broad acknowledgement that while altruism is most frequently cited by volunteers as their motive for volunteering, it is only one of a number of motives and therefore cannot be considered the primary or only motive for volunteering (Omoto & Snyder 1995; Spicker 2000; Zappala 2000). I also pointed out, that while the motivation to volunteer is understood to be a highly personal and complex interrelation of both altruistic and egoistic reasons, the

altruistic connotations of volunteering within the context of being a "good citizen" (or socially responsible citizen), is conflated to the assumption that the outcome of volunteer activity is a positive transformation of some sort for the host (Warburton 1997; Haddad 2007; Unstead-Joss 2008). This perception raises important questions about power in the volunteer paradigm, particularly in a developing country context (Ehrichs 2000; Unstead-Joss 2008).

In line with Unstead-Joss' conclusions, my research also found that volunteer motivations were a highly personal combination of different motivational functions, and that while altruistic reasons, such as wanting to "help" or "give back", were the most common reason given by respondents for undertaking development volunteering, they were intertwined with egoistic reasons. Reasons included expectations of personal gain, (for example adventure, learning, escape) as well as motivations of self protection such as guilt, suggesting that development volunteering was conceptualised as reciprocal in that development volunteers both give and receive (Rehnstrom 2000: 81). The complexity and highly personalised mix of motivations meant that it was difficult to identify whether particular motivations dominated over others.

Unstead-Joss (2008) found that different motivations were stronger and others weaker at different times during the volunteer's placement. Cherie's explanation illustrates this point:

> I think because we're developing services up in Timor, and the services are already here in Australia, so here [Australia] I feel like I'm part of a very big cog, and up there [Timor Leste] I feel like I'm contributing to building the cog, and just compare… the level of need of the clients… up there [Timor Leste] they have nothing, and here [Australia] they've got quite a lot and its better, its fairly good services, but up there [Timor Leste] its starting something basic where people have nothing so you sort of feel that that's more helpful…

Cherie's comment describes a combination of motivations including: "Values", such as equality, as she is motivated by the "rights" of the Timorese people to have the same disability services as those in Australia; a sense of social justice, as she identified with Timor Leste's disabled as those that are hardest hit by poverty; while "Enhancement", as "helping", was tied to Cherie's sense of personal achievement in the work place. It is important to note that Cherie's commitment to the values she articulated is central to her

reasons for undertaking development volunteering as a stepping stone to a career in development work.[70]

The following analysis of volunteer motivations explores the question of why the participants undertook development volunteering. These motivations are organised within the motivational functions framework described earlier.

5.2.1. Values

A combination of different values drove respondents to volunteer. Significantly, these values were highly personal and tied to the identity of the individual. In this manner, an individual's values were closely intertwined with how they understood their world, their place in it and themselves.

5.2.1.1. Identity, Guilt & Community Concern

Typical of studies on the motivations of volunteers, and in line with Unstead-Joss' (2005) work, this study found that volunteering was an expression of "Values" such as "care for others". However, as Peter's comment illustrates, values were closely tied to the identity of the individual:

> …we didn't go into health care to make money. We went into health care because we enjoyed helping people and working with people. So to come away, it's virtually doing a similar thing, you know, because we do get the opportunity to work with people who need health care and, and then the other, so that's still work and you do it in PNG and you do it in Australia, it's the same thing, there's the added bonus that you might pass something else on…

For other volunteers, the "Value" of "helping" was connected to the idea of "giving back". Tiffany also described herself as a "helper", however in her case the value of helping was intertwined with guilt over being more fortunate than others, particularly those in a developing country:

> I came from a very poor background, it was partly giving back because I'm doing so well now.

[70] As this fieldwork for this study drew to completion in 2009, Cherie was successful in her application to work as a development professional in an international development agency, in Timor Leste.

In other cases, "giving back" was attached to a sense of duty or responsibility towards a disadvantaged community by those who see themselves as "advantaged". Within the context of the discussion on development volunteering, the following reference to "community" by Michelle infers a sense of a "global community" or "global civil society":

> I definitely have always felt a desire to give back to my community. I think that I have been blessed in my life and there is no reason why I shouldn't want to share skills or anything I can with someone else because that's part of being a community in the whole scale, everyone can contribute…

Michelle's comments reflect a sense of connectedness among people but they also reflect an innate sense and acceptance of hierarchy. Within this hierarchy Michelle views herself as more fortunate and in a position to "give back", however as her sense of being "blessed" to be in this position indicates, this action is not connected to ideas of political change or an awareness of the broader social and global actors that play a part in poverty.

The idea of "luck" is addressed in Simpson's (2004) work on "gap-year" volunteers, where she identified that ideas of "fate" (or similarly "luck"), were perpetuated through short-term development volunteer experiences without a development education component. Simpson advocates for volunteer sending programs with a strong development education component that encourages volunteers to question or think about causes of poverty, or issues of social justice. It is significant to note however, that in this study volunteers in placement for under one year commented that they felt "lucky" or "blessed", supporting the argument that a deeper understanding of development and causes of poverty may not occur in the short-term. This evidence points to the importance of ongoing development education programs and the relevance of time spent in the field. This was in line with Unstead-Joss who proffered:

> The value of VSO's two-year placements, as opposed to a shorter time-frame, perhaps lies in the opportunity they provide for volunteers to face the challenge of understanding the perspective of local organisations and of people within the community. It is only with time that these volunteers could become an effective part of the process of change and conscientisation (Unstead-Joss 2008: 17).

5.2.1.2. The Moral Dilemma of Being a Professional in Development

In line with Unstead-Joss (2005) and Watts (2002), most volunteers stated that they were in-part motivated to do development volunteering due to the moral dilemma of earning a

high income in a developing country. However, they tended to view development volunteering as sitting outside "professional work", despite the fact that all of the volunteers were tertiary trained professionals. Craig explained:

> …if I was working in a school or, doing a sort of core business that the government or country already has going, or a hospital, you know changing things there, I'd probably feel more pressure and I'd probably want to change things and make them more like Australia and how can you have a hospital like this, whereas here it's a bit more relaxed in the sense that, lets work with what we've got and then, kind of guide in the right direction…

Discussed further in this chapter under: "Consideration of the 'Career' Function", Craig's comments suggest that the informality with which volunteers viewed their work, was tied to a number of factors including; the location of the placements, (which were predominantly in remote communities), the lack of usual work place motivators and indicators of status such as income, and a job or project description with firm goals and outcomes.

5.2.2. Social Values

Esteem enhancement was connected to social reasons for engaging in volunteer activity and respondents were motivated by different ideas about how they would gain self-esteem from the development volunteer experience. Many of these ideas were connected to the relationship between Western notions of "work" and the individual's "self-worth" (Welch 2007).

5.2.2.1. Work and Value

The relationship between "self-worth" and "work" in the development context was connected to a sense of not feeling valued in the work context in Australia. Unstead-Joss(2008) also identified this trend concluding that respondents' motivations to volunteer was "Social" in that they wanted to meet like-minded people and work in an environment where they felt comfortable. Unstead-Joss also argued that this, along with other motivations including a philosophy of effective development practice and rejection of government policy, were "forcing people away" from the home country rather than "pulling them overseas" (2008: 10).

In this study I questioned why volunteers felt more comfortable volunteering in a development context, especially considering time commitment and the requirement to

move away from support networks of family and friends. I found that overall, the volunteers felt more "comfortable" because they anticipated being more "effective" in the developing country context. For example, Cherie's earlier comment that in Australia she feels, "…like I'm part of a very big cog", suggesting that she experiences a sense of autonomy and effectiveness in the development context that she does not experience in Australia.

The notion of being "effective" in a developing country is tied to the volunteers' perception of "lack", whereby "lack" is understood in terms of what Australia has. In this interpretation it then follows that "achievement" and subsequently self-worth is connected to providing "more". As Tiffany noted:

> …because they've come from such a poor level, poor people from developing countries are so much poorer than in Australia. You have a greater capacity for achieving a lot of good.

In this study, I found that while some volunteers described a "pull" to travel overseas in pursuit of adventure, authentic experiences of "other", rather than "push" for political reasons, they also expressed a mixture of dissatisfaction at work, as well as social reasons. This finding suggests that Unstead-Joss' "push" and "pull" analogy does not express the complexity of volunteers' motivations for volunteering abroad in a developing country. The following comment from Peter, who along with his wife had closed a business in order to embark on something new, illustrates this complexity:

> We're certainly satisfying something… that drives us… we want to do something along these [development volunteering] lines, but we haven't wanted to do it because we wanted to fix the world. We've always yearned for an opportunity to get into another culture and to meet people and to not be seen as being tourists. We wanted to be, seen as people who have some sort of empathy for other peoples. To not be treated as for or against them, to just want to be with them I suppose, learn something from them. And that's what this… this is doing that for us.

5.2.2.2. Relationship: Being Liked

Of note in the above comment is Peter's concern that locals' perceptions of him are positive. This was common among volunteers who anticipated that part of the "authentic experience" of development volunteering would be making friends with locals and being part of the community. This is also in contrast to Unstead-Joss' finding that while her volunteers wanted the experience of being immersed in the local community, they did not expect to "become good friends" with local people prior to entering placement (2008: 11,

16). Unstead-Joss muses as to whether this finding is, "…evidence of a volunteers' notion of 'other', which Ehrichs (2000) claims has no place in voluntary action that transforms", and concludes that her finding, "…might indicate a volunteer's sense of detachment from the host community before they arrive" (2008: 16). Conversely, in this study volunteers attributed their expectations of connection, integration and friendship with the local people to Palms' development philosophy and extensive preparation which placed emphasis on the centrality of relationships and relationship building in the development process (discussed in more detail in Chapter Six). The marked difference in the two studies points to the important role of the sending organisation in shaping expectations of the experience of development volunteering, as well as notions of development.

5.2.2.3. Being "helpful" and "doing good"

A dominant trend in the study was interviewees' belief that doing the same work in a development context was more "helpful" than the same work Australia. Volunteers perceived that they would be able to achieve more "good" in a developing country doing the same work in Australia, because the "need" is perceived as being greater. In this respect volunteers viewed their capacity as "helpers" as having more currency in the development context. This suggests that part of the attraction of development volunteering was "Enhancement", as the "challenge" of working in the often difficult conditions of a developing country was perceived as increasing one's potential (to achieve "good" or facilitate change) and self-worth. The motivational function of "Enhancement" could explain Rehnstrom's (2000: 80-81) finding that volunteers' perception of their achievements and value to the local community was greater than locals' perceived it to be. Renhstrom's finding along with volunteers' perceptions of "need" in the developing country context, including their assumption that they have the skills and capacity to satisfy such "needs" and facilitate change, raises questions about the actual and perceived power of the Western outsider. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven.

5.2.3. Understanding

It was typical among participants to be motivated to do development volunteering because they anticipated that it would provide them with a deep experience of another country, people and culture. This opportunity was highly valued by the volunteers. Susan enthused:

> Oh just getting to know people and getting to live in a different culture, like I just feel so blessed that I'm here and I'm experiencing it and I'm not experiencing it on a tourist level. Like I'm actually getting to learn the language and I'm actually getting to know a different culture and also learning, and getting to know how people think and understanding why they're thinking that way because it's… they're coming from their cultural reference point, not my cultural reference point. So that gets a bit difficult sometimes because you're thinking, "why the hell are they doing this?" and you go, "Ah! There's culture involved!" [laughs]. So just getting to know people and getting to work with people, and just enjoying it really.

For Susan the desire to experience another culture meshed deeply with other motivational functions such as "Enhancement", in that it provided her with an escape from the frustration of her work environment in Australia and an opportunity to learn about others. The motivation to understand others, alongside the desire to transform both themselves and the lives of others through imparting skills and knowledge, suggests that volunteers were motivated by reciprocal learning relationships.

5.2.4. Enhancement: Personal Development and Self betterment

A central theme among participants was the idea that the "experience" of development volunteering would offer them some sort of gain or benefit. Development volunteering was broadly viewed as an opportunity or framework upon which to hang the adventure of living cross-culturally.

5.2.4.1. Escape: An Authentic Experience

As mentioned earlier, respondents were motivated by the expectation that development volunteering would offer an "authentic experience" of the world and "other". Significantly within this conception, "authentic experience" was also seen to offer an opportunity to "escape". Escape was often linked to adventure and challenge. For example, in Nola's case, development volunteering marked the end of her professional career, as she closed her business with the intention of creating time for herself:

> Perhaps in three, four, five years time that might all be very different, so we just thought it was a good time for us to be able to do something like this [development volunteering]. A good time for us. A time for us.

Nola's rationalisation was that she is at a point in her life where she does not have responsibility for others – children, grandchildren, elderly parents – and that it is now for her and husband Peter to have an adventure together. Kell et al. (2005) refer to this trend

as "bookending of careers", whereby young people beginning careers and older people ending careers, undertake development volunteering.

Susan also saw development volunteering as an escape, however in her case it was from the frustration she experienced working within bureaucratic systems in Australia:

> I was sick of sitting behind a desk and not actually getting anywhere and also fighting for things that clients should really get and they didn't get, only because it was to do with dollars and, how much your insurance company wanted to pay for a certain amount of service for the client…

While development volunteering was a "career break" for Susan, she perceived her personal gain from volunteering abroad in terms of a unique experience of another culture that also offered her the opportunity to escape from her sense of being insulated in Australia and to have an "authentic" experience of "real life":

> You're not just sitting at home doing a normal job in Australia and you're seeing a lot more different sights, smells, sounds, everything… you're just living a totally different life that not many people can say that they've lived, as far as cross cultural volunteering goes.

Susan juxtaposes themes of privilege and insulation in Australia to growth outside Australia as a development volunteer. Her comments suggest that her motivation is to escape the "familiar", where her own layered history, origins and grievances are understood, and large goals of social change are possibly overwhelming and without an easy solution. From such a perspective the developing country context offers adventure and the chance to make a difference in a country that is "fresh" to the volunteer. Such motivations raise the question of whether, initially at least, as a foreign outsider volunteers ignore that developing countries also have their own complex histories and grievances (Dichter 2003: 13).

5.2.4.2. Challenge and the Opportunity to Learn

Individual perceptions and expectations of the personal gain offered by the "authentic experience" varied considerably; as did their expectations of what such gain would mean to them in the future. One gain from the "authentic experience" was to, "…learn more about the world in a particular way" as they adjusted to their placement and surroundings (Esslinger 2005; Unstead-Joss 2008: 11). The majority of respondents viewed going to another country to volunteer as an opportunity which would provide experiences that they would not otherwise have in Australia. Significantly, Susan conceded, "I think I probably

could do more in Australia." She went on to explain her attraction to volunteering in a developing country:

> To me it's like living at the grassroots of life and actually experiencing… different people's struggles. And experiencing through them what life is really about, because in Australia we live a privileged life… But when you come and live in PNG, you actually experience it [life] for yourself… the bare bones of life… I can't explain it any other way, but I don't think it's growing, to me it's not growing, it's more living at a very basic level in life and enjoying it.

Self-betterment was connected to the experience of learning through the development volunteering experience and came from ideas about the challenge of living cross-culturally. For example, Michelle considered why the grass-roots experience of development volunteering was attractive to her:

> …because now I think part of the focus has shifted from just wanting to go and help other people but also realising that I myself can grow from the experience and I really wanted a cross-cultural experience. 'Cause I came to believe that if I can understand my place in the world, that involved my going outside my own cultural group and trying to understand other people's cultures, how other people think so I can understand my place better and understand my motives better and I think I'm still in the process of doing that.

For the majority of volunteers in this study, the notion of "helping" served to rationalise personal gain accrued, and provided a legitimate sense of purpose. Michelle's rationalisation points to a tension between altruistic values and egoistic desire:

> I think that was my main draw card and also for adventure and excitement, but learning about something which would ultimately help me to be a better person. But of course there is always that… I want to help other people as well, so that's still very much why I went about it, but definitely self motivated as well.

5.2.5. Career

In this study, while volunteers acknowledged that development volunteering opened the possibility for a future career in the development industry, only one volunteer, Cherie stated "Career" as a reason for undertaking development volunteering with Palms. As I have discussed in Chapter Four, Cherie's case is unusual as she had volunteered previously and had committed to a four year placement. Cherie described the experience of volunteering as necessary to pursue her professional goal as a development practitioner:

> I guess I wanted to do this longer term and I wasn't committed to the concept of volunteering I was committed to the concept of this work and, and ideally I, in a longer term situation, want to get paid for this work…

While this motivation to do development volunteering falls into the "Enhancement" function, Cherie sees development volunteering as a necessary stepping stone or entry point into the world of professionalised development work, it is also intertwined with motivational functions of "Value" and "Community Concern".

Cherie's motivation is value driven as she is concerned with the moral dilemma of earlier top-down development aid models that emphasised technology transfer and were epitomised by highly paid consultants working without local knowledge and experience, "doing development" often with disastrous results (World Bank 2001; 2006). At the same time Cherie is motivated by her identification with a particular issue in Timor Leste, the plight of disabled people, and has made a commitment to it by becoming actively involved as a volunteer. Cherie's professional focus is the provision of services for disabled people and the right of disabled people to participate in their community - a particular and specialised niche in the development industry. In this respect Cherie's career motivation, like her motivation to volunteer for development, is tied to the "Values" and "Community Concern" functions. Cherie further stresses that her motivation to do development work (and also development volunteering) as wanting to "help" which she rationalises in terms of a social justice issue:

> …maybe it is a bit similar to my motivation, …they should be able to have those kind of qualities of life and standards and that's probably what makes people want to go and help them… like that would be the base of motivation for me… the social justice issue... disabled people should be able to participate in the community… and they can in Australia, why can't they there [Timor Leste]…

While volunteers talked about the concrete career advantages of having a volunteer experience in a development context and saw it as a stepping stone into "professionalised development work", the majority of respondents simply saw it as opening the door to a possible future career option. Michelle explained:

> … I do need to start right down amongst the people… at the grass roots… so I'm trying to understand the culture, for me to have that cultural dialogue that I was talking about, trying to understand where people are coming from, I feel I can't do that if I'm up high in an office building. I need to come down, be there, work with the local people, have an understanding and a feel for whether these projects are appropriate, because if I'd come with my own sort of Australian cultural viewpoint and thinking… it might be a really good idea, but it might not be what's right for them and the only way I'm going to find that is if I am down on the ground level, seeing what works and what doesn't, so I think especially

> for the experience I wanted which was a cross-cultural relationship experience, learning, two ways of exchange, then I needed to be in an environment where I was on the ground level, I was working with people and trying to understand this…

Michelle's view that development volunteering is an apprenticeship in development work and part of the hierarchy of the broader "professionalised" development industry, with development volunteering at the bottom, was a common perception. This view highlights the "Value" motivational function, as it points to the moral dilemma of working in a development context without local knowledge or experience. It also points to a particular informality that underpins people's understandings of development volunteering, and a marked attitudinal difference between development volunteers and professionals in the development field. This is significant, because while understood as development work, development volunteering is considered less professional than the work of a "development practitioners" in part because it is situated at the grass roots level, and possibly in-part because volunteers are doing it for their own experiential and personal development gains.

5.3. Choosing an IVSA: Why Palms?

The previous section has identified and unpacked the motivations of the volunteers in the study to undertake the development volunteer experience. It highlights the centrality of "Values", the notion of "work" and its relationship to individual identity and sense of "self-worth" in the volunteers' motivations. This section explores what motivated the volunteers to choose Palms over other IVSAs, so that we can begin to consider the role of organisational discourse in attracting and motivating volunteers and shaping their ideas and expectations about the experience in the field.

5.3.1. The Catholic Church, Trust and Shared Values

Palms has had a long association with the Catholic Church, and predominately concentrates its recruitment materials within its church networks. Therefore, it was not surprising to find that while two volunteers (a couple) came in contact with Palms through internet searches, the majority of volunteers in this study first heard about Palms through their involvement and connection with the Catholic Church. Generally "first contact" occurred through different church information networks. For example Nola heard about Palms through a church bulletin. Similarly Brian read about Palms in a church publication, the *Catholic Weekly*. Others came to know about Palms through information sessions and word of mouth. For example, Tiffany heard about Palms through a Catholic work

colleague and James through a priest from his high school. Tiffany observed that as a Catholic, Palms was the first IVSA she encountered when she was ready to volunteer:

> I'm Catholic, I don't know, it [Palms] just fell across my path, one of my work mates was talking about it. She'd heard about it at church and… volunteering in a developing country was something I have been interested in for a long time. Something I've had in the back of my mind for a few years. So, just talking to her, the idea progressed, and I didn't know about other volunteer sending agencies… so I went for the interview and the things that I found out appealed to me and, so here I am.

Tiffany's comment was typical of the volunteers in the study and not surprising given that Palms used information dissemination networks within the Catholic Church to recruit its volunteers. In this manner Palms had a visibility or "presence" within networks with which volunteers had regular connection and trust and volunteers became aware of Palms' "presence" when they had made the decision to volunteer. Brian, who described his motivation to volunteer as a "calling" recalled:

> …one day I was at home and I opened the *Catholic Weekly* and I saw this advertisement and it jumped out at me. It was from Palms.

Peter's experience was also similar to Tiffany's, he first heard about Palms when his wife Nola showed him a church newsletter. This suggests that initially the volunteers, as practising Catholics, perceived Palms as trustworthy and reputable because of its association with the Catholic Church. Of note, is that in the majority of cases Palms was the only VSA in this study volunteers contacted. This is significant, while Palms has a presence within Catholic Church networks it may have experienced some competition in late 2007 when AVI sought to increase its visibility through the development and launch of a national advertising campaign for television and print media.[71] Furthermore, there are a range of other development volunteering opportunities within the Catholic Church that are potentially in competition with Palms. In a discussion about this trend with Peter, he gave his rationale for choosing Palms without researching other IVSAs:

> It was just an opportunity that came up when we were looking to do something different. I'd never heard of Palms, we didn't seek Palms out… we're not the sort of people who go shopping around and we didn't go investigating any other volunteer organisations, we just ran with a gut feeling and this had presented itself, and we made some phone calls, spoke to some people and none of that turned us off, so we continued down that path.

He went on to say:

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[71] The advertising campaign with the catchphrase "what goes around comes around" aimed to communicate the benefits of development volunteering.

> …[Palms] presented opportunities that suited us and it presented those in a way that didn't cause us any concerns…we hadn't compared them [Palms]… we, couldn't compare them [Palms] with anybody else, we didn't know what was normal for this type of activity, and we didn't feel the need to go and find out what was normal.

Peter's comments highlight that often the decision to volunteer with a particular IVSA has little to do with comparison and choice and illustrates that the decision to volunteer with a particular IVSA tended not to involve "shopping around", possibly because participants were first time development volunteers with unclear expectations of development volunteering, but preferred to look to Palms for this information. This is significant as it points to the role that the organisation plays in shaping volunteers' expectations of their development volunteer experience. I discuss this issue further in Chapter Six.

5.3.2. Conceptions of CSOs

Volunteers were attracted to Palms because its development philosophy resonated with their own values. Michelle described her first contact with Palms:

> … I like their philosophy… because I read their web page… that was my introduction to them… there were these people who were very much into these words like "sustainability", and what I understood that to mean… it just attracted me, everything that they sort of said, seemed to fit with whatever I had… and I also like the fact that it wasn't overtly religious… it seemed to be respectful of all people… and very much trying to encourage a dialogue or relationship with another culture and putting the emphasis on perhaps that as well as what you were achieving.

James was directed to Palms by a priest who thought that the organisation's philosophy was a match to James' and the experience he was seeking:

> …I sat down and had a chat to him and um, he said, "Palms is what you're looking for, because you just want to learn about… immersed, learn about a culture and get in, understand it, make the most of it and do you want to try and apply?" And he gave me a brochure on Palms and it just went from there.

Paul chose Palms because of its approach to development, and development volunteering. He explained:

> …the Palms approach to things was different, in the sense that they were people who responded to requests from communities… a number of so-called voluntary organisations tend to force people onto communities whether they like the idea or not. And Palms responds, and is basically a placement organisation and not a funding body, so that in itself was different, and they were also much more thorough, and what I consider, had a much more professional approach to recruitment of volunteers.

