March 2007

Research Partnerships Build the Service Field in Africa

Special Issue on Civic Service in the Southern African Development Community

A joint issue of *The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher*, University of Johannesburg and the *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, School of Social Work, University of Zimbabwe

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This publication was facilitated and produced by Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa, supported by funding from the Charles Mott Foundation.

This is a joint issue of the *The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher,* University of Johannesburg and the *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, School of Social Work, University of Zimbabwe.

The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher ISSN 1011-2324

Journal of Social Developement in Africa ISSN 1012-1080

This publication is available online at www.vosesa.org.za.

Co-publishers

Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa (VOSESA), PO Box 85535, Emmarentia, 2029, Johannesburg, South Africa

The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher, Department of Social Work, University of Johannesburg, PO Box 524, Auckland Park, 2006, Johannesburg, South Africa

Journal of Social Development in Africa, University of Zimbabwe, School of Social Work, P.Bag 66022, Kopje, Harare, Zimbabwe

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Recommended citation

Patel L and Mupedziswa R (eds), 2007, *Research Partnerships Build the Service Field in Africa: Special Issue on Civic Service in the Southern African Development Community*, Johannesburg: Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa, The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher, Journal of Social Development in Africa. A joint issue of the *The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher*, University of Johannesburg and the *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, School of Social Work, University of Zimbabwe.

Publishing manager: Philanie Jooste for Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa, Johannesburg

Copy-editor: Kathleen Bartels, Wordsmiths Publishing, Writing and Editing Services, Johannesburg

Design and typesetting: Manik Design, Johannesburg

Production: colour print, Johannesburg

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Editorial

This collaborative study was conducted to learn more about civic service in the Southern African region – its nature and scope, its uniqueness in the African context, and the implications for service policy and action. Civic service as a field of enquiry internationally and regionally is underdeveloped. Its meaning, concepts, methodology, best practices, pitfalls and challenges are not well understood in developing contexts. Much of the literature on service has emerged in developed societies, and the applicability of this body of knowledge and practice to developing societies is receiving increasing attention.

The Global Service Institute at the Center for Social Development at Washington University, St Louis, initiated a programme to study service across national contexts in order to identify common patterns and differences between countries. This special issue of *The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher* and the *Journal of Social Development in Africa* reports on the *Five-Country Cross-National Study on Civic Service and Volunteering in Southern Africa*, a study that could make a significant contribution to building service as a field of enquiry. This is particularly relevant in the context of globalisation and regionalisation where civic service is emerging as a growing social phenomenon and institution.

The articles in this special issue demonstrate how different actors in the region are co-operating to address the human development challenges in the five countries – Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The service initiatives reported on contribute to developing knowledge and best practice, and demonstrate the role that service and volunteering can play in promoting the achievement of national social development goals and priorities. The direction that service is taking in the region is also consistent with the key objectives of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) which is aimed at achieving regional co-operation, eradicating poverty, and reaching high levels of social and human development.

The study was conducted through a unique North-South partnership between a non-governmental organisation, academics and higher education institutions that resulted in the pooling of expertise and resources. Partners included the Centre for Social Development in Africa at the University of Johannesburg, the Global Service Institute at the Center for Social Development, Washington University in St Louis, USA, Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa (VOSESA) based in Johannesburg, and the universities of Botswana, Malawi and Zimbabwe. Research networks were built between colleagues in the SADC region and through this process the research team expanded their knowledge about the shape of research

on service in the region. The study highlighted the lack of published literature and academic resources on the subject in the countries where the study was conducted. It showed that a substantial collection of documentation, knowledge and practical experience exists, which is not published in scholarly publications. This situation demonstrates the importance of research partnerships to bridge the divide between researchers located in academic institutions and society at large. A rich learning experience awaits the researcher who is willing to traverse this terrain.

This special issue attempts to disseminate information about service in the region to a wider audience for scholarly review and to encourage debate, foster an exchange of ideas about the future development of service policy, and prompt an agenda for action in the region. In this way it aims to stimulate the development of knowledge about civic participation through service in Southern African countries.

The article by Leila Patel, Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg provides an overview of the study titled *A Cross-National Study on Civic Service and Volunteering in Southern Africa.* The author argues that service and volunteering is both formally and informally organised, and is an emerging phenomenon in the SADC region. While similar trends in the development of service have been observed internationally, the social development approach is emerging as a distinguishing feature of service in the region. This approach is considered to be a viable and appropriate direction to inform regional service policy, further research and an agenda for action.

This article is followed by five articles that address particular service themes in the SADC. Morena J Rankopo, Kwaku Osei-Hwedie and Tirelo Modie Moroka from the Department of Social Work at the University of Botswana, address *Issues in service and volunteerism in Botswana.* This article discusses the relation between the growth of service, the role of the state, and implications for service policy. Significant shifts in public policy are identified from a state-dominant model of social provision to one which incorporates state-community partnerships, participation in development, mutual social responsibility and social justice. This new approach has, to some extent, been influenced by neo-liberal thinking and models of the developmental state. The gender, class and age profile of servers raise questions about the shifting of state responsibility for service on to poor women, older persons and disadvantaged communities.

The growing focus on voluntary youth service programmes in African countries is part of a wider international trend, with the benefits of youth service being increasingly recognised through civic education and programmes promoting youth development and action. The article by Catherine M Moleni and Brenda M Gallagher challenges prevailing assumptions about low levels of service in Malawi, and demonstrates that youth service is a growing field as young people seek

opportunities for personal development. The authors point to the importance of moving from an approach that stresses the benefits of service for beneficiaries only, to one that recognises reciprocity and the mutuality of benefits for beneficiaries and servers alike.

In their article on *Civic service policy in South Africa*, Helene Perold, Leila Patel, René Carapinha and Salah E Mohamed show how the service field has benefited from the enabling policy landscape in post-apartheid South Africa. While there is extensive informal service at community level and in the non-governmental sector, the country report focused on national structured service programmes, namely youth service, community service in secondary schooling, service learning in higher education, and compulsory community service for health professionals. These initiatives are directly linked to national social development policies and priorities, but a number of critical policy and delivery challenges are identified if the potential of service is to be fully realised.

Incentives emerged as a critical issue in the development of service policies and programmes in the study. This issue is highlighted by Theresa Wilson, a social development consultant, in the article *Incentives and volunteerism in Zambia: A review*. Wilson challenges the notion that financial incentives should not be paid to volunteers in a society where both servers and beneficiaries are poor and disadvantaged. She argues for an approach that includes multiple incentives that are both of a financial and non-financial nature in under-resourced developing countries. The role and impact of incentives need to be better understood, including implications for the sustainability of service programmes, the benefits derived from service for all parties, and service policy and legislation.

Community mobilisation, volunteerism and the fight against HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe by Edwin Kaseke and Jotham Dhemba from the School of Social Work at the University of Zimbabwe, speaks to a national and a regional issue. Community-based care, development, education and prevention emerged as significant local-level interventions in partnership with larger and established non-governmental organisations to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Zimbabwe. Voluntary initiative has increased due to state failure in the ongoing escalation of conflict in the country. Community mobilisation strategies and volunteering are viable indigenous social development interventions in this context.

Together, these articles provide a rich overview of service in the region and mark the start of a deeper exploration of civic participation in development in Southern Africa. The full country reports and the overall report are available at www.vosesa.org.za.

A cross-national study on civic service and volunteering in Southern Africa

Leila Patel[1]

Abstract

This study indicates that civic service is an emerging social phenomenon and field of enquiry in Southern Africa, and reflects international trends. Civic service has certain distinguishing features which are a reflection of the complex contemporary social, cultural, economic and political developments both regionally and in the changing global context. The social development approach to civic service is emerging as one of the defining features of service in the Southern African context. This presents an opportunity for growing the service field in relation to expanding knowledge, practice, research, policy, and setting an agenda for action in the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Key words

Civic service; volunteering; social development; community service; youth service

Introduction

In the context of globalisation, civic service and volunteering is emerging as a growing social phenomenon and field of enquiry (Moore McBride, Sherraden, Benítez & Johnson, 2004; Moore McBride, Benítez & Danso, 2003). Service and volunteering have deep historical and cultural roots in the African context. Shaped by the service traditions in the societies where it emerged, service reflects the complex contemporary social, cultural, economic and political changes globally and in the Southern African region. Worldwide economic integration processes have increased the vulnerability of domestic economies to external shocks, resulting in rising poverty levels and social disparity. Global changes, coupled with national and regional political and economic problems, civil conflict and instability, the HIV and AIDS pandemic, weak democratic and administrative institutions and a lack of social policies to boost social development, are challenges facing some of the countries in Southern Africa.

Formally and informally organised civic service and volunteering initiatives complemented by the growth of indigenous non-governmental organisations in Sub-Saharan Africa are emerging as a response to the declining human development situation (Patel & Wilson, 2004; Fowler, 1995). Preliminary research on service in the African context suggested that service is a growing social phenomenon and could make a significant contribution to social development regionally (Patel & Wilson, 2004). Further investigation into service in Southern Africa could inform theory, research, policy and intervention strategies.

A North-South partnership between a non-governmental organisation, academics and academic institutions culminated in a five-country cross-national study in the Southern African Development Community. This research collaboration consisted of Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa (VOSESA), the Global Service Institute (GSI) at the Centre for Social Development at Washington University in St Louis, USA, and the Centre for Social Development in Africa at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. The research was conducted between 2005 and 2006 with the view to replicating the research aims and objectives of the Global Service Institute's study (Moore McBride et al., 2004; Moore McBride et al., 2002). This cross-national study in the SADC aimed to build foundational knowledge and understanding of the nature and scope of service and the contribution that it might make to social development policy, research and practice regionally. For the purpose of the study, civic service is defined as an "organised period of substantial engagement and contribution to local, national or world community, recognised and valued by society, with minimal monetary cost to the participant" (Moore McBride et al., 2004:10S).

The research design was of an exploratory and a qualitative descriptive nature. The paucity of published information on civic service in the region favoured the utilisation of an exploratory research design. The five countries selected for the study were Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The countries selected had some service activities and skilled in-country researchers who conducted the research. The country researchers focused on identifying any programmes that complied with the definition of civic service as defined for the purpose of the study. Forty-four key informant interviews were conducted with representatives from government, non-government organisations and donors. In addition, 13 focus groups consisting of 108 respondents participated in the focus group discussions. Twenty formal and informally organised programmes were identified and studied in-depth. Generic research tools were devised and adapted to the country situation. An interview schedule and a structured guide to conduct the focus group meetings were devised. These research tools guided the data collection in the respective countries. The respondents were purposively selected based on defined selection criteria. Five country reports were produced and the data analysis was conducted based on these reports (Kaseke & Dhemba, 2006; Moleni & Gallagher, 2006; Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006; Rankopo, Osei-Hwedie & Modie-Moroka, 2006; Wilson & Kalila, 2006). The research methodology is documented fully in the overall report which synthesised the five country reports (Patel, Perold, Mohamed & Carapinha, 2007).

The findings of the study are discussed with reference to three key questions:

- What is the nature and scope of service in the respective countries?
- What is unique about service in the African context?
- What are the implications of these initiatives for civic service policy from a social development perspective?

Development of civic service

Service has deep historical and cultural roots in the African context. Pre-colonial African societies relied on mutual aid, kinship and community support to meet human needs. Traditional cultural beliefs and practices encouraged collective responsibility, solidarity and reciprocity. The idea of service is embedded in local languages; different words and phrases refer to service and are still used today. In Botswana, the word *tirelo* is used, which means "something done for others" and *boipelego* means "self reliance"; volunteer village caregivers in Zimbabwe are referred to as *vabatsiri* and *hunhu* which means "to be a responsible human being". All five

countries in the study are former British colonies and similar economic, political and social developments were observed in each country. Colonialism resulted in the adaptation of the socio-economic and political organisation of these societies to meet the needs and interests of the colonial powers. Pressures were placed on kinship and community support systems, and the denigration of indigenous cultural practices resulted in the erosion of the service ethos over time. However, some beliefs and practices do continue to exist while others have been refashioned to adapt to present conditions.

After independence, the service ethos featured strongly in nation building and the national development policies and plans in some of the countries. In Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, youth service became more prominent after independence. Youth service programmes declined in the 1980s due to maladministration, corruption and nepotism; and financial and political problems, including allegations of elitism in many African countries (Patel & Wilson, 2004). While these programmes were government-led and compulsory, they nevertheless delivered tangible benefits for both beneficiaries and participants. Service was later constrained by the decline in public funding following the oil crisis in the 1970s and the adoption of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s by many governments in these countries. In all five countries studied, it was evident that the nature and scope of service and volunteering changed in line with economic and political changes in the societies. In Botswana, a shift to conservative free market policies in the 1990s resulted in a worsening of the plight of poor people. In Zimbabwe, the declining political, economic and social situation and the failure of government impacted negatively on poor and vulnerable people. This declining situation resulted in a proliferation of service activities outside of the state, where civil society organisations and informal community and village level structures emerged to address the gap in meeting the needs of the people. The service ethos was strongly established in the social services and anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, and service continues to be a growing phenomenon supported by strong sectoral policies aimed at national reconstruction and development.

A further distinguishing feature of service developments in the contemporary Southern African context is that the socio-economic profile of the servers tends to match that of the beneficiaries. In short, servers are poor and vulnerable themselves, which differs significantly from the server profile in industrial societies where servers come from more privileged socio-economic backgrounds (Gillette, 2003; Voicu & Voicu, 2003; Flick, Bittman & Doyle, 2002; Reisch & Wenocur, 1984). This presents particular policy challenges for the design and management of service programmes in the region. In some programmes in the region, governments play a major role, while in others there are strong partnerships with civil society and

community-based organisations, international agencies and donors. In conclusion, contemporary notions of service are informed by international development agencies, civil society organisations, community initiatives and governments, who are increasingly shaping knowledge and practice about service (United Nations Volunteers, 2005; Leigh, 2005).

The regional socio-economic and political context

In 2001, the SADC region, made up of 14 countries, had a combined population of 208 million people (SADC, 2003). The five countries which form part of the study are all members of the SADC. Agriculture and minerals play a major role in the regional economy, with 70 per cent of people depending on agriculture for food, income and employment, especially in rural areas where three quarters of the population reside. The SADC has the highest gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in sub-Saharan Africa. Economic performance has improved since the mid-1990s because of the improved political situation and management of the economies. However, the overall economic situation remains delicate in some countries due to the under-developed structure of the regional economies (Noyoo & Patel, 2005). South Africa and Botswana are higher income countries with GDP per capita being higher than the regional average. Conversely, Malawi and Zambia are classified as low-income countries. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund also consider Zambia a Highly Indebted Poor Country, which indicates its under-developed status. Since 2000, Zimbabwe has experienced multiple socio-economic and political problems which have widened and deepened poverty levels. The political isolation of the country has resulted in the retreat of many development agencies and increased demand on local voluntary initiatives to provide social welfare services.

There is a high rural-urban migration rate in the region due to migration and the displacement of populations caused by economic and social under-development and regional conflict. Civil war and political strife, coupled with natural disasters, have worsened the socio-economic and human development standing of the region as a whole. Although the Human Development Index (HDI) showed an overall improvement between 1995 and 2000 (UNDP, 2000), the human development situation is being reversed in some countries due to the impact of HIV and AIDS. Botswana and Zimbabwe experienced the greatest decline in life expectancy in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2003). The political crises in Zimbabwe since 1997 have impacted negatively on socio-economic development.