The volunteer's attraction to a particular organisational philosophy or approach to development was also identified as an important factor by Unstead-Joss (2008). However, while the findings of this study concur broadly with Unstead-Joss, that organisational philosophy plays a role in volunteers' choice of organisation, this study also found that the decision was tied to participants' ideas about CSOs. Paul's comment is an example of the common conception that Palms: a small CSO, was people friendly, responsible and better able to promote participation of local communities in their own development than larger, more bureaucratic organisations. This was illustrated in comments about Palms ability to meet the needs of individuals and as people centred. Michelle's comment on how she initially perceived how Palms would relate to her clearly articulates this understanding:

> Their philosophy of, I don't know, it may be sounding a bit like a cliché, but they talk about relationships and I felt that I might be treated more as an individual with what I have to bring, rather than maybe a bit more of a number, and I'm sure that if I was in a different organisation, like AVI or something, I wouldn't be treated as a number but I think I would, I would feel, because it was a bigger organisation maybe a bit more of a faceless person with a little bit less say over how and where I went.

Within this conception of CSOs, smaller organisations were perceived to offer a more personalised service. The need to be recognised and valued as an individual by the IVSA was the most common reason offered by participants for staying with Palms. As a small organisation, Palms was perceived to offer a more personalised service than other IVSAs. Michelle said:

> …I felt with Palms, it was smaller, it seems that they make a little bit more of a… focusing on me as an individual and what I had to bring and the whole package.

Couples valued Palms' personal approach. Craig identified Palms' willingness to accommodate couples as a key reason for his choosing the organisation:

> With the going with Palms, we were both very conscious that if you apply through an agency like AVI or um some of those other jobs it was very much a job for one person and the partner would be tagging along and that's not what we wanted. We wanted something where we both felt we had a job or a role. Palms said that they would look at both of our positions and try and place us in a place with that.

It was common for the staff to be described as "caring". Paul commented on the commitment of Palms staff:

> Palms I think is professional, the people who run it do it very well, and they certainly don't do it for money because there is no money involved, and you've certainly got to give credit to people who do things along those lines.

Michelle also said:

> …I made enquiries and got to know people and they seemed like [they] genuinely believed in what they were doing. They weren't in the job because of pay or trying to move up within the sector. They were there because they were there for the love of it and I think that always attracts me, I mean I've worked in St Vinnies and people there were volunteers as well and the few staff that were there were people that are significantly paid less than anyone else in that sector and so you think, "Well why are they here?" and it's because they believe in the organisation, that given the organisation must be strong so I think that example also helped in a way.

The perceived commitment of Palms staff contributed to the idea that the organisation was trustworthy and legitimate. Furthermore, volunteers' ideas about Palms as having dedicated staff and that Palms, as a small organisation, would offer more personalised service than larger IVSAs, meshes with ideas about CSOs as comprised of dedicated staff that work hard for their cause, are flexible and willing to respond to and accommodate difference and offer personalised service. It is important to note, that the volunteers' views of Palms tended to resonate with the dominant view of CSOs in the 1990s as people centred and responsive to local needs (discussed in detail in Chapter Two).

5.4. Conclusion

Palms development volunteers were motivated by multiple factors of which altruism was only one among other deeply personal and diverse reasons. For most, the idea of "helping" or being "helpful", was a defining feature of their understanding of their role as development volunteers. The desire to "help" was tied to values such as equality, mutuality, reciprocity, community and respect. "Helping" was also tied to a conception of its relationship to "need" in the host community, whereby "need" was defined as a "lack" (of skill, service or resource) in the developing country. This conception suggests that the volunteer saw their "help", as necessary to the development of the host community because they would provide what was lacking. Such a view points to traditional conceptions of power and powerlessness in how volunteers understand their role in development.

This chapter challenges the view of development volunteering as purely altruistic giving; rather, it has shown that it is a reciprocal experience where the volunteer accrues some personal benefit from their action. While volunteers' motivations were values-driven, in that they wanted to "help", they also said that they were motivated by a range of benefits from their action. Central to these benefits was the motivation to understand the host

culture as well as learn about themselves and their world. Unstead-Joss argues that the desire to understand and learn, points to the volunteers' desire to transform themselves, evening out the issues of power and powerlessness embodied in ideas about "helping" and "need". In her view, it then follows that volunteers become effective agents of change (2008: 17). Unstead-Joss's (2008) acceptance of the interconnection between altruistic desire and egoistic intent, challenges Ehrichs (2000) assumption about the positive value of altruism in the development volunteer context, as it is egoism that undermines issues of power and powerlessness that altruistic desire supposes. Furthermore, it is central to the argument that development volunteers are agents of social and political change on return. This argument will be considered further in Chapter Eight.

Respondents stated that their choice of Palms was due to a sense of synergy between their values and Palms' philosophy and approach to development, which was tied to how volunteers understood Palms as a CSO. This suggests a relationship between volunteers' expectations and an understanding that Palms would meet those expectations. In line with a central concern of this thesis which is to explore the relationship between the organisational and the individual, the relationship between volunteers' expectations and Palms is critically analysed in Chapter Six.

Chapter 6.
INTERPRETATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

Chapter Six is concerned with the closely intertwined relationship between the personal and the organisational. It builds on the exploration of the relationship between Palms and its volunteers explored in Chapter Five in order to focus on the link between volunteers' motivations and views on development, and the form of volunteer sending programs (Ehrichs 2000: 88; Unstead-Joss 2005). In Chapter Five I identified that the volunteers in the study were attracted to, (or rather, not repelled by), Palms' development philosophy and approach. I also highlighted that volunteers' ideas about the kind of organisation that Palms was, reflect conceptions of small CSOs dominant throughout the 1990s, as morally good, flexible, committed and independent in addressing global issues and responding to crises, able to operate across national borders regardless of race, religion and politics (Korten 1990; Fisher 1997; Lee 2000; Tvedt 2002; Ransom 2005). I determined a link between conceptions of Palms as a small CSO and the volunteers' expectations of the particular kind of experience that they anticipated Palms would facilitate. I also identified that the volunteers' desired experience was connected to notions of work and its relationship to the individual's identity and sense of self-worth.

A common motivation for development volunteers is the desire to gain greater understanding of themselves and their world (Unstead-Joss 2008: 16-17). The motivation of volunteers to learn is central to arguments that the development volunteer experience is a transformative one, especially for the volunteer (Ehrichs 2000; Watts 2002; Unstead-Joss 2008). These arguments draw on theories of critical pedagogy and liberatory education from activists such as Freire (1970) and Nyerere (1973), who stress the centrality of educational processes, community participation and forging of theory with practice in their approach to "development" (Osler 1994: 2). This approach, concerned with individual and organisational transformation and activism for political and social change, situates the poor at the centre in their struggle for "empowerment" and attempts to, "…give direction and shape the process of development at the local level" (Nuijten 1992: 201). The development objective of "empowerment" emphasises self-reliance and "capacity building" of both individuals and organisations (Crewe & Harrison 1998: 54). Capacity building here, is understood as the "power to" achieve ends (Mosse 2005b: 56).

Arguments about the activist potential of development volunteers focus on the importance of IVSAs' development education programs and their role in the "politicisation" of volunteers (Ollif 2001; Simpson 2004). At the same time they emphasise the volunteers' role in the "capacity building" of individuals and organisations in developing countries. While these models emphasise, "…listening to the local people', understanding the 'reasoning behind local people' and promoting 'alternative development strategies'", Long points out that they are interventionist models of development and despite their commitment to good intention, they tend to imply the need for, "…more powerful knowledgeable outsiders" to "shift the balance of forces towards local self-determination" (Long 2001: 88-89).

The theoretical and philosophical approach of empowerment and capacitation models of development, share the alternative position's view of the role of CSOs in the "politicisation" of individuals to undertake action for change.[72] As discussed in Chapter Two, the politically oriented perspective of the alternative position argues that a different set of values and priorities, other than capitalism, should guide the economy and development processes within it. In this view, the role of CSOs is to illuminate, "…the embedded power relationships that make development an often conflictual rather than consensual process" (Howell & Pearce 2001: 17). This perspective reflects a political objective of, "…collective struggle to challenge structural inequality" (Crewe & Harrison 1998: 54). However, it should be noted that from a neoliberal/neoconservative perspective, the emphasis is on "…individual capacity to act" (Crewe & Harrison 1998: 54).

Chapter Six begins with an analysis of Palms' philosophical and theoretical approach to development and development volunteering, and its preparation and training of volunteers. It identifies a central point of tension within Palms' approach between neoliberal conceptions of volunteering as "service provision" and alternative approaches that view it as a form of collectivist action for social change. This is followed by an interview analysis to ascertain how this tension played out in volunteers' interpretations of Palms philosophy and approach in their development practice. I argue that neoliberalism is more than an ideology played out in a set of economic policies, rather although contested by Palms staff,

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[72] As discussed in Chapter Two "politicisation" refers to the process of making individuals conscious of the broader social and political structures that cause poverty and oppression.

it has become part of Palms organisational discourse, and is a philosophy that shapes how volunteers understand their role in the field.

6.1. Situating Palms within Australia's IVSA Context

The AusAID accreditation and tender processes (discussed in Chapter Three), affected Palms in a number of ways in both the short and long term. Most significantly the particular experience of the accreditation and tender process created a new framework of economic reasoning which impacted on the organisation's view of itself and shaped future choices. Palms was unsuccessful in its tender and as a result lost 60% of its annual funding. Despite this, Palms was able to secure $120,000 of AusAID funding for the purpose of supporting volunteers still in the field to complete their placements and return home to Australia. Palms has not received AusAID funding since July 2006. The loss of a significant part of its funding base meant that the organisation was under considerable strain to secure new sources of funding.

Palms' experience of the accreditation and tender process was that it involved a high degree of human resources. For example, a new full time position to manage the increased administrative load was created. While Palms had had effective administrative management previously, the emphasis and priority of the organisation had been time spent in meetings and correspondence (telephone and fax) with partners and volunteers, building the kind of relationships the organisation viewed as necessary to support partners and volunteers in the field. The accreditation process caused some of Palms' focus on relationships to shift due to the sheer volume of paperwork involved.

Palms approached the requirements of the administrative processes in a reflective manner, using them as an opportunity to strengthen their volunteer sending program. While the organisation was not prepared to compromise its particular philosophy on volunteering to fit into AusAID's guidelines and terms of reference, a process that involved Palms adopting a more performative approach to development volunteering, it did introduce and refine important policies and mechanisms. Palms used the tender process to monitor the "most significant changes", and refine aspects of its operations including: Palms Vision and Mission; Program Goals; Volunteer Code of Conduct; Selection, Preparation and Training Procedures; Host Partner documentation; and staff roles. There were also significant developments of Country Strategies; Risk Management Policy and Procedures; organisational links for professional support of volunteers; greater emphasis on community

relations in Australia and ongoing development of host organisations; as well as adaptations to create a Quality Assessment Framework that attempted to measure both service provision, which was an AusAID requirement, and other more "collectivist action" elements of its mission. Palms also made changes to align itself with AGVP priorities initiating the development of Country Contingency Plans, and the Consortium, which was in response to the government requirement for managing a large number of volunteers. In this manner, neoliberal philosophies influenced Palms, reshaping its policy and organisation structure. These changes have led to tension within the organisation between Palms philosophy which views development volunteering as a form of collectivist action for social change and their performance-based mechanisms that reflect the neoliberal view of development volunteering as a form of service provision. These tensions are discussed in detail in the following.

6.1.1. Palms' Philosophical Approach

Palms Vision and Mission statement emphasises three outcomes of their volunteer sending program: the development of networks between individuals and communities; skill exchange; and sustainable development (Palms Australia 2009). The latter two points are viewed as interrelated because knowledge and skill exchange are understood as central to capacity building, reducing dependency and achieving sustainable development (Palms Australia 2009). Palms has built up an approach to development that is influenced by Christian social justice teachings and includes tenets of Liberation Theology. It also draws on broader development discourses, including "Sustainable Development" and "Participatory Development" practices.

Liberation Theology has had a significant impact on Palms philosophy and approach to development. Following the political and social transformation objectives of Liberationists, Palms questions the compatibility of the pursuit of commercial interest and gain, and social and ethical responsibility:

> In our globalised world, peaceful relations between people do not always come before profits or "the economy" (Palms Australia 2006a).

Palms description of the purpose of its development volunteers as "activists" also alludes to the revolutionary politics of the alternative position:

> …prophets who dream of alternative futures [to] …the destructive elements of globalisation, [and who look for]…alternatives that rebuild the positive essentials of Community, [as well as]…alternatives to poverty that will put people at the centre of human development… [Palms invites its development volunteers to] …be involved in… action to achieve alternative futures (Palms Australia 2006a).

Palms' philosophical approach to development volunteering therefore differs from the neoliberal/neoconservative position reflected in the Australian Government Volunteer Program (AGVP), which in its move towards a vocationalised "service model", has increasingly come to embrace a depoliticised view of volunteering.

6.1.2. Sustainable Development

Palms' Vision and Mission reflect a concept of "Sustainable Development" which originated in the World Conservation strategy Report (1987) and the Brundtland Report (Bruntland 1987; Palms Australia 2009). The Brundtland Report clearly links issues of environment with environmental and development education (Bruntland 1987). The need for people in both developed and developing countries to profoundly change how they engage with each other and the environment, led to the central emphasis in Sustainable Development policies to be placed on partnerships of solidarity:

> …to help define shared perceptions of long-term environmental issues and the appropriate efforts needed to deal successfully with the problems of protecting and enhancing the environment, a long-term agenda for action during the coming decades, and aspirational goals of the world community (Bruntland 1987: ix).

The recognition that people live in an interdependent world is also reflected in the Palms Mission Statement, which aims to achieve sustainable development through advancing:

> …mutually enriching and challenging relationships of understanding, acceptance and care, to the point of sharing worlds of meaning in the deepest sense, with people of a culture different from one's own (Palms Australia 2009).

With its emphasis on cross-cultural exchange, the above statement focuses on the nature and quality of relationship that Palms volunteers should endeavour to build. While Palms placement of development volunteers aims to achieve development outcomes, skill exchange is viewed by the organisation as the mechanism to initiate and build a relationship of mutual respect and reciprocal learning. Palms philosophy holds that once a "relationship" has been achieved, development will ensue. This approach contrasts with vocationalised models of volunteer sending, which place service provision at the centre of

the development model with a presumption that cross-cultural relationship building will occur.

6.1.3. Solidarity: Participation and Relationship

Palms shares Liberation Theology's emphasis on "solidarity" with the poor and their "liberation", urging its volunteers to be in "solidarity" with locals, defined as "achiev(ing) empathy with others" and "shar(ing) and pursu(ing) common objectives" (Martin 2003; Palms Australia 2006a). Palms reasons that "solidarity" is difficult to achieve and rationalises that "local wage" will engender this relationship:

> This is a significant reason for Palms participants in the field living on meagre allowances. By sacrificing material "wants" more available to "volunteers" from other agencies assists you to live in greater solidarity with the local Community. You will depend to some degree on the care of that Community and this can be a rich part of the experience (Palms Australia 2006a).

The centrality of "solidarity" in Palms' discourse is influenced by ideological notions of solidarity in the 1970s and 1980s and tied to the arguments of post- and anti-development theorists, who argued for the participation of local people in their own development (Escobar 1995). A key rationale to the participation of local people was the relevance and importance of their knowledge to the development of sustainable projects (Chambers 1983; Richards 1985; Escobar 1995). The emphasis on "participation" in these arguments, signalled the rejection of the domination of Northern knowledge and assumptions that Western science and rationality are superior to other positions, or the norm (Escobar 1995; Mohan & Stokke 2000).

6.1.4. Palms' Pedagogical Approach: Transformation and Activism

The pedagogy that Palms employs in its volunteer training program has its intellectual and political roots in the counter hegemonic approach to radical social transformation of the 1970s solidarity movements:

> Through such **Action** we will seek **Liberation**. **Liberation** from the artificial human divisions imposed by cultural rules or lies, **liberation** from structures of sin. To gain this **liberation** it can be necessary to engage in a counter-cultural struggle [bold in original] (Palms Australia 2006a).

In this understanding, participation of local people was tied to their "empowerment" or "liberation", whereby "liberation" can only be attained through the "transformation" (or "formation") of the individual.

Following these theories of critical pedagogy and liberatory education, Palms' training programs adopt a model that combines the development of critical consciousness with action and reflection. The model promotes a particular kind of learning that involves educational opportunities through experiences that make the learner uncomfortable (Bickford & Reynolds 2002: 231). The premise is that discomfort causes learning to happen as the learner is challenged. The volunteers' positive feedback on Palms training suggests that this pedagogical approach meshes with their motivation to learn about themselves and their world through the "challenge" of living in a developing country context.

Palms teaches a reflective process known as "See, Judge, Act", also referred to as "review of life". The method was developed by Joseph Cardjin (1882-1967), founder of the Young Christian Workers (YWC).[73] Originally undertaken to train laypeople for Christian political work, it was influenced by a mix of Liberation Theology and Marxist praxis (Moylan 1991).[74] Review of life is central to Palms Training, and is intended to provide development volunteers with a framework through which to interpret their experience, and shape and reflect on their own development practice.

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[73] Joseph Cardjin was the founder of the Young Christian Workers (YCW) movement in industrial towns in Belgium in the 1920s and later in 1957 the international YCW. Ideas and approaches of the YCW, such as scripture, enquiry and review of life were introduced to Palms and became firmly operative in 1966 (Paulian Association 1981)

[74] The organising method of "See, Judge, Act" uses Christian social teachings as a guide to finding Christian solutions for problems. The method, is typically undertaken in groups where individuals begin to "see" by taking turns discussing daily life experiences. "Judge" involves a group discussion of "rights" and "wrongs" relevant to the situations and experiences shared, and possible ways of responding. "Act" involves each person identifying, with the help of the group, some practical action to be taken, (the action can also be something the group decides to do or organise together in which everyone has a part to play and a responsibility). The method also involves a process of reporting back to the group, where each person reports on how they carried out the action or what the difficulties were, and receives encouragement or affirmation from the group the undertaking the "action" was challenging. Group members are encouraged to see the connection between the actions they have carried out and what it means to be a follower of Christ. This approach was similar to the manner that Communist parties trained their cadres (Young Christian Workers (YCW) 2007).

6.1.4.1. Tensions Between Activism and Service Provision

Tension lies between Palms' counter-hegemonic discourse and pedagogical approach, and the organisation of its volunteer sending program around the notion of "need" in developing countries. Palms responds to "need" in the host community, understood as the need for a volunteer with a particular skill. The organisation of development volunteer programs around the "needs" of requesting communities is problematic as it is implies that "needs" can be met by the West and that Westerners have the right to meet these "needs" (Simpson 2004). Models that prioritise "needs" reflect instrumental interpretations of the role of volunteers. "Service" is linked to improvement of development outcomes in terms of function, effectiveness and efficiency, a trend that has important implications for the widely stated goal of volunteering programs of "mutually equitable partnerships". It is significant to note however, that Palms promotes relationships of "mutual liberation". However as Roger O'Halloran conceded in a personal correspondence May 10, 2010:

> I do accept however that providing a volunteer to meet a need can create a tension in the relations we are wanting to build. That is why we emphasise Lilla Watson's words around mutual liberation. It highlights that the volunteer also has a need and the local community will help how to address that. [75]

Tension is partly due to conflict between Palms philosophical interpretation of volunteering as "activism" understood as addressing structures (Why are conditions this way?) and the organisation of its sending program around "need" as well as increasing external pressure on Palms to incorporate qualitative measurements of service provision into its volunteer sending model (for example the Quality Assessment Framework). The latter emphasis on "need" reflects a "civil service" approach understood as addressing people (How can we help these people?) which contradicts both Palms activist philosophy and emphasis on relationships of mutual exchange (Bickford & Reynolds 2002: 231).

In Chapter Two I highlighted an important dilemma in development discourse surrounding the meaning of "participation" and "empowerment", which are linked to both neoliberal/neoconservative and alternative positions on civil society. "Participation" is an elusive term which has different meanings and outcomes for both positions (Cornwall &

[75] Palms emphasises the works of Lilla Watson, an Indigenous Australian activist, academic and artist in their interpretation of the desired relationship between the volunteer and host community as one of mutual liberation: "If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together".

Brock 2005). Different meanings shape how "partnership" is interpreted by both IVSAs and their volunteers. An emphasis on "activism" views relationships as sites in a process of conflict as embedded power relationship are illuminated (Howell & Pearce 2001: 17). In contrast, an emphasis on "service" follows the neoliberal/neoconservative view, depoliticising participation, which is conceptualised as a productive asset that can be strategically mobilised for particular ends (Cleaver 2005: 893).

IVSAs which are part of the Australian Government Volunteer Program (AGVP), and which place volunteers in long-term placements, emphasise reciprocal learning for both the host partner and volunteer as pivotal in achieving development outcomes. For example, Australian Volunteers International states:

> International volunteering based on reciprocal learning through commitment, engagement and solidarity contributes to such a world. International volunteers share their knowledge, experiences and skills as they live, work and learn in response to needs expressed by local communities. Australian Volunteers International provides opportunities for Australians to become volunteers and assists them in sharing the learning from their international experiences (Australian Volunteers International 2010).

"Reciprocal learning" and "solidarity" imply equal partnerships based on mutuality. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Three, the AGVP as the human face of Australia's development aid program is conceptualised as a form of people-to people diplomacy. This view informs a key objective of the AGVP, which is to, "Foster linkages and partnerships between organisations and communities in Australia and those in developing countries" (AusAID 2004c: 1). In contrast however, as discussed earlier, while the language reflects that of "empowerment" and "participation" approaches to development, the emphasis on vocationalised volunteer programs tends to be on instrumental approaches to development whereby the volunteers' service provision (or job) is the focus (or primary purpose) and relationship building is seen as an inevitable, yet non-essential by-product of doing development.

Palms documents also have a similar emphasis on the skills and knowledge of its volunteers, describing development volunteering as the, "…opportunity and capacity for skill and knowledge transfer", a process which is an, "…integral component in the placement of Palms Australia Global Mission participants [development volunteers] within its development contexts" (Palms Australia 2006e: 3). However a key difference between the Palms model and vocational models lies in the organisation's willingness to engage volunteers in an interpretation of "partnership" that focuses on cross-cultural relationship

building. In this model, the volunteer's knowledge and skills are *not* central to their purpose in the developing country, rather they are the point from which cross-cultural engagement and exchange begins.

Palms generally falls within the "alternative position" in terms of how it philosophically conceptualises its role as a CSO, however its volunteer program is organised around "need" in developing countries, pointing to the service provision model of neoliberal/neoconservative conceptualisations of volunteering. The incorporation of a needs based focus was the result of increasing neoliberal managerialist pressures to provide concrete measurable outcomes, and to fit the dominant conception of the role of CSO as agents delivering core services on behalf of the state (Taylor & Lewis 1997; Howell & Pearce 2001). This tension between "activism" and "service provision", raises the important questions of: "How will the volunteers interpret their purpose in development?" and "How will they interpret 'relationship' in development?"

6.1.5. Palms Training

The AGVP pre-departure training and preparation programs of IVSAs vary widely in duration and content. Palms' training reflects its philosophical view that cross-cultural relationship building is the core of sustainable development outcomes – a view also central to sustainable development approaches, which require recognition of interdependence between the North and South (Moylan 1991: 83). In line with this, cross-cultural training is emphasised in the Palms volunteer sending program. Palms training aims to raise volunteers' awareness and sensitivity to observe, understand and adapt to the host culture. This approach is supported by Hofstede (1991) who argues that cross-cultural skills are central to the process of skill-exchange, as it facilitates effective interaction between "expatriates" and locals. It is also supported by Bennhold-Samaan (2004: 376) who identified in her study of Peace Corps Training that, "…failures in overseas assignments are due far more to cultural maladjustment than to technical and professional incompetence". She concluded that, "Volunteers who are cross-culturally trained and can perform their technical job feel adjusted and will remain overseas until completion of the assignment" (Bennhold-Samaan 2004: 376).

The rationale behind an emphasis on cross-cultural training has important implications for government funded IVSAs, where the overall trend has been to reduce the training component of its volunteer sending program. This raises important questions about the

implications of a limited development education for volunteers, especially in light of Simpson's study, which found that without development education the experience can lead to the over simplification of development issues, reinforcing stereotypes and assumptions about the poor (Simpson 2004). Coupled with limited cross-cultural training and an increasing focus on service provision, this trend has important implications for relationship building and partnerships between volunteers and host partners, as well as for attrition and sustainability of development projects (Bennhold-Samaan 2004).