Poverty reduction remains a key challenge: 70 per cent of the population in the

region live below the international poverty line of US$2 per day and 40 per cent of the region's population, or 76 million people, live in extreme poverty (SADC, 2003). The poor also include marginalised groups such as children, older persons, women, people with disabilities, rural communities, youth and displaced people. Poor health indicators including high infant, child and maternal mortality rates exist; with high rates of cholera, HIV and AIDS prevalence, malaria and tuberculosis impacting negatively on the health status of the population. All countries in the region have high HIV/AIDS prevalence rates, with Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe recording some of the highest rates. It has been estimated that over the next decade, five to seven million people will die of the disease in their prime years, leaving two million orphans and transforming family structures and the demography of the region (Department for International Development, 2002).

Regional co-operation and development is being driven by the SADC, which transformed itself into a development community based on market integration in response to the regional, political and global economic context. The major challenges facing the region are to promote high economic growth rates, eradicate poverty, effect improvements in the delivery of social services, and place the region on a sustainable development path (SADC, 2003). The SADC is structured into clusters focusing on various sectors that include Social and Human Development and Special Programmes. The mandate of this cluster is to harmonise policies, strategies and standards including education, skills development and training, social welfare with a focus on vulnerable groups, health care, social security, and employment and labour standards. While the SADC Framework of Integration (SADC, 2003) reflects these priorities, it is constrained in implementing these social policies due to a lack of institutional capacity and fiscal constraints. The regional agenda does not specifically recognise and actively involve the private sector and the civil society organisations that play a significant role in civic service and volunteering. The private sector is however small in most African countries except South Africa (Noyoo & Patel, 2005). In fact, in some countries in the region, civil society groups are viewed not as development partners, but rather as a threat to the existing political order. There is scope for national and regional co-operation between state and non-state partners in achieving social development. The findings of this study demonstrate that civic service is a viable social development intervention, and that service strategies could make a significant contribution to regional social development. Finally, this brief overview of the development of service and the regional context discussed above shows that the wider historical, socio-economic and political reality of the societies in which service operates, shapes the direction that service takes.

Civic service and social development

The conceptual framework of the research study is informed by the social development approach to civic service and volunteering (Patel, 2003). The social development approach to social policy was first introduced by the United Nations to address the human development needs in the world's poorest countries following independence from colonialism in the 1960s. In the late twentieth century, the approach has re-emerged as a response to unequal and distorted development, and was endorsed by the United Nations World Summit for Social Development in 1995 (United Nations, 1996). In Africa, there is a resurgence of interest in the social development approach to address the intractable human development problems continentally and regionally (African Union, 2006; NEPAD, 2001; SARDC, 2001; SADC, 2003; UNDP, 2000; Republic of South Africa, 1997). The SADC countries have adopted the Millennium Development Goals, however the SADC region is faced with many challenges in achieving these goals (Tembo, Teputepu & Mwape, undated). Currently, the African Union is in the process of drafting a social policy for Africa informed by the social development approach. Essentially, social development is concerned with harmonising economic and social policies and programmes. Social development is a pro-poor approach that promotes people-centred development, human capabilities, social capital, participation, and active citizenship and civic engagement in achieving human development (Patel, 2005; Midgley, 1995). Social development is a rights-based and pluralist approach that focuses on strong government action and partnership between individuals, groups, communities, civil society, donors, development agencies, and the private and public sectors (Patel, 2005). The social development approach to civic services provides a useful and appropriate conceptual framework to study civic service in the African context, in that it allows for an analysis of service programmes at different levels of intervention, namely, individual, family, household, community, and organisational and policy levels.

Findings

Nature of service

Meaning of service

The research findings suggest that there is limited recognition of the concept "civic service" as defined by Moore McBride et al. (2004). The respondents used the concepts civic service and volunteering interchangeably. However, the concept volunteering or volunteerism was better understood in Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, where reference to volunteerism featured prominently and was used operationally to describe

civic service activities. The idea of service has taken root in South Africa and service was better understood there than in the other countries in the region.

The values of service were also derived from the Constitutions of some of the countries, which upheld social and economic rights in the case of South Africa, and economic development and participation in development in the case of Malawi. The building of a caring society is emphasised in Botswana's vision for the future. However, while Zimbabwe is a constitutional democracy, the flouting of constitutional principles has been widely documented.

Across the five countries, common elements in defining service emerged from the study. Firstly, the idea that service should provide tangible and intangible benefits to individuals, families, neighbours, the community and the wider society, and that such benefits should accrue to the most disadvantaged, was widely accepted by the respondents. A second idea commonly supported among the respondents was that service involves giving of oneself freely with limited or no expectation of financial gain. Thirdly, the meaning of service was also strongly associated with a philosophy of reciprocity between the server and the beneficiaries, the achievement of self-reliance, the empowerment of individuals and communities, and the fostering of civic responsibility. Fourthly, there was consensus among the participants of the notion that civic service should be related directly to national development goals. Finally, service appeared to have a social meaning that is shaped by the wider historical, socio-cultural, economic and political reality of the societies in which it operates.

Motivation to serve

The understanding of the meaning of service could be approached from the perspective of what motivates people to serve. Pawlby (2003) poses the question as to who benefits most from the service. Is it the giver or the receiver of service?

The findings across the five countries raised more questions than answers about the motivations of servers. Cultural and religious motivations were prevalent in all countries and were a significant motivator of servers. In South Africa, the desire to contribute to building a new democratic nation was also a strong motivating factor, which is an expression of citizenship responsibility (Pawlby, 2003). While community and societal benefits motivated most servers in the study, individual benefit also featured strongly in server motivations. Many servers, especially youth, were motivated by the opportunity to develop skills, gain work experience and the likelihood of obtaining gainful employment. In some instances, stipends were paid to servers and in others, where service was part of a scheme, it involved an exchange of in-kind resources. Kaseke & Dhemba (2006:22) point to the mutuality of the benefits derived from giving and receiving in the Zimbabwean situation.

Wilson & Kalila (2006) observed the complexity that enters the relationship between the server and the beneficiaries when stipends are paid to servers. For some proponents of service, this is not service, as the benefits to the server outweigh advantages to the recipient. Across the countries, large numbers of poor people volunteered their time and effort free without remuneration, while increasingly, service provider agencies involving volunteers are paying servers a stipend. Wilson & Kalila (2006) in their country report raise issues about the sustainability of such programmes and the morality of depending on unpaid volunteers to provide welfare services to communities, while they are unable to support their own families. This is particularly pertinent as volunteers tend to be persons of low socio-economic status who are engaged in their own daily struggles to survive. In some instances, the servers seek to benefit from the programme by accessing part of the benefits that accrue to the beneficiaries.

Pawlby (2003) points to the tension that may exist between the value that is placed on the act of giving versus the value of the service given. While this tension was found to exist in the Zambian context, in the Zimbabwean situation the act of giving provided an opportunity for collaboration and mutuality where both servers and recipients are poor and are dependent on each other for survival and support. However, servers were also viewed negatively in some situations, as it constituted unpaid work.

Scope of service

There are no accurate aggregated figures on the number of servers across the five countries. However, the data suggests that service is widespread and expanding in the region. Volunteering is the dominant type of service. Where information was available for the total number of programmes studied in-depth, there were on average 83 volunteers per programme in Malawi, 156 in Zimbabwe and 1 598 in South Africa. The latter figure is high because one of the programmes had a disproportionately large number of servers. Limited information was available on the age of the programmes. In Malawi the age of the programmes ranged between 10 years and 21,6 years while the average for the Zimbabwean programmes was 19,6 years, which suggests that the Zimbabwean programmes are more established. In contrast with these programmes, the South African programmes post-1994 were newer initiatives that were, on average, less than four years old. Volunteering, however, is well established in the social services in South Africa.

Box 1 provides an indication of the scope of service, confirming the notion that service is a growing social phenomenon based on secondary data. Voluntary service was the most widespread with the exception of compulsory community service for healthcare professionals in South Africa. Further, local community-based service

activities were predominant in all countries. In Malawi, two thirds of volunteering activities were community-based, according to a large household survey (Pelser, Burton & Gondwe, 2004). Community-based organisations had links with large national, faith-based, international and governmental programmes. There appeared to be multi-layered co-operation between government, NGOs and CBOs linked from village level, through district structures, up to national level in Botswana (Rankopo, Osei-Hwedie & Modie-Moroka, 2006).

Box 1: Scope of service

Malawi	South Africa	Zimbabwe	Zambia
69% of households were involved in community-based organisations, village, church, school, self-help groups, and interest groups[2]; 33 000 volunteers were involved in the Malawi Red Cross	An estimated 17% (8 million people) of the population volunteer their time[3] 12 768 servers were involved in eight organisations; there were 5 801 compulsory community service professionals in 2004/2005 and 11 892 National Youth Service participants	627 servers in six community-based organisations	55 060 volunteers in the Public Welfare Assistance Programme; 20 000 volunteers in organised programmes; thousands of servers in informally organised socio-economic programmes[4]

Note: No secondary data were available on the scope of service in Botswana.

While social and human development goals featured in the global study, programme goals were oriented more towards developing the skills, employability, knowledge, cultural understanding, self-esteem and the character of the servers (Moore et al., 2002). In sharp contrast, the five-country study highlighted the importance of achieving dual benefits to both servers and beneficiaries. This, however, depended on the nature and type of programme.

The form of service was also studied in relation to the formality and informality of the structure of the programmes. A distinction was made between formal and informal service, with formal service being more structured and requiring an intensive commitment of time (at least one week per month full time); and informally structured service being defined as localised, community-based, flexible in time commitment and responsive to local needs.

The data on Botswana suggest that there are two types of volunteering programmes: informally and formally organised programmes (Rankopo et al., 2006). The informal programmes are common and are informed by socio-cultural, religious and community values, with a limited reach. The formal programmes have a wider reach, may be informed by a combination of cultural, religious and community values, and tend to be more aligned with national development goals and needs.

A continuum of formal and informally organised volunteering activities may be discerned from the data. There was some collaboration between informal and formal programmes; thus a hybrid of the two forms was evident. The research on South Africa suggests that service programmes are largely voluntary and formally structured and organised. Informal programmes may have a comparative advantage over formal programmes in that they are locally responsive and emerged organically through community mobilisation efforts, with servers coming from the communities being served. However, where informal programmes collaborate with formal programmes, it is important to ensure that their comparative advantage is not compromised. As social development programmes modernise in a society, local informal initiatives may disappear over time. The challenge for service policy and programmes is to build on the strengths of local informal service activities without compromising their efficacy (Patel, 2003).

Distinguishing features of service

The social development approach to civic service is emerging as one of the defining features of service in the Southern African context. A conceptual framework developed by Patel (2003) to depict the salient features of civic service from a social development perspective informed the analysis of service initiatives. The analysis confirmed the distinguishing features of service with some modifications. Box 2 provides a conceptual framework for civic service from a social development perspective that could guide further research, policy development and an agenda for action in the SADC.

Box 2: Social development and civic service

Character of civic service	Social development
Vision	Pro-poor change; challenges unequal and distorted economic, political and social development nationally, regionally and globally; proactive involvement of governments in developmentally oriented civic service.
Goals	To promote social and economic development; to encourage participation of the socially excluded in development; to achieve tangible and intangible improvements in the quality of life of people.
Principles	Social and economic justice; empowerment; pro-poor strategies; collective action to promote public benefit, distributive values, social solidarity, reciprocity and active citizenship.
Programme type	Activities connected with human, social, economic, community and infrastructure development; building the assets of the poor; local economic development; promoting productive employment; strengthening social capital; building human capital; building democracy through promoting civic engagement and delivering social services, developing local institutions and good governance. Psychosocial support services; community care; peer and lay counselling; home-based care services; mutual aid; and community development and community education.
Access	Targeted interventions at the socially excluded, particularly the poor.
Auspices	Service is part of a pluralist system – strong role for the state in collaborative partnership with civil society, private sector, donors, development agencies. Government facilitates and supports service development through enabling policies. Civil society groups are significant drivers of civic service.
View of servers and beneficiaries	Servers and beneficiaries are active partners in social development; both are change agents. Benefits of service reach both servers and beneficiaries.
Local and global activities	Local, national, regional and global focus on human and social development; involvement of international and local agencies.

Source: Adapted from Patel (2003:96-97)

Implications for civic service policy

The philosophy of civic service is shaped by what a society believes a government's role and responsibility should be towards its citizens, and what the role and responsibility of citizens and civil society is in achieving development. Where service is conceptualised as part of national goals, governments are likely to promote service actively through social policies. However, none of the countries had specific formal social policies or legislation on service and volunteering. Instead, they were integrated into other social policies and national strategies such as those concerning social welfare/development, health, HIV/AIDS, orphans and vulnerable children, and rural development. In some countries, youth development policies also provided for service and volunteering. The country researchers were in agreement that a lack of policy was a barrier to the development of the field and that it limited the visibility of service, resulting in societal benefits not being acknowledged in economic and social development policy and planning. In poor countries where public financial resources are constrained, service is a form of social engagement in the society and draws on local human and social capital as key assets to achieve social development.

A significant number of respondents in the country studies expressed the concern that the service ethos is being eroded as governments and foreign donors have become more involved in service delivery. Where governments have not done this, there was nevertheless the expectation by the people that governments should provide social services and safety nets to meet people's needs. A tension is perceived to exist between increasing state responsibility for human needs, and retaining and promoting active citizen engagement in social development through service. A trade off is perceived to exist between these principles. Civic service policies and programmes that intend to achieve social development will need to find solutions that will reconcile these tensions.

From the above discussion, it is clear that service policy in the region appears to be underdeveloped. Where it exists, an integrative approach has been adopted by different countries where service policies are mainstreamed through existing sectoral policies. This approach facilitates the effective implementation of service programmes and may have a wider impact. The approach has its disadvantages. Firstly, there is a lack of overarching policy to guide the implementation of service. Inadequate policy co-ordination and a lack of sharing of knowledge and best practice to build service as a field of enquiry, and a strategy to achieve social development, is a further limitation.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that civic service and volunteering, in particular, is emerging as a viable social development intervention in the SADC region. This presents an opportunity for developing the service field with a development agenda that contributes to equitable social and economic development and active citizenship. The study also provided evidence of the extent of involvement of poor people in civic service, which is a significant asset, and may be an indicator of the level of social capital in a society. However, the benefits of service and the contribution of the voluntary sector to national social development in the SADC have not been determined.

A research agenda to promote service in the region needs to be developed. Some of the pointers for such an agenda include the need for a quantitative study to assess the size and scope of the service sector in the region. A cost benefit analysis of service programmes and their contribution to national economic and social development will go a long way in demonstrating the efficacy of service. There is also a need for an evaluation of the quality of service programmes and their impact. Research of this nature could inform future policy and programme development and could improve the case for "strong policy" (Sherraden, 2001) in the SADC. The profile of the servers who are mainly poor women and older persons presents a particular policy challenge. The appropriateness of the payment of financial incentives and other forms of non-monetary incentives needs to be debated.

Action research of this kind with a social change agenda could aid the setting of a service agenda in the SADC. Limited collaboration exists between the countries in the SADC, and a regional service network might be an effective vehicle to advance the field and to advocate for a service agenda. A positive relationship exists between the size of the voluntary sector and the extent of service activities. It has become apparent that where states have failed, service has flourished. Neo-liberal solutions that lead to the abrogation of state responsibility for human well-being cannot be supported, while a state-dominant approach that does not recognise the role of actors outside the state in achieving social development is similarly flawed. It is in this respect that the social development approach to civic service, which acknowledges the roles of the different parties in a collaborative institutional arrangement, provides a greater opportunity for the growth of the field in the region. The social development approach to civic service provides a well-developed set of ideas to inform service policy, and may yield positive benefits to society and return on social investment (Sherraden, 2001).