6.1.5.1. Overview of Palms Training Program

Palms views the training of its volunteers as an ongoing process and applies cross-cultural concepts and awareness to all of its interactions with its volunteers. However, this process can be loosely broken down into four phases: self reflection, cross-cultural training and preparation in Australia, host country experience, and re-entry and support.

Unlike AGVP IVSAs, Palms does not advertise for volunteers with specific skills or knowledge to fill a particular placement. Rather, Palms employs a "self-selection process" which begins from the point of enquiry, during which the applicant can make the decision whether or not to undertake placement at any point. Palms states that the "self-selection process" is "developmental" as it, "…creates a context in which [the applicant] is encouraged to make appropriate and informed decisions as to whether he or she wants to proceed with the process or not" (Palms Australia 2006c). The process involves self-reflection activities and exercises, which are mailed to the applicant to complete (Palms Australia 2006b). The applicant is also invited to attend a "Focus Workshop", which provides the opportunity to ask questions and meet the program staff. This is followed by a "two-way interview" between the applicant and Palms staff, where both parties have the opportunity to find out about each other.[76] The activities, exercises and opportunities, along with the following stages of the process, are designed to encourage the volunteer, given all the information available, to ultimately make the decision to accept or reject a placement through Palms.

"Cross-cultural training and preparation" involves a thematically organised self-study "Preparation Program", sent to the applicant by mail. The "Preparation Program"

[76] At the time of this study, the Palms staff member interviewing applicants was a trained psychologist.

introduces volunteers to Palms development philosophy and approach (Palms Australia 2006a). It also encourages the volunteers to understand their own cultural conditioning, particularly their values and behaviour as a result of it. The process is designed to heighten cultural sensitivity and involves volunteers questioning their "commonsense", so that they become aware of diversity and are open to considering how cultural conditioning affects the behaviour and values of the host culture (Palms Australia 2006f).

Before volunteers are sent to the field, Palms runs an annual nine day live-in Pre-Departure Orientation Course, which continues to develop volunteers "cross-cultural" skills and experience and prepare them to make the transition into their new country and culture (Palms Australia 2009).[77] While the program is designed to prepare volunteers practically for living in another culture, it also builds upon the cross-cultural skills (such as heightened self and cultural awareness) developed in earlier training phases to provide volunteers with a framework for thinking about and interpreting their "cross-cultural" experience. The program was organised thematically with different focuses each day. The themes covered by Palms in both the Preparation Program and pre-Departure Orientation Course fit with Black et al.'s (1990) three dimensions of cross-cultural skills.[78] An overview of which is included at Appendix IV.

The host country experience, encourages volunteers to observe and learn the local language for the first six months of their placement. This is intended to give volunteers the space and opportunity to become attuned to the cultural nuances of the host culture and encourages volunteers to engage in a reflective process, in order to question both their own cultural assumptions as well as the local knowledge of the host community (Palms Australia 2006f). Journaling is also promoted as an important part of the reflective process (Palms Australia 2006a). Volunteers' application of the frameworks acquired during prior training phases is arguably the most important part of cross-cultural training (Hugenberg et al. 1996). Volunteers were supported by Palms staff on request, however Palms encouraged

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[77] Previously the pre-departure orientation course was held over two weeks, however Palms reduced the length of time to nine days due to demands of participants, who claimed that they could not afford such a large amount of time away from their busy daily lives as they prepared to leave. Funding constraints also played a role in this decision. It should also be noted that Palms offers the longest pre-departure and orientation among Australian IVSAs.

[78] These dimensions include: skills related to the maintenance of self such as mental health, psychological well-being, management of stress, and self-confidence; skills related to the fostering of relationships with locals; and cognitive skills that promote correct perception of the host culture etc. (See: (Black & Mendenhall 1990))

volunteers to begin the "process" of developing relationships with host partners and allow host partners to help volunteers adjust to their new cultural environment.

The final phase, "Re-entry and Support", begins six months prior to volunteers returning to Australia when volunteers are sent materials to prepare them for the experience. Once home, volunteers are debriefed by Palms staff within one week of arriving and are offered the opportunity to attend a two day re-entry workshop designed to support their transition back into life in Australia. Re-entry workshops offer opportunities for volunteers to share their experiences with other returnees as, "…traditional sources of support are baffled by a returnee's inability to just slot back in" (Palms Australia 2009). Facilitated discussions also encourage returnees to explore new understandings of development, debrief on global and local issues and better understand the new role a returnee can have at home (Palms Australia 2009). Returned volunteers are also supported through opportunities to share their experiences. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.

6.2. Volunteers' Interpretations and Expectations of their Role

As discussed in Chapter Five respondents' initial motivations to volunteer were tied to notions of work, identity and self-worth, suggesting that their motivations are linked to a sense of purpose and expectations of the particular kind of volunteer experience they anticipated Palms would facilitate. This section combines fieldwork, observations and interview analysis to explore how volunteers interpreted their purpose in development.

6.2.1. Active Agents of Change or Service Providers?

It was common for the volunteers to recall that the strongest message of the Pre-Departure Preparation and Orientation Course was Palms' philosophical approach which emphasised relationship building. Nola said:

> …the building relationships, that was one of the biggest things that they drummed into us, that you must build relationship… I could just remember them saying relationship is everything. You must build relationship. It might take you six months to build a relationship; you can't do anything until you build that relationship.

Overall the volunteers chose an interpretation of relationship building that suited them best in light of their placement, practical interests and skills. Within this understanding it was

typical of volunteers to adopt an instrumental, civil service conception of their purpose as being an "active agent of change", as Craig's response indicates:

> The volunteer's role as changing the host… like one of Palms' things is you've got to be very culturally aware and respectful of different cultures, so if we go in to develop them, you may as well say "they're gonna change, we're gonna make 'em like us" …not necessarily… if I'm aiming to develop this area, really I'm changing the way things are done.

The conception of volunteers as "active agents of change" was connected to both the organisation of volunteer sending programs around the notion of "need", and the powerful emancipatory language of social change. The emphasis on service provision implied by "need", suggests that the volunteer has the power and capacity to provide what the receiver lacks, while the emancipatory language of social change evokes images of collective acts of good. As Tiffany notes:

> …it was all of us together, going off that year, to do something. In different countries, but all with that common purpose, of achieving something of action, of doing other than thinking.

Tiffany's comment describes how a sense of collective "action" and purpose underpinned her experience of the 2006 Pre-Departure and Orientation Course, and was central to the bonding of the volunteers and the positive experience of the course. It also illustrates the powerful impact of the alternative position's collectivist approach and language. The intense feeling of being part of collective action for change instilled by the program, meshed with volunteers' "Social" motivation to do development volunteering, which was to meet like minded people and be engaged in an activity viewed favourable by significant and important others (Unstead-Joss 2005).

It was typical initially for volunteers to view their role through the lens of "civil service" or "service provision". Through this lens, for some volunteers, Palms' process of "See, Judge, Act" was a functional and practical approach to identifying "need", interpreted as "services the volunteer could provide". Paul thought:

> …their [Palms] philosophy for development is in many ways very general, because they talk about - you go somewhere, you stay for six months, you don't change anything, you don't attempt to change anything, you try and orientate yourself to what their situation is before you start to move onto change… You're trying to find out what the need is. What kind of things you can offer to supply to support the need and you go on from there…

The Palms process is understood by Paul as being sensitive to and sensitising locals to change – a process which involves teaching locals to reproduce development rationalities and discourses (Rossi 2006: 27-28).

When the volunteers adopted an interpretation of their purpose as service providers, local knowledge and practice was assumed inferior. This view which implies that the volunteers have knowledge to give, also holds the implicit assumption that locals are ignorant (Crewe & Harrison 1998: 165; Simpson 2004). Such notions underpin narratives of "developed" and "undeveloped", and were expressed by Paul when asked about his role as a volunteer:

> And if you want to change something, people have got to understand that the change is for the good, and it's for safety, or advancement. It's to help the people to gain a higher level of learning, if you like.

Narratives of "developed" and "undeveloped" create, "…discursive divisions, boundaries, 'interfaces' and morally coloured identities" whereby volunteers viewed locals as, "…belonging to different material, social and epistemological worlds" (Rossi 2006: 41). This perception allowed volunteers to justify the authoritative roles they adopted in relationships with locals. For example, volunteers' belief that they had something to teach locals led to the tendency to adopt an attitude of authority. As James noted:

> Development to me is basically geared totally by relationships and trying to get the relationships as pure as you possibly can through accountability, through just clarity, through anything you can that pushes their buttons and they know that they're safe, that they can make mistakes, and that it's not gonna matter if they do, at the same time they've gotta learn from them, so just providing that whole kind of environment where they're there ready to kind of grow from…

In imparting technical skills and knowledge, volunteers tended to take on the role of "leader" and expressed a desire for control in relationships with locals. This was also possibly fed by volunteers being placed in positions of authority in local communities by Palms and host partners, a practice that served to replicate donor recipient hierarchies and the processes of power that shaped relationships within them.

6.2.2. The "Work" of Service Provision

As discussed in Chapter Five, the participants in the study were motivated to volunteer in a developing country context because they believed that their actions would be more effective than in Australia. In this conception, volunteers linked their purpose to filling a perceived "lack" or "need" in the developing country. Volunteers described a personal

sense of empowerment and value as they believed that they had the capacity to fill such "need". Susan felt:

> I think it's more the fact that you feel valued and that you feel like you're doing something in the world and you've found your particular niche in the world...

Tying together volunteers' value of themselves and their service provision posed important dilemmas, particularly when the host community tended to be compared to Australia. Such a comparison is problematic and raises important questions regarding the volunteers' vision of what is "good", "achievable" or even "appropriate" in terms of service provision in the place that they are in.[79] Expectations about what would and could be achieved were shaped in the Australian context and were hinged upon culturally specific understandings of "work". However, Susan thought it was typical that these expectations were adjusted once in placement:

> But certainly when you leave here [Australia] you think you're going to do this role. But you're also looking at it from your knowledge here [Australia]. So you put those sort of conditions or experiences, that's in your mind and when you get there [placement] it's all different. You go through a fairly big adjustment… 'Cause you do go with an idea in your mind of what you're going to do and what you're going to be expected to do, but you're not thinking about it from there [placement], you're thinking about it from here [Australia], with what you know here [Australia]. So I guess in a way it's a bit of a shock. You've got to work through that. And that's part of living in a different culture I guess.

Tensions experienced around purpose reflect Western cultural conceptions of work, and raise important issues for vocationalised models of volunteering, given that a significant part of volunteers' adjustment involved the realisation that the skills that were "needed" were not necessarily relevant to the requirements of the placement. As the following Case Studies illustrate, this situation conflicted with volunteers' sense of purpose and self worth.

The volunteers viewed development volunteering as more nuanced and sensitive to the local culture than the work of professional development practitioners, as Craig tells:

> …I think if I was a paid employee… I would be a bit more gung-ho, and probably not have anyone working for here anymore. I think I would… if I came in from a Western perspective of this is now a job is done, I think you would be a bit too driven and motivated and want to do things the way they're done at home. Whereas being a Palms volunteer, there hasn't been any pressure, they say, "Don't do anything for six months."

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[79] It should be noted that Cherie, who had worked as a development volunteer elsewhere, was acutely aware of this dilemma. In fact this was a central point of tension between her and the International Development Agency that oversaw her position.

> Well I love that philosophy, I mean, you do stuff, but at least you don't feel that… you don't make changes and you don't go and stuff things up.

Craig's comments point to salary and pressure as being the key difference between development volunteering and working as a development practitioner. He links these points with attitude to work. This theme was also identified in Watts' study. Watts argues that "money", or lack of it, sets volunteers apart from other development practitioners (2002: 61). In Watt's study, respondents said that they felt that they were better able to integrate into the community than highly paid expatriates whose wealth set them apart from the locals. Watts' respondents also suggested that integration, in turn, enabled them to empathise with locals better than highly paid expatriates, however, Watt's rightly points out that, "Empathy requires more than just a low salary…" (2002: 61). The reality of this expectation is discussed further in Chapter Seven.

In Chapter Five it was noted that people were motivated to volunteer partly because they believed that development volunteering would give them the opportunity to learn without the pressure of doing a "job" in the Western sense, which is focused on individual effort and money to acquire material goods (Welch 2007). Craig's comments (above) also raise important questions for vocational models of development volunteering which are increasingly orientated around Western approaches to work and assignments.

6.2.3. Volunteers' "Purpose" in the Developing Country

Position Descriptions for volunteer postings were written by host partners and approved by Palms Country Program Coordinators after a dialogue involving a field visit and ongoing consultation and correspondence via e-mail, fax and telephone in Australia. The volunteers usually received their Position Description and Conditions-of-Service booklet once the host partner, development volunteer and Palms had all agreed upon the details of the Position Description and conditions of service. However, once the volunteers were in the field, they found that their Position Description did not always match local realities and expectations. The common experience among volunteers was that this was unexpected after the process of dialogue regarding placement that all parties had been involved in prior to departure.

6.2.3.1. Case Study One: Tiffany

In the following case study, Tiffany's Position Descriptions did not match the reality of the placement. Her Position Description included a "Conditions of Service" document that stated that she would work alongside a counterpart[80] and, "…teach also local nuns in the community and local teachers who also teach at the school". Tiffany's placement documentation also included a "Trainee/Counterpart Profile" described as follows: "The sisters are in their post novitiate, first experience of work. The trained teachers have been working at the school for 2-3 years". In a document titled "Position Description – Skill Transfer" it was stated under the section titled, "What has been done to localise this position?": "Two Salesian Sisters are studying English in Indonesia and will be finished in 2-3 years time". However, there was not a local counterpart when Tiffany arrived in placement in 2006, and no counterpart had arrived in October 2007 when the fieldwork was undertaken. The disparity between the expectation and reality of the placement led Tiffany to question the development value of her placement:

> But, all up, like I've said, that's at least five years of volunteers in the area. And at the moment there isn't… I'm not training anybody I'm just doing a job. And there isn't, the school isn't interested in getting another volunteer. So I don't see that it's… that the progress that I've made will go with me. I'll try to leave as much of it behind as I can, in terms of notes. But in terms of passing on skills, there is very little of that happening here…

Tiffany had built expectations about her purpose based on what she understood to be the Palms philosophy of sustainable development process and skills transfer. Tiffany questioned the manner in which her partner organisation valued development volunteers because she did not view her role as meeting the requirements of a project geared towards the sustainable development model of Palms philosophical approach, rather she saw aspects of her placement as merely service provision, and geared towards a dependency model:

> …the school principal, or my boss, that was the main person I dealt with, perhaps they didn't have a lot of thought into the role, and a lot of where it was going, so, coming from the previous me being just another volunteer in a line of volunteers, I was very negative, or very disheartened by the sustainability of my role.

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[80] "Counterpart" refers to a model of volunteering which typically involves a volunteer and local person working alongside each other collaboratively exchanging skills and expertise.

In addition to Tiffany's expectations of her host partner's role in identifying a "need" for the development volunteer to fill, Tiffany also expected support from her host partner. For Tiffany, partner support was an important part of reciprocity and mutuality she understood the "counter-part model" to build:

> …when I first got here, there was very little communication… I had very little guidelines… and no language, so at least if I'd had someone here who was already, a part of the school, or knew a bit about it, then they could have helped me or trained me in the way things are done, and then I could have trained them in English methodology, so there would have been that transfer of skills.

Tiffany's experience was typical of the experiences of the volunteers in Rehnstrom's (2000) study of United Nations volunteers in Nepal in that a number of volunteers identified the availability of co-workers and management and supervision of volunteers as problematic (2000: 78). While Rehnstrom suggests that this issue is due to lack of teaching or training on the part of the volunteers, I contend that this issue points to tensions between understandings of the purpose of development volunteers as service providers, or as people engaged in more meaningful relationship building for sustainable development. It also highlights different conceptualisations of partnership within the host partner/volunteer relationship. The local partner viewed Tiffany's purpose as tied to a service provision role, that of teaching English to students, a focus that constrained Tiffany's engagement with local staff and left her feeling isolated and disconnected from them. In contrast, Tiffany saw her purpose as that of building the English language and English language teaching capacity of local teaching staff, while at the same time engaging with students. In her conception, she was a staff member working towards a common goal, rather than an outsider performing a stop-gap function.

6.2.3.2. Case Study Two: Michelle and Craig

Case Study Two focuses on the implications of an emphasis on service provision as the purpose of development volunteering. Like Tiffany, Michelle and Craig also found that their Position Description did not match their relative professional skill sets or knowledge. Michelle conceded that she was prepared for this to a degree, as finding positions that suited both husband and wife was logistically challenging:

> I understood that it would be very difficult to match myself and my husband both perfectly into a job, so I embraced the job regardless of these reservations because I was, I felt that one of us was perhaps not going to be working in an area that was their expertise,

> so it might as well be me and if I said no to this one, well, then the next one, [Craig] might be in the same boat…

However, despite accepting the difficulty of matching suitable placements for spouses, Michelle expressed concern that the host partner had put little thought into her Position Description when she found that her role description was a copy of her husband's, despite the host partner's awareness of her very different skills and expertise. For Michelle, like Tiffany, this experience caused her to question the placement process:

> Also I feel a slight amount of, a lack of respect for, not… I don't know, even though the job description is quite blatantly, it's a cut and paste of [Craig's], it's virtually nothing that's different to it… and these job descriptions I feel were certainly written after I'd already sort of said yes, so it wouldn't be hard to re-tailor that job description.

Michelle's comment illustrates the view held by volunteers that it was the host partner's responsibility to tailor an appropriate Position Description to her skill set. Significantly, Michelle later found she was over-skilled for local conditions. Craig found that his professional skills and knowledge would have been better utilised in the local hospital and not in Community Based Rehabilitation, a field in which he had little knowledge or experience prior to volunteering. That the host partner didn't tailor an appropriate Position Description to Michelle's skill set led her to question the value that the host partner placed on volunteers generally:

> So I guess it's not the nitty gritty about that, it's more the overall opinion that knowing what our background was, and knowing that was written for… the job description was sort of… got to me well and truly after I accepted the position, like it was a little bit disrespectful from, not Palms, but from [Partner Organisation] that they still wrote this blatantly knowing that I didn't fulfil any of this criteria.

Palms emphasised both in preparation materials and at the orientation, that once the volunteer entered the host country, "…the 'primary relationship' is with the receiving community [host partner]" (Palms Australia 2006d: 9). Prior to this, responsibility for negotiating the Position Description and determining the fit, lay with the Country Coordinator:

> S/he [Country Program Coordinator] collaborates with the participant to determine a placement assignment that provides the best fit for experience, qualifications, requirements of the participant and the needs and requirements of the partner [host partner] (Palms Australia 2004: 7).

It is significant to note that Michelle did not consider Palms to be at fault, despite her awareness of the collaborative process that Palms undertakes with host partners to identify

and develop appropriate placements for development volunteers and host partners. Rather, Michelle laid blame on the host, even though she had communicated her concerns about her Position Description to Palms prior to her departure, she said there was:

> …a little bit of ambiguity for me in understanding exactly what my role was and I believe that I did make that very clear to Palms…

Once in placement, Michelle attempted to clarify her Position Description. Her approach was in line with Palms guidelines which recommend that development volunteers, "…work through any issues which cause conflict in the workplace" with the host partner, only asking Palms to intervene, "…if the relationship with the receiving community [host partner] breaks down" (Palms Australia 2006d: 9). However, when she attempted to work through her placement issues she found that establishing a relationship was a challenge:

> It's been frustrating at times, it can be really isolating where we are. Not isolated from people or the community, but isolated from maybe the organisation.

Isolation and ill-matched Position Descriptions left Michelle and Craig wondering about their purpose. Michelle and Craig attributed tension in the relationship between the development volunteers and the host partner, to the broad mission and organic structure of their host organisation which had offices nation-wide, employing hundreds of locals and volunteers. The director's broad range of responsibilities meant that he did not regularly communicate with development volunteers. The host organisation hosted development volunteers from a number of organisations and from a range of countries including the UK and Holland, as well as managing five of the Palms development volunteers in this study. The director of the organisation was responsible for managing the whole organisation right down to the development volunteers, and clearly this was too much work for one person.

6.2.3.3. Case Study Three: Grant and Lisa

Palms also supports development volunteers who identify their own partner organisations and find their own placements. Palms provides preparation and training and in some cases helps volunteers negotiate their placement. The following case study of Grant and Lisa's experience, highlights some of their placement issues. Married couple Grant and Lisa made the decision to volunteer after visiting Grant's sister, a nun working in Papua New Guinea. After observing the lives of the local people and Grant's sister's work with them, Grant and Lisa said they began to think about development volunteering and questioned Grant's sister about the possibility. Grant's sister introduced the couple to the local Bishop

who talked about local development issues with the couple and suggested that if the couple wished to volunteer, that they should go with an organisation and recommended Palms because of its long history in the area and for practical means such as obtaining work permits.

Initially, having visited their placement and met with their partner, both Grant and Lisa said they could not see the relevance of Palms preparation and orientation to themselves and weren't happy about going because it was too long:

> …they started talking about orientation courses and all this sort of thing and we thought, hang on, we've been there, we know what it's like. We've been there a whole three weeks (laughs)… we know what the place is like, we know people there, we know we'll have support and all this sort of thing…

However, despite the prior experience of her placement and earlier discussion with the host partner about her Position Description, the couple found that they had similar concerns regarding their purpose in a developing country highlighted by Palms development volunteers. As discussed in Case Studies One and Two, ill-suited or inappropriate Position Descriptions, and communication and relationship building with host partners, were common dillemmas for the development volunteers.

One typical response to the uncertainty volunteers faced was to write their own Position Descriptions and develop their own projects once they were in placement. Lisa explained:

> It was very hard to know what their expectations of me were. So therefore it was very hard for me to… I really had to discover my own way of fitting and in and what I could do, because, they didn't really seem to know why I was coming. A little bit like that, and so there was no understanding of what I was going to do… So… it was a matter of going into the dark… 'cause I wasn't quite sure what was expected of me. So therefore I didn't know how to meet it. It was very uncomfortable for me, because you are only guessing at what they expect.

While Lisa commented that the issue of host partner support in placement was not relevant to either herself or Grant, she did value the emphasis on cross-cultural skills in Palms Training:

> We thought… that we did actually have very good support, with Grant's sister, well, we saw her every few months, Bishop and that were incredibly supportive of us, and we could see that it could be very much more difficult for maybe a single person, or someone that didn't have that support that we were getting. It was actually very valuable to having a good start.

In Lisa's view, the biggest challenges faced by development volunteers were related to the challenges of living cross-culturally. She saw the cross-cultural preparation given to volunteers by Palms, as well as their ongoing support in the field was extremely valuable:

> So where we thought we'd had all these advantages, in some ways we didn't have an advantage. If we'd known nothing and just knew what they'd told us we probably would have been okay.

While Position Descriptions provided a framework from which volunteers could hang their sense of purpose for being in a developing country, cross-cultural training was pivotal to volunteers working with locals to review assumptions about the importance and relevance of the knowledge and skills gained in a Western context.

6.3. Conclusion

Building on the link between volunteers' motivations and how they conceptualised development, this chapter has explored the relationship between Palms and its development volunteers. Through an analysis of Palms philosophy and approach to development volunteering, I identified that a central tension lies between Palms counter-hegemonic discourse and approach, which focuses on activism and politicisation of the volunteer, and the organisation of its volunteer sending program around "need" which is concerned with service provision. This illustrates that as Palms operates in a neoliberal environment, the organisation faces increasing pressure to adopt neoliberal philosophies and managerial mechanisms. In so doing, there is increasing conflict and tension between Palms collectivist and egalitarian ideologies of volunteering and those of neoliberalism that approach development volunteering as a form of service provision. The convergence of the two positions created tensions for both Palms and its volunteers in the field. Volunteers' tendency to adopt a service provision approach to development volunteering, despite Palms extensive training program which provided a philosophical framework for their purpose, suggests that neoliberalism has gained currency in shaping how people understand their world and their place in it. However, it is significant to note that Palms volunteers consciously prioritised relationship building, especially when their Position Description was unclear and they were unable to find a function for themselves as service providers. This suggests that the framework that Palms' training and philosophy offers volunteers a more nuanced understanding of the role of volunteers in the development context than more instrumental models that emphasise service provision.