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Endnotes

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[3] Everatt & Solanki (2005)

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Issues in service and volunteerism in Botswana

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Abstract

Volunteerism, prominent in Botswana's development, declined in the 1980s, but re-emerged in the 1990s following the government's emphasis on cost sharing, participation, mutual social responsibility, state-community partnerships and social justice in addressing socio-economic development. The article discusses the evolution and the concept of service in the country, which reflects both "traditional" and "modern" ideas about service. The issues and challenges arising from the changing national socio-economic development context, the gender, class and age profile of servers, and institutional and organisational aspects are considered, concluding with a call for the review and redirection of service policies and programmes in Botswana.

Key words

Service; volunteerism; social policy; gender

Introduction

Service and volunteering have been part of African social life since pre-colonial times and have undergone many changes. Both "traditional" and "modern" features of service exist, and diverse socio-economic, ideological, cultural, religious and institutional factors shape the nature and form of service. The article contends that volunteerism declined in Botswana during the 1980s due to, among other reasons, increased state social welfare provision. Since the 1990s, however, following the adoption of the government's long-term socio-economic development vision, service has re-emerged. The new vision is contained in a policy document titled *Vision 2016 – Towards Prosperity for All* (Presidential Task Group for Long Term Vision for Botswana, 1997). It identifies seven major themes that the nation should strive towards, and these are an educated, informed nation; a prosperous, productive and innovative nation; a compassionate, just and caring nation; a safe and secure nation; an open, democratic and accountable nation; a moral and tolerant nation; and a united and proud nation (Presidential Task Group for Long Term Vision for Botswana, 1997). The vision incorporates the *botho* principle, which compels individuals and families to support and care for the needy out of moral obligation. This is because it is believed that those who are privileged at one point, may become vulnerable at another time, hence the need to support relatives, neighbours and community members. It is upon this premise that serving others is perceived as an investment for assistance in the future.

This article highlights the fact that volunteering is a growing phenomenon in Botswana. A range of issues and challenges have been identified, however, calling for policy review and redirection. This article traces the evolution and meaning of service in the context of changing national economic and social policies in Botswana. Service is also taking place in a changing global context. The contemporary human development situation in Botswana is outlined, followed by a discussion of the findings of the study with reference to four key issues: (a) service provision and dependency; (b) gender, social class, age and social values; (c) institutional factors; and (d) the structure of civic service programmes. Lastly, the implications of these issues and challenges for social development policies and programmes are considered.

This article is the result of a study on service and volunteering in Botswana, which was part of a larger Southern African study (Patel, Perold, Mohamed & Carapinha, 2007). A qualitative, cross-sectional study involving in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (Rubin & Babbie, 2001) with key respondents from urban, peri-urban and rural areas was conducted. Official records and secondary data were reviewed and analysed. Respondents were purposefully sampled on the basis of their knowledge of, and experience in, volunteering in government, non-

governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and faith-based organisations (FBOs). Both the research sites and key informants were selected using convenience sampling and snowball sampling techniques. There is currently a mushrooming of CBOs and FBOs that provide services in communities. A total of 15 key informants were interviewed. Two focus group discussions were held, comprising eight members each. The research team did not have prior in-depth knowledge of the scope and nature of civic service programmes in Botswana to inform the study design.

The evolution of service and volunteering in Botswana

Volunteering in Botswana has a long history dating back to the pre-colonial period. Under colonialism, the spirit of co-operation and reciprocity persisted and was enhanced, since the colonialists, in most cases, did not invest significant resources to develop African socio-economy, except where it was necessary in the promotion of European welfare. Thus, any social provision was based on indigenous inputs and religious enterprises, thereby making the services rudimentary. Following independence, many nationalist African governments, Botswana inclusive, were intent on changing the conditions of underdevelopment characteristic of colonialism. Governments began to search for new development paradigms in a bid to promote rapid economic growth and the nationalisation of the foreign-dominated private sector. In the case of Botswana, the government was successful in generating revenues which were subsequently invested in social development (Edge, 1998; Harvey & Lewis, 1990; Picard, 1987). The availability of resources led government to become the key player in social development. This feature negatively impacted on the spirit of volunteerism (Rankopo, 1996; Tsiane & Youngman, 1985) that had been a major characteristic of Tswana society before colonialism.

In the 1970s, however, all these development efforts came to a stop, as economies in many African countries experienced deep and pervasive crises, characterised by lack of growth, high rates of inflation, rising foreign and internal debts, high unemployment, shortages of basic goods, and crumbling infrastructure (Osei-Hwedie & Bar-On, 1999). These economic problems led to the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. In light of the above, the voluntary sector was also re-invented and became the domain of organisations popularly known as non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations and, more recently,

faith-based organisations. These organisations have become entrenched in the social development process of many African countries, including Botswana.

The concept of service and volunteering

Service and volunteerism are rooted in the culture and traditions of the people of Botswana. Thus, they are often conceptualised in cultural and religious terms and seen as an obligation to help those in need. The essence of volunteering is to promote humaneness (*botho/ubuntu*). Volunteerism, therefore, is influenced by the socio-economic, political and environmental factors within a society (Patel & Wilson, 2004; UNV, 2005; Voicu & Voicu, 2003). The term service, culturally understood as "*tirelo*", implies something that is done for others or "*go thusa batho*" (to help people). In religious terms, it implies the spirit of servitude, expressed as "*go direla Modimo*" or "*thomo ya Modimo*". Volunteering (*boithaopo*) refers to the act of helping other people without expecting payment. However, gifts of appreciation for investment of time and effort are acceptable. Thus, the terms service (*tirelo*) and volunteerism (*boithaopo*) are commonly used interchangeably. Service and volunteerism may be conceptualised differently, however, depending on the nature of the organisation and the service it offers, or on the orientation of the individual service providers.

Consistent with the writings of Thupayagale & Rampa (2005), service and volunteering have a social meaning and fulfil political, economic and religious obligations. Historically, individuals and communities operated with the spirit of togetherness and helped each other undertake a wide range of activities to satisfy a diversity of needs. The cultural meaning of service and volunteering is underscored by phrases such as "*moroto wa o esi ga o ele"*, "*mabogo dinku a thebana*" (working together for a common purpose), "*go direla setshaba*" (selflessness in community and national service), and "*boineelo*" (commitment and humility to serve). These concepts may take on a religious or cultural meaning depending on the nature of the service provider. Overall, modern volunteering and service appear to have borrowed from traditional principles of reciprocity and mutual aid such as "*mafisa*" (lending of cattle to the poor), and "*molaletsa*" (mutual self-help to enable people to be productive and self-reliant). All these recognise the dignity and worth of those who need support and care. For some people, volunteering is a means of avoiding idleness and being useful to others. It is evident from the data that those who have a history of volunteering in their communities are more likely to participate in the care-giving of people living with chronic diseases such as HIV/AIDS.

The human development context of service provision

Botswana is a multi-party constitutional democracy and has been ruled by the Botswana Democratic Party since its first elections were held in 1965. Botswana is a big territory with a very small population of 1,7 million people (Republic of Botswana, 2003). At independence, Botswana was among the world's poorest countries, but high economic growth rates have been sustained over the years and today Botswana is one of the wealthier countries in the region. This became possible because of the major role played by the state in socio-economic development (Edge, 1998). By 2001, 54,2 per cent of the population was living in urban areas, probably due to the availability of employment opportunities. Life expectancy at birth decreased from 65,3 years in 1991 to 55,7 years in 2001 mainly due to the effects of HIV/AIDS (Central Statistics Office [CSO], 2001:11). According to the Botswana AIDS Impact Survey II (2004), the national HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is 17,1 per cent. In terms of economic performance, GDP rose from US$7 820 in 2001 to US$9 945 in 2004 (Human Development Report, 2004). In 2002/03, about 30 per cent of the total population were poor (CSO, 2003). Between 1990 and 2004 almost a quarter of the population (23,5 per cent) were living below US$1 per day and 50,1 per cent below US$2 per day (Human Development Report, 2004). The poverty scenario is not consistent with a country where high economic growth has been sustained over the years. The major human development challenges facing the country are poverty, unemployment and the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

High economic performance leading to availability of resources has enabled the government to provide extensive social services to the population across the country. It must be noted that, in terms of wealth, Botswana is only third to Mauritius and South Africa in sub-Saharan Africa. Many social services such as education, health, housing and water are to some extent subsidised for certain sectors of the population by government. The country has made significant strides in achieving universal access to basic education and health care. Health services are within reasonable reach of communities for free or at very little cost. Bar-On (2002) notes that this goes against world trends and, especially, the force of economic structural adjustment ushered by neo-liberal ideology. Perhaps Botswana has been able to provide some subsidies and go against world trends because its Structural Adjustment Programme was self-induced; and it has the resources and the political will to do so.

Volunteerism in a changing policy environment

Delivering social development remains a challenge to many governments throughout the world. Current development paradigms emphasise the importance of involving ordinary people in decisions concerning their own development (Coetzee, 2001; Patel, 2005; Sewpaul & Holscher, 2004). The concept, development in the social sciences, is used to denote the evolution of countries, cultures and communities from less advanced to more advanced social stages (Fry & Martin, 1991). According to Edge (1998), Botswana's social policy changes are described as being close to a developmental state model, which emphasises (1) government's leading role in national development; (2) the existence of an authoritarian state in the way it controls state administration; (3) the control and mediation of workers' wage demands upon employers; (4) the expansion of social services and infrastructural development nationwide, and notable rates of economic growth over an extended period. Despite this, we note that Botswana also exhibits some characteristics of a neo-liberal state, which emphasises downsizing government, privatisation, residual service delivery and cost-sharing, among other things. Botswana also places emphasis on state-community partnerships such as in community-based care, and parents'/guardians' contribution to children's education in primary and secondary schools. This may be considered in the context of the social development approach. Thus, Botswana straddles different theoretical perspectives, with the developmental and neo-liberal perspectives taking prominence at different points in time.

The state, however, irrespective of the theoretical orientation, remains committed to community participation, mutual social responsibility, state-community partnerships and social justice. It maintains that individuals, families and communities must contribute towards national development efforts. This shift in development-policy thinking is mainly due to, among other things, economic changes and throwback to cultural dictates. The decline of agriculture due to droughts, rapid and sustained growth in the mining sector, and the HIV and AIDS epidemic, have compounded the problem. It is against this backdrop that service and volunteerism have, since the 1990s, assumed significant importance. Therefore, there has been a shift towards greater involvement of communities through state-community partnerships and cost sharing through payment for services where people are able to afford them, for example in education.

The Botswana state has, since independence, played a key role in the economy, which has seen rapid and sustained growth. Between 1965 and 1980, "it had the highest rate of GDP growth in the world at 14.2 per cent", and between 1980 and 1990, "the third-highest increase in the world at 9,9 per cent" (Edge, 1998:337).

This was consequently invested in social services throughout the country. The state controls development through national development plans which are approved by Parliament. All national development plans are guided by economic principles. One of these is social justice, which emphasises redistribution of goods and services. The state controls employee wages through the National Economic Manpower and Incomes Council. As explained above, Botswana has promoted universal access to education, health, water and housing, among other things. Vision 2016 also underscores this direction (Presidential Task Group for Long Term Vision for Botswana, 1997).

Discussion of findings

The voluntary landscape in Botswana comprises formal and informal organisations, and individuals and small groups involved in a variety of activities. Botswana has no compulsory civic service, having discontinued Tirelo Setshaba (TS) in 1999. Tirelo Setshaba was a national service scheme for secondary school leavers who served for one year anywhere in the country away from their homes, prior to entering tertiary institutions or starting full-time employment. The major service areas in the country are widespread, including human and social services, education, social and community development, child welfare, health including HIV/AIDS and spiritual healing, counselling, crime prevention and protection of property, emergency relief, gender, personal development, human rights, environmental protection, agricultural extension, sports and recreation, nutrition, social and financial security, and youth development. However, most of the services in the study are in the social welfare field.

Voluntary organisations in Botswana may be classified as formal and informal. While nearly all the different voluntary organisations exist across urban, rural and peri-urban areas, many of them are concentrated in urban areas and medium to large villages. A significant proportion of voluntary organisations are located in Gaborone, the capital city, with branches in other parts of the country. A unique finding is that Botswana has community-based organisations that do not have linkages to national levels. Many such CBOs are essentially extensions of public services such as, for example, village health committees, village development committees, and social welfare committees. Consequently, there is no national movement to guide their ideologies and activities. Generally, individuals may join an organisation of their choice subject to the specific membership requirements of each organisation. In this section, we discuss the key issues of the study, state-community partnerships, gender, class and age, institutional factors, and the structure of service and volunteering in Botswana.

State-community partnerships: Service provision and dependency

On the one hand, and consistent with a development approach, the government has continued efforts to provide basic standards of education, health care, and water supply, among other services. This provision of social services is consistent with the principle of social justice which guides national development planning. The concern is that as far as possible, there must be fair and equal access to resources and opportunities for advancement of individuals and communities. It is also the basis of the efforts to enhance economic opportunities for all citizens and the provision of safety net programmes such as drought relief, supplementary feeding, and the National Policy on Destitute Persons. However, government involvement in service provision has also resulted in dependency in that local people are not willing to volunteer. On the other hand, government has adopted policy which advocates state-community partnerships in service delivery. The central criticism is that state-community partnerships are limited as poor households and communities have to care for people at home and in the community instead of in the hospitals. This places enormous subjective and objective burdens on these communities and presents a tension for community-based care and partnerships.

Ethic of care: Gender, class and age

Study results suggest that most of the women providing service in home-based care were unemployed and had virtually no income. At best, they could generate income from the informal sector, which was hardly enough for their own upkeep. Consequently, the nature of their contribution revolved around psychosocial support involving practical activities such as bathing patients, cleaning, cooking and other household chores, and praying for the infected and affected. In most cases, therefore, they were less likely to provide financial and material resources (Rankopo et al., 2006). Despite this, it must be emphasised that well-educated middle-class women in Botswana are found to also volunteer in organisations and activities that attract some significant rewards such as high visibility (national recognition); financial incentives (allowances); social status (standing in society); networking (connections to national and international personalities, NGOs and business entities); and power (political and economic position). This is demonstrated, for instance, by women in organisations such as Emang Basadi, Metlhaetsile, Kagisano Society Women's Shelter Project, Bana ba Rona Trust, Women and Law in Southern Africa, and Ditshwanelo, through which some women have received exposure and significant benefits.

Thus, women were found to be over-represented in civic service primarily due to socialisation and gender role stereotypes, which emphasise an ethic of caring

and responsibility for others among females. In some service organisations, such as Childline and Botswana Network of People Living with AIDS (BONEPWA), young females, mainly university students, predominated as servers. These volunteers also lacked resources other than their skills and time. AIDS caregiving is perceived as "women's work", since it involves mainly household chores. Even in male-focused associations such as the True Men Sector in Botswana which focuses on HIV/AIDS, males do not volunteer in large numbers.

In Botswana, the belief is that, as heads or potential heads of households and primarily breadwinners, men must engage in gainful employment or activities that bring monetary or material returns. In situations where men volunteer in large numbers in Botswana, the activities are more likely to be associated with politics, religion, governing boards of associations, and organisations that give them visibility and provide prospects for future employment or career and social advancement (Rankopo et al., 2006). This is supported by Nataka (2006) in Uganda.