When volunteers adopted a service provision interpretation of development volunteering, they viewed locals as belonging to different material, social and epistemological worlds. This interpretation when framed in terms of developed and undeveloped and "need" in the developing country contributed to volunteers' conceptualisations of themselves as "skilled experts" and justified volunteers' authoritative attitudes towards local people and control in relationships. Volunteers also described experiencing a sense of personal empowerment.

Case Studies One and Two illustrated that the common experience of development volunteers was that the initial experience of placement was disorientating. Much of this disorientation related to the match between expectations of their purpose and the reality of life in the field. Understanding their purpose was a highly contextual experience and one that could not easily be gained prior to arrival. Tensions between understandings of the purpose of development volunteers as service providers or as people engaged in more meaningful relationship building for sustainable development, as well as different conceptualisations of partnership within the host partner/volunteer relationship, also contributed to development volunteers' initial disorientation, as did disparity between the stated sustainability model, i.e. counterpart, and the actual placement, and ill matched or ill suited Position Descriptions. As volunteers were motivated by the desire to be helpful, and held expectations that they would have something to offer and be of value to the host community, the disjuncture between expectations and experience created a sense of unease. This will be discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Case Study Three highlighted the important role that Palms played in preparing volunteers, as well as the importance of partner support in helping the volunteers to integrate into the host community. It illustrated the relevance of cross-cultural training in working with locals as it encouraged volunteers to review assumptions about the importance and relevance of the knowledge and skills gained in a Western context, as well as their ability to meet local "needs". The case study also points to the advantages and limitations that prior knowledge of the placement and partners, accrue to development volunteers.

Chapter Seven explores the experiences of the volunteers in the field, focusing on some of the dilemmas and tensions they encountered as they worked alongside local people. Close consideration is paid to the process of relationship building and partnership between volunteers and locals within the development context.

Chapter 7.

WHOSE PARTNERSHIP IS IT?

Unpacking "Mutually Equitable Partnership"

> I'm conscious with the human relationship side of things, 'cause that's one of the things I've found hard… as I've said, you don't, I don't feel that we can make friends in the traditional sense of what I would call a friend at home, because you kind of have these two faces… (Craig)

Chapter Seven focuses on the experiences of the volunteers in the field. Development volunteering is conceptualised as a form of development intervention is an ongoing transformational process in which different actor interests and struggles play out (Long 1992: 9; Rossi 2006: 175). I unpack key expectations surrounding relationships and partnership building identified in Chapter Six. This chapter also explores some of the dilemmas and tensions the volunteers experienced as they strived to forge mutually equitable partnerships with locals. Issues of power are identified as central to this relational dynamic and are explored through Case Studies.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section critically analyses the volunteers' "positionality" within the development context. I identify the social hierarchies volunteers enter into as they take up their placements. The second section unpacks the dilemmas and tensions of the volunteers' experience as they become self-consciously aware of their position, and institutionalised roles, within the development hierarchy. In the third section I focus on the way in which locals and the volunteers interpreted relationship and the development process and consider how interpretations of role operated to structure partnerships within the workplace. I conclude that within development aid there is a consensus about how partnerships are played out between Westerners and people in developing countries. Westerners hold the conception of themselves as the delivers of aid to the needy, and those in developing countries view aid and those who deliver it, as a resource to be tapped, or an opportunity. Aid is understood as a passive strategy to gain resources within a partnership arrangement which is accepted by both parties.

7.1. Entering and Negotiating New Social Hierarchies

In Chapter Two I argued that aid is underpinned by notions of developed and underdeveloped, whereby developed assumes progress, expansion and growth along the lines of the experience of the West. In this paradigm, it follows that the West has

something to teach developing countries (Cowan & Shenton 1996; Rist 1997; Peet 1999). As discussed in Chapter Six, these assumptions play out in volunteer sending programs. I illustrated how Palms' volunteer sending program, despite its emphasis on mutual exchange was organised around "need", and that volunteers were placed according to a match between their expertise and perceptions of "need" in the developing country. I identified that instrumental service orientated interpretations of the role of volunteers, contributed to conceptualisations of themselves as "skilled experts" with a greater capacity to improve development outcomes in the developing country than locals. This finding is significant in light of Rehnstrom's study of United Nations volunteers in Nepal which established that almost half of the locals surveyed felt volunteers did a job that someone else locally could have done, implying that the work of volunteers, "…may in many cases not have been indispensible" (2000: 75).

The view of the volunteer as having the "greater capacity", is underpinned by an assumption that development volunteers have something to teach local people and that there simply are no locals with the skills in the country (Simpson 2004). While this may be true in countries such as Timor Leste, which has experienced population and infrastructure loss due to ongoing conflict, by exploring relationships between volunteers and locals, I will illustrate that the reality of "need" is more complex than the dichotomies of have/have not, and powerful/powerless (Rowlands 1998).

The overview of participants in Chapter Four identified the volunteers as mostly middle-class Australians who had been placed in Timor-Leste and Papua New Guinea. Both countries have colonial histories of economic exploitation, which has continued within the market structure of global capitalism. These countries also share a history of engagement with Australia through aid. As discussed in Chapter Two, historical relations between the West and developing countries indicate that roles and relations have been historically shaped and institutionalised, however the context in which the history and symbols of unequal power relations play out between locals and volunteers is complex (Long 1992; Adams & Megaw 1997). Political and economic structures, as well as shared symbolic meanings, provide the framework within which these actors operate and these structures are constraining, yet there are choices within these constraints that enable individual actors to manoeuvre (Crewe & Harrison 1998: 156). This is a process where individuals unconsciously appropriate roles through socialisation in specific socio-cultural development contexts, with individual actors constructing different significances to

development processes and interactions (Long 1992; Rossi 2006: 29). As volunteers and locals interact, development meanings are produced and negotiated in practice, and perceptions of "need" agreed upon.

Using the framework of relationship building and "partnership", I give further consideration to the broader dynamics of power in the development process, the different interests and struggles of volunteers and locals within this process, and how these are negotiated and jointly created during volunteers' placements (Long 1992: 9). The following case studies are concerned with the complexity of development context. They focus on the volunteers' experience of entering new social hierarchies in order to elucidate how volunteers negotiated and appropriated historically shaped and institutionalised roles and relations of power to build relationships with locals and negotiate "need" (Adams & Megaw 1997: 219).

The following case study explores the tensions and dilemmas volunteers experienced in the development context in Timor-Leste. It identifies that complex, historically shaped social hierarchies are institutionalised through development policy, and highlights how these relations shape locals' perceptions of Western volunteers as they negotiate their purpose in the field.

7.1.1. Case Study 4: Institutionalised Privilege in Timor Leste

Development volunteers were perceived by local people as wealthy, even though their stipend was considerably less than professional aid workers. As Cherie noted:

> The Timorese people will still perceive you as foreign and you've got this money, you have money so you, you know, they can't understand why you wouldn't have. When you suddenly actually don't have any money they don't, they don't believe that.

Locals' inability to differentiate between volunteers and foreign aid workers is all the more significant in light of Renhstrom's finding that locals' perceptions of the performance of "international experts" and UN volunteers was comparable, particularly as volunteers receive significantly less financial remuneration than "professional" foreign aid workers (2000: 75).

Cherie linked locals' belief that all foreigners are rich to their experience of foreign aid and foreign aid workers in Timor Leste, whose presence as Brunnstrom (2003) argued created a

bubble economy which distorted the focus of local economic activity towards servicing foreigners:

> Timor has been exposed to a lot of very rich people coming in… particularly the UN. Like the salary and benefits and stuff with the UN are exorbitant. And in the last six years they've had a huge UN… they've only ever really had a down time for three months or something before its all big again. These huge ships with… these huge cars coming into the docks and everyone's driving around in them and the bars are opening again and the prostitutes are coming again and that's what comes with foreigners for them…

Development agencies and their practitioners are political actors in the development context with authority rooted in their ability to access resources (Eyben 2005: 26). Locals' relationships with the aid industry colours their perceptions of aid and in turn shapes expectations of development volunteers. For Cherie:

> I think that most Timorese people feel very hard done by the fact that the disparity is just in your face every day, and every Timorese person who works is working alongside a foreigner who's making probably one hundred times as much as them…

Ironically, a policy aimed at localising development serves to maintain an economic based hierarchy, as local wage rates for locals and the global market rates for foreigners situate locals as somehow worth less or needing less than their foreign colleagues, despite locals often having broader and more relevant skill sets than their foreign colleagues. This serves to perpetuate entrenched ideas and principles upon which the notion of development was founded, such as the assumption that particular countries and regions are less or more developed than others (Crewe & Harrison 1998: 15) and propagates notions of "aid givers" and "aid recipients" because the basis of financial remuneration is constructed around divisions in social groups (Rossi 2006: 29). Cherie described how bias towards local employees is expressed in broader development policy:

> And we've now recruited a National Manager, 'cause you know it's all about commitment to localisation, but she will get paid as a national staff person even though she's got a degree from Australia, and she's been picked for this job because she's really half national, half Western.

Within this hierarchy we see locals with a Western education experiencing some increase in status but they still occupy a position below that of a "foreigner". The entrenched principles and ideas upon which development has been constructed as asymmetrical hierarchies have important implications for relationships between locals and volunteers (Rossi 2006: 29). Volunteers enter into these hierarchies which shape the position(s) they

consciously or unconsciously adopt, as well as their relationships with local people, whose position and choices are also shaped within hierarchies created by aid.

7.1.2. Case Study 5: Expatriate Hierarchies: Would the real volunteer please stand up!

Local wages and stipends contributed to hierarchies within the expatriate communities in the developing country context of which volunteers were actors. Varying stipends, differing living and working conditions, different IVSA policy between sending countries and within sending countries, gave some volunteers status within the expatriate community while others experienced greater social opportunity and flexibility. Those volunteers who received the lowest financial support were at the bottom of a social hierarchy based on income. Tiffany described it thus:

> There's different levels of volunteering in East Timor. You've got AVI who are on three or four times as much as Palms… As much as I'd like to have more money, I think that I've got more money than I need and I'm on a similar local wage, so in that sense, you're not quite part of the foreigner scene, and you're not part of the local scene, but you're a little bit closer to the local scene than the foreigner scene 'cause you can't afford to go to restaurants or wherever and, indulge in alcohol and phone cards as much as you like…

Amongst Australian IVSAs the amount and form of financial support varied considerably. For example, Palms volunteers were required to fundraise to cover the cost of their placements. This included, airfares, salary or stipend, passports and visas. They did not receive special allowances such as settling-in allowance, a resettlement allowance, language allowance or assignment support. Costs incurred during settling in and resettlement, such as excess baggage, were covered by each volunteer as a personal expense. A Palms volunteer's stipend was not calculated in terms of "modest local lifestyle" but rather local wage – that is, if the volunteer was to work as a teacher, then they would receive a local teacher's salary. In contrast, volunteers participating in Australian Government Volunteer Programs (AGVP) were not required to fundraise to support their position. Volunteers received financial support in the form of airfares, in-country living allowance or stipend, a settling-in allowance and a resettlement allowance.

The way that financial support was administered differed between organisations. For example, AVI only provided a "settling-in allowance" if an assignment was over six months. This allowance was to contribute towards the cost of passports, excess baggage, initial food, household items and any other costs incurred during departure (Australian

Volunteers International 2007). VIDA, in contrast, while also offering a "settling-in allowance" required the volunteer to cover visa fees or excess baggage fees. Other differences also included financial support for a language acquisition program and an assignment support allowance both offered by VIDA, with the former a negotiable option with AVI and the latter not an option for AVI volunteers and negotiable for VIDA volunteers. In addition, the Australian Government Volunteer Programs stated on their website that stipends are calculated on the cost of living in a particular country, to provide the volunteer with a "modest" local lifestyle (Australian Volunteers International 2009; VIDA 2009). However, the AVI, VIDA and AYAD sites state that financial support is calculated on the average cost of living "for a volunteer" in each country, suggesting that the cost of living for a volunteer does not necessarily correlate to local wage (AYAD; Australian Volunteers International 2007; VIDA 2009). Furthermore, as noted above, the reality was that financial support, even within AGVPs, varied from organisation to organisation.

Money (local/wage stipend) is central to social interaction within the expatriate community. In this manner, a multifaceted hierarchy developed among development volunteers from different IVSAs. On the one hand, the greater the financial sacrifice made by the volunteer, the more "authentic" they were perceived to be; on the other hand, the higher the stipend the more integrated the volunteer was able to be in expatriate networks. Location of volunteer placements also played a role in volunteers' ability to access expatriate networks. Palms volunteers tended to be located in more remote placements with limited access to expatriate communities.

While variations in stipends created a hierarchy amongst volunteers in terms of their ability to participate in expatriate social networks, stipends were also related to ideas among development volunteers of most "authentic" experience and notions of an "authentic volunteer". The notion of an "authentic" volunteer was associated sacrifice, particularly personal and financial sacrifice. As Paul commented, the greater the financial sacrifice the more authentic the volunteer:

> Many people would do things as volunteers, and many people have said they want to do things as volunteers, but they don't do it because they find themselves in this modern world as being tied to a mortgage, and tied to the necessity of earning money and so on. And that's why… I look upon them [other Palms volunteers] as genuine volunteers because they were a married couple who came over, they were getting their hundred a week each from Palms as a living allowance and they had somewhere to live, but that's what they were living on, apart from what their family were giving them for support.

The reality was that the majority of volunteers chose to subsidise their stipend and this was the case with the volunteers in this study. While there are good reasons given for this, it somewhat challenges Palms claims that their volunteers, being paid local wage, are better able to empathise with, and connect to locals (Watts 2002). The claim is further muddied by locals' perceptions that foreigners have access to resources, and their difficulty in distinguishing between paid development workers and volunteers. Significantly, Cherie chose to supplement her stipend, and in so doing, didn't consider herself a "proper" volunteer:

> …I didn't basically stick to it [local wage] I got, financial support from elsewhere as well so, and, and my theory was just like I want to do this long-term but I'm not, I'm… So I'm not even a proper volunteer in terms of salary and stuff… I've never discussed [it] with Palms much… but its [my salary] similar to the level of a UN volunteer. So it's you know, not the salary I'd be making here…

Cherie used her Western status to rationalise her privileged decision to supplement her local wage and her comment suggests that local people need less than their Western counterparts:

> …I don't think you should flaunt wealth in their face and… I'm not wealthy really, like other people are here anyway, but… I think that living at that completely, completely poor level is not sustainable for may Westerners for a really long time. And it's just that I'm really social like, I've got lots of friends who are not Timorese who will go, who want to go to restaurants and have money to do it and I don't wanna sit at home and go without stuff like that…

Development volunteers living on a low stipend, while outside of the "professional development industry" norm are still impacted by it and operate within the political and economic structures of that particular development context (Rossi 2006: 156). As discussed earlier, these structures are formed around different social groups, and within the groups of "aid giver" there are also complex hierarchies in which different actors operate. Volunteers easily fall into the social group of "aid giver" and as such have a sense of entitlement to the privileges that are enjoyed by Westerners in the development context and a reluctance to give up or challenge their positions of privilege.

7.1.3. Case Study 6: Gender and Security in Papua New Guinea

In Papua New Guinea the volunteers found that they could not live in local villages due to local poverty and crime as rates because they were perceived as wealthy. For all of the volunteers in Papua New Guinea security concerns contributed to the creation of barriers,

some of which were physical, between volunteers and locals, and volunteers found that this arrangement added to the challenges of building relationships of solidarity with locals.

Males and females experienced different challenges in the workplace due to their gender; this was particularly the case in Papua New Guinea where security played a significant role in volunteers' mobility, and cultural gender norms shaped how volunteers were perceived by locals. Possible security risk was an issue mentioned by all host partners on their request forms, however only volunteers in Papua New Guinea discussed security in relation to their autonomy and ability to undertake their role. The following case study illustrates how cultural expectations of gender created boundaries to relationships between locals and the volunteers. It explores the experience of Michelle and Craig to highlight the different way that locals approach male and female volunteers and the different concerns that arise for the different genders.

Michelle and Craig's remote and isolated placement along with the location's history of volunteer placements, made them security conscious to the point of comment by other volunteers. The placement had a history which included the rape of a local volunteer and a foreign volunteer, and anecdotally there had been exploitation of local women by a volunteer. In this context, Michelle anticipated that the history and location of the placement held gender security implications for her so she redefined and restructured her role accordingly:

> …the job as I redefined it is one that I can't operate separately with, being in the environment that I am in, it's not appropriate for me to be going around by myself, so everywhere I go is with [Craig], so in a sense the two of us are doing a combined job that requires us to shadow each other, I don't go anywhere he doesn't go…

Cultural expectations of gender placed constraints on how Michelle operated within their role, however Michelle found herself constrained, Craig found that he experienced power, status and authority that he was unused to in the Australian workplace:

> …unfortunately when you come to the Highlands as the male, you're the "go-to" man for absolutely everything. But, which I find frustrating, because, it just doubles up the workload 'cause people come to me, I go to Michelle, Michelle generally guides me in the right direction, then I have to go back. They can't just talk to… if they're talking to the two of us, it still needs to come through my mouth piece. So [Michelle] will say something 'til she's blue in the face, but until I say it myself, then it's just not heard.

Craig described the dilemma that gender raised for him:

> I'm quite conscious of the fact that things are very much easier for me here than they are for [Michelle], in terms of, I feel important, people come to me and you're the man to talk to and they give you all this adulation and… generally make you feel wanted and welcome, and you know, so that's good because you have commanded a degree of respect that you wouldn't necessarily get in your job back in Australia. But I also… I'm not comfortable in that role, or I'm not comfortable with being given that sort of position in society which I don't feel that I've earned.

As the volunteers entered their placement and new social hierarchies male volunteers in particular they were awarded power, status and privilege not experienced in Australia. Volunteers were self-consciously aware of their status and privilege and experienced tension; at times they accepted and utilised it, while at other times they felt their status was undeserved.

7.2. Authority, Status and the Dilemma of Privilege in Relationship-Building

The "class shift", experienced by volunteers posed dilemmas as they sought to build relationships with local people (Adams & Megaw 1997: 219). Palms volunteers found that despite living on a local wage and living and working alongside locals, they were not automatically "equal" to locals as they were placed within respected organisations and organisations of authority which contributed to their status but created "barriers" between locals and volunteers. As Palms is an organisation affiliated with the Catholic Church, its volunteers were attached to Catholic organisations. For example, in Timor-Leste they were attached to Parishes and in Papua New Guinea seven out of eight volunteers were placed in an established Catholic organisation working with people with disabilities. In both Papua New Guinea and Timor Leste, the Church is highly regarded and association with the Catholic Church lent volunteers respect and gave them a degree of authority, which the volunteers viewed positively.[81] Paul felt:

> …I think that Palms attaching people to parishes has quite a reasonable level of importance, it supplies a level of integrity that exists in the eyes of other people. If they think you're just here working for some obscure organisation… "They're the people who provide the money, ah so what." That would be an attitude. If you're working for the

[81] Today approximately 80 per cent of the Timorese population are Catholic, making the Catholic Church the largest and most significant institution in Timor Leste. The Australian government recognises the significant role that churches play in development in Papua New Guinea. In 2004 a partnership between AusAID and a group of churches was undertaken to bolster essential health and education services in Papua New Guinea. This initiative was based on the premise that church organisations have "a long history" of supporting development in Papua New Guinea and they have "extensive networks" in remote and isolated areas of the country. Furthermore they have often been the only providers of services (AusAID 2004a).

> Church it's a different thing. And if people know that, then they have a different attitude towards you.

Affiliation with organisations of authority gave the volunteers a degree of autonomy and influence within the local community. This in turn increased their status, creating asymmetrical relations based on access to resources. Asymmetry further amplified volunteers' ability to access information and financial networks and subsequently opportunities to affect change. Volunteers explained that as they drew resources and attention to their placement, this contributed to their experience of differentiation, and at times alienation from local people (Anderson 2000). Tiffany felt volunteers also experienced privileges in the workplace due to their "Westerner" status:

> … I've probably got more flexibility and more consideration, and less challenge and confrontation than the local teachers…

While on the one hand constrained, on the other hand volunteers enjoyed and desired privilege and authority because they could attract resources which in their view, provided them with the potential to change local conditions – an idea central to their understanding of their purpose.

The tendency of volunteers to embrace their privilege to facilitate their "Position Description", suggests that they were aware of their status and the opportunities it allowed them. Management and leadership roles lent volunteers authority and influence within local organisations. Situated as "skilled experts", and enacting their "Position Description", volunteers embarked upon capacity building a process involving skill transfer which configures host organisations to the management and financial systems with which the volunteers were familiar. Rockliffe argues that this is problematic due to the cultural specificity of the skills of the volunteers, pointing out that this sets up a relational hierarchy which, "…seems more likely to reinforce a sense of inherent superiority in the volunteers than to build development on a basis of respect and understanding for other cultures" (Rockliffe 2005: 37).

The majority of the volunteers (ten out of thirteen), were responsible for the general dispersion or management of finances. The cultural specificity of these skills was particularly highlighted by the volunteers' experiences in PNG. The *wantok* system (literally "one talk" or kin speaking the same language) is a complex system of family and village obligations around which social relations are organised in PNG. The system of reciprocity, involving patron-client relations made it difficult for locals to "fill positions of

responsibility", described by volunteer Brian as those positions involved with the handling of goods and money. Brian explained that Western volunteers were recruited to fill such roles as the *wantok* system rendered locals incapable of holding positions of responsibility for any period of time due to family and community pressure to take organisational finances and distribute them among people in the village.

The challenge of localising positions of financial responsibility suggests that volunteers play a role in the reconfiguration and bureaucratisation of local organisations, a process that ties development to Western values and experience, including a rationalist model of political decision making and broader notions of development as economic progress (Cowan & Shenton 1996; Rossi 2006: 165). This role of volunteers in the development process was incredulously acknowledged by Grant and Lisa in a CommUnity newsletter:

> Grant has just finished writing a very comprehensive submission to Caritas Australia seeking funding for the Diocese's HIV/AIDS program. 16 pages of Goals outcomes, outputs, evaluation and monitoring plans/processes, with several pages of tables and timeframes.(won't happen). I think Caritas are only asking for such a detailed submission because that's what AusAID demands if you want their support. This, from fairly uneducated people in a third world country. None of the AIDS team could even use a computer when he [Grant] arrived. Makes sense, eh?

The issue of dependency arising from Western notions of development is also raised, as locals come to depend on foreign experts to gain funds and to maintain organisational practices that are culturally inappropriate and unintelligible to them (Rockliffe 2005: 37; Rossi 2006: 165).

In line with Rockcliffe, this study found that the notion of "skilled expert" was complicit in contributing to unequal power relations between the development volunteers and locals. Craig felt the authority and status that came with leadership roles, along with the experience of privilege, shaped asymmetrical work relationships between himself and local counterparts:

> …because effectively they work under me and they think that I could get them fired if I wanted to and… it's not an equal relationship in your work place, I certainly didn't hang out with my boss, and bosses kind of need to be a little bit removed… There's that gap in between, or there's almost some sort of barrier there, so…we'll never be equal, but… but we still get on… and we'll still be friends.

The relationship between knowledge and power in development, the different interests of the individuals in relationships, along with the opportunities they have to pursue them, posed dilemmas for the volunteers who began their journey with egalitarian notions of

human relations (Escobar 1995). Robert, a local who ran a local development volunteer CSO in Papua New Guinea, said that a central issue regarding foreign volunteers in local development was the enormous disparity in education, privilege, wealth and culture between Western volunteers and poor locals. In his experience, this gap created a hierarchy in which locals felt inferior to Western volunteers, and that rendered local knowledge and experience invalid.

Craig spoke of the tension that arose between volunteers' expectation and intention to be in "solidarity" with locals and local people's perceptions and treatment of the volunteers as privileged:

> …it sounded like they [returned volunteers presenting at Palms orientation course] were part of the community and lived in a hut that was very much with other people, whereas we're here and we are separated and we're in a house with lights and water and I mean I'm very thankful for that but… it automatically puts you apart, so we're not really part of the community… because we're kind of in the haves and everyone is a have not…

The following two case studies consider different power disparities between locals and the volunteers and the dilemmas experienced by the volunteers as their privilege impacted on relationship building.

7.2.1. Case Study 7: Escape Clause (civil unrest in Timor Leste in 2006)

This case study explores the tensions surrounding the volunteers' solidarity with local people, a matter discussed by Cherie:

> …I also recognise that I am not Timorese and they will never perceive me to be Timorese or to be living in solidarity and, things like evacuations reinforce I'm not Timorese and I'm not in solidarity because the minute the shit hits the fan I'm going to leave the country, and they know…

The experience of the volunteers' evacuation from Timor Leste in 2006 is testimony to the broader range of security options that are available to development volunteers in comparison to their local counterparts during times of conflict. For Tiffany evacuation highlighted her outsider status in the local community:

> The first time I was evacuated, it was like well OK, she's a foreigner… for a whole year I think I was very much treated like a foreigner, and I was beginning to make some ground. When I got evacuated, that put me right back into the foreigner status… "she can go before there is even a whiff of danger, so she's not part of us and she's gonna go

> whenever - she's not committed here, or she's part of an organisation, or part of a different country, who's going to go at any time".

However, when Tiffany made the decision to return to her placement, against the recommendations of Palms, her choice impacted negatively on her relationship with Palms. Conversely it changed local perceptions of her for the better:

> The second time when there was trouble, they wouldn't have been surprised if I'd left, but the fact that I stayed, counted…Staying strengthened the relationship with the community.

Tiffany's comments point to the dilemma experienced by the volunteers who desired an "authentic experience" and "relationship" yet found that that locals perceived foreigners as personally disconnected from themselves, transient and connected to things outside of the local community.

7.2.2. Case Study 8: Brokers and Translators

Paul was responsible for maintaining and building networks between the parish in which he was located in Timor Leste and a CSO in Australia. Able to access funding networks in Australia, Paul initiated local projects which involved negotiation and decision making with locals and donors over which projects would gain funding, and also networked with locals and multinational aid agencies (including UNICEF and the United Nations World Food Program) based outside the community, to identify programs and funds that could be tapped into and linked to the village in which he lived. In this respect Paul operated as a "broker" in the development of locals as he was able to acquire control and redistribute development resources (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 12). When Paul found that there were strict criteria in the kind of projects that the organisations he approached would fund, and that locally defined "needs" and approaches often fell outside of donor defined local "needs", he acted as a "translator", working with local people to shape applications for development monies to fit donor criteria, a process involving a "mutual enrolment and interlocking of interests" (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 13). Importantly, Paul used his position within the social, political and economic structures of the development context he operated in to instigate development projects on behalf of locals. This enabled him to perform the double task of providing beneficiaries to the development apparatus, while at the same time easing access for locals (Rossi 2006: 37). Paul's role in creating project realities supports Mawdsley et al.'s (2002) argument that CSOs operate as transmitters of dominant development models and practices, and as "translator" he became familiar with development rationales and the

jargon of development agencies. While this may seem to be a reasonable approach, it has important implications for locals' generation of their own development projects and ultimately local ownership.

7.3. Interpreting Development

This section considers relationships between locals and volunteers as well as the development process from locals' perspectives. It interweaves the volunteers' considerations of how they are viewed by locals with locals' explanations of their experience with volunteers. Case Study Nine is a detailed analysis of Nola's experience of local expectations of her. Case Study Ten examines the counterpart relationship between Sabine, a local, and Susan, highlighting the perspectives of both positions.

The presence of the volunteer can provide the opportunity for locals to consider what "development" means to them, and also provides prospects for alternative development discourses and processes at the grassroots level. However, as I illustrated earlier, locals' opportunities are constrained by their position within institutional hierarchies of aid. In considering the role of individual volunteers within local people's experience of their own development, it is important to acknowledge that although volunteers consider their experience significant in terms of time and commitment, they represent a short period in the development experience of locals. This point was explicitly made by Andrew, a volunteer of over twenty years:

> …we can forget that before we enter there is a process, even if we are a second, third generation volunteer or a first, and that there will be a process after we leave and this two years can be a very big thing for us, but for them you're just another fucking white skin passing through.

As volunteers adjusted to the local culture and language they became increasingly aware of locals' perceptions of them as embodying access to resources and knowledge beyond the scope of their "Position Description" (Anderson 2000). James thought volunteers also became increasingly conscious of hidden agendas of local people.

> I think there's a lot of hidden agendas… Here it's just, "I want to get close to that person and learn English, so… that could open doors for me in the future. I don't care if they [the volunteer] teach me shit about anything else.

Local perceptions of the volunteers as having something to offer, and as powerful by virtue of their education, linkages to overseas networks of resources and information as well as

logistical support, created tensions and dilemmas for the volunteers as they undertook their placements and attempted to build relationships with locals (Adams & Megaw 1997: 219). While the volunteers acknowledged that locals played a role in choosing whether to adopt or reject what they had to offer in terms of how to approach development, a common experience was that tensions between the volunteer and locals occurred because both parties had different perceptions of what was to be "exchanged" within the partnership. In particular, the tension between the volunteers' expectation that they are there to "give", and locals' expectations that volunteers "will give", led to feelings of being taken advantage of by locals. Tension occurred when volunteers' expectations about how the exchange between themselves and locals should take place and what the exchange should be, were not met, as Craig explained:

> I just feel that people more see us as an opportunity and if people are being nice to you it's generally 'cause they want something and… I was a bit sceptical to start with and I gave them the benefit of the doubt, but unfortunately the longer I'm here it seems to be the case again and again… but you kind of put up barricades now because as people approach you, you kind of think… what are they expecting me to give them?

These tensions reflect the way locals respond to the development industry and their knowledge that most people involved earn more than them. Cherie felt local responses to the volunteers suggest that they view development volunteers as another resource to be "used":

> I think the local people still see foreigners as rich and whatever, but they also see that you're contributing a lot and they also I think see that they need you a little bit and they're in some ways happy to approach us for that because they want… like there still is, despite all the problems last year [civil unrest] we were doing something new… here and they're on board with that.

Local perceptions of "rich" foreigners as contributing and the expectation that foreigners will "help", raise important questions about the power dynamic within the volunteer-local "partnership" and points to issues concerning what is exchanged within the partnership. Cherie's comment illustrates that as she views as natural the power dynamic whereby locals view Westerners as necessary to their own development. This raises important questions about the role of aid in the West's engagement with the world's poor, and the implications of the growing institutionalisation of development volunteering within the development industry on conceptions of development in recipient countries.

Robert, a local of Papua New Guinea with experience working alongside both national and international volunteers and local and international aid agencies, saw this relationship as

one of dependence, and problematic for locals in their own development. He described local expectations of volunteers in the following way:

> …cargo mentality is when you raise people's expectation and people expect you to give them material or money… Cargo mentality where people expect NGOs, expect government, expect volunteers, expect outsiders, to come and help them with their problems which they can do themselves, because there is intervention from the outside, people think that, "No need to worry." They'll just wait for those people to come and help them. Now you see this practice is cargo mentality and people see that as cargo… volunteers are seen as cargo by people in the village… It's not only money, it's not only material that they bring in, but human cargo.

Robert went on to explain how the term "volunteer" raises cultural expectations in local people in PNG:

> …a volunteer if you analyse the term, means that what people, the perception, the understanding of the people in the villages, is of someone that will come and give – his time, his life, his money, his thinking, his heart… everything… there is an understanding, there is still an understanding today that the volunteer is someone that will sacrifice his life for the sake of the people. So why do we have to work? A volunteer is here, let him do the work.

Robert's comments highlight that locals considered development volunteers a community resource, indeed a wealth that produces or works for or on behalf of (rather than with) the community. While these comments link local expectations of the development volunteer to dependency, they also suggest that the "power" of the development volunteer is somewhat limited as volunteers are "managed" by individual locals. Some of the benefits of having a volunteer (such as the roles volunteers undertook that were related to attracting finances to the village and linking villages to networks of influence and money), were discussed earlier. The view of volunteers as "human cargo" illustrates the complexity of power relations in the development volunteer/local partnership.

The experience of partnership between locals and the volunteers raises important questions about local dependency on the development volunteer as another form of resource to be tapped. It also points to a paradox in the partnership between volunteers and locals. On the one hand the local expectation that volunteers will "do development" for the community, fits with volunteers' ideas about their purpose as active in the development process – ideas that fit the dominant notion of the role of the West in development of the poor as espoused by Cowan et al. (1996) and Rist (1997). On the other hand there is tension surrounding what exactly is to be exchanged and how that exchange is to occur:

The volunteers understood the exchange in terms of particular skill or knowledge as per their role description, and locals viewed the volunteer as a whole resource to be utilised.

The following case studies explore the complexities of power in relationships between volunteers and locals in the workplace. Case Study Nine highlights the tension between locals and volunteers' expectations of placement purpose. Case Study Ten explores power in the relationship between Susan and her counterpart Sabine whose experience of empowerment is considered from the perspective of "power to" (the ability to see possibilities for change), as it unpacks her experience of challenge and change (Rowlands 1998).

7.3.1. Case Study 9: Negotiating Expectations

Locals' expectations that the development volunteer would come and "take action" was central to the experience of the development volunteers in the study in both Timor Leste and Papua New Guinea and volunteers found that dependency was a legacy of volunteer engagement with local people. Michelle and Craig observed in a CommUnity newsletter:

> In the past, we could see evidence of international workers/volunteers who had thought it easier to do the bulk of the work themselves, and this led to an over-dependence on the foreign person.

This case study explores the volunteers' experience of both being expected to take action by local people and their own expectation that they would take action because it was their purpose for being in the country. This poses the important dilemma of whether or not the "action" of the volunteer feeds the cargo cult mentality.

Nola worked in a local hospital and experienced tension as her expectation that she was in the role of "learner" conflicted with locals' expectations that her role was "doer":

> …I kept saying to them, "No I'm learning from you." And they found that hilarious… I found it a bit awkward to come and they would always defer to me and I'm like, "Oh no, she's the boss, or she's the physio." I don't know how many times I would have said, "I don't know, this is not my job, I do not know."

Nola expected that she would learn from the local people about how the hospital system ran, as well as about disabilities that she did not see in Australia, however, when she did not meet local expectations that she would take a leadership role, she felt harshly judged by the locals:

> And I tend to think that there was probably a perception that, "What on earth is she doing?" Because the number of times I have said to people, "This is not my job," when I'm at the hospital and I think if I'm in their position, I'd be thinking, "My God, she's lazy. If this isn't her job, what's she doing here?"…I would defer to the girls because it's their department and it's not for me to step in just because I'm white.

Nola described how local expectations were shaped by her predecessor, who although having a different job description had set the tone of expectations for future volunteers by taking an instrumental approach to development based on perceptions of "need" in the local community:

> …that I would come in and run the department and… provide. Provide things, provide equipment, because they used to say, Julie [the previous volunteer] used to get gel for the department, because I'm saying, "Oh we have no ultra-sound gel. Where do you get it from?" "I don't know, [Julie] used to get it." And I don't know where she got it from, but if she needed anything she'd go to the finances and get it drawn out of her pay. So I think there was a lot of high expectation that I would provide, because they often point out to me that, you know, their books are old… things are old, we do not have much, we do not have much room, we would like an extension, we would like air conditioning… Just that expectation that I would run it I think and provide for them, and now that they've realised, earlier on when they realised that I wasn't running it, I was a bit of a freeloader out there, so then it was like, well we have to kind of soldier on until the JICA [Japan International Cooperation Agency] volunteer comes in June or July and then he or she can manage the department.

Locals obviously viewed Nola as a resource to be tapped. Her experience illustrates how expectations are shaped along the project cycle by different volunteers, and pressure placed on volunteers by local people to meet these expectations. Local perceptions of the usefulness and transience of volunteers suggest that volunteers are viewed as a renewable resource. This has important implications for the instrumental approach of a "project model" of volunteer placement. Additionally, Nola's experience as one of a chain of volunteers, highlights the expectation of local people that volunteers would think, do and provide, while the local people were prepared to follow and take. This is strong evidence that development volunteering can contribute to local dependency. However, as Nola's experience illustrates, Palms' development education played a significant role in shaping her expectations and approach to her placement. Palms' emphasis on the importance of learning the local language, the local culture and placement situation over performing a "job" meant that Nola saw part of her role in the workplace as learner, not just "educator". While this created tension, as her approach was significantly different to other volunteers that the locals had encountered, it points to significant issues surrounding the "job" focus of vocational models of volunteering while at the same time highlighting the possibilities of a model in which the local-volunteer relationship is central in development.

Tensions between the volunteers' conception of their role as an active agent of change at the grass-roots level and the equilibrium of local cultural practices, presented a constant challenge for volunteers as they lived and learned about the local culture. Despite these dilemmas and tensions the following case study of Susan and Sabine shows that volunteers could play an important role in challenging local "truisms".

7.3.2. Case Study 10: Opening Culturally Prohibited Spaces

Development volunteer Susan became manager of a small business which had not had a manager since it started operations ten years earlier. Over this period the business had operated on a day-to-day basis with four male employees without supervision. Susan was the first manager and she worked in this role for about one year before returning to Australia for 18 months for personal reasons. While Susan was absent and just prior to her return, local woman Sabine was employed into the management position previously held by Susan. Sabine became Susan's counter-part upon her return.

Sabine had a diploma in management and the management role was her first job. When Susan retuned to find Sabine in the role she had previously occupied, there were tensions connected to the volunteer's sense of ownership and entitlement to the role. Susan explained:

> I couldn't see the logic in leaving, nobody in… my position for, you know, nearly a year, a year and a half, and then to employ somebody just before I'm just about to come back, I thought that was a bit odd, because I was working on the ground and I knew what kind of person would suit the employees…

Despite this Susan said she was happy to work alongside Sabine, however within the relationship Susan assumed authority based on a perception of greater knowledge and skill than local Sabine:

> …so that's worked out really well because she's really capable and really, really willing to learn and she's young, so it's really good because I'll be able to mould her into being a good manager.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Susan's comment that she is able to "mould" her counterpart, points to the overall idea held by development volunteers that their role was to change and to shape the placement, including their counterpart. Susan's attitude fits with Castoriadias and Murphy's (1985) argument that the West feels that it needs to teach developing countries. This suggests that Susan held power based on the shared notion that

Susan's knowledge was superior to Sabine's (Rockliffe 2005: 37). Within this relationship there is a distinct hierarchy between the volunteer and counterpart based on who holds knowledge of the "appropriate" way things are done (Escobar 1995). Sabine's reflections suggest that she is complicit in this relationship:

> …she's taught me a lot of things and working with her, you know she's very experienced too and she has strict timing, like you know, come in at the right time, 'cause consistency, like I was saying, is very important and being strict is important, doing the right thing is important.

At first glance this relationship represents a microcosm of a process transference of fundamental ideas and concepts that have formed societies of the West (Castoriadias & Murphy 1985; Escobar 1995). However, closer examination reveals a complexity within the relational dynamic beyond the binary of powerful and powerless which challenges the argument of simple transference of knowledge from the powerful to the powerless. Rather, the following description of how Sabine interpreted Susan's role in helping her with what she saw as her major challenges in the job, illustrates other dimensions within the relationship such as the volunteer's wider contribution in building human capital (Rockliffe 2005: 36).

Sabine viewed the counterpart experience as an opportunity to open previously culturally prohibited spaces for women. This is revealed as Sabine describes her predominantly gendered challenges in taking the position:

> I didn't know how to relate to the employees, the four guys that were there. I didn't know how to manage them, you know and to sort of lead them. That was something I was a bit, I didn't know whether to be bossy, to be like what type of managerial role I should show to them.

Susan also acknowledged that cultural ideas about gender in PNG posed a significant challenge to her in undertaking a managerial role:

> ...because most of the men that I work with are used to bossing women round, because that's what they do in their personal life and they're used to doing that, so they really don't know how to take you when you're assertive with them…

Sabine elaborated:

> …with men over here in PNG you know the men are regarded, as you know, up there and everything, all good things go to the man first and as a woman coming in to manage a groups of men it's a big challenge… here there is a big distinction between man and woman…

Susan gave the following example of the high level of cultural acceptance of violence towards women in PNG:

> I've seen a lot of domestic violence in PNG and not only where I work but inside of work, at work, during work time, so that's pretty full on to see that, see that happening in front of your face and the fact that it's so unprofessional to be doing that at work, out in the open, and everyone standing round, like the whole staff looking. It's just not on.

Sabine said that as an outsider, Susan's different behaviour and approach broke down cultural norms around women in management roles, and subsequently broke down some of these cultural barriers to her role as a manager in a male dominated workplace, opening and negotiating a space that held significant obstacles for women in PNG. In doing so, a collegiality formed between the two women that gave Sabine the "power to" undertake a role that previously would have presented considerable challenge. Sabine explained:

> But when [Susan] came she made it very easy for me. I just sort of fell in line with what she was doing.

Sabine described the challenges she would have had to confront in the workplace if there had been a local male in the position instead of Susan:

> It would have been different because… of the culture, and I think the guys would be, the boys that are here right now, they would be more used to that man. So when I would come in as a woman, I'm not sure if they would really have taken, they would take that very easily. Like they did now because they're already used to [Susan], before I came in.

Sabine also talked about her own self-conscious adjustment as a local or "national" woman, to working alongside a local male manager:

> If it was a local man and then a woman coming in, I'm not sure too how I would relate with that, that local man when I came. I'm not sure if he would have been keen on having me boss the other guys or to manage them you know, and I don't know if I would learn more from him or not because of our culture here there's like a big distinction between man and woman and, so having a female like [Susan], it's more easy, I could easily relate to her and instead of like a local man it would have been harder.

Significantly Sabine also envisioned problems had she taken over the position from a local woman:

> …the guys you know having two women bosses there managing them, especially two local women, like bossing them, I'm not sure how they would take it, having two local women.

Another challenge that Sabine identified was that as a local person she would have difficulty introducing new work practices:

> If there was like another national, you know, most of the time in PNG we come late, and we don't do things right and people are lazy and stuff like that, so maybe if a national was here we would have slackened off, everybody, even the guys too, and then if I would have come in and tried to do something, like tried to get them to like, 'OK lets start doing things at the right time'. They wouldn't really have listened to me because they'd already had someone who's already been slacking off…

While it is clear that Sabine's difficulty was largely due to the fact that the organisational practices she wanted to introduce were those connected to the values of Western economic institutions and clearly culturally incompatible, it is significant that she looks up to these practices (Castoriadias & Murphy 1985; Welch 2007). Sabine's perception of the superiority of Western organisational practice underscores the "naturalness" of asymmetrical hierarchies in the development context.

Sabine said that she couldn't institute such practices alone, or with a local person, however having Susan initially establish particular workplace behaviours such as punctuality, set a standard that she could follow:

> When those guys see me doing that then they will respect that… if [Susan] wasn't here and I just came in, you know and there was another national person here, you know we could have slackened off and then we wouldn't be consistent, and you know how [Susan] says come at the right time, and you know do this properly, do it right at the beginning and all that. That has really helped me because when the guys see that and they see me continuing to do that, they will respect that.

Overall Sabine saw the significance of Susan's role as embodying new ways of being that broke down discriminatory cultural gender norms and practices in the workplace:

> So if I would have come here without [Susan], I'm not really sure how I would have coped. And I'm not really sure if the guys would have really… taken my position as an important position you know. But with [Susan] here, she's imparting those sort of like values, imparting them to me… that's has really helped me 'cause the guys will see those values, me practising those values consistently and then they would follow in line and then they would respect that and see that it's important.

The power hierarchy between volunteer Susan and counterpart Sabine was initially defined by the mutual presumption of the superior knowledge of the Western volunteer, however it was utilised by Sabine to open and access social space that was previously culturally prohibited to her. In Sabine's view, Susan opened a space for both her and her male colleagues to think differently about work practices and gender norms embedded in day-to-day cultural practice. Although Sabine commented that after Susan leaves, managing will be a challenge, one important legacy for locals of the counterpart relationship with volunteers' lies with local people imagining other realities.

7.4. Conclusion

This chapter has considered the complex issue of relationships between locals and volunteers. It argued that asymmetrical relations shape locals' perceptions of Western volunteers as they negotiate their purpose in the field, shaping the roles that volunteers consciously or unconsciously adopt, as well as their relationship with locals whose position and choices are also shaped within hierarchies created by aid. In this manner, although development volunteers view themselves as outside of the "professional development industry" they are still impacted by it because they operate within its political and economic structures, which are now profoundly neoliberal.

Relationships between volunteers and locals occur within complex historically shaped hierarchies which are institutionalised through development policy and instrumental approaches to volunteering. These hierarchies are entrenched with the principles and ideas upon which development has been constructed and are based on the division of different social groups defined by who has or has not access to resources (Crewe & Harrison 1998: 15). Within the development context, structures are formed around and within the social groups of "aid givers" and "aid recipients" (Rossi 2006: 29). Volunteers therefore enter into the development context bearing the symbols of Western power (Adams & Megaw 1997: 219). Falling into the "aid giver" social group, volunteers expressed a sense of entitlement to the privileges that are enjoyed by Westerners and a reluctance to give up or challenge them, despite at times feeling that they are undeserved. Case Study Four illustrated how development policy perpetuates such hierarchies as it maintains the historical roles of "aid givers" and "aid recipients". However, Case Study Five illustrated that the complexity of hierarchies extends to the expatriate community, uniformly viewed as "aid givers" by locals.

Volunteer's position within expatriate hierarchies is defined by other expatriates by both their access to finance, and their perceived authenticity as a volunteer. Case Study Five illustrated that within these hierarchies it was common for volunteers to be outsiders, not only within the local community, as locals saw them as personally disconnected from themselves, but also within the expatriate community as geographical isolation and the Palms local wage excluded some volunteers from sharing the social experiences of more highly paid aid practitioners and volunteers on higher stipends. Furthermore, Case Study Six illuminated the way in which issues surrounding gender and security in PNG constrain

volunteers and create physical boundaries and personal barriers that undermine the good will inherent in volunteers' motivation to undertake development volunteering in the first place.

Section two identified that the volunteers were situated in positions and organisations of power and authority in local communities and that this was considered "natural" and "necessary" by both the volunteers to "make a difference". In "helping" to meet a "need" the volunteers in the study utilised Western values and practices both familiar to them and required by Western donors, yet often culturally inappropriate and unintelligible to locals. In this manner, the very act of "helping" reconfigures local organisations to meet the increasingly managerialist requirements of Western donors operating within a neoliberal development paradigm. The manner in which volunteers link local communities to the requirements of donors was illustrated in Case Study Eight which identified that volunteers operated as both "brokers" and "translators" of dominant development discourse (Mosse & Lewis 2006). Paul's experience illustrated how as "networker" he became familiar with the development rationales and jargon of development agencies and worked with local people to shape their applications for development monies to fit donor criteria – a process that involved mutual enrolment and interlocking interests on the part of the volunteer and locals, aligning them with dominant development rationales and practices.

Section three noted that tension between volunteers and locals was experienced over what was to be exchanged in the relationship. Volunteers were particularly confronted by locals' view of them as a resource to be tapped. Central to this tension is the notion held by both locals and volunteers, that Westerners are necessary to local development, reinforcing the earlier assumption by volunteers that the power hierarchies perpetuated within and by development aid are "natural". Case Study Nine illustrated how this was exacerbated through roles that emphasised skills that were culturally inappropriate and inconceivable to locals, a situation which has important implications for the issue of dependency in development aid.

Within the context of a donor-funded donor-led development aid system, the findings outlined above clearly support the view that development volunteers can play a role in transmitting dominant neoliberal concepts of development, even if their IVSA's philosophy is directly opposed to the neoliberal ideology of dominant development discourse and approaches. This finding suggests that neoliberalism is more than an

ideology played out in a set of economic policies; rather it has become a philosophy that shapes volunteers' reference points and perceptions of "need" as they seek to "help" people and organisations in developing countries (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2001). In light of this, IVSA training and preparation of volunteers is particularly relevant and important. As discussed in Chapter Six, Palms training and preparation of volunteers played an important role in providing volunteers with a framework through which to question and challenge the apparently "natural" hierarchies, norms, roles and values within a politicised development context.

Chapter eight concludes the thesis and considers the arguments surrounding critical perspectives that describe development volunteering as a means to counterbalance the impacts of neoliberal policy.