Generally, young people in Botswana, both males and females, are less inclined to volunteer. Rankopo et al. (2006) report that those who volunteer, do so with the hope of using the experience to find permanent employment or turning the voluntary position into a paid one. In other instances, some volunteers see the resources provided to facilitate their work as opportunities for improving their own welfare. For example, they may use transport provided for their own chores, take some of the food provided for the needy to their families at home, and use any monetary allowance for their personal needs. In addition, organisations are sometimes less inclined to provide opportunities for young people with fewer skills, and less education and knowledge to volunteer, as donors require superior skills in report-writing and accountability for their financial support. All these are supported by the literature (Flick et al., 2002; Nataka, 2006; Reisch & Wenocur, 1984; Voicu & Voicu, 2003; Volunteer Development Scotland, 2006).

Institutional factors

Service and volunteering in Botswana are influenced by institutional factors such as access to services and related relevant information. These are also affected by, but are not limited to, skills, experience, age, commitment and language. For example, some services need specialised training, and local volunteers who understand the language and culture of beneficiaries. Age is also a factor in most organisations. For example, in the village development committee (VDC), one has to be 18 years and above; be literate (know how to read and write); be resident in the locality; and be conversant in both Setswana and English. This is because servers have to be mature and able to keep records. Organisations which provide formal services need

educated people with professional knowledge and skills. That is why organisations like Childline recruit servers who are professionals, such as social workers, nurses and psychologists.

However, organisations associated with community HIV/AIDS intervention usually welcome "anyone" who can help with psychosocial support such as medication adherence support, and the establishment and maintenance of backyard gardens. Such organisations include the Community Relief Day Care Centre, Botswana Network of People Living with AIDS (BONEPWA), Tirisanyo Catholic Commission, and the Shelter for the Hopeful Community, who have no set criteria to determine who can serve. However, for burial societies, the emphasis is on adults who have the ability to pay the subscription fee. In all these organisations, commitment is a core factor that drives the recruitment of servers. Since these are community initiatives, servers have to be committed to effectively meeting the needs of their clients – orphans, senior citizens and others receiving home-based care. However, for faith-based organisations, selection of servers is on the basis of their Christianity. Based on the above, it is evident that the criteria according to which servers are selected have the effect of leaving out certain capable individuals, on the basis of educational level, faith, professional skill or age. Where professional training and skills gained through formal training are emphasised, those without them, irrespective of what experiences and resources they can bring to the service, cannot serve.

Structure of service: Semi-formalisation of informal service provision

Volunteer programmes in Botswana are formal, quasi-formal or informal. Formal voluntary organisations must register with the Registrar of Societies and submit annual returns on their programmes. Informal volunteer programmes involve individuals providing specific services at their own time to assist individuals and organisations in a defined area. Quasi-formal voluntary programmes involve public service-community partnerships in a wide range of areas such as home-based care. Generally, there have been no overt efforts to fully institutionalise the informal services. Instead, there appears to be semi-institutionalisation which is actually an incorporation of the informal into the formal service provision. For example, in home-based care, while doctors, nurses, social workers and health educators form the formal professional care team, the actual care is provided by family (and by the mother or sister in particular) and community members (Phorano & Modie Moroka, 2003; Sebego, 2003). Even in the case of anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs), patients are required to have an informal support base to ensure that they take the medication as prescribed. In this case, the informal care system is seen as an extension of the

formal system, where possible. This model is seemingly top-down and the informal is subtly subsumed under the formal. The decision-making process is controlled by the formal structures, and decisions are handed down to the grassroots for implementation.

Implications for service, policy and programmes

The concept of volunteering in Botswana influences the nature and level of involvement of people in service and volunteering. Conceptions of service and volunteering reflect elements of both tradition and modernity, and provide a context that enables the involvement of a large number of actors across diverse service areas. Volunteering is defined in the context of individuals providing services without expectation of reward. Both males and females, young and old may become servers. This section discusses the implications of state-community partnerships, gender, class and age, institutional factors, and structure of volunteer programmes on service, policy and programmes.

State-community partnerships

Botswana's development philosophy supports state-community partnerships in social development. Volunteerism must be defined in policy terms as all actions or activities that are carried out willingly and freely in the hope of helping others. This makes the concept of free will central to the idea of volunteering. Botswana has provided a policy framework whereby the formal and informal interface work as one complete system, instead of the traditional divisions of formal versus informal. What emerges is that because of their unique characteristics as opposed to the formal dominating the informal, ways must be found to balance both systems and make them complementary. While this is consistent with current development paradigms, there is need for smart partnerships between the state and the community, the private sector and civil society. We note that a number of actors in the private sector have corporate social responsibility programmes, and continue to urge the government to introduce tax rebates in recognition of such efforts. Such a policy direction will attract more businesses to contribute towards voluntary programmes in the country. A major limitation of Botswana's development policy is that it has shifted the burden of care to individuals, families and communities.

Ethics of care: Gender, class, and age

It is evident that the majority of volunteers in Botswana are low-income and illiterate older women. The fact that informal service provision has been semi-formalised has not helped the majority of women fulfilling social obligations of service provision in community-based programmes. This necessitates rethinking community-based interventions which have more or less increased the burden of care on women without any extra resources for their own upkeep. There is also a need to promote gender sensitivity in volunteering. Greater efforts should be made to motivate men, youth and upper social classes to give freely of their expertise and labour. This is especially important to ensure that women are not unduly exploited by formal service and policy prescriptions.

Institutional factors and structure of programmes

Several factors are known to motivate volunteering. Individual factors such as age, education, marital status, occupation, level of motivation, and values, beliefs and attitudes influence a person's motivation and willingness to volunteer. Certain organisations in Botswana exclude younger people because they lack maturity, skills and experience. Some of these factors are imposed by international donors who have high standards of accountability. Noble as they may seem, such factors deny many young and illiterate people the opportunity to serve. Some voluntary programmes are highly structured or formalised, requiring superior management skills but with inadequate supportive structures to supervise volunteers. There is need for flexibility, adequate support and the establishment of training programmes to prepare all those interested in volunteering. Thus, Botswana should cultivate political and policy environments that are sympathetic to the voluntary sector; provide an atmosphere that enables individuals to give of themselves freely and willingly; facilitate the work of NGOs and CBOs to the extent that they can source resources without undue restrictions; and design and implement legitimate programmes and undertake activities without political interference. These ideas are supported by Anheier & Salamon (1999), Seppala (2002) and the Institute for Volunteer Research (2006).

Conclusion

Batswana have a long history of volunteerism and collective action, which is based on notions of communalism as well as modernity. Service and volunteering are conceptualised, in cultural and religious terms, as an obligation to help those

in need. Overall, service and volunteerism have become key factors in social development in Botswana due to economic changes and other complex social conditions such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Botswana's approach to volunteerism is underscored by state-community partnerships in addressing socio-economic development and the engagement of individuals and communities in providing services that have generally been the domain of the state. These have also led to the semi-formalisation, and the feminisation of service provision at the community level, further perpetuating the disadvantaged position of women. These and other issues underlying the promotion of service and volunteerism in Botswana call for review and redirection. While involvement of communities in social development is necessary, the state should not overburden its citizens. We believe that the state has a major role to play in social development, from developing favourable social policies to funding the voluntary sector. In addition, the state should introduce tax rebates to promote private-sector funding for the voluntary sector.

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Endnotes

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Youth, service and development in Malawi

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Abstract

Following the advent of democracy, many in Malawi lament the decline of genuine volunteerism and civic responsibility among its citizens, particularly the youth. This article maps the changing landscape of service and volunteering in Malawi, and argues that negative perceptions of youth, and their role in development, are at odds with the extent of youth involvement in volunteering in Malawi; rather, they reflect assumptions based on a concept of service as solely beneficiary-orientated. This contrasts with current expectations of many young people who, in the context of high unemployment, see volunteering as a strategy for personal development.

Key words

Youth; civic service; volunteerism; social development; peer education

Introduction

Civic service is increasingly being recognised as an important social institution and emerging social phenomenon in the global context (Patel, 2003). Civic service can be broadly defined as "the provision of service through volunteering and citizen action, contributing to the local, national or global community and promoting public good" (GSI, 2002, cited in Patel, 2003). Globally, service assumes a continuum, with informal, occasional volunteering at one end and more structured, intensive and long-term civic service at the other (Moore McBride et al., 2003; Patel & Wilson, 2004).

In Malawi, as in many other developing countries, the focus of service is strongly humanitarian, addressing the provision of basic needs and supporting both community and national development (Patel, 2003). Although largely undocumented, civic service and volunteering is widespread in Malawi and, building on a tradition of community self-help, is based on local level programmes implemented through mainly non-governmental organisations. A broad distinction can be made between well-established, structured, national organisations that implement specific projects (e.g. the Malawi Red Cross Society) and smaller organisations based in a particular community or district (Smith, 2005).

The potential for engagement of youth in service, and as a valuable human resource for development, has been the source of much discussion in recent years (Sherraden, 2001; Alessi, 2004). While globally, the practice of genuine and active engagement of youth in development may not yet be fully accepted (Alessi, 2004), in Malawi there has been a strong tradition of youth-led volunteerism and participation in development activities. During Malawi's recent transition to democracy, however, the conceptualisation of service has been changing, and many Malawians lament a perceived lack of genuine volunteerism amongst its citizens, particularly the youth (Fairley, 2006).

Young people in Malawi face many challenges. Access to secondary education is limited[2]. Despite improved enrolment rates in recent years, the majority of young people who exit the formal education system drop out early in the primary school cycle, and only around a tenth enter the formal economic mainstream (Kadzamira & Nell, 2004). Long-term unemployment among youth is high, particularly among young women,[3] and many young people depend upon subsistence farming for their survival. Youth in Malawi are also disproportionately affected by HIV and AIDS: the majority of new infections are amongst the youth, with young women four times more likely to be infected than young men[4] (National Statistics Office, 2005).

In recent years there has been a renewed call to engage youth in development activities and to see youth as a crucial resource for change. In a concept paper

for Innovations for Civic Participation (ICP), Alessi (2004) suggests that the use of structured service programmes is a key strategy in addressing issues directly affecting youth today. Such programmes will also empower youth to take an active role in tackling development priorities in their communities. The paper argues that issues affecting youth, such as unemployment, lack of education and life skills, marginalisation and risky behaviour can be addressed by service programmes that provide youth with opportunities to develop new skills and improve access to further training or employment. As such, these offer constructive alternatives to risky and negative behaviours (Alessi, 2004).

Based on a research study into service and volunteering in Malawi (Moleni & Gallagher, 2006), and part of a wider, five-country study on civic service and volunteering in Southern Africa,[5] this article focuses on youth engagement with service and the youth's role in development, in light of Malawi's transition to democracy. It highlights the ways in which political, social and economic changes have affected the conceptualisation of service in Malawi, and demonstrates that, despite the changing landscape of volunteerism in the country, young people are still actively involved in the provision of service within communities and among their peers. This article describes how some youth initiatives are taking a lead in challenging the perception of service as primarily for the benefit of beneficiaries rather than servers, by providing meaningful incentives for young people to volunteer. This article also highlights some of challenges facing the participation of youth in Malawi's developing voluntary sector. It is hoped that this contribution will show that, despite challenges, youth volunteering and service in Malawi can potentially be a powerful force, not just for community and national development, but to empower and uplift youth through opportunities for their own personal development.

Service in transition: Conceptualising service in Malawi

In pre-colonial days, systems of inter-household co-operation existed at the village level, with age-mates working together in an individual household's fields. One such system of mutual help and service, culturally expressed as a moral obligation, was known as *thangata*. However, during the colonial period, the meaning of *thangata* changed to mean forced or bonded labour – as the estate owners turned the existing social system to their own purposes, using it as a cheap mode of economic production (Kandawire, 1979).

Following independence in 1964, communal civic action, whereby local chiefs mobilised their people to participate in development work, became increasingly

institutionalised. Local self-help projects, using voluntary contributions of time, resources and labour, were selected, planned and overseen by district development committees (Christian Services Committee, 1979) under the close scrutiny of political leaders and party members. The leader of the newly independent Republic of Malawi, who was to be made life-president in 1971, Dr Kamuzu Banda, quickly established a national youth service – the Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP) – which was seen as central to his vision of nation-building (Government of Malawi). As with many national service programmes that are government sponsored, this was primarily concerned with promoting unity and patriotism (Patel, 2003), and producing disciplined and productive citizens. In contrast to national youth service in many other African regimes, however, this programme was not compulsory and focused on uplifting the rural poor, rather than utilising elite university graduates (Patel & Wilson, 2004). Unfortunately, the vision of a self-reliant and development-orientated youth was lost as the movement became highly politicised, armed, and eventually disbanded during the struggle for democracy in 1993.

Taking the premise that "civic service is not a politically neutral activity" (Patel, 2003:89) and that its conceptualisation is shaped by wider political, ideological, social and economic ideas that frame dominant social policy, the promotion and development of service in Malawi during its transition to democracy can be seen as an "ongoing contestation of ideas" (Patel, 2003:99) regarding the role of service and relations between the state and society. The advent of democracy in Malawi, following multi-party elections in 1994, saw an abrupt shift away from the prevailing government-led, authoritarian and paternalistic approach to service, as development structures and service initiatives of the previous regime were quickly dismantled. The new head of state, Bakili Muluzi, described civic service programmes and communities' obligatory self-help projects as an abuse of rights and a denial of personal freedom – equating them with the colonial system of *thangata* – while assuring communities that the state would provide for their needs. However, such assurances of institutionalised state support were short-lived as continuing poor economic performance saw the new government being forced to adopt severe financial austerity measures, cutting social services in the process (Lucas, 2004). Increasingly, as the state was unable to provide many essential services, non-governmental organisations reliant on voluntary service provision stepped in to fill this gap. By the late 1990s, international concerns over widespread poverty, the disparity of wealth distribution and a lack of food security pressured government into adopting pro-poor economic polices and making poverty alleviation central to the government's development strategy. This marked a definite shift towards what remains the current dominant social policy, heavily advocated by development

agencies and foreign donors, which enabled the emergence of a social development approach to service.

A social development approach to service is essentially a people-centred approach that promotes the active participation of all citizens in decision-making, seeking to empower and uplift those previously excluded. It focuses on making tangible improvements in the quality of people's lives through human, community and local socio-economic development. Its pluralistic stance relegates government's role in service to one of facilitation and support (Patel, 2003). In Malawi, this approach is supported by active civil society networks, increasing decentralisation of state authority, and a Constitution that promotes the full participation of citizens in development and democratic processes (Government of Malawi, 1995). However, while many development programmes emphasise the importance of community participation for implementation, and are heavily reliant on volunteers, the policy environment for local service and volunteering is weak. Furthermore, current collaboration between non-governmental service providers and local government is poor, and districts often lack the resources and capacity to provide regular supervision and support. Despite these challenges, a social development approach to service offers the youth of Malawi the democratic space to take up an active role in civil society, and supports their genuine participation in development.

The role of Malawian youth in development

Reflecting the trend observed in the recent assessment of civic service globally (Moore McBride et al., 2003), findings from this research study indicate that, as a group, youth in Malawi would appear to be more involved in service than in any other country.

Areas of service

While the transition to democracy saw the disbanding of the Malawi Pioneers and an ending of other institutionalised forms of service, new opportunities for youth to participate in development arose as Malawian society opened up and civil society flourished. In the absence of a centralised, highly structured national youth service, locally based community development and volunteering became the dominant form of service available to young people. As a new, vibrant civil society emerged, local youth non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and self-established youth clubs proliferated, so that, according to one key informant, approximately 2 000 such clubs and organisations registered with the

National Youth Council in the ten years following the advent of democracy.

Findings show that, currently, the Ministry of Youth's Youth and Participation programme, which promotes youth organisations as a platform for participation of young people in Malawian society, involves as many as 3 500 youth clubs and CBOs. Many of these locally based organisations implement civic education activities in their communities, offering information and raising awareness on issues such as health, HIV and AIDS, gender, environmental conservation and human rights. Others support home-based care for orphans and promote girls' participation in education and training.