Chapter 8.
NETWORKING HOME

The Final Chapter explores Palms development volunteers' experiences as they developed and engaged with networks in their communities in Australia. Lewis (2005) and Parsons (2001) argue that volunteers fulfil this role by contributing to a range of contested stories about development that make up the public face of development. They also create friendship networks which cross cultural divides, contributing to different understandings of being which are important to peace building (Spence 2001; Spence 2005). Simpson (2004), Grusky (2000) and Ollif (2001) identified that within these processes the sending organisation plays an important role through its development education programs, a view supported by the findings in Chapter Seven. I explore these arguments by considering volunteers' motivations to volunteer for personal development and the opportunity to learn experientially in the context of their networking experience in Australian communities prior to departure, during their placement and upon their return.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section describes Palms Programs for volunteers to network within the Australian community. The second section critically examines development volunteers' experiences of fundraising for their placement within their social and church networks. The relationship between fundraising and the opportunity for the volunteers to tell their stories before, during and after returning from placement, is critically examined. The third section considers some of the impacts of the relationship between development volunteers and their social networks in Australia and the fourth section is concerned with the impacts of the experience of volunteering abroad on the individual, particularly how these changes translate once the volunteer has returned to Australia.

8.1. Palms and the Australian Community

Palms has had a long-term relationship with parts of the Australian community, particularly the Catholic Church. As discussed in Chapter Six, these relationships have intensified since AusAID initiated the accreditation process between 2001-2004, and the competitive tender process which resulted in Palms' losing Australian government funding in 2005. In 2004 Palms initiated the Consortium as part of its bid for an AusAID Volunteer Program

Agreement as a means to demonstrate a large capacity to recruit and train volunteers. The Consortium, initially comprised of eleven other organisations with volunteer sending programs or with an interest in volunteer sending.[82] It became the Global Volunteer Network in 2006 after Palms did not win the contract, and is currently includes six member organisations.

As Palms faced the dilemma of how to continue to fund its volunteer sending program it decided to scale it back. Palms opened the Fair Trade Café in the inner Sydney suburb of Glebe in 2006 with the objective of using the venue as a locus from which to promote its activities and fundraise, using the café's profits to run the volunteer sending program. Palms also looked towards its community networks as part of a solution to the dilemma of finding new funding sources for its activities. It should be acknowledged that Palms has always received financial contributions from individuals and organisations,[83] however as Palms intensified its focus on its community networks the boundaries between fundraising programs and development education programs within the Australian community became increasingly blurred from 2005 when Palms made the decision to involve volunteers in fundraising for their placement. It is important to note that from 2006 Palms has increasingly rationalised volunteer's fundraising within the Australian community in monetary terms of efficiency with the following slogan, "…the best value aid that money can buy", stating that it places skilled professionals for the cost of $10,000, whereas the market value of the expertise provided is more than $50,000 (Palms Australia 2009). This reflects Palms' entrance into the market where gaining funding for its Volunteer Sending Program is increasingly competitive.

Palms is typical of many CSOs and receives a range of ongoing in-kind (or voluntary) support from individuals.[84] Palms also receives support from numerous organisations

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[82] Member organisations include: the Association of International Teaching, Educational and Cultural Exchange (AITECE Inc.) (Australia), Australian Catholic University (ACU National), Jesuit Refugee Services Australia Inc., Marist Asia Pacific Solidarity, The Trustees of the Christian Brothers, The Trustees of the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, The Trustees of the Sisters of St Joseph through the Mary MacKillop Foundation, and the University of Wollongong among others.

[83] Between 2000 and 2004 approximately 40 per cent of Palms annual revenue was from financial contributions from individuals and organisations. It is important to note that these contributions do not include membership contributions.

[84] These contributions include: Volunteer administrative assistants in the office; ten state representatives to assist with selection interviews and coordinate returned volunteers annually to assist with promotions, recruitment, professional and personal support and culturally specific preparation for future volunteers, eight directors and 12 others with diverse professional expertise participate in advisory committees; numerous expert facilitators, of whom ten were engaged in each nine-day pre-departure orientation course; a field leader

including significant support through the Catholic Church. Recruitment drives for overseas placements are enabled through the communication channels of 28 Catholic dioceses, 1,399 parishes, 60 hospitals and 1,698 schools. Agreements with Catholic Education Employers provide teachers with up to three years leave without pay with time served as a volunteer counting towards long-service, seniority and other entitlements, including continuing employer contributions to superannuation. According to Roger O'Halloran, Palms Managing Director (MD), these special provisions give Palms unique access to approximately 30% of Australian teachers. In addition a commitment from the Society of St Vincent de Paul means that volunteering with Palms is promoted through its networks across Australia. Palms also receives cooperation from various private companies to promote targeted recruitment for placements, and has an industry partnership with the University of Wollongong. Palms Associates (including returned volunteers) provide numerous networking opportunities for the organisation within their respective professional and personal circles, as well as financially.

8.1.1. CommUNITY Initiative

While Palms emphasises its development education role within the local community, it is also important to note Palms' increased focus on the community as a means of sustaining Palms financially as Roger O'Halloran the MD of Palms explained:

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in psychological drama theory who facilitates two annual two day workshops for returned development volunteers; and numerous others who support Palms in areas such as law, technology and the media.

> …through the accreditation process prior to the tender AusAID were suggesting anyway that they were wanting to see the agencies have more Community engagement… we'd started to do that already but we beefed that up a lot and since the um, we didn't get the tender. That has actually held us in pretty good stead because we have a process for getting both, out of our community engagement - both funding and volunteers and support etc.

At the organisational level, Palms instigated the CommUNITY Initiative in 2001, however, in response to AusAID's tender requirement of "raising awareness in the Australian community" placed greater emphasis on this aspect of its mission. The initiative is a development education/fundraising approach in which groups and organisations associated with the volunteer and Palms members are linked to the volunteer's host community overseas. Palms claims that by supporting approximately twenty five per cent of the direct cost of placing the development volunteer, CommUNITY contributes to long-term sustainable development because Palms' volunteers reduce their host community's dependence on future aid through skill exchange (Palms Australia 2009).

In return for supporting costs of placing a volunteer, the volunteer's Australian Community receives a profile of the assignment and quarterly updates prepared by the Palms CommUNITY Education Coordinator. By being active with the preparation and distribution of material before the volunteer departs, as well as throughout the placement, CommUNITY aims to "teach" people to listen to the story (and progress) of development. As discussed in Chapter Six, the "development" referred to by Palms includes both the host community, the volunteer and sending community. CommUNITY is also designed to support the volunteer while in placement and ease their re-entry into Australia (Palms Australia 2009). As Roger notes:

> … they themselves are certainly changed by the experience, whether or not they are able to in some way pass on or provide a ripple effect from the impact that they have onto the community around them I'm not so sure of, but it is a desire that we try to get volunteers to do that both through their communication while they are in placement with their communities that are supporting them in Australia but also, when they return home…

"Reverse development" refers to the process of volunteers sharing their "awareness" with their Australian community. It expresses the idea that the "conscientisation" (or formation) of the volunteer has the possibility of transforming the sending community, or as Roger put it:

> …it's I suppose useful in some ways for us to connect with our volunteers after they've returned in Australia to assist while they were… finding ways of, not adapting to Australian life, but of making the time they've been away from it, able to reflect on it and

look back and learn other ways of being, and work together to find ways of introducing those values into their own communities.

Palms actively encourages and facilitates the role of volunteers within their own communities as "intermediaries" between donors and beneficiaries (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 10). This role which involves the process of knowledge construction, echoes that described in Chapter Seven, although the focus in this chapter is on donors rather than beneficiaries. Conceptualising volunteers as intermediaries is important because it describes the process of how volunteers engage with their networks in Australia, which involves the translation and transmission of knowledge about development, which then contributes to or challenges dominant development discourses (Parsons 2001; Mosse & Lewis 2006). The politicised role of volunteers within this process provides support to the activist agenda of Palms. However, it is significant that Roger acknowledges that while an ideal outcome, "reverse development" is not a major part in Palms development process. The following sections consider the impacts of returned development volunteers on their communities.

8.2. Engaging with Personal Social Networks: The Dilemma of Who Should Fund Volunteer Sending Programs

Since Palms lost its AusAID funding in 2006, opportunities for volunteers to engage with the community have almost always been combined with fundraising. This situation raises an important dilemma for the organisation as fundraising has power implications in the relationship between donors and recipients. Fundraising perpetuates the notion of "aid givers" as, "…carers who are active and generous", and "aid recipients" as, "…cared for, passive and grateful", rather than challenging structures of oppression (Silk 2004: 230)

Individual volunteers drew on their own personal social networks, including family and church, to fundraise for their placements. Palms provided the volunteers with fundraising support in the form of pamphlets and access to staff. Despite this it was common for volunteers to comment that fundraising for their placement was difficult and to question with whom the responsibility for fundraising for volunteer sending programs should lie – the government, the IVSA or the individual volunteer. While different volunteers experienced different challenges, the following two case studies describe the dilemmas of the fundraising experience from the perspective of an individual and a couple.

8.2.1. Case Study 11: Pre-departure Fundraising and the Individual

The size and scope of the volunteer's social networks had an impact on the volunteers' capacity to fundraise. This case study considers the dilemma from Susan's perspective:

> I think it was hard work for me, because I don't have a lot of social networks, and I don't have a big church community, so I think it was hard work.

While the size of social networks posed challenges for some volunteers, other volunteers experienced different challenges, including initial support of family and friends. Some volunteers received negative responses to their decision to volunteer, while others were confronted by negative attitudes towards fundraising. Fundraising drew heavily on volunteers' individual social networks, personal resources and personality. Within the context of their personal networks volunteers said they felt uncomfortable asking for financial contributions. The discomfort of having their placement funded by networks of friends and family was possibly connected to their motivation to have a unique experience from which they would gain personally.

As discussed in Chapter Five, the majority of the volunteers came into contact with Palms though their church networks and many of them began fundraising through their local congregation. The typical experience of volunteers was to seek an invitation from the pastor to speak to their local congregation after which they were usually given the opportunity to speak for five minutes. Prior to departure, volunteers used this opportunity to talk about Palms and the purpose of their role in order to gain funds for their placement. However Susan found that being a member of a church did not automatically give her fundraising capacity. She described some of the challenges she experienced when fundraising within her church community:

> …I did a whip around at the church but I don't really think that they were interested… but maybe that was to do with the parish priest, maybe there was friction there… I had to fight to speak at church, and there's been no follow up from church to find out how I'm going, even when I came home for that period of time, 18 months… and I contacted them about name verifications but nobody got back to me so, it's sort of like they didn't really care about what my experience was really like.

Susan's experience supports Wood's (1997: 601) finding that, "…religious congregations differ in the levels of trust they generate among members, the extent of the social networks they sustain and the character of those networks." As Palms works through church-built

social networks to draw on "reserves of trust and reciprocity" to build its organisation, Susan's experience raises important questions about the nature of the relationship between Palms and church networks throughout Australia, as it suggests that Palms and its volunteers were only able to draw on the reciprocity of church networks for financial support to a limited degree. Despite Susan's cool reception by her church congregation, she had a different experience of fundraising among her personal social networks:

> Most of the people that donated money already knew me quite well so they weren't really surprised that I would be doing anything like this. So occasionally I'll write a group e-mail to tell everybody what I'm up to, and then it's good because it creates a bit of discussion, with people within my social network and back to me.

It is significant that Susan's correspondence with people within her close social networks stimulated discussion. This suggests that development volunteers can play an important role in providing other perspectives of development work and insights into the lives of people in developing countries that challenge dominant conceptions of poverty and development (Parsons 2001). However, when Susan considered what she had gained from the experience of fundraising for her placement she said:

> I think it was really hard work and I don't think it makes you value your placement any more raising money, I really don't because I think I would have went regardless.

Susan's comment points to the tension between the dynamic political emphasis of Palms, which values fundraising for its community education function, and the instrumentalist view that sees the volunteer as performing a development function, and as such, should be funded by the IVSA (or government).

8.2.2. Case Study 12: Pre-departure Fundraising and Couples

The following discussion of Craig and Michelle's experience continues to unpack the tensions around fundraising for placements. Craig and Michelle raised $20,000 by running a fundraising dinner. In contrast to Susan, Craig, who undertook fundraising with his wife, had a more positive experience which he attributed in part to the breadth of their combined social networks:

> …I didn't have any problem with it, but I think that's more to do with [Michelle] and I as people, or where we come from or our social network or friends that it wasn't going to be difficult.

The couple's focus was the fundraising dinner, however publicising the event involved extensive community networking, which utilised the media, Craig's friends, family and work colleagues and educational networks. In addition to wide social networks, it is important to note that Craig shared the experience of fundraising with his wife Michelle, whose drive contributed to the success of their fundraising effort:

> [Michelle] and I, if we'd like to do something we go pretty gung-ho, so once we'd decided, right, we're going to PNG, Palms wants community involvement, well, we'll give them community involvement.

Craig went on to describe the momentum of community support he and Michelle received for their fundraiser:

> But the overwhelming thing was, that people came out of the woodwork and were willing to support you and help whether we were asking for donations or to come along on the night or, just you know, to make a donation as such when we were asking for raffle prizes and stuff and things were just popping up all over the place and to me that showed that if you don't do anything [no one supports you].

He rationalised the momentum:

> And most people we found were willing to make a contribution because that made them feel good and not that I came here to feel "good" but, when I'd ask people for donations they would give us something to put in our raffle because that made them feel good because it was going to a good cause or people would make a donation to our event and then they would feel good about that… 'cause I think people do search for something other than their nine to five jobs. They want a cause, but are not sure what it is.

Craig's view that people wanted to contribute financially because they are searching for a "cause" – something greater than their day to day realities – points to West's (2004) argument that there is a relationship between individual displays of compassion and the individual's search for a common identity and a new social identity to replace those of the church, the family, the nation, the neighbourhood that have been eroded in the post-war era by globalisation, erosion of the welfare state and technological and communications boom. West's argument, that such displays are really reflections of selfishness rather than compassion or care, add an extra dimension to the relationship between volunteers and their social networks. In light of this it is significant that Craig framed development volunteering as a cause worthy of donation in the following way:

> One of the things we said often during our… fundraising dinner [was] "Look… thanks everyone for coming, we really appreciate your support. Thanks for, you know coming along to this night, but we appreciate… what we are going to do is something that a lot of people probably want to do and… haven't been able to and have other commitments... in life and… you don't have to go off and do what we're doing, but if you want to support us

> in what we're doing, then that's great and other people might not be able to uproot their lives, but they can make a donation or fund something."

Craig suggests a sense of sacrifice from he and his wife on behalf of donors; such a relationship dynamic suggests a commodification of the volunteer experience. The financial support of the donor creates a link between the development volunteers' experience and the donor, which allows donors to take ownership of the development experience of the volunteer. In this relationship the volunteer is then required to deliver something in return for the donor's financial support. Craig explained:

> After you did it people were interested in knowing how things are going and now [after 8 months into our placement], we're still getting e-mails and, my old school got right behind it and they were asking for update letters and I keep getting asked if I want to put something in their newsletters...

The pressure from afar that donors often placed on the volunteers will be discussed further in the chapter.

For Palms' volunteers, fundraising demands come at a time when the volunteer is preparing to leave for placement and therefore competes with numerous other responsibilities and demands. Craig compared his experience of having to fundraise for his placement with that of his friend who is volunteering with an Australian government-funded IVSA:

> …to be honest, there have been times when I've just gone, "Oh I wish, we bloody didn't have to do all these things…" I mean probably more during the fundraising period… I've got a friend who's working for the government in Timor and she pretty much gets everything and you know, it's all easy and cruisy and alright but, and sometimes I think "wouldn't that be nice"…

Craig's comment highlights the dilemma of Palms volunteers as they came to terms with the questions of how and whom should fund the volunteer's placement. His comment also points to the tension between different views of the role of volunteers – instrumental or politicised – and highlights an important tension within the practice of volunteering which, as my study suggests, is developing a dichotomy between organic (dynamic and political) and instrumentalist (institutionalised with strong ties to the state and its agenda) models of volunteering.

While there have been no studies on the overall development education outcomes gained through volunteers fundraising within the community, the volunteers felt that fundraising

within the community created opportunities for engagement and interest in the development volunteer's experience that otherwise would not have existed. Craig felt:

> …that it [fundraising within your community] opens up conversations, or people being interested in you which you wouldn't have if, I mean if you just go off with the government no one's going to care whereas for us, our community at home seems really interested in it…

Craig gave the following example of one of these openings for conversation:

> …and I'd been going there [fruit and vegetable shop] for years and this young[ish] girl…says, "Oh, You're [Craig]?" and I said "Yes." And she knew my name and remembered it and, "So what are you doing? That's really great." I mean it's the first time I've really ever been given [a donation] and had this sort of conversation.

This case-study has illuminated a significant concern with the development education/fundraising approach in that it tends to perpetuate binaries of "aid donors" and "aid recipients", along with assumptions that view Westerners as necessary in the development of "others" from developing countries.

8.3. Impacts of Engaging Social Networks at Home

Case Study Ten identified that the coupling of community education and fundraising, while engaging volunteers' social networks, also placed pressure on the volunteers while they were in the field. In this manner fundraising added a dimension to the Palms volunteer experience that volunteers in more instrumentalist programs did not experience. Craig admitted that:

> I feel a little bit of pressure on us because people want to know what you're up to and what you're doing and I don't feel that I'm doing enough [in placement].

Feeling pressure to "achieve" something was a common experience of development volunteers (see Chapter Six). Craig's comment points to the multiple dimensions of the pressure to "achieve" that the volunteers experienced once in the field. Perceived pressure led to feelings of guilt among some of the volunteers. Craig said:

> …sometimes you think, all I did was just clean up the place, but… I know that's not true, because if you look at our e-mails we've got some wonderful shots of courses and things that we've run, so for other people it must look like we're just doing amazing things, whereas… you know our lives are, very relaxed here and I think I'll live another ten years from spending time here…

Craig's comments illustrate the tension that volunteers experience as dominant notions of development and Western notions of work and achievement play out through interaction with donors (Welch 2007). Sharing with donors the experience of how aid functions is ideally an essential part of the role that volunteers play in demystifying myths about international aid (Parsons 2001; Lewis 2005), an issue considered in Case Studies 13 and 14.

Networks of family, friends and donors in Australia became increasingly engaged in volunteers' placements and often contributed by locating and transporting items that the volunteer identified as "needed" by the host community. For example, Nola described how she used her personal and professional networks in Australia to purchase physiotherapy equipment in Australia and transport it to her placement in Papua New Guinea:

> …I was working out how I'm gonna do this [transport physio equipment from Australia to placement] and he [Gavin, a friend visiting from Australia] goes, "I'm coming and do you want me to do anything?" And I go, "Well, as a matter of fact, this is my wish list." And he goes, "Done." So he was leaving from Brisbane, so I had to ring Wollongong and say to the girl who used to order my things for my practice, "Get onto so and so. Get this stuff, pay for it on my credit card, get it delivered to this address in Brisbane, and make sure it happens."…All that just worked out brilliantly, so Gavin comes here with this massive suitcase (laughs).

Nola cited financial and security reasons to explain why visitors from home were the most effective way to transport valuable equipment:

> …I was thinking, "How am I gonna get this stuff here, it's gonna be so expensive, and we keep hearing if packages are big, they are often opened and things are taken.

Volunteers were instrumental in creating what Palms refers to as an informal "supply chain" between donors and recipients as they drew on their networks in Australia to contribute to development work in their placement. As this discussion has illustrated, within the linkage between the Australian community and the volunteer's host community the volunteer is pivotal. While some volunteers form strong bonds with people in their host community and remain in contact after they have left their placement, others do not and the threads of communication, exchange and supply are broken. While corresponding with networks may not always create direct links with communities abroad, it opens some opportunities for awareness of another perspective on the lives of people outside Australia (Parsons 2001). The following two case studies explore some of the complexities of the relationship between volunteers and their networks in Australia from three perspectives:

Tiffany, a volunteer in placement; Cherie, a long-term volunteer; and Lisa a returned volunteer.

8.3.1. Case Study 13: Volunteers as Intermediaries

The following case study of Tiffany supports Parson's (2001) argument that development volunteers play an important role in cultural exchange, whereby the volunteer operates as a kind of intermediary between the knowledge "interfaces" of their Australian social networks and those of their developing country placement (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 10). This case study illustrates the process whereby volunteers' knowledge about development plays a role in both redefining and at times reaffirming dominant development discourses in Australia (Desai 2006).

Tiffany's placement stimulated interest in the host country among the volunteer's networks of family and friends in Australia and engaged them in development discourse:

> …they are certainly more interested in East Timor because I am here. There was the political situation happening, all of the things that have been happening in the past year and a half, they have kept up more with that and shown a greater interest in the country.

The volunteer is positioned as a "translator", negotiating relationships and representations of development between aid donors and recipients (Heaton Shrestha 2006; Mosse & Lewis 2006; Rossi 2006). This role is both encouraged and facilitated by Palms through the CommUnity newsletter, while the volunteers are in placement.

The communication process between volunteers and their networks back home is reciprocal with volunteers' networks providing support. However, volunteers did not view the development education as a priority or responsibility:

> I'm here, so my emphasis is here, and I'm connected with the people here, not with the people in Australia… there's the stories and the correspondence that I think is more, sharing my experiences here and sharing the issues here rather than educating…

Communication between volunteers and their networks tended to emphasise an informal sharing of experiences, rather than a formal development education approach. Correspondence from volunteers to friends and family is filled with musings on, and interpretations of, the day to day challenge of fitting in and understanding the issues of local people as the volunteers experienced them. Further, correspondence was driven by the desire to "share". However, while the responsibility of negotiating what to tell lay with

the volunteers, the responsibility of interpreting these stories was left to those reading them. Tiffany explained:

> …people [Australians] will, if they are interested they will find out. I don't need to preach, or you know, talk too much about what I'm doing. If they are interested, they'll ask me.

It is important that Tiffany went on to differentiate her communications home from that of the media:

> You can get the reports from the newspapers… the e-mails sent, the newsletters that are sent there's that glimpse of the everyday life of the students in the school, and the issues that they face and the difficulties that they face and their wider impact on not just them, but their community and East Timor as well.

Development volunteer correspondence about their experiences while they are in the field offers a more personalised and intimate glimpse into the lives of the people they work alongside in developing countries than is possible by the media. In this respect the volunteers do transmit an important alternative perspective on poverty and development to the Australian public (Parsons 2001). Anecdotes about how volunteers experience life alongside their host community may also help to breakdown notions of separate "lifeworlds" between aid donors and the recipients of their aid. However the fundraising objective of the development education tends to emphasise "need" an approach that will undoubtedly continue to reinforce bounded divisions (Rossi 2006).

8.3.2. Case Study 14: Fundraising and Returned Volunteers

Esslinger (2005), a returned volunteer, called for IVSAs to develop programs that maximise the contributions of returned volunteers and argued that such programs should encourage volunteers to participate in community projects and provide opportunities for volunteers to tell their stories. In Esslinger's view, programs that support volunteers' transition back into Australian society and, "…demystify some of the myths about international aid work" are lacking (2005: 50). As discussed earlier in this chapter, Palms encourages returned volunteers to participate in the Pre-departure and Orientation Course, and to speak to community groups about their experiences, but differentiation between Palms development education and fundraising programs has become increasingly blurred since the organisation lost its tender for AusAID funding in 2005. This case study explores some of the implications of this shift, as well as the importance of the development education focus from Cherie's perspective.

Palms development education and fundraising approach provided opportunities for volunteers to talk about their experiences. Cherie saw the approach as providing her with an important forum to share her stories with friends and family:

> You know having to fundraise for [your] own position in Australia is… it's good to share your story and if its of the sort of situation like I did here last time it's, that was good, like that for me was more about the story than raising money.[85]

The opportunity for volunteers to share their story with significant and important others was an essential experience for both parties as it facilitated a vital opportunity for volunteers to connect with people they had been away from (Esslinger 2005). Cherie, who had been volunteering for four years at the time of the fieldwork, described her growing disconnection from family and friends:

> …as it goes on longer and longer, I feel more removed from them, not from my direct family but from my friends as well and you know, I feel quite disconnected and just you know, I think we are just put in this box of you are doing such fantastic things and you are amazing and you are making such a difference and I could never do that and that's, that's the end of it so if I catch up with family and friends and everybody there is a huge… they want to know but they don't know what to ask and I want to tell them but I don't know how to start the conversation… (Cherie)

One of the barriers that volunteers experienced in beginning a conversation with networks of friends is the perception that volunteering is "amazing". This suggests that framing volunteering altruistically potentially hinders dialogue between development volunteers and their significant and important others. This has important implications for how development volunteering is depicted and understood by the broader Australian community. Cherie said that the dilemma of beginning a conversation about her experiences in placement was complicated because her network of family and friends in Australia do not have a conceptual framework through which to understand her day to day life in placement. She went on to talk about how her presentation at the Fair Trade Café had provided her with an important opening to connect to family and friends about her experiences as a development volunteer:

> …the night here [presentation at Fair Trade Café] was really, really good because I would never sit down and talk for a hour about what I do, because you just don't do that in conversation.

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[85] Cherie gave a presentation at the Fair Trade Cafe about her work and life in Timor Leste. The presentation was utilised by Palms as both a fundraising opportunity and a opportunity for Cherie's friends and family, as well as other interested individuals to hear about Cherie's experiences as well as Palms' work.

Cherie's comments support Esslinger's (2005) argument that it is important for returned volunteers to be given an opportunity to tell their stories. The importance of this is that it holds the possibility for development volunteers to contribute to building conceptual frameworks (that enable family and friends to understand their lives in placement) and creates a space for volunteers to reconnect with their networks of friends. Cherie commented that over time the different life she has in Timor Leste has caused her to gradually lose some of these connections with friends:

> The circle of friends that I catch up with each time [I return to Australia] is getting smaller and smaller…

Cherie's experience illustrates the importance of maintaining links between individual volunteers and their networks of family and friends as well as provoking interest in the lives of others outside of Australia. However, she raised the issue about whether or not these opportunities for connection should also be used to fundraise for volunteer placements:

> …I really think that it is the responsibility of Palms to raise the funds and I'm happy to do a little bit of fundraising, but just because I'm the one who goes I don't think that I am the one liable to provide my own financial support…

Cherie's comment again points to the tension surrounding the question of who should fund the volunteer experience and highlights how fundraising creates dilemmas for volunteers as they reconnect with their family and friends.

8.4. The Politicised Individual: Returned Volunteers Interact in Australian Communities

The following section considers how the volunteers' experience "transformed" them and how this translated into their day to day lives once they had returned to Australia. As discussed in Chapter Five, my respondents conceptualised development volunteering as reciprocal in that they anticipated gaining from their experience of giving (Rehnstrom 2000: 81). Development volunteers commented that what they gained from their experience abroad affected their attitudes and behaviour towards others once they returned to Australia. Lisa said that she had gained a better appreciation of living in another culture and empathy for the experiences of migrants in Australia:

> So I guess we gained, certainly an appreciation of living in another culture. You really come up against how difficult it must be for a start, for people who come to Australia

> from another culture. So suddenly it makes you less critical, and have a bit of understanding of what they must go through.

An awareness of the broader political structures that create and perpetuate poverty was expressed by some volunteers. Cherie noted:

> I'm much more aware of things on a world, global view, and, much more understanding of how things work.

Lisa said that she felt that her experience enabled her to gain a deeper insight and empathy for the development issues affecting indigenous Australians:

> It also made, certainly me, an awful lot, as we were there longer and longer… to compare [the development issue of globalisation in Papua New Guinea] with the [Australian] Aboriginals. It is really the same sort of thing in our own country – a different country trying to live with us, so I certainly gained a lot of compassion and understanding for Aboriginal problems.

Lisa's comments suggest that her work as a development volunteer exposed her to the inherent complexity of development work. It is significant that Lisa noted her new awareness of the tensions between Aboriginal Australians and white settlers today as this relationship was emphasised during a visit to an Aboriginal Community Centre, where volunteers discussed development issues with indigenous Australians as part of Palms Pre-departure Preparation and Orientation Course. That Lisa linked her experiences of development as a volunteer to the local development dilemmas in Australia, suggests that Palms training plays a significant role in the politicisation of volunteers by encouraging awareness of development discourses and hegemonies.

In line with Brook et al.'s finding (2007), the volunteers described how their experience translated into their professional lives. Highlighting the professional attitude and skills that volunteers gain through development volunteering, Cherie talked about how she had learned to be more open to the ideas and processes of others and described how these changes impacted on her work life in placement:

> I think on a personal level, I'm much more patient, much slower, much happier to accept different view points, like I think I was probably a little bit more dogmatic before, like this is the right way and that is the wrong way, to see things, or whatever, and that is not going to fly in another culture… and I'm much more able to take a step back and re-evaluate if I'm doing the right thing, if we're on track and trying to get more of a view of other people.

Brook et al (2007) argue that the skills that volunteers gain in placement do translate to the Australian workplace, however Cherie's comment about changes in her attitude raises the

question of whether development volunteers are able to adapt and utilise these skills in the Australian work place and are valued by employers. As stated in Chapter Three, this is certainly the case for the development industry where development volunteering has traditionally served as a training ground (Hancock 1989: 81), but perhaps less so in other fields in Australia.

8.5. Conclusion

This chapter explored Palms development volunteer experiences as they developed and engaged with networks in their communities in Australia. A key dilemma for Palms since it lost AusAID funding has been how to fund its development volunteer program. One solution has been an increased focus on the community as a means of sustaining Palms financially. While this focus has provided volunteers with increased opportunities to engage with the Australian community and share their story of development, the combination of development education with fundraising holds implications for both Palms and its volunteers. Case Studies Eleven and Twelve illustrated that the move towards fundraising for one's own placement within one's own social networks was a move towards the neoliberal conception of civil society which frames social networks as a resource to be tapped. Fundraising for one's own placement also raised important questions about who should fund volunteer placements, especially in light of who ultimately gains.

Development education programs have a number of key purposes including providing returned volunteers with the opportunity to reconnect with family and friends, and sharing with donors the experience of how aid functions is ideally an essential part of the role that development volunteers play in demystifying myths about international aid (Parsons 2001; Lewis 2005). This study has found that the volunteers' relationships with donors are complex, and that volunteers were positioned as intermediaries between knowledge interfaces of their Australian networks and those of their developing country placement, translating and negotiating relationships and representations of development between donors and aid recipients. Volunteers' experiences of the development education/fundraising approach suggest that although volunteers' stories of development contributed to discourse in the public sphere on development issues and the day-to-day lives of others outside of Australia, the voice of the development volunteer also perpetuated binaries of "developed" and "undeveloped" as well as existing notions of poverty and a Third World needing help. These binaries and their accompanying

discourses have explicit power implications which placed pressure on volunteers both prior to and during placement to "perform development" in a manner that was meaningful to Australian donors.

Volunteers are pivotal in linking the Australian community to the volunteers' host community. In line with Spence (2001; 2005), this study has also found that volunteers contributed to friendship networks which cross cultural divides, contributing to different understandings of being which are important to peace building. However as Cherie and Tiffany's experiences (described in Case Studies Nine and Ten) illustrate, the nature of the communication link between development volunteers within Australian communities is tenuous as these links are dependent upon the volunteer's relationship with the host community.

Development volunteers commented that their experiences in placement affected their attitudes and behaviour towards others once they returned to Australia. Examples given included empathy and compassion towards migrants, as well as a greater understanding of the issues that affect Indigenous Australians. Returned development volunteers also commented on how their changed attitudes affected their workplace relations. It is important to consider the permanence of these changes as development volunteers found that over time they slipped back into the Australian way of doing things. The question of exactly how much time this reintegration takes, and what effects it has for maintaining links with the host community is an area that requires further research.

Chapter 9.
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis has examined how neoliberal views of aid and development have affected the practice of development volunteering. It contributes to empirical and theoretical knowledge on IVSAs by providing a nuanced understanding of development volunteer motivation, IVSA-development volunteer relations, and experiences in the field and upon re-entering Australian society. It unpacked and critically analysed the role of development volunteers in the context of: the relevant literature, government policy, the organisational policy of IVSAs, opinions of development volunteers and the perspective from host communities. A central concern of the thesis was to explain how volunteers' subjective experiences were shaped by political, cultural, social and material circumstances, and how the relationship between organisational views of development and those of its development volunteers played out as the volunteers in the study engaged with Palms, entered the field and re-entered Australian society.

A comprehensive case study of Palms Australia was undertaken between 2006 and 2009. This small non-profit IVSA established in 1961 has a specific emphasis on the importance of forging partnerships and relationship building in development. The case study was situated in the literature on the globalisation of neoliberal ideology within the international aid system, and located within Australia's development policy and development aid context. The case study examined the relationship between Palms and its volunteers, particularly the impact of the Palms preparation and orientation process on the manner in which its volunteers understand their role in development. It described and critically analysed: the development volunteers' views of their purpose in the field; the experience of development volunteers in the field, particularly their concerns and issues; and the development education role of development volunteers within the Australian community prior to departure, while in the field and upon their return to Australia.

A multi-sited ethnographic approach (Marcus 1995) was adopted, involving a range of qualitative approaches, including participant observation and individual taped interviews, to facilitate the study of the movements of a group of 13 Palms volunteers through the complete cycle of volunteerism: initial contact with Palms, orientation and preparation into placement which was for some in Papua New Guinea and others in Timor Leste, and their

return to Australia. As the volunteers moved from site to site, a multi-locale approach enabled me to follow the expression of ideas about development and, more broadly, constructive social change, from donors to volunteers and recipients. The approach also allowed me capture the individual subjective experiences of the volunteers, and critically analyse how these experiences are shaped by different political, cultural, social and material circumstances. In doing so I was able to probe the way in which individual development volunteers construct meaning in the context of their experiences in host communities and establish theoretical frameworks (Burns 1997, 292; Ezzy 2003, 3). To understand the impact of how the volunteers understood their role and undertook placements within a complex development context, perceptions of locals needed to be considered. To this end, two local voices were included in the study as well as four foreign experts in the field.

Key conclusions and recommendations from the research are presented below.

9.1. Institutionalisation and Corporatisation of Volunteering

The thesis highlighted important links between the transmission of ideas about development, funding sources and organisation philosophy, and the policy frameworks and practice for IVSA sending models, and preparation and orientation programs. In this paradigm CSOs' dependency on state funding leads to a donor-led, donor-created system in which CSOs operate as a "transmission channel" for a dominant development paradigm underpinned by neoliberal ideology (Townsend & Townsend 2004).

Chapter Three demonstrated this hypothesis in the Australian context where I confirmed an increasing alignment since 2005 of government-funded IVSAs with an Australian aid program that is underpinned by neoliberal ideology. I argued that in line with this, Australian government-funded IVSAs have entered a government-client relationship with AusAID and in doing so have become subject to conditionalities attached to government funding. This has impacted on organisation policy and practice, as IVSAs were required to adopt managerial tools and processes and volunteering became drawn into the government's post-9/11 security agenda in Asia and the Pacific with its emphasis on "good governance". It has also meant that government funded IVSAs have become part of a donor-funded, donor-led system in which neoliberal economic growth informs the development paradigm.

9.1.1. Corporatisation and an Emerging Dichotomy

Volunteering initially was an organic citizen-based activity, however, the trend towards institutionalisation has meant that it has been increasingly colonised by a corporatist instrumentalist framework. In Chapter Three, I demonstrated this trend in the Australian context, where the diversity of the volunteer sending programs among government contracted IVSAs, while initially attractive, has been eroded though the increasing compliance of IVSAs with the Australian government's aid agenda, as well as its managerial requirements of auditing and reporting. This is significant because, despite the current rhetoric of partnership and participation and the changed global political environment, development aid continues to play an important role in the pursuit of the national self-interest of nation states, which under neoliberalism is primarily an economic interest.

This study has also identified that neoliberalism has contributed to an increasing dichotomy in the field of development volunteering, whereby various agencies cluster at either end of a spectrum which ranges between dynamic and political models of volunteering, and institutionalised corporatist models. Especially in Chapters Six it was pointed out that key tensions have emerged between the potential homogenising impact of government policy on government-funded IVSAs, and the reality of the diversity of development as practice, as well as the issue of the increasing number and diversity of IVSAs that are not government-funded and which often operate as commercial enterprises.

The case study of Palms powerfully illustrated that CSOs face increasing pressure to adopt neoliberal philosophies and managerialist mechanisms in order to operate in a neoliberal environment. Chapter Six highlighted that within Palms a central tension lies between the organisation's counter-hegemonic discourse and approach, which focuses on activism and politicisation of the volunteer, and the organisation of its volunteer sending program around "need", which is primarily concerned with service provision. Chapter Seven illustrated that the convergence of the two positions created tensions for both Palms and its volunteers in the field, however the fact that some volunteers adopted a service provision approach to development volunteering, despite Palms' extensive training program, suggests that the principles of neoliberalism are taken for granted as "natural" and as such shape how people understand their world and their place in it.

9.1.2. The neoliberal model: Vocationalisation

I have also demonstrated in this thesis that the current government-IVSA contractual arrangement pushes the "vocationalisation" of volunteer sending programs, emphasising "service provision" without encouraging critical assessment of social, political and economic structures beyond surface causes. To align with AusAID priorities IVSAs have adopted a funder-driven "programmatic approach" to volunteer sending, focused around a system of service provision which emphasises technical skills and work outcomes to meet project "needs". Despite official rhetoric to the contrary, this approach reflects a move away from concepts of exchange and the development of capacities and skills of local people. The Australian government's approach attempts to decouple development volunteering from the political realm as vocational models ignore ideas about responsible citizenship and collective endeavours, as well as the history of influences on efforts to improve society such as social movements and government policy. Rather, vocationalisation individualises development volunteering, privileging individual acts or jobs over broader, collective objectives relating to social action and the pursuit of social justice. Furthermore, as the act of volunteering generally remains viewed through the lens of altruism, it is conceptualised as an individual act of kindness and, as such, is decoupled from politics and policy. Vocationalisation embraces a depoliticised version of citizenship and so I contend that this model of development volunteering can be viewed as "citizenship without politics".

Models which emphasise service provision and vocational skills place less emphasis on providing frameworks of understanding the complex and politicised development context for their volunteers. The usefulness of vocational skills was also raised by the study, as the volunteers interviewed found that in many cases the host communities weren't ready for the level, or kind of skills that the volunteers had. The reason was that some of these skills were those that emerged from particular cultural and institutional understandings of a particular role or governance system.

9.2. Diversity: A Programmatic Issue

Diversity is an important issue that has been overlooked by policy makers operating within an increasingly neoliberal environment that demands a corporatist approach to organisation management. The study highlighted that the decision to volunteer is a diverse and complex

individual decision. Placements were also culturally, socially and politically diverse. They had differing histories and experiences of development and development volunteers, while projects had different goals and partners had different agendas.

This study has illuminated an important tension surrounding the issue of diversity in instrumental models of development volunteering, such as the vocational model of the Australian Government Volunteer Program, which points to the differing ontological and epistemological ways that development volunteering is understood. It highlighted tension between positivist and organic forms of volunteering, which value the diversity of the multiple parties involved, and the dilemmas and tension between having to operate under a corporate model. An important question that arises from this finding is: How do organisations capture the individual nature and experience of development volunteering?

The practice of Palms volunteers demonstrated that providing volunteers with a framework to understand their experience was an important role for IVSAs. Palms' preparation provides a framework for the social and political dimensions of globalisation and development in Asia and the Pacific. Its nine day Pre-Departure Orientation Course provided context and understanding of local environments rather than conditioning, which framed the contradictions and paradoxes of development for participants. These frameworks provided volunteers with the alternative purpose of relationship building when they found that the "need" outlined in the Position Description was unclear or untenable. Significantly, volunteers who focused on their function as service provider in these situations found it more difficult to remain in placement.

9.3. Asymmetrical Relations: The complexity of a Participatory Approach

The study highlighted that volunteering's association with altruistic behaviour, and ideas about being a good citizen, colours how the motivations of volunteers are understood by themselves and others. This was demonstrated within expatriate communities in the field, where hierarchy and differentiation between volunteers was due to ideas about who was the most "authentic" (i.e. sacrificed the most in financial and material comfort). It is also important to note that those considered the most "authentic" were generally most socially isolated from other expatriates and local people as they could not afford to enter into the social networks of the expatriate community, and found it difficult to access the

established, and materially, culturally and linguistically (and generally educationally) different, networks of local counterparts and host communities.

Western notions of altruism however, did not play a role in how locals viewed development volunteers. Significantly, locals did not differentiate between development volunteers and other aid workers. Rather, the thesis elucidated that volunteers and other development practitioners were viewed as having access to resources that locals did not. In the extreme, volunteers were seen as resources to be used and tapped, or as one respondent described: "white cargo". The volunteers in the study identified this to be both an alienating and isolating experience, as well as one which impeded their sense of good will towards locals. In this manner, the asymmetrical hierarchies that development volunteers enter into in the field compromise mutually reciprocal partnerships.

In this context, Chapter Seven identified that volunteers did not necessarily have control over which resources locals tap, or how. This was particularly clear when volunteers adopted the more instrumental service provision model of development volunteering, which is task oriented and assumes, and expects, local partners to operate upon the same work value system as the West, including programs, timetables and particular kinds of work place structures. Significantly, such expectations were central to frustrations experienced by the volunteers.

Mutual reciprocal partnerships are further complicated by the historical arrangement and dynamics of aid delivery. The experiences of the volunteers in this study suggest that within development there is a consensus about how partnerships are played out between Westerners and people in developing countries: Westerners hold the conception of themselves as the delivers of aid to the needy, whilst those in developing countries view aid, and those who deliver it, as a resource to be tapped, or an opportunity. Aid is thus a passive strategy to gain resources within this partnership arrangement, which is accepted by both parties.

In this study I raised a central concern which centres on those volunteers who adopted a service provision or instrumentalist interpretation of development volunteering. Within partnerships with local communities these volunteers perpetuated asymmetrical hierarchies of development aid as they viewed locals as belonging to different material, social and epistemological worlds. This interpretation, when framed in terms of developed and undeveloped, with the latter equating to "need" in the developing country, contributed to

volunteers' conceptualisations of themselves as "skilled experts" and justified volunteers' authoritative attitudes towards local people and their control in relationships. However, those volunteers who refused to act according to this prescription said they were treated as inferior to those volunteers who fulfilled the role of "provider".

9.3.1. Individualisation and agency in development volunteering

In terms of agency, the study identified tensions around volunteers' desire to make a difference and a participatory approach to development. The motivation to volunteer represents the interconnection between altruistic desire and egoistic intent. As such, there is no such thing as pure altruistic giving, as volunteering is a reciprocal experience where the volunteer accrues some personal benefit from their action. While volunteers' motivations were values-driven, in that they wanted to "help", they also said that they were motivated by a range of benefits from their action. Instrumental models such as vocationalisation appealed to notions of individual agency such as "helping" and "making a difference" as they present a technical and prescriptive approach, rather than a model concerned with the complex historical, social and political dimensions of poverty and development. Furthermore, language of the Western work-place employed by instrumental corporatist models appeals both to those interested in volunteering as a stepping stone into the development industry and future employers, raising the important question of: Who really gains from development volunteering? One could contend that the individual clearly benefits, as does Australia's development aid industry with the AGVP currently resembling a tax payer subsidised training ground for its future employees.[86]

While there is interconnection between an altruistic desire and egoistic intent in the motivation to volunteer, there is also unease with a clear disjuncture between the social justice values and desire for cultural exchange that motivate the volunteer and the increasing emphasis on individual skills and technical capacities of the individualising volunteer. This view emphasises the agency of the individual volunteer in the development of the host community rather than the agency of locals in their own development. Tension arose between the individual's desire to "make a difference" and the local community's view of the purpose of volunteer as "white cargo". Values attached to Western work value

[86] Indeed I contend that development volunteering is an apprenticeship for the development industry.

systems such as "time" contributed to tensions, especially when volunteers understood their purpose as to meet programmatic goals within a timeframe in particular kinds of work place structures. Significantly, even though two years seems like a long time for the volunteer, locals viewed them as simply part of a passing parade within the context of their own experience of development.

9.4. The Multiple Roles and Expectations of Volunteers

The study highlighted important contradictions and assumptions as to the value of the volunteer. The main paradoxes concerned key assumptions on the role of volunteers in sending countries as fostering of linkages and partnerships between recipient and sending communities, and their activist potential, particularly as contributing to alternative understandings of poverty and development. The experiences of the volunteers in this study elucidated the trend that volunteer's connections with host communities weakened over time while the strongest and most established links were between the sending organisation and the host organisation. In PNG for example, Palms had a 40 year relationship with the host organisation which had placed five of the six volunteers in the study based in that country. It is significant to note however, that the host organisation and partner were non-national with the host organisation established and operated by a religious community of foreign priests. Furthermore, the study demonstrated that relationships between IVSAs and host communities centred on the historical arrangement and dynamic of aid delivery which defined and determined roles of donors and recipients. Chapter Six illustrated how host partners both created placements and agreed to conditions specified by Palms, yet did not meet them, creating a destabilising experience for the volunteers involved.

A key concern centres on IVSA relationships between host partners and the placement and management of volunteers. Given that volunteers are considered a resource by host communities, host organisations familiar with development rationales and jargon of development agencies shape their applications for development volunteers accordingly – a process that volunteers facilitated as they operated as both "brokers" and "translators" of dominant development discourse in the field. In raising this issue, greater attention needs to be paid to the human, rather than the technical or skills, component of the long-term effect of volunteers' contribution in the field, such as the perpetuation of dominant technically-based discourses of development.

The experiences of Palms volunteers established that volunteers' relationships with donors in sending countries are complex. This was illustrated in Chapter Eight which demonstrated that volunteers are positioned as intermediaries between knowledge interfaces of their Australian networks and those of their developing country placement. As volunteers translate and negotiate relationships and representations of development between donors and recipients, their stories contribute to the discourse in the public sphere on development issues and the day-to-day lives of others outside of Australia. The study showed that the "voice" of development volunteers operating in a neoliberal paradigm perpetuated binaries of "developed" and "undeveloped" as well as existing notions of poverty and a Third World, because volunteers' fundraising roles emphasised "need" in developing communities in order to gain funds for their placement. While the fundraising component is particular to Palms volunteers, the emphasis on "need" in developing countries is not. Indeed "need" is the main focus in more instrumental volunteer sending models.

9.5. Recommendations

This study has highlighted that the volunteers occupy a unique position in the development community and in doing so potentially fulfil a valuable role in development. However I argue that this cannot occur unless a new paradigm is adopted for donor-volunteer engagement in both a fundraising and development education capacity. This engagement should shift the emphasis from notions of recipients of aid requiring the resources that donors have, to one that stresses the interconnection between nations and therefore the citizens within them. Such an approach requires the politicisation of the volunteer through development education that highlights the complexities of development aid as an integral part of international relations, as well as indicating the political dimensions of citizenship. This points to a more significant role for IVSAs in the development education of their volunteers, and their support for volunteers as they engage with communities throughout the volunteer cycle.

In relation to this recommendation the study demonstrated that volunteers need a social mission incorporating the broad perspectives of the development environment, and captures the diversity of the experience of working within it. Such a mission is necessary for the politicisation of the development volunteers, as it prepares them for the politics of development. Without frameworks, the experience holds the potential to degenerate into a

working holiday, with few concrete development outcomes if volunteers are unprepared for the social and political dimensions of the development experience and globalisation processes. This is not a simple process because any framework would need to engage with the broad diversity of individual volunteers.

Palms' model is consistent with this recommendation, despite being riddled with tensions, and consistently being surveyed and monitored by the instruments of the state. Conversely, the Australian government's intention, following the recommendation of Kwitko et. al. (2009), to "brand" and streamline the Australian Volunteer Program is at the expense of diversity, not only of the diversity of the individuals who choose to volunteer, but also of the setting of placements. Furthermore, the emphasis on technical exchange embodied in the vocational model of volunteer sending, represents an assistance model of development, like the technical exchange models of the Cold War, such as the Colombo Plan.

In a new globalised environment, development volunteering requires a new model. This model must move beyond the "old" Frierian notions of conscientisation and class struggle, and away from instrumental models that emphasise technical exchange. Models must take into account the contemporary emphasis on the autonomous agency of the individual, and their desire for self-determination.[87] That volunteers are values-driven should not be viewed through the lens of altruism, rather their activity should be understood in terms of individual acts of political expression. These gestures are not altruistic, rather they are expressions of individual responsibility, and both the desire and commitment to create a more egalitarian world or "good society". New models must politicise the volunteer so that they understand the context of their action. In a globalised world, this requires that more emphasis be placed on networks of association both between volunteers, their sending communities and host communities in developing countries. While a difficult task, this is especially important as a central rationale for development volunteering is to develop people-to-people linkages. Technology can play a role in the latter and more research needs to be undertaken to ascertain how to do this effectively.