Many youth were also found to be actively involved in a range of volunteer-based organisations that did not specifically target young people, either as servers or as beneficiaries. Several of the programmes analysed, which included national civic education and literacy programmes, humanitarian aid, environmental conservation, social welfare, and HIV and AIDS prevention and care, indicated that youth were the main source of volunteers. For example, the long-established National Adult Literacy Programme, a government-initiated programme implemented throughout the country, uses locally based volunteer instructors to teach basic functional literacy skills to villagers. Where previously instructors were recruited from older members of the communities, the majority of the 1 000 to 1 200 instructors are now said to be school-leavers aged around 20 years or more. In a less formalised role – and as a coping strategy by communities to address understaffed schools – community members volunteer their services to teach at local primary schools. Data from a recent study into teacher attrition in Malawi shows that almost half of all volunteer teachers (45 per cent) in districts surveyed were school-leavers of less than 24 years of age (Moleni & Ndalama, 2004).

Service for social change: Peer education

In line with a social development approach that advocates servers as agents of change, youth in Malawi are being used to great effect as peer educators. This study found that about a third of all youth clubs registered under the Youth and Participation programme were involved in a Youth and Health project set up to promote health and well-being among the youth. With funding from international development agencies, selected members of these clubs were trained as peer educators to deliver health messages related to HIV and AIDS, reproductive health and family planning to their fellow youth, and also to promote outreach activities in their communities. Currently, approximately 1 200 peer educators aged between 16 and 22 years are in place.

One key informant noted that several other development-orientated organisations use these club members to implement their own programmes. For example, Banja la Mtsogolo, a donor-funded NGO that operates reproductive health clinics, recruited peer educators and trained them to be youth community-based

distribution agents (YCBDA) – volunteers that deliver health messages, provide counselling and distribute contraceptives, including condoms (Nhlane, 2002). This means of mobilising young people to take an active role in the fight against HIV and AIDS has shown itself to be a key strategy in addressing issues pertinent to young people and ensuring their access to much-needed support.

Profile of volunteers in Malawi

Most youth volunteers are deliberately drawn from programmes' target communities. As such, they may live in similarly poor socio-economic circumstances; and will be unemployed or active in the informal economic sector. This commonality with beneficiaries was found to be particularly true for those living in rural areas. During focus group discussions it was noted that "most people who volunteer are the vulnerable … the very poor". This reflects the observation that volunteering can contribute to greater inclusion in the development progress, as "excluded people are breaking new ground in voluntary service" (Gillette, 2003).

While it was found generally that few criteria exist for servers, programmes involved in civic education and peer education often expected servers to have completed at least two years of secondary education. In the case of the Youth and Health project, servers were required to have completed primary schooling. Given the low educational status of many young people in Malawi, this, in itself, excludes many from volunteering. In addition, while volunteering programmes were open to both males and females, a concern was the comparatively low level of participation of female youth in development activities such as the YCBDA programme (Nhlane, 2002). Noting that many youth clubs were dominated by boys, a sub-component of the Youth and Participation programme – the Development and Participation of Adolescent Girls Project – encouraged the setting up of girls-only clubs.

Commitment to service

As defined by Moore McBride et al. (2003) in their preliminary assessment of civic service worldwide, the service role of a volunteer has expectations of a manner similar to that of a paid employee. In terms of commitment, the vast majority of service programmes – international or national service programmes – require a specific period of service of relatively long duration and of high intensity, usually on a full-time basis (Moore McBride et al., 2003). In Malawi, where most service is provided through locally based volunteering, this level of commitment is generally seen only among servers with international volunteer-sending agencies. While some locally based programmes will expect servers to commit to a specific length of service – such as the National Adult Literacy Programme, which requires volunteer

instructors for a period of ten months – findings from this research show that for many other programmes, this level of commitment, while hoped for, is rarely enforced. Findings also indicate that programmes expect youth to serve on a part-time basis only, and with a flexibility that allows them to structure their service activities around their daily lives. This is done with the assumption that these young people – as with volunteers of all ages – will be involved in other activities, such as farming or casual labour, in order to meet their basic needs.

Motivating factors and incentives

Respondents suggested that in Malawi, poverty is an important driving force to volunteer, and that stipends that accrue to some programmes, although small,[6] are sufficient to motivate many to volunteer. While not all programmes analysed in this study offered this form of financial compensation for service provided, most did offer some type of incentive to volunteers, although this was highly dependent on the level and nature of funding that projects received. In addition to small stipends, other types of incentives included training, resources to carry out project activities (e.g. bicycles), gifts (T-shirts, caps) and handouts (e.g. fertiliser). It was noted that, for young people in particular, perceived increased opportunities for employment through skills development and work experience were also seen as an incentive. As such, the provision of training is an important motivating factor for young people. This is related, however, not just to the acquisition of transferable skills, but also to small lunch, travel and/or out-of-pocket allowances provided by some funding organisations during training sessions.

In Malawi, as elsewhere, the receiving of monetary benefit by servers, whether as stipends or allowances, is controversial. During this study, many respondents agreed that any financial gain by the servers is not true to the spirit of volunteerism and encourages dependency. For others, the provision of financial compensation or material benefit was seen as an essential element of the successful provision of service, acknowledging that most of their volunteers were of low economic status and required assistance to sustain their participation.

Negative perceptions of the provision of financial or material rewards for service in Malawi still tend to dominate, however, related to a conceptualisation of service that focuses primarily on the beneficiary. This understanding reflects a global phenomenon where programmes originating in developing countries "tend to emphasise the impact of service on beneficiaries versus the impact on servers" (Moore McBride et al., 2003:14) This is in contrast with service programmes from developed countries, which acknowledge and stress the importance of the service experience on the servers. In Malawi, this concept is underlined by the fact that

the programme goals of many development organisations using volunteers are predominantly beneficiary-based.

However, youth-specific programmes are taking the lead in acknowledging the importance of incorporating benefits for both servers and beneficiaries into their programme design. For example, under the Youth and Health project, volunteer peer educators are expected to develop their capacity through training in several areas such as leadership skills, communication skills, assertiveness and other life skills, all of which would allow them to compete more successfully on the job market. The project also links up with livelihood and economic development programmes, so that servers are equipped with skills to become self-reliant and can become role models in their communities.

Challenges to youth involvement in service

As with service and volunteering in Malawi in general, one major challenge of promoting youth participation is the lack of clear policy direction and guidelines. While, from a global perspective, it is argued that greater impact and benefit to both youth and wider society requires strong co-ordination between national youth policy and youth service (Angel, 2003), there is little evidence of this in Malawi. Concerns have arisen over a lack of guidelines to frame development activities and the role of service, leading to wide discrepancies between the conditions of service and support available for youth volunteers.

Illiteracy and low levels of education generally among the communities from which volunteers are drawn is seen as a major factor hindering the development of service. As noted earlier, this excludes many young people from participating on programmes and has been suggested as one of the reasons why females are under-represented among youth volunteers.

Over half of the key informants who participated in this study stated that the high turnover among volunteers was a major factor hindering the effectiveness of service provision. This was often attributed to the high personal workloads of many volunteers in relation to their own requirement to meet basic needs. Among the youth, high turnover was also related to changes in their opportunities for employment, particularly in urban areas where access to formal employment is greater than in rural areas. During focus group discussions, one participant commented, "Somebody … will do it [a volunteer] because he has nothing else to do … but once he gets a better job or something permanent, then he will get out".

Other factors that impinge on the development of the voluntary sector in Malawi, and the participation of youth in particular, include a lack of resources, poor capacity and inadequate monitoring and supervision, although these factors

vary depending on the level and continuity of funding available. In Malawi, concerns have been raised that some foreign development agencies and international donors – who fund many of the development activities in Malawi – prescribe activities instead of responding to the needs and interests of those initiating action (Public Affairs Committee, 2003). This underlines wider concerns over the dependence of service provision programmes on donors, and the appropriateness of their perspectives in the African context (Patel & Wilson, 2004). In Malawi, many young people who seek support for their youth clubs and CBOs are well aware of donors' interests and, since they aspire to get their activities funded (accruing additional benefits such as training and allowances in the process), they are likely to focus on areas that fit in with donor agendas rather than other priorities (Fairley, 2006).

Another issue arising from the heavy reliance of many youth initiatives on donor funding is that of sustainability. While funding is often available for start-up activities and initial training, long-term, continued support is less forthcoming. As one representative of a major development agency observed, "We will … support this project for two years, three years … and train people and we expect people to continue with that, but these people are so poor and so dependent on external support that once you pull out, the likelihood of that project continuing is low. And again, even the government lacks capacity to continue supporting them".

Conclusion

This article demonstrates that, despite challenges, youth are found at the forefront of social and human development in Malawi, where their active engagement in community-based initiatives, as well as more formal, well-established national programmes, drives much of the service provision. A social development approach to service that promotes genuine participation in development efforts, and views servers as potential agents for change, has seen the use of trained peer educators as an effective strategy to tackle issues affecting youth today. Such an approach also provides opportunities for marginalised young people, often excluded from mainstream society, to achieve a degree of empowerment, involvement and self-worth (Gillette, 2003). However, issues relating to criteria for service remain, and may still exclude some young people from full participation.

To create an enabling environment for the continued expansion and positive impact of youth service in Malawi, steps need to be taken to strengthen capacity at all levels; develop policies and guidelines that acknowledge and support the role of volunteers in social development; explore ways to formalise and co-ordinate the myriad local organisations working with volunteers; and open up dialogue on the

relevancy and sustainability of programmes that are heavily dependent on donor funding.

A major challenge in the area of service and volunteering in Malawi is the need to find motivating incentives for volunteers, and to include such incentives in service programme design and implementation. Youth-specific programmes appear to have taken the lead in recognising the importance of providing benefits to both the server and the beneficiaries. Such approaches, that seek to impact positively on the server through, for example, skills development and economic empowerment, have been seen to encourage the participation of young people and the longevity of their commitment to development programmes.

However, to gain wider acceptance of server-orientated goals for youth programmes and, service programmes in general, there is a need to address a certain mindset among many in Malawi who perceive volunteerism as an extension of a civic duty that requires no financial compensation for service, and precludes incentives that confer direct personal benefit to the server. A focus on non-monetary benefits and greater transparency and regulation of stipends or allowances can assist in tackling such resistance. For youth, such non-monetary benefits could include programme components that provide training to enhance their future livelihoods, such as improving literacy levels, income-generation, and vocational and life skills. Recognised accreditation for training and work experience would also be valuable for youth in accessing future employment opportunities. As argued elsewhere, in order to have a serious and sustainable impact on both the youth in Malawi and wider development priorities, service programmes need to offer young people a chance to serve that presents a real opportunity to change their social and economic circumstances (Alessi, 2004).

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Endnotes

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[2] The gross attendance rate (GAR) for secondary schooling in 2004 was estimated at approximately 33% for males and 25% for females and the net attendance rate (NAR - the proportion of secondary school-aged population [14-17] who are actually attending) is even lower, estimates at 10% for males and 12% for females (NSO, 2005).

[3] Amongst 20-24-year-olds in 2004, 43% of females and 29% of males had not been employed in a period of 12 months (NSO, 2005).

[4] Currently, the estimated HIV prevalence rate amongst 15-24-year-olds in Malawi is 6%: 9% amongst females and 2% amongst males. The national estimated HIV prevalence rate for 15-49-year-olds is 12% (NSO, 2005).

[5] This five-country study in Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe was undertaken under the auspices of Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa (VOSESA) in association with the Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg, and was funded by the Global Service Institute (GSI) at the Centre for Social Development, Washington University, St Louis, USA.

[6] The National Adult Literacy Programme (NALP) gives a monthly honorarium of K1000 ($7) to its volunteer instructors (personal communication, District Community Development Officer, Zomba, Malawi).

Civic service policy in South Africa

Helene Perold, Leila Patel, René Carapinha and Salah E Mohamed [1]

Abstract

The transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa has seen a transformation in the conception, policy and practice of service. By 2006, four forms of civic service were present in the policy landscape, functioning in different sectors with a range of target groups. This article argues that service benefited from the "strong policy" environment in post-apartheid South Africa. Issues and challenges relating to policy implementation, the assessment of policy outcomes and quality assurance of service programmes remain key challenges if civic service policy is to realise its potential as an instrument of social development.

Key words

Service policy; national youth service; community service for health professionals; service learning in higher education; community service in secondary schools; strong policy

Introduction

South Africa's transformation from apartheid to democracy has brought about fundamental changes in the lives of its citizens. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996, states unequivocally the country's intention of establishing a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Since the advent of democracy in 1994, a wide range of policies has been adopted to reshape the social, economic and political landscape. National policy is informed by a social development approach that focuses on transformation, redistribution, social cohesion, public participation, and human, social, economic and community development. Within this context, civic service is one aspect of South African society that has been affected by the new dispensation.

Under apartheid, "national service" was militaristic in conception. It was restricted to white males and served as an instrument of political control to entrench the apartheid system both within South Africa and beyond its borders. Today the conception of service has changed to be developmental, with service taking a variety of forms in different sectors, and involving a wide diversity of participants. In democratic South Africa, the meaning of service is aligned with the goals of national reconstruction and development, and citizenship development. While informal service at community level and in the non-governmental sector is large, nationally structured service programmes have also emerged, informed by national policy. Since 1994, four forms of service have been introduced in South Africa: youth service, community service for health care professionals, service learning in higher education, and, most recently, community service in secondary schools. Guided by a variety of policies and legislation, these service programmes are largely voluntary, although some compulsory programmes have been established. Programmes are also formal and national in scope, and are implemented in a range of sectors, through models that involve clearly defined target groups and, to varying degrees, combine service with learning. All four forms of service aim to inculcate civic values among young people through structured opportunities for rendering service to poor and under-served communities.

This article is based on the findings of a South African country study (Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006) that was conducted in 2005/6 as part of a larger study on the nature and scope of structured civic service programmes and informal community-based service programmes in five SADC countries: Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The South Africa country study followed a qualitative descriptive research design that gathered information on the nature and form of civic service and volunteerism in South Africa, through in-depth interviews with key informants, and focus groups with service providers. Literature and national

survey data was used to enrich the information gathered. Research activities were framed by several research questions developed from those used in the Global Service Institute's global assessment of civic service and volunteerism, and adapted to fit the South African context. The methodology of the study is set out in detail in the country report (Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006) and the overall report of the five country study (Patel, Perold, Mohamed & Carapinha, 2007).

The article describes the development of service policies, identifies the concepts and models that inform the service experience in South Africa, and analyses these according to a conceptual framework for "strong policy" suggested by Sherraden (2001). It concludes that in South Africa, service is an emerging institution that can contribute to human and social development. The authors argue that service has benefited from the enabling policy environment in post-apartheid South Africa, supported by national policy and legislation. While many achievements are noted in the development of service, evidence-based policy assessment remains a significant challenge. Valuable lessons may be learnt from the South African experience, which could inform policy formulation and implementation in the SADC region.

Civic service in South Africa

Under apartheid, the term "national service" described an institution which required young white men, upon leaving school, to complete a period of military service, followed by compulsory "camps" at various intervals over successive years. The apartheid government used the military to subjugate black South Africans and to destabilise the southern African region (Perold, 2003; Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006). This created a close association between the term "national service" and apartheid's repressive actions and militaristic tendencies. The apartheid military experience discredited the idea of national conscription, and South Africans from all communities were wary of a compulsory, centrally driven national service that served narrow political interests.

At the same time, the anti-apartheid struggle provided a context for citizen activism, which embodied a totally different conception of service. The mass democratic movement played a leading role in facilitating social change in South Africa, and spawned a wide variety of organisations that provided services in communities suffering under apartheid, while also contributing to the goal of liberation. These national and community-based organisations drew on volunteers, mainly within and between, but not limited to African, coloured and Indian communities, and mobilised civic participation to promote the collective good (Patel, 2003a).

In the 1990s, South Africa entered the negotiations that would ultimately result in democratic elections in 1994. During this process, anti-apartheid civil society

organisations introduced new conceptions of national service that were closely aligned with the democratic aims of the new dispensation. The shift in terminology from "national service" to "community service" or "civic service" introduced a people-centred approach that viewed service as one means of addressing conditions in black communities through transformation, redress and social development. Various social policies were adopted post-1994 which gave effect to service in the youth, education, health and social welfare sectors. These policies and legislation are discussed specifically in the analysis of service policies below.

Significantly, civic service in contemporary South Africa occurs in a context that demonstrates a high incidence of volunteering. A national survey into the state of giving in South Africa found that just less than a fifth (17 per cent) of the respondents that participated in the survey had volunteered their time in support of a specific cause or charity in the month before the interview (Everatt & Solanki, 2005). An earlier study by Swilling & Russell (2002) estimated the number of volunteers to be eleven per cent. This indicates an increase of six per cent. Furthermore, Everatt & Solanki (2005) found that a relationship exists between volunteering and poverty, in that "poor respondents (23 per cent) were more likely to volunteer than the non-poor (17 per cent)". These findings are also supported in the five countries studied in the SADC region (Patel et al., 2007). These national surveys indicate that service is growing in the country and is a valuable asset that should be supported and strengthened through enabling policies. This brief overview shows how service has evolved in a changing political context and is an emerging phenomenon in the society.

What is civic service responding to in South Africa?

Despite the gains made since the advent of democracy in 1994, South Africa continues to face significant challenges in respect of poverty, unemployment and unequal access to resources. Poverty affects approximately one-third of the population, with the UNDP Human Development Report (2005) recording that 34,1 per cent of the South African population lives on US$2 per day and 10,7 per cent of the population lives on US$1. Housing is still in short supply and the public health system struggles to meet the needs of the majority, particularly in the face of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, which is impacting heavily on the social and economic fabric of the country. South Africa has a 30,2 per cent HIV prevalence rate (measured among pregnant female antenatal clinic attendees) (Department of Health, 2005), and it is estimated that 5,5 million people (18,8 per cent of adults) were living with HIV in South Africa in 2005 (UNAIDS, 2006).

While South Africa's education system has successfully enrolled the majority (97 per cent) of school-age children (Department of Education, 2006), the quality of education is at odds with the requirements of the economy, not only in high skills areas such as mathematics and science, but also in respect of school-leavers' basic competence in literacy and numeracy (Chisholm, 2004). Despite faster economic growth, many school-leaving youth face limited opportunities for employment due to a poor match between their skills, formal qualifications and the demands of the economy (Budlender, 2006). Combined with the high official unemployment rate of 26,5 per cent (Perkins, 2006), this situation has led to estimates that approximately 30 per cent of young school leavers who have obtained a matriculation certificate are unlikely ever to find employment (Russouw, 2006:3). Crime and domestic violence also feature strongly in many communities.

The imperative for service thus stems from persistent gaps between privileged and underprivileged individuals and communities, and from needs that remain unmet in the face of service delivery challenges experienced at all levels of government.

Civic service concepts and social development policy

In the South African policy context, civic service tends to be described as community service or youth service in the policy documents discussed above. For example:

- **Community service** is intended to "promote and develop social responsibility and awareness among students of the role of higher education in social and economic development through community service programmes" (Department of Education, 1997).
- **Youth service** is described as the "involvement of young people in activities which provide benefits to the community while developing the abilities of young people through service and learning" (National Youth Service, 2006).

These conceptions link community service and youth service closely to social transformation in South Africa, and aim to develop young people through rendering service to communities in need. They also point to intended outcomes such as the development of social responsibility and awareness among young people, the upliftment of communities, and the development of skills in the young servers.

Another approach defines civic service 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" (Moore McBride & Sherraden, 2004:3s). This concept presents civic service as an organised, formal and goal-directed intervention that impacts on beneficiaries

through largely altruistic action on the part of the servers. Volunteering is considered to be a subset of service, as is youth service, elder service and service learning.

In the South African conception of community and youth service, the development of the young servers emerges as an explicit goal, alongside the benefits to communities and the nation as a whole. This must be understood against the background of apartheid, which marginalised young black people and neglected their needs. Service is therefore considered to provide young people with the oppportunity to develop personally, and at the same time contribute to social development of the communities they come from. Moore McBride & Sherraden's (2004) definition of service does not mention the servers explicitly, but it is sufficiently broad to encompass the idea of service as benefiting the "local, national or world community". For the purpose of this study, the definition developed by Moore McBride & Sherraden (2004) was used.

The social development policy model adopted by South Africa's policy-makers since 1994 has influenced policy development significantly, including policy on civic service. Patel describes this policy model (2003:96-98) as being "pro-poor change [that] challenges unequal and distorted economic, social and political development nationally, [with the] proactive involvement of government in developmentally oriented civic service". Among the goals of the social development approach are the participation of socially excluded groups in development efforts, and the achievement of tangible improvements in the quality of life of the people. Programmes informed by the social development approach foster human, social, economic and community development, promote productive employment of the socially excluded, and strengthen social capital formation. Public, private and civil society programmes are facilitated and supported by government while servers are regarded as active participants (change agents) in development. The social development approach to social policy in South Africa provides an enabling framework for the expansion of service and the design of service programmes locally.

Civic service and strong policy in South Africa

Defining strong policy

In his working paper entitled "Youth Service as Strong Policy", Sherraden (2001:1-4) describes "strong policy" as "policy that has many positive impacts and provides exceptional return on investment". He outlines four principles that characterise strong policy. Firstly, it is policy that promotes and restores opportunities for action, and secondly, it is policy that is founded in well-developed ideas, not merely in programme proposals. A third principle pertains to policy that relies on simple models that are productive and that can be tested (that is, policy that

is simple, clear, logically constructed, thoughtful and "intuitively sensible"). A final principle is policy that has inherent potential for application and that leads to various positive impacts/consequences (Sherraden, 2001:1-4). These four principles provide a framework for the analysis of civic service in South Africa. The data drawn from the South Africa country study (Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006) provides a basis for assessing the four policies against Sherraden's (2001) principles for strong policy.

Civic service policy promotes and restores opportunities for action

The transition from apartheid to democracy has sought to redress the legacy of apartheid and has placed black South Africans at the centre of political, social and economic opportunity. Civic service is no exception in this regard: youth service, community service for health care professionals, community service in secondary education, and service learning in higher education are four forms of civic service that provide opportunities for taking action to redress the exclusion, disadvantage and systematic disempowerment that was the hallmark of apartheid.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (African National Congress, 1994) signalled government's intention of involving young people in development programmes, and the National Youth Policy 2000 identified national youth service as a strategy for human resource development and for promoting a culture of service towards communities and society. The publication of the *Green Paper on National Youth Service*, followed by a draft *White Paper on National Youth Service* in 1998 set the agenda for youth service. This culminated in a National Youth Service Implementation Plan followed by the formal launch of the National Youth Service in 2004.

The National Youth Service currently operates in all nine provinces. By 2006, it had registered 30 programmes involving 13 087 participants (National Youth Service Unit, 2006). It is important to note that youth is defined as people between the ages of 14 and 35 years (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Service programmes that involve youth are thus accessible to participants in a wide age range, but, as will be shown below, the service policies also target specific cohorts of young people.

The National Youth Service offers previously excluded groups the opportunity to reach their full potential for mainstream participation by gaining experience of service at community level, gaining hard and soft skills, increasing their self-esteem, and changing the profile of youth and the attitudes to youth among the communities in which service is offered. Target groups for youth service include higher education students, senior secondary school students, unemployed youth and youth in conflict with the law. Furthermore, the approach adopted by the National Youth Service provides young people with opportunities that they could not get through the formal education system.

Compulsory community service in the health sector was introduced when the Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Professions Amendment Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997) made a year's community service a requirement for the registration of health professionals as practitioners. Community service for health professionals is a policy initiative of the Department of Health that responds to unmet needs in under-served communities, particularly in rural areas. It provides graduating health professionals with the opportunity to gain first-hand experience of practising in conditions of poverty and underdevelopment. By 2005, a total of 12 334 health professionals of various types had undertaken community service across all nine provinces (Mohamed, 2006).

In 1997, the *Education White Paper 3* (Department of Education, 1997) created the policy framework for universities to become more responsive to socio-economic needs through teaching, learning and scholarship. The focus on service in the higher education context deepened in 2001 when the *Founding Document of the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) of the Council on Higher Education* identified knowledge-based community service (service-learning) as one of the three areas for the accreditation and quality assurance of higher education. The HEQC has developed criteria for the auditing of higher education programmes that include service-learning (Community Higher Education Service Partnership, 2003), which has served to further institutionalise community service in higher education. Opportunities have been created for universities to shape and guide teaching and research activities in response to the policy framework created by the *White Paper on the Transformation for Higher Education* (Department of Education, 1997). The promotion of community service in higher education has also been vigorously pursued through the work of the Community Higher Education Service Partnerships (CHESP) programme, a non-governmental initiative. Launched in 1999, the programme today operates in eight South African universities. By 2006, the principles and practice of service learning had been incorporated into some 200 credit-bearing courses across 39 different academic disciplines, involving almost 7 000 students ranging from first year to Master's level.

In recent years, the Department of Education (2006) introduced community service into senior secondary schools as part of the life skills orientation curriculum for the Further Education and Training band. This creates opportunities for teachers and pupils to be more closely engaged with their surrounding communities through service programmes. Not only does this bring resources and expertise into communities, but it also enables staff to learn more about the home situation and social circumstances of the children they teach every day. The curriculum goals and assessment statements are sufficiently broad to accommodate local needs, circumstances and action.

The civic service policies and legislation mentioned above create opportunities for community action through service to address unmet needs in the youth, health and education sectors. Service policies are aligned with national social development goals and priorities, and institutionalise the idea of civic service that is integrated into different social sectors. This also serves to mobilise resources through involving learners and new graduates in service activities that contribute to human and community development. Service has, therefore, been effectively institutionalised, and provides rich and varied opportunities for community action.

Civic service policy is founded in well-developed ideas

In order to qualify as "strong policy", Sherraden (2001) indicates that the policy ideas should be well developed and should not merely be programme proposals. There are three ways of assessing whether the policy idea is a strong one: policy must rest on well-developed ideas, not merely programme proposals; ideas must be specified as theoretical statements with clear and testable hypotheses; and the causal variables must be translated into policy and programme applications.

Each of the four civic service policies is informed by the vision of "pro-poor change that challenges unequal and distorted economic, social and political development nationally" (Patel, 2003:96). National Youth Service is based on the idea that views youth as assets in development. It seeks to promote human capital development through providing youth with learning experiences and skills. Social capital development is also considered important in building social networks of trust in South African communities while engaging young participants in a formal process of providing a valued and necessary service to the communities they live in. The idea behind community service for health professionals is to improve access to quality health care to all South Africans – through the deployment of health practitioners into under-served communities, and by sensitising health professionals to the conditions of poor people and increasing their ability to be responsive to their needs.

In the case of higher education, the policy idea is that community service and civic engagement have a major role to play in transforming the teaching and learning pedagogy and research in universities, so as to produce outcomes that are responsive to the social, political, economic and cultural needs of the country. Characteristics central to responsiveness include reciprocity, mutual enrichment and the integration of the perspectives of poor communities in scholarly activities.

Community service in senior secondary schools is intended to inculcate in grade 10 to 12 pupils "an understanding and appreciation of the values and rights that underpin the Constitution in order to practise responsible citizenship, and to enhance social justice and sustainable living" (Department of Education, 2003:16).

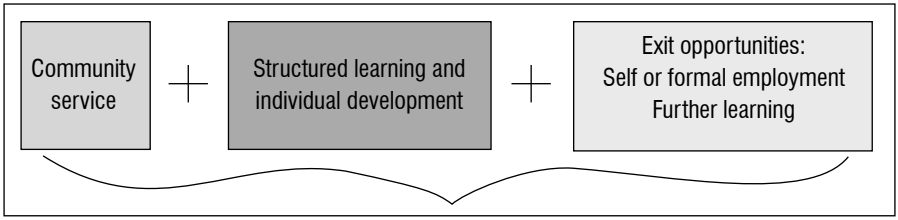
The review of the policy ideas underpinning the various service programmes discussed above are compelling, and are grounded in social development thinking. However, there is no evidence of the civic service policy ideas being specified as statements with clear and testable hypotheses that are translated into policy and programme applications. This gap would need to be addressed in the policy frameworks if, according to Sherraden (2001), they are to demonstrate that civic service can render positive socio-economic and political outcomes for South Africa.

Civic service policy models

Sherraden cites one of the features of strong policy as being "simple models that are productive" (2001:2). This has the advantage of making policy purposeful and measurable.

South Africa's national youth service model is an "integrated model that harnesses the potential of youth to become active citizens that contribute to social development as they gain skills" (National Youth Service Unit, 2006). The youth service model comprises three components which are illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Integrated model for the National Youth Service programme (National Youth Service Unit, 2006)



The National Youth Service uses a youth development methodology that focuses on service by young people to communities in need. Participation is voluntary, but servers make a formal commitment to stay with the programme for its full duration (usually 12 months). Structured learning is accredited and comprises life skills, technical skills and entrepreneurship education that are integrated throughout the period of service (National Youth Service Unit, 2006). "Exit opportunities" are defined as opportunities for employment, self-employment or further learning, and the movement of youth service graduates into exit opportunities is tracked by the National Youth Service Unit in its reports to government.

The model for community service for health professionals is one year of service following the full period of training as a health professional. Since completion of community service is a prerequisite for registration as a health practitioner, the

year's service is compulsory. Graduates indicate preferences for placement, but may not obtain preferred locations since placement is largely determined by the location of communities in need of health services. The availability and quality of supervision varies considerably from one site to another, but no formal assessment is required of the health professional's performance during the period of service.

In higher education, models of service are determined by institutional policies, guidelines and strategies for community engagement and service learning. Generally students are free to choose whether or not to take service-learning courses, but once registered for these, the service component becomes compulsory. Universities participating in the Community Higher Education Service Partnership programme adopt a "socially accountable model". Central to this model is the development of partnerships between communities, higher education institutions and service organisations to address development priorities and to inform teaching, learning and research.

Community service in secondary schools is still in its infancy and no single model is indicated in the curriculum framework for grades 10 to 12. The life orientation component of the curriculum is compulsory for all pupils. The curriculum contains broad outcome statements for each grade, against which pupils are assessed. However, the curriculum does not state what the inputs should be. It must thus be anticipated that community service experiences in schools are likely to take different forms, depending on where schools decide to run their service programmes. Other differentiating factors will stem from whether or not schools choose to partner with community-based organisations to shape the service experience and structure opportunities for reflection and learning.

The four civic service policies all thus demonstrate evidence of purposefulness, and in the case of the National Youth Service and the Community Higher Education Service Partnership programme, the purpose and models of service are clearly articulated. However, it has not been possible to determine whether the policies are productive and measurable. The Community Higher Education Service Partnership programme has documented programme experiences and has published valuable research that can help guide policy reviews. The Higher Education Quality Committee has audited several universities since 2004, but no published reports on knowledge-based community service could be located. Similarly, no impact assessments are available for the National Youth Service. The community service programme for health professionals tracks statistics regarding participation, but publicly available impact assessments are confined to personal testimonies from individual participants. Pupils involved in school community service are to be assessed in the course of the school year, but indicators for impact measurement have not been defined.