Finally, the tension between the instrumental and organic political approaches to development volunteering reflects the research paradigm in the area. The diversity of the

[87] This conception of the individual and the agency of the individual is drawn from the account of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim in Individualisation (2001).

volunteer experience, along with the broad range of deeply personal reasons given as to why individuals undertake the activity, suggest that a sociological interpretative model, which incorporates volunteers' feelings and attitudes, rather than an instrumentalist approach to understanding development volunteering, is more likely to shed light on the complex range of issues, tensions and ethical questions associated with development volunteering.

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APPENDIX I: Summary of Fieldwork Data and Sources

Palms Australia

Volunteers

Focus group interviews with returned volunteers (conducted by the research team): 1

Individual interviews with returned volunteers (conducted by research team): 7

Telephone interviews with recently returned volunteers (personal interview): 3

Individual interviews with volunteers in placement, Timor Leste (personal interview): 5

Individual interviews with volunteers in placement, Papua New Guinea (personal interview): 7

Administrative staff:

Individual interview with Palms Director (personal interview): 2

Interview with Palms In-country manager Papua New Guinea: 1

Regular office visits:

Minimum of two visits per month.

Attendance at Meetings:

Regular attendance at Board Meetings

Annual General Meeting 2006

Attendance at Preparation and Orientation course:

Full attendance in 2006

Partial attendance in 2007

Attendance at individual volunteer fundraising activities:

Several fundraising evenings for Palms volunteers in 2006

Other voices

Individuals who had the experience of working as a partner or a counterpart with an Australian Cross-national volunteer:

Timor Leste (personal interview): 2

Papua New Guinea (personal interview): 4

Other Australian volunteer sending organizations

Attendance at IVSA meetings

Information sessions of (two) AusAID funded IVSAs.

Regular attendance at Australian Global Volunteer Network Meetings

Experts worked in the sector in Australia (other than Palms)

Formal Meetings: 2

APPENDIX II: Overview of Participants (development volunteers) and Placements

TIMOR-LESTE

Name	Age	Length of service	Marital status	Description of placement: role	Description of placement: location & site
Tiffany	30-35	12mths	S	Placement Education: English teacher. Tiffany's role was to teach students studying cooking and tailoring at a vocational high school. English is one of the required subjects in the vocational high school diploma offered by the school. Tiffany is required to prepare students for an exam in Class sizes of approximately 20-30 students.	A secondary vocational girl's school situated in a religious community (Salesian Sisters) in a remote rural community in a small subdistrict centre in the mountainous region in eastern Timor-Leste. The school is about 45 mins by microlet from the only other major city in eastern Timor-Leste and 2-3 hours to the capital Dili. The school has two main streams: sewing and cooking & hospitality. There are three levels or grades and a three year course. There are about 100 girls at the school. The girls are aged between 16 and 20 years. The majority of girls board at the school and about one third are day students from the village around the school. The school facilities include a tape recorder, television, DVD player and limited photocopying and paper supplies. The school also has a library and computer – although Tiffany relied on the one she brought from Australia. The school has a phone, and mobile phone, however personal calls are not looked upon a positively. The school has its own generator which it operates from 9:30 am-1:30pm each school day for the tailoring students. At the neighbouring community centre there is internet access. There are small shops and kiosk in the village

					and a market once a week. Mobile phone reception is very poor and reception limited. Tiffany lives in the compound approximately 5 mins walk from the school, next to an orphanage run by the sisters. All meals including breakfast, lunch and dinner are shared with the community of sisters at the school. Tiffany's accommodation is simple, basically furnished and has two bedrooms with ensuites, a kitchen and separate living room. Power is available from 6:00pm to 12:00am each evening and running water is available for a limited period during the day.
James	35-40	6 years	widowed	Community capacity building: James trained local fishermen in reading plans and carpentry. He also oversaw the building of an eco-tourism lodge which he was managing at the time of my field visit.	Situated on a mountainous island. The island has a population of about 8,000 people who live in 5 villages. The population are mostly subsistence farmers and fishermen. The island is accessible by a ferry which leaves Dili twice a week. Local boats can also be chartered. The project is an eco-tourism lodge of 5 huts along the shoreline. The huts are built out of renewable materials and have access to composting toilets. There are two eco-tourism lodges on the island. The other was a project managed by a volunteer from another Australian IVSA.
Cherie	30-35	4 years	S	Health: physio therapist/manager (The position requested the volunteer to commit for 5 years): Initially Cherie was responsible for building and setting up the centre which provides Prosthetic and Orthotic and rehabilitation services. Cherie: selected trainee Prosthetist Orthotists for a training program in Cambodia; established a National Board of Directors and	An NGO based in a suburb of Dili, the capital of Timor-Leste that provides a service to people with disabilities until the Ministry of Health can take over the role of service provider in approximately 4-6 years time. At the time of my visit, the Ministry was funding about 55% of the program. The project was initiated by a large International NGO experienced in disability services, which continues to fund it. Current programs running are prosthetics and both clinic and community-based rehabilitation. Intended programs include a

				trained local technicians. At the time of my visit Cherie was responsible for running both centre based and community based rehabilitation activities. This involved: building the capacity of existing and new health care / rehabilitation personnel through training and providing training opportunities; establishing services to people with disabilities; providing a means by which rehabilitated people with disabilities can assess mainstream opportunities. As manager Cherie is given a budget. She also networks with local NGOs working in the field, community groups and government ministries. Cherie manages project administration including data base of clients and personnel schedules and work plans.	wheelchair program for disabled people. Cherie has access to a project vehicle. Additional transport includes access to taxis. A computer is also available, however Cherie also has her own. Cherie lives in a suburb of Dili, about 15mins by car from the clinic. She lives in a house divided in two – the other half occupied by a Timorese extended family. She has three bedrooms, a bathroom, open plan kitchen and dining. Cherie has access to town electricity and water supply, both of which are unreliable. Being in Dili, Cherie also has access to cyber cafes which have broadband and dial-up internet (which is expensive at about US$1.50 for 15 minutes; large hotels also have internet, however this is more expensive again), banks (ANZ has around 20 cash points), post offices hotels and restaurants.
Paul	60-65	12mths	M	Community development officer: Paul's role is to develop skills among youth towards effective community participation, provide training and support to the indigenous nurses and staff in health promotion, community education, water supply maintenance and project management. Paul networks between the parish and the "Friends and Partners with East Timor", a parish in Australia which provides resources to the village to assist in building the capacity of the community. Paul also networks with government departments.	Paul and his wife Pam are located in a village near the border of West Timor, in a rural village. It is situated on the main road and transport route to Indonesian West Timor, the village was one of many areas that felt the brunt of the 1999 destruction. The volunteers have their own vehicle. Their accommodation is a simply furnished hut divided into two bedrooms, lounge and kitchen. Dining is outside on a slab laid by the volunteers. A washing machine is also outside. The volunteers have a generator operating 24 hours a day. The generator runs the volunteer's fridge, which is also used to store medicines for the local community. Paul and Pam used their home as an office and meeting place as it is centrally located in the village. They have use of a

				At the time of visit, he was working alongside and training one local counterpart.	computer and printer and have their own vehicle.
Pam	60-65	12mths	M	Midwife/maternal and child health: Pam works with a small nursing team with skill development in clinical care and health education focusing on women. She also plans and manages community based health services. At the time of my visit Pam was working alongside and training two local counterparts.	

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Name	Age	Length of service	Marital status	Description of placement: role	Description of placement: location & site
Michelle	30-35	8mths	M	Health: Due to security reasons Michelle and Craig "shadow" each other in undertaking their role which involves developing services for disabled people in their area. At the time of my visit this involved working alongside two local workers to compose their daily work plan and quarterly goals, and to train them in health and disability related topics. Michelle and Craig also saw their role as advocating for greater support for their local counterparts in terms of supervision and communication by local managers of the organisation that employed them. Michelle and Craig spent two days a week travelling to villages and meeting with local volunteers. They also used this time to visit up to three clients and worked alongside the local volunteer to teach assessment and treatment skills, record keeping and development of client goals. Their goal was to set up regular Community based Rehabilitation services that supported disabled people and their families in rural villages. Michelle and Craig also supported other	Michelle and Craig are employed by a Catholic organisation working with people with disabilities in Papua New Guinea. The organisation has been operating in PNG for around 40 years and is Palms main partner in PNG, providing placements for five of the six Palms volunteers at the time of my field visit. The organisational culture is a blend of Western Christianity and Melanesian traditions as it has emerged from a missionary tradition and works within the local culture. Its blended organisational culture is layered further as it employs people from PNG's many different ethnic groups. Michelle and Craig live in a remote village in PNG's Highlands about an hour and a half drive on rough road surfaces from the nearest airport. They live in a Christian Brothers compound in a simply furnished house. The house has potable tank water that was piped into the house, and electricity. Blackouts are a common experience for the volunteers. They have a refrigerator, upright stove and oven, and television which receives a local channel and Channel 7 from Australia. They also have a telephone, and their own computer which they brought from Australia and attached to a dial-up internet connection.
Craig	30-35	8mths	M		

				foreign medical practitioners and projects in the area. These included: Eye Screening Workshops, Cataract Surgery and World Disability Day.	
Susan	30-35	12mths	S	Business Management: Susan's role is to work with and train staff in business practices, relationship building and rehabilitation counselling, as well as assist in the development of "Deaf Units" to better support the hearing impaired children in regional areas of Papua New Guinea.	Susan is employed by a Catholic organisation working with people with disabilities in Papua New Guinea. The organisation has been operating in PNG for around 40 years and is Palms main partner in PNG, providing placements for five of the six Palms volunteers at the time of my field visit. The organisational culture is a blend of Western Christianity and Melanesian traditions as it has emerged from a missionary tradition and works within the local culture. Its blended organisational culture is layered further as it employs people from PNG's many different ethnic groups. Susan lives in a compound close to her workplace in a simply furnished Western-style home which had un-potable water piped into the house from a water tank, and electricity. She has a refrigerator, upright stove and oven. She also has a telephone, and her own computer which she brought from Australia and attached to a dial-up internet connection.
Peter	50-55	12mths	M	Logistics Manager: Peter provided training of local staff in finance matters, specifically in project funding. He will assist in the coordination of some building projects.	Peter and Nola are employed by a Catholic organisation working with people with disabilities in Papua New Guinea. The organisation has been operating in PNG for around 40 years and is Palms main partner in PNG, providing placements for five of the six Palms volunteers at the time of my field visit. The organisational culture is a blend of Western Christianity and Melanesian traditions as it has emerged from a missionary tradition and works within the local culture. Its blended organisational culture is layered further as it employs people
Nola	50-55	12mths	M	Health: Helen's role was to extend physiotherapy beyond the main centre of major coastal city in which she was based and also to train local	

				staff in Community Based Rehabilitation. At the time of my visit, she was also responsible for renovating and equipping a physiotherapy unit in a hospital in a remote community.	from PNG's many different ethnic groups. Peter and his wife Nola live in the organisation's compound which is located on a campus outside of a large coastal town. On the campus there are five institutions including the national arm of their employing organisation, its provincial office, a university, an elementary school and a primary school. The volunteer's accommodation was in a simply furnished semi-detached home. It has three bedrooms, kitchen, open plan dining and living space.
Brian	55-60	2 years 2nd placement	S	Religious Educator: Brian's role was to teach theology at a Seminary in PNG. At the time of my visit he also managed the accounts and did the weekly shopping for the seminary.	Brian was placed in a Seminary in the highlands in PNG, about and hour away from a major town. Brian lives in the Seminary in teacher accommodation. He has access to running water, electricity, telephone and computer. Meals are prepared by the kitchen staff and Brian eats with the other teachers in a common room. The Seminary has a garden which produces vegetables for meals, a large library, computer lab and chapel. Brian has access to a motor vehicle (truck) for shopping trips into town.
Grant	55-60	Returned pre-re-entry	M	Administration trainer and supervisor: Grant's role was to train and supervise a number of diocesan staff working in the HIV/AIDS team in administrative techniques and procedures, emphasising and encouraging accountability, better cooperation, effective governance and responsible financial management. Grant also worked as a Project Manager, building a HIV/AIDS conference centre and renovating a live-in conference centre about an hour away from their placement. Grant also wrote a submission to Caritas	Both Grant and his wife Lisa were based on an island in a newly autonomous province of PNG. Both lived in the dioceses compound in a simply furnished Western style house with electricity, telephone connection and running water which came from a rain water tank. Grant was employed by the Catholic Diocese and worked closely with the local Bishop. Lisa was employed by a Catholic organisation working with people with disabilities in Papua New Guinea. The organisation has been operating in PNG for around 40 years is Palms main partner in PNG, providing placements for five of the six Palms volunteers at the time of my the field visit. The organisational culture is a blend of Western Christianity

				Australia for funding for the Diocese's HIV/AIDS program.	and Melanesian traditions as it has emerged from a missionary tradition and works within the local culture. Its blended organisational culture is layered further as it employs people from PNG's many different ethnic groups.
Lisa	55-60	Returned post-re-entry	M	Health: Lisa's role was to establish a natural therapy program which incorporates the training of local staff, local volunteers and nurses. (She established a Bowen Therapy Clinic). She also went to villages to treat people and as the only driver, supported local medical team's visits to schools to conduct eye and ear screening programs.	

APPENDIX III: Description of Palms placement process

Palms assesses the "needs" of "requesting communities" (partners in the developing country) through a process of dialogue and negotiation with the "requesting Community". The "dialogue" which typically begins with a request sent from the "requesting Community" to Palms. Negotiation of the placement is framed within a particular criteria set by Palms that the "requesting Community" is required to meet. Palms accepts the request based on the project/placement's ability to meet a particular set of sustainable development outcomes and output criteria. Acceptance is also conditional upon the requesting Community's ability to host a development volunteer.

The majority of these requests come from church and Community groups, and occasionally within government and business sectors. The process of requesting a volunteer involves the project proponent, referred to as "requesting Community" by Palms, to complete a Memorandum of Understanding and Conditions of Service. Requests are considered by a Country Program Coordinator. Once the Committee receives a request it begins a process of dialogue with the project proponent about the project.

In accepting a request Palms assesses the merits of the request based on the objectives, outputs and outcomes indicated by the requesting Community/organisation [host partner], and their ability to host a Palms Australia Global Mission participant [development volunteer]. It also uses a number of criteria which include: experience in running development programs; that the position have the potential to be sustainable from local resources; outcomes will reduce material poverty in the Community and benefits should be available to all sections of the Community; evidence that the people involved in the project in the host country have had input and accept the main process of skill exchange to be used; the project should not directly be related to evangelistic or political objectives of the project proponent; and finally should involve sound environmental and ecological practices as well as ensure that the specific social and economic needs of both men and women are addressed.

Palms describes the development process as "one based on partnership and interdependence" whereby "partnerships with, and for, local communities (are) part of an ongoing and dynamic process of interaction, dialogue and negotiation within a work environment (Palms Australia 2006e, 1). Palms favours the counterpart model of

volunteering whereby placements emphasise skills and knowledge transfer between the individual development volunteer and a local counterpart who work alongside each other. Palms documentation states:

> The opportunity and capacity for skill and knowledge transfer is an integral component in the placement of Palms Australia Global Mission participants [volunteers] within its development contexts (Palms Australia 2006e, 3).

Palms shares information about potential placements with the development volunteer applicant during the first interview in order to determine a placement that "…provides the best fit for experience, qualifications, requirements of the participant and the needs of the partner" (Palms Australia 2004, 7). This process of dialogue is seen as an important function.

Palms emphasises both in its preparation materials and at the orientation course that once the development volunteer has entered the host country the "primary relationship" is with the receiving Community [host partner]. Prior to this, responsibility for negotiating the role and determining the fit lies with the Country Coordinator. Palms documentation states:

> S/he [Country Program Coordinator] collaborates with the participant to determine a placement assignment that provides the best fit for experience, qualifications, requirements of the participant and the needs and requirements of the partner [host partner] (Palms Australia 2004, 7).

Job descriptions written by partners were approved by Country Program Coordinators after a dialogue involving a field visit and ongoing consultation and correspondence via e-mail, fax and telephone in Australia. Palms development volunteers usually receive a Position Description and Conditions-of-Service booklet once the project proponent, development volunteer and Palms have all agreed upon the details of the position description and conditions of service.

APPENDIX IV: Description of Palms Training

Enquiry, selection and preparation process

Palms places great emphasis on preparing its volunteers for their placements. The preparation of volunteers beings with the selection process. Palms selection process is a "self selection" process involving activities and exercises that encourage self-reflection whereby the volunteer, given all the information available, ultimately makes the decision to accept a placement through Palms.

The Palms volunteer selection process begins with enquiry. Once an enquiry is made, the enquirer is sent "Information Booklet 1: Enquiry and Application" and an "Application Form". If the enquirer returns the "Application Form" applicants are invited to attend a "Focus Workshop" stated as holding the following purpose:

> The workshop although non-compulsory "provides opportunity for questioning, discussing and interacting with other applicants interested in living and working cross-culturally, and with people who have returned from an overseas placement. It is also an opportunity for meeting program staff and discussing placement possibilities" (Palms Australia 2006c).

The applicant is then sent "Information Booklet 2: Preparation and Training" along with a "Reflective Questionnaire" which asks the applicant to respond to a number of questions that involve reflecting on their motivation to volunteer for development. Once referees have been contacted and the "Reflective Questionnaire" returned a "two-way interview" is arranged between Palms staff and the applicant. Palms describes interviewing as "central to the work of Palms" because it "provides us [Palms] with a chance to develop our understanding of people and their development" (Palms Australia 2006c). Palms describes this as gaining "unearned intimacy" as it enables deeper engagement with the applicant within a time period which is less that that usually taken "in normal social intercourse" (Palms Australia 2006c).

Following the interview, the applicant begins the "Preparation Program", a self study program sent to the applicant by mail. The program is organised thematically around four units, the objective of which are to encourage applicants to "reflect upon and examine relevant cross-cultural issues that they may confront in their placement". The program units are as following: "Unit 1: Introduction to Palms" – this unit introduces applicants to key concepts involved in the work and underlying philosophy of Palms; "Unit 2: Tensions"

– this unit highlights some of the differences that exist between different cultures. It also presents some strategies for applicants to use when dealing with the subsequent tensions that arise from these differences; "Unit 3" – this unit provides in depth country information and guided research questions specific to the country that the applicant's placement is in as well as general issues about health and culture shock; and "Unit 4: Agents for Change" – this unit provides strategies for applicants to identify skills beyond their formal education that may be of use once they are in placement.

Units one and two are sent after the first interview. Once placement and funding arrangement options are confirmed a second "two-way interview" between the applicant and Palms staff member is undertaken. Once the second interview has taken place and a suitable placement agreed upon, units three and four are sent to the applicant. Once the self-study program is completed, applicants are then invited to attend an orientation course.

Pre-departure Orientation Course

Before volunteers are sent to the field, Palms runs an annual nine day live-in pre-departure orientation course which prepares volunteers for their "cross-cultural" experience by helping them make the transition into their new country and culture.[88] The course emphasises health, culture, development and field experience to ensure that participants develop practical skills and strategies they will use in the field. In addition, the orientation aims to encourage bonding between participants in order to provide them with a support network as they commence their assignment. Facilitators included doctors, counsellors, academics, linguists, missionaries and returned Palms development volunteers. A variety of strategies and activities are used to accommodate the various learning modes of the participants. These include: journaling, field studies, lecturing, simulations, scenarios, discussion, reflection and interviews.

Each day of the orientation course began with breakfast at 8:00am followed by a reflection at 9:00am. Sessions began at 9:15am and finished at 9:30pm (occasionally continuing until 10:00pm). There were breaks for lunch, morning tea and afternoon tea. Participants were divided into six groups and each group was responsible for a daily reflection. What the

[88] Previously the pre-departure orientation course was held over two weeks, however Palms reduced the length of time to nine days due to demands of participants, who claimed that they could not afford such a large amount of time away from their busy daily lives as they prepared to leave. Funding constraints also played a role in this decision. It should also be noted that Palms offers the longest pre-departure and orientation among Australian IVSAs.

group chose to reflect on and how they chose to reflect was the responsibility of the individual group. Throughout the orientation, applicants were involved in at least two meeting with the Palms Country Co-ordinator and Community Relations Co-ordinator. These meetings were used to discuss the posting as well as any other concerns that applicants may have.

The program of the Orientation is organised thematically with different focuses each day. The flow of the program was: Day one of the course program focused on general housekeeping and introduction of Palms the organisation, staff and applicants. The day also had activities designed to create awareness among the participants of the general stages of preparedness for their volunteer experience as well as consider and be sensitive towards the ways in which different personality types operate in different situations. Day two dealt with the practicalities of cross-cultural work in a "developing" or "third world" country, such as experiencing and working among people who have experienced trauma; maintaining physical health, and strategies for learning the language of the indigenous Community. Days three, four and five concentrated on the cross-cultural experience. A variety of techniques were used to achieve this including field trips, simulation exercises and engagement with theory. Day six provided an overview of development theory and practice. This was primarily concerned with introducing approaches to creating sustainable development project with communities. Day seven addressed strategies for the transfer of skills and knowledge of the volunteer to the DCRC. Day eight provided the opportunity for outgoing volunteers to talk to returned Palms development volunteers and ask questions about their experiences in the field. The final day of the orientation, day nine, involved preparation for, and undertaking of the Commissioning Ceremony. The Commissioning Ceremony was a sending off ceremony for the volunteers and their family, performed by a pastor.

Re-entry programs and support

Materials preparing development volunteers for their return to Australia are sent to volunteers in placement 6 months prior to their return. Once home, development volunteers are debriefed within one week of arriving and are offered the opportunity to attend a two day re-entry workshop designed to support volunteers' transition back into life in Australia. Re-entry workshops offer opportunities for volunteers to share their experiences with other returnees as "traditional sources of support are baffled by a returnee's inability to just slot back in" (Palms Australia 2009). Facilitated discussions also

encourage returnees to explore new understandings of development, debrief on global and local issues and better understand the new role a returnee can have at home.

APPENDIX V: Letter of Consent

University of Wollongong 

24th August, 2006

Dear ,

I am a PhD. student researching international volunteers. My research is part of a research project entitled "Australian Volunteers Abroad in the Asia-Pacific Region" undertaken by Palms Australia and the University of Wollongong. There is very little empirical research on international volunteering and this project aims to test a number of taken-for-granted assumptions concerning the nature and practice of volunteering overseas for development purposes. The intention is that the research will be beneficial for both Palms as a volunteer sending agency and future volunteers.

The focus of my project is on the first six months of a volunteer's posting, in particular, the ways in which a volunteer engages in working with the host community or organisation to develop a project. I am also particularly interested in changes in hopes and expectations about the position and project.

In order to understand the complexities of this process I would greatly appreciate access to your files in the Palms office. I understand that these files are confidential and they will be treated as such. I will not remove them from the Palms office or share their content with anyone else.

I also invite you to contact me and share any of your thoughts and experiences on and around the research area (contact details below). If you are interested in contributing to this project, please fill in and return the attached form.

Yours sincerely,

Nichole Georgeou
PhD. Candidate
University of Wollongong
e-mail: ncg61@uow.edu.au

I_____ give permission for the use of my personal files for research on the project entitled "Australian Volunteers Abroad in the Asia-Pacific Region".

_____

(signature)

APPENDIX VI: Interview Question Guide

Motivation

Could you tell me a bit about yourself before you volunteered?

What sort of things motivated you to volunteer?

Palms-Volunteer relationship

What attracted you to Palms?

Tell me a bit about your preparation with Palms.

Experience in the Field

Tell me a bit about your placement.

Tell me about the impact of the experience on yourself.

How do you get along with the local people?

Is it what you expected?

Sending community Relationship

Do you have a lot of contact with people back in Australia?

Do you think that your experience had any effect or influence on your community in Australia?

What's it like going home?

Tell me about fundraising?

Development

Can you share some of your ideas and thoughts with me about what development is?

What role do you think that volunteers play in development?

Would you recommend volunteering abroad to others?