Civic service policy can be translated into programmes and makes sense to participants

According to Sherraden, "ideas for policy and practice should be simple, clear, logically constructed, thoughtful and almost intuitively sensible" and should "engage the public's imagination" (2001:2-3). As demonstrated above, the civic service policies are operationalised through programmes that are run across the country. What is significant, however, is the extent to which implementation is informed by a pluralist approach. A pluralist approach to service delivery means that the state and non-state actors, including the private sector, individuals, families and communities, are encouraged to participate in the promotion of social development (Patel, 2005:205). Patel (2003:96-98) cites government's facilitation and support for public, private and civic society programmes as one feature of the social development approach to civic service, and the evidence shows that in three out of the four policies, a pluralist approach is followed. However, little is known about how effectively and efficiently this approach works in practice. Further research is needed in this regard.

The National Youth Service Unit works with government departments and civil society organisations to explore and operationalise opportunities for service. National youth service is implemented through a wide range of agencies, viz. government departments, municipalities, community-based organisations, non-governmental organisations and private sector organisations. The National Youth Service Unit develops guidelines and manuals to support the identification, design and implementation of youth service projects, and trains and registers technical advisors who support organisations implementing national youth service projects. It also trains institutional assessors who evaluate the quality of projects and recommend registration with the National Youth Service Unit or capacity building (National Youth Service Unit, 2006). Servers receive a small monthly stipend to cover transport and other logistics costs, and service is undertaken in sectors such as construction, education, environment, health, housing and social development.

Service learning in universities is shaped by the academic disciplines in which the courses are located and the available academic expertise. The goals of the service programmes determine the areas and sectors in which service takes place, and community-based organisations as well as specialist organisations are enlisted as partners to implement the service-learning programmes. Schools are likely to follow a similar approach in that community-based organisations function as entry points for structured community-based service programmes.

The exception is community service for health professionals. This programme is run entirely by the Department of Health and is implemented in public hospitals and health clinics located in different parts of the country. The only pluralistic

feature of this programme is the involvement of a non-governmental organisation, the Health Systems Trust, that has been involved in supporting the Department of Health in monitoring and evaluating the programme.

Do the programmes make "intuitive sense" to the participants? The South Africa country study (Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006) cites primary data that demonstrates that, for many participants, civic service is a simple, clear and intuitive concept. Some respondents explained that the concept of service and volunteering in South Africa is part of the African philosophy of *ubuntu*, which denotes caring and sharing: "Our heritage as Africans is about returning to the community … you helped me grow; I will help you grow as well". The study shows that the notion of "giving back" to one's community permeates the worldview of individuals across many different social strata – in the policy-making world of the National Youth Commission as well as among servers and programme managers. This indicates that civic service policies and programmes are informed by these deeper traditional values and are likely to make intuitive sense to participants.

Civic service policy leads to various positive impacts

Sherraden (2001) suggests that the assessment of the impact of a social phenomenon such as civic service should be conceptualised as working with a "strong independent variable" that has multiple effects across a broad range of dependent variables (2001:4). If civic service is strong policy, he argues, then most of the effects should be positive, but it should also be possible to establish which effects are negative.

In the South African context, the conceptualisation of civic service in terms of envisaged outcomes is sorely underdeveloped. Only in the higher education sector have clear criteria been developed by the Higher Education Quality Committee to assess the nature and impact of community service. In the case of the National Youth Service, target setting informs government planning and resource allocations (through the Medium Term Expenditure Framework) to national youth service programmes. However, the explicit requirement to assess the effects of civic service in relation to socio-economic development is absent from this policy, and no published studies could be located on the detailed impact of the National Youth Service in respect of its participants or beneficiary communities. As mentioned previously, there is no study available on the impact of the community service for health professionals programme.

Conclusion

This analysis demonstrates that civic service policies in South Africa do promote and restore opportunities for action and are generally founded on well-developed ideas. Policy models are evident in the case of the National Youth Service and community service in higher education. In all four cases, policy is translated into programmes that run throughout the country, and in three out of four cases, programme implementation bears evidence of a pluralist approach in which government enters into partnerships with public, private and civil society to implement civic service.

The approach of integrating civic service into a range of policies and policy frameworks provides a measure of flexibility that promotes sectoral and local responsiveness. The social development approach is evident through the alignment of the service policy, programme goals and national development goals, as well as through the use of partnerships between government and civil society organisations to implement service programmes.

The civic service policies thus conform with the four principles of "strong policy" outlined by Sherraden (2001), and this suggests that civic service is emerging as a coherent social institution in South Africa. However, the absence of clearly defined and measurable statements about the outcomes envisaged for each of the civic service policies hampers assessment of the impact of service on servers and recipients. Other challenges for civic service are, firstly, related to the interdependent relationship between government and locally based civil society organisations in the implementation of service programmes. There is a need to define the roles and responsibilities of government and civil society in service programmes (Hanson, 2006). Support is required for cost-recovery among local organisations that house and manage servers, capacity-building for programme development, and the provision of accredited training that strengthens the management and administration in specific sectors.

Secondly, if civic service is to become a social institution that advances social and human development and "provides exceptional return on investment", then the quality assurance of service programmes requires attention. To date, higher education is the only sector in which criteria for quality assurance have been developed by an external body (the HEQC), and appropriate approaches need to be developed for the other types of civic service programmes if they are to achieve their goals in respect of both beneficiaries and servers.

Finally, evidence-based impact assessments are an indispensable measure of strong policy. Partnerships between universities, research institutions and service programmes could help to assess change at regular intervals (e.g. over three- to five-year periods) and to measure the costs and benefits of such impact. For these studies to impact on policy reviews, the findings need to be widely communicated to influence policy deliberations throughout government and civil society.

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Incentives and volunteerism in Zambia: A review

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Abstract

Zambian NGOs rely heavily on the involvement of unpaid volunteer workers to provide developmental services. Increasingly, questions are being raised about the morality of using an unpaid volunteer labour force, most of whom are unemployed with no income, to provide essential social welfare services. The debate around volunteer incentives in Zambia tends to focus on monetary incentives such as salaries and stipends. It does not take into account the role of non-monetary incentives in attracting and retaining motivated volunteer staff. Multiple incentives are needed to attract and retain volunteers in under-resourced developing countries. Zambia requires a policy and legislative framework that will define volunteerism, clarify the roles and relationships among stakeholders, and identify necessary legal, social, administrative and financial support.

Key words

Zambia; civic service; volunteerism; incentives

Introduction

State welfare services in Zambia are limited. Non-government organisations (NGOs) play a vital role in meeting the social welfare needs of vulnerable people by providing a range of community-based services including education, home-based care and child care. Zambian NGOs rely heavily on the involvement of unpaid volunteer workers to provide these services, and, increasingly, questions are being raised about the morality of using an unpaid volunteer labour force, most of whom are unemployed with no income, to provide essential social welfare services. Most NGOs use volunteers as a cost-saving mechanism, and while some provide non-monetary incentives such as supervision, training and job supplies, few are in a position to provide monetary incentives. While monetary incentives can play an important role in sustaining a volunteer workforce (Friedman, 2002), on their own they do not address the complexities of volunteer motivation (Pawlby, 2003) and a more holistic approach is required. The provision of multiple incentives has proven successful in attracting and retaining volunteers in under-resourced developing countries as it enables organisations to address the full spectrum of motivating factors (Kironde & Klaasen, 2002; Bhattacharyya et al., 2001). External factors that need to be addressed for NGOs to provide a supportive environment for volunteers include a sympathetic legislative framework, and investment of public funds in developing a volunteering infrastructure (Manuel-Ubaldo, 2003). There is currently a lack of clarity in Zambian public policy on the role of volunteers in the provision of social welfare services, and tension exists between state and NGO service providers.

This article examines the type of incentives provided by Zambian volunteer programmes and their implications for service delivery. Firstly, it provides an overview of the Zambian socio-economic and political context. Then it provides an overview of volunteer services in Zambia, including the meaning of volunteerism and a description of the nature and scope of services. The next section reviews the different kinds of incentives available to Zambian volunteers, and is followed by concluding comments.

This article is based on the findings and analysis of a Zambian country study, undertaken as part of a five-country study on civic service and volunteering by Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa (VOSESA) in 2005. The overall aim of the study was to document and analyse civic service and volunteering in five countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), with a view to examining their implications for social development policy and practice in a regional context. The countries participating in the study were Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Methodology

The Zambian research team adhered to the qualitative descriptive research methodology outlined in the generic five-country research proposal. This methodology included a literature review of civic service and volunteering programmes in Zambia; in-depth interviews with five key informants; two focus group discussions with service providers; and an in-depth analysis of five service programmes.

The research data was categorised and analysed thematically, using the research questions as the key thematic areas.

Zambia: An overview

Zambia is a land-locked Southern African country sharing borders with eight other countries: Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Zambia's population of 10,8 million is young, with 67 per cent of Zambians under the age of 15 years. Most of its people (66 per cent) live in rural areas (Bureau of African Affairs, 2006).

The country has some of the largest copper and cobalt deposits in the world (Central Statistical Office, 2004) and the Zambian economy has historically been based on the copper-mining industry. Zambia was one of the most prosperous countries in sub-Saharan Africa after attaining independence from Great Britain in 1964.

However, the country's dependence on the copper industry left the economy open to external shocks, and in the 1970s the country began to slide into poverty when copper prices declined on the world market and oil prices rose. In the same period, the country embarked on a programme of economic restructuring aimed at restoring economic growth, which continued through the 1980s and 1990s. This period also saw the government resorting to excessive and misprioritised borrowing to finance consumption, and supporting import-substituting industries. In spite of such measures, or perhaps owing to them, the economy continued to contract at a rapid pace.

In 1991, following a change of government and the political system from a single-party state to pluralism, there was an increase in the pace and coverage of economic reforms. Government introduced an array of measures aimed at liberalising the economy and promoting private enterprise. Nevertheless, growth remained sluggish with the gross domestic product (GDP) registering a downward trend of 1,5 per cent per annum.

Fortunately, there are some encouraging signs of improvement. Since 2002, the performance of the Zambian economy has strengthened considerably, with real GDP growth averaging 4,7 per cent per year from an annual average of 2,2 per cent in the preceding four years. Contributing factors include the election of a new government led by Levy Patrick Mwanawasa, favourable global economic conditions, the overall impact of the economic reforms that started in the early 1990s, and debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative (Government of Zambia, 2006). However, these gains have yet to have a positive impact on the living conditions of the poor.

The social costs of the country's years of economic depression have been immense. Currently, over 70 per cent of Zambians live in poverty and the United Nations Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2005), placed Zambia at 166 out of 177 countries in 2004, with an average per capita annual income of US$430, a life expectancy rate of about 37 years, and a maternal mortality rate of 729 deaths per 100 000 pregnancies.

Along with pervasive poverty, HIV/AIDS poses one of the greatest challenges to Zambia's social and economic development. With a 16 per cent prevalence rate among the adult population, nearly a million Zambians are HIV-positive or are living with AIDS. An estimated 100 000 people died from AIDS-related illnesses in 2004, and AIDS-related deaths have left over 750 000 Zambian children orphaned (Bureau of African Affairs, 2006).

The Zambian social welfare system is chronically under-funded and under-resourced and, as a result, has been unable to respond to these multiple social problems (Nsutebu & Walley, 2001; Noyoo, 2000:75). Widespread corruption and donor-driven economic and public sector reform programmes have also undermined an effective response. It is estimated that Zambia's debt servicing obligations exceed its combined annual spending on health, education, water, sanitation and social welfare projects.

Policy and legislative frameworks for NGOs operating in Zambia are yet to be developed. A draft *National Policy on Non-Government Organisations* was developed in 1997 (Ministry of Community Development and Social Services, 1997). However, when the draft NGO Bill was presented to Parliament, NGOs fiercely contested the document and refused to be associated with it (National Technical Committee for the Review of the Non-Governmental Organisations Bill, undated), alleging that it had been heavily "doctored" by government. This has led to a stalemate in the process of finalising the NGOs national policy and legislative framework.

Both government and NGOs see the need for regulation or a mechanism to promote accountability, transparency and legitimacy in the NGO sector. However, the contentious issue still remains – who will drive the process and how will this

be done to allay the fears of NGOs based on their previous experience? Government recently decided to revive this process, although it is not clear how they will be taking it forward. A National Technical Committee for the Review of the Non-Governmental Organisations Bill, 2000, and Development of the Draft Code of Conduct for Non-Governmental Organisation has been convened to co-ordinate the NGO response.

Overview of volunteer services in Zambia

The meaning of volunteerism in Zambia

The meaning of volunteerism is closely tied to the political, social and economic context in which services are provided, as well as the individual motivation of volunteers. In Zambia, state welfare services are rudimentary and in many instances, families and communities have stepped in to fill service delivery gaps by working co-operatively to meet their social, economic, health and educational needs.

Most volunteers in Zambia are unemployed. Some key informants argued that it was unrealistic to expect a person – with no income to support themselves or their families – to work with no monetary compensation. They were of the view that the main motivating factor for Zambian volunteers was the possibility of an opportunity to make money or earn a livelihood: "Social problems like unemployment and street children lead people to come together to do something about it. However, their motivation is not always true. Some pretend that they want to assist, but the real motivation is [getting a slice of] donor funds".

Other key informants were of the opinion that the main motivation for some volunteers was their desire to help others/the underprivileged. They may not have been financially secure but through serving others, their emotional needs were fulfilled: "Although there is no material gain, there is always some benefit".

The study found that where servers were motivated by the opportunity to serve and the recognition that came with it, then the experience was perceived as positive. However, those who were motivated by material gain, and failed to benefit from the programme on their terms, had an experience that was perceived as negative.

Pawlby (2003) noted, "It has to be recognised that different individuals may be engaged in the same act of service, but from completely different ends of the motivation spectrum", and this is also relevant for understanding the motivation of Zambian volunteers.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic and the worsening poverty levels were understood by key informants to have created a crisis that required a response from service programmes and was therefore a key factor in promoting volunteer services. Government was failing to cope with the worsening situation and they needed to

work with volunteers to help respond to the situation (Nsutebu & Walley, 2001). At the 2005 International Volunteer Day commemorations, the Zambian government said it was committed to promoting the spirit of volunteerism and supporting initiatives aimed at empowering the community for national development. Community Development and Social Services Deputy Minister Ronald Banda noted, "Volunteers are critical and key towards the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)" (Zambia News Agency, 2005).

While the Zambian government publicly supports volunteerism, the Social Welfare Policy (2004) makes no reference to the role of volunteers in the provision of developmental services, although the role of families and communities in meeting welfare needs is highlighted. Neither is there clarity on the relationship between state service providers and non-profit service providers. Policy and legislative frameworks for NGOs operating in Zambia are yet to be finalised (Ministry of Community Development and Social Services, 1997). The only legislation that exists is the requirement for NGOs to register with the Registrar of Societies.

Nature and scope of volunteer services

Earlier exploratory research on civic service in Africa (Patel & Wilson, 2004) found that most civic service and volunteering programmes were provided by the non-government (NGO) sector. These findings were confirmed in the Zambian study, with NGOs being understood by key informants as implementers of urban-based formal volunteering programmes, while community-based organisations (CBOs) implemented less-formal programmes in the rural areas.

There are international, national and local volunteer programmes in Zambia, with local service types dominating. Formal and informal local service types were found, with most volunteer services operating under the auspices of some organisational structure, either an established or an emerging NGO or CBO, as this increased their opportunities to access donor funds.

The study found that civil society in Zambia is still relatively small with about 1 500 organisations registered with the Registrar of Societies, which seems to correlate with the nature and extent of service in the country. While there is legislation requiring organisations to register, there is no over-arching policy or legislative framework to promote civil society engagement in service delivery. The relationship between the state and civil society is ambivalent, with tensions around access to donor funding and the role of civil society in direct service delivery.

There was insufficient documented information on registered NGOs to quantify those organisations that were implementing volunteer programmes and more research is needed in this area.

In addition to services provided by NGOs/CBOs, the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services' Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS) was the main public sector civic service programme in operation. The PWAS had 5 506 Community Welfare Assistance Committees (CWAC) throughout the country, which were set up to provide social protection to vulnerable households in the informal sector. With 10 volunteer committee members per CWC, there are 55 060 volunteers serving in this programme, making it the largest formal volunteer programme in Zambia. Volunteers are required to serve for at least a year, but this is not a full-time service as they are only required to provide three full days of work a month (Schubert, 2003).

Building the capacity of local CBOs appeared to be a key service area of international service programmes and national NGO programmes. For example, the international Voluntary Service Organisation (VSO)[2] worked with a local NGO, the Zambian Organisation for Community Schools (ZOCS), to build the capacity of the organisation. Three volunteers provided technical assistance in different areas, namely, building skills to train the local community to construct their own school; fundraising skills; and micro-finance and income-generation activities to fund school running costs. Ultimately their goal was to assist the ZOCS to achieve self-management.

The Society for Women and AIDS in Zambia (SWAAZ) provides an example of a national NGO. The activities of SWAAZ are undertaken by affiliate CBOs. According to a study in 2003 (Swidler, 2004), SWAAZ was estimated to be the most widespread AIDS intervention on the ground through its formation of volunteer "clubs" of various sorts. SWAAZ claimed a membership of about 10 000 women organised in chapters throughout Zambia. They held meetings across the country to educate market women, factory workers, villagers, school youth and so forth about AIDS. SWAAZ volunteers were not required to work full-time and received no compensation for their engagement.

Local service programmes provided direct services to beneficiaries to meet social, health and educational needs. Key informants identified traditional birth attendants and community schools as examples of unique local community-based services in Zambia.

Traditional birth attendants are women from the community who assist people giving birth at home for a number of reasons, including the fact that many women lack funds to pay hospital bills, and rural health centres are far away and have inadequate facilities to cater for all the women giving birth. Traditional birth attendants do not have any professional training but draw on their own

experience to help pregnant women during delivery. They do not appear to be formally organised. Zambia has more than 40 000 traditional healers, with only an estimated 1 000 Western doctors (Nyau, 2000). Traditional healers include diviners, herbalists, spiritualists and traditional birth attendants. The exact number of each is unknown.

NGOs and CBOs have provided training and capacity building for traditional birth attendants to recognise their crucial role in society, formalise their duties, and make their work more professional and less risky in the light of HIV/AIDS and preventable children diseases. For example, Christian Children's Fund,[3] through the Sky Siegfried Fund, helped train 36 traditional birth attendants in safe motherhood procedures, including clean and safe child delivery. Each attendant received a bicycle for transportation and a delivery kit with a flashlight and batteries; candles and matches; aprons, masks and gloves; razors, cord clamps, string and a foetal scope.

Community schools have emerged largely in response to high school drop-out rates (up to 40 per cent) as a result of poverty and increasing numbers of children being orphaned and made vulnerable by HIV and AIDS.

A community school is defined as a community-based, community-owned and community-managed learning institution that meets the basic/primary education needs of students who cannot enter government schools. These schools function in the most basic of circumstances without a formal school structure – often operating out of a church hall or even under a tree, using whatever resources are available (Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development, 2004).

Government-funded schools are concentrated in the cities and are difficult for many children to attend for financial and social reasons. As a result, community schools are growing and expanding at a rapid rate, with an estimated 1 925 community schools in Zambia run by NGOs, communities, churches and ad hoc committees (Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development, 2004), compared with about 100 registered community schools in 1996 (Cashen et al., 2001). However, the provision of community-based education has not been matched by quality education.

In general, the quality of service provision by NGO service providers appears to be cause for concern, and the absence of norms and standards for the provision of services to, for example, orphans and vulnerable children or for community schools makes it difficult to monitor performance and ensure compliance. It appears that the capacity (in terns of finances, personnel and technical know-how) of the responsible state departments to monitor and evaluate service provision is weak.

Profile of volunteers in Zambia

According to figures released by the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (Zambia News Agency, 2005), there are over 20 000 organised and thousands of unorganised volunteers engaged in the socio-economic development of the country.

Key informants believed that the majority of volunteers in Zambia were youth because "most of them are unemployed and so have extra time and need to do something". Also, there was a perception that youth engaged in service programmes in the hope that they would get opportunities for training and employment.

Women were seen to be more concerned with community service and would therefore be more likely to become volunteers, while men dominated where there was a benefit like politics and food-for-work programmes: "Men will fall off if they see no benefit". Another perception was that the better-off members of a community were more likely to volunteer because they did not have to concern themselves with survival issues.

The analysis of volunteers serving in five service programmes (see Box 1 below) found that, contrary to the perceptions of the key informants cited above, the volunteers were mostly adults (not youth). There were also substantial numbers of men serving and there seemed to be a strong grassroots involvement, which countered the perception of mainly the "better-off" members of a community volunteering.

Box 1: Profile of volunteers in five service organisations

- Children in Need Network (CHIN): Volunteers were mainly students, female and mostly older than 25 years.
- Fountain of Hope Outreach Programme: Of the 17 volunteers, 6 were male and 11 were female, aged between 20 and 30 years. These volunteers were all reformed street children.
- Zambia Voluntary Community Development Association: Volunteers were executive members and ordinary members of the community. Of the 26 servers, 16 were men and 10 were women.
- Our Lady's Hospice: Of the 120 volunteer caregivers, 110 were female and 10 were male, all aged between 20 and 67 years.
- Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS): Servers were members of the community elected to the various committees. They were aged between 25 and 60 years and, of the 55 060 servers, 30% were female.

Incentives and volunteerism in Zambia

Volunteer attrition

One of the challenges of volunteer management is the retention of a volunteer workforce to reduce attrition. Although studies on rates of attrition amongst volunteers are limited, available research suggests that rates of attrition among volunteer workers in developing countries are high (Friedman, 2002; Kironde & Klaasen, 2002; Bhattacharyya et al., 2001). The Bhattacharyya (2001) study found rates of attrition in community health projects to be between 3,2 per cent and 77 per cent, with higher rates of attrition generally associated with volunteers. It appears that the main reason for the high rates of attrition was that volunteers were driven by the hope that their involvement would lead to paid employment. When this did not materialise they became frustrated and left. Other reasons for leaving were that volunteers did not feel accepted by the community and felt that their work was not appreciated.

The impact of volunteer attrition on an organisation depends on how volunteers are being utilised where volunteers are performing core functions of the organisation. As is the case with most Zambian volunteers who provide a range of essential social, health and educational services, attrition can seriously undermine effective service delivery.

No information was available on attrition rates amongst Zambian volunteers, however the study found that one of the most frequently mentioned problems of voluntary programmes related to the ability of the organisations to retain the services of volunteers because: "They have to survive as well as do voluntary work".

Types of monetary and non-monetary incentives

As discussed in the previous section, volunteers engage in service programmes for various, often complex, reasons, ranging from altruistic to self-serving, and they are motivated by different incentives (Pawlby, 2003). These incentives can be monetary or non-monetary. The successful application of these incentives depends on an understanding by the organisation of the complex set of personal and contextual factors that affects individual volunteers.

Monetary incentives can include payment of a salary/stipend, a transport or clothing allowance, or even medical insurance. While monetary incentives can reduce attrition, they are not a problem-free solution. Many donors and organisations do not pay salaries/stipends because they are concerned about funding sustainability. In addition, the amount paid may not be sufficient and could create more dissatisfaction. The payment of a salary may also create unrealistic expectations among the volunteers of formal employment and a market-related salary.

In-kind payments from the community are another type of monetary incentive and have been used successfully in some countries (Bhattacharyya et al., 2001). Examples of in-kind payments include assistance by beneficiary families with cooking, providing food and housing, help with agricultural work, and child care. In Peru, beneficiary families of a community nutrition programme have taken turns working for free on the farms of volunteers in recognition of their important contribution.

Non-monetary incentives include community recognition and respect for the volunteer's work, personal growth and development, appropriate training and skill acquisition, supportive supervision and peer support, identification (badges, T-shirts, etc.) and job aids (e.g. home-based care kits), clear roles and task descriptions, and flexible and supportive working arrangements. Non-monetary incentives are critical to the success of volunteer programmes. For instance, ongoing training and supportive supervision promote a sense among volunteers that they are valued by the organisation and that their work is worthwhile in the community, while wearing an identification badge provides them with status in the community.

Incentives in Zambian service programmes

According to key informants, most volunteers in Zambian service programmes appear to participate with few incentives, and a stipend or salary is rare. In some instances, incentives were provided in the form of allowances and transport refunds given at seminars, as well as certificates of attendance. But, as some said, "these seminars only come once in a while".

An analysis of Zambian service programmes found that volunteers receive a mixtur of monetary and non-monetary incentives (see Table 1 below), while monetary incentives are limited, non-monetary incentives were evident in all programmes in the form of training and supervision. No examples of in-kind monetary incentives were found.

The international programme (Peace Corps) provided substantial monetary incentives to its expatriate volunteers, setting them apart from the other national and local programmes. The only other programme to provide a monthly allowance was a hospice. Volunteers in this programme received training in clinical nursing care and worked full time.

Table 1: Comparative analysis of service programmes in Zambia

Programme	Time and tasks	Incentives
US Peace Corps (International)	Full-time: 8 hours a day for a period of 2 years Assigned to specific development projects	• Transportation from US to Zambia • Training • Supervision • Living allowance • Medical and dental care • $6 000 on return to the US
Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (National)	Part-time: 3 days a month Identification of needy individuals and households and the transfer of assistance from government	• One bicycle per committee • Training in monitoring and evaluation (M&E), targeting, basic accounting • Supervision
Children in Need Network (National)	"Volunteers expected to fill in as much time as they have available … but time is flexible" "Help out with any task given to them on a day-to-day basis"	• Orientation programme • "Modest" transport allowance • Supervision
Our Lady's Hospice (Local)	Full-time: 8 hours a day Nursing care, counselling and nutrition	• Six-month clinical care course • Monthly allowance • Vehicle • Clinical kits • Supervision • Spiritual retreats
Foundation of Hope Outreach Programme (Local)	Part-time: 3 days a week Counselling, street visitation, case follow-ups, home tracing and re-integration	• Basic qualification in child care • Small administrative budget • Daily supervision • Quarterly review meetings
ZAVCODA (Local)	Part-time: 1 day a week Community-based alcohol and drug rehabilitation and sensitisation work camps	• Training in peer education and counselling • Supervision

Different programmes were understood to have different structures for the supervision and mentoring of their volunteers. In most NGOs, a full-time employee supervised the servers. Programmes that were funded by donors were required to submit progress reports and this required them to monitor their work on an ongoing basis. For example, the Fountain of Hope Outreach Programme had an office managed by a director and two salaried assistants. The director was responsible for supervising the 17 volunteer outreach workers and monitored their work on a daily basis.

Most organisations provided their servers with opportunities for critical reflection on their experiences through quarterly or annual planning and review

meetings, although this depended on the programme, the nature of their work, and the availability of resources. For example, volunteers at Our Lady's Hospice were given opportunities to go for a spiritual retreat for a week. During this period they reflected on their work and experiences in dealing with terminally ill patients. Other programmes such as the Public Welfare Assistance Scheme did not have the necessary resources for formal reviews, so there were no opportunities for critical reflection.

A key non-monetary incentive is acceptance of volunteer services by the beneficiary community. Key informants were of the opinion that most Zambian servers were welcomed in their communities as they were seen to be improving the welfare of the communities they served: "They have been appreciated as people who want to help".

However, not all beneficiaries welcomed the servers. In some instances, volunteers were seen to be under pressure from recipients, especially where the demand for support was high but resources were minimal. When support was not forthcoming, beneficiaries become suspicious that maybe they – the volunteers – had diverted the resources to themselves.

Sometimes servers were received with hostility and were called names, "for example if you are carrying out sensitisation about cholera, people begin calling you 'cholera', or, for instance, when doing VCT campaigns, the community was suspicious about the collecting of blood and labelled the servers 'satanists'" (feedback at a focus group discussion). Servers were also sometimes viewed as less-educated people who had nothing better to do with their time.

These negative perceptions usually occurred only when programmes had been started by NGOs without consulting communities, resulting in a situation where communities were not well informed. Also, some communities had seen various interventions being implemented in their areas but their circumstances had changed very little, so they were tired of being approached by people claiming to come and "better their lives" (focus group discussion).

Impact of incentives on Zambian volunteer motivation

Some key informants highlighted the issue of monetary incentives as a contentious area in the Zambian context, where most volunteers came from as impoverished social and economic circumstances as the beneficiaries they were serving. Monetary incentives were seen as being too little or non-existent.

It was questioned whether volunteers could be expected to provide services with no salaries or living allowances when their own basic living needs were not being met. One key informant was of the opinion that "the situation of volunteers is pathetic.

There are no allowances. Some of them are now independent and need to survive. So it's difficult to devote time to voluntary work. As such they only become active when there is donor money".

The absence of non-monetary incentives was also found to impact negatively on motivation. For example, an evaluation of the Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS) found that poor conditions of service and minimal operational funds resulted in members becoming discouraged and apathetic. There was ample evidence that community members would work tirelessly for an initiative that they felt brought genuine benefits, however they quickly lost motivation if the expected benefits were not delivered. Delays, shortages and broken promises quickly destroyed a local committee. In some instances, members were accused of theft, being held responsible for the disappearance of expected benefits (Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development, 2004).

Nevertheless, the study also found that non-monetary incentives played a positive role in motivating Zambian volunteers. Some of the positive benefits provided by volunteering included:

- Improving one's experience and CV
- Gaining recognition in the community
- Greater exposure to opportunities
- The possibility of benefiting financially in the future.

Role of the state in promoting volunteerism

The absence of a regulatory framework on volunteerism in Zambia was identified as a barrier to effective volunteer management. Key informants stressed that the Zambian government needed to provide a clear and unambiguous policy framework and guidelines for NGOs on the use of volunteers in service provision, including the issue of incentives for volunteers that would enable them to meet their own economic needs while providing services to the vulnerable.

Another contentious issue requiring attention was the roles and responsibilities of NGOs and government in the provision of social welfare services. The HIV/AIDS crisis has generated renewed interest and support from international donor organisations, resulting in increased funding opportunities for national and local service programmes. However, key informants said that NGOs and government were competing for donor funds, and programme effectiveness was hampered by the lack of funding.

Conclusion

The debate around volunteer incentives in Zambia tends to focus on monetary incentives such as salaries and stipends, and does not take into account the role of non-monetary incentives in attracting and retaining motivated volunteer staff.

The study found that Zambian volunteers receive a mixture of monetary and non-monetary incentives, with non-monetary incentives such as training and supervision predominating. There does not appear to be a generic set of incentives that will motivate volunteers and reduce attrition. Rather, organisations need to take into account the complex set of factors that influences volunteer motivation when making decisions about incentives.

The success of any volunteer programme depends on the relationship between the volunteer and the community. Where there is a positive relationship with the beneficiary community, volunteers feel recognised and needed. Poor planning and consultation with communities in the design and implementation of volunteer programmes can result in lack of interest and even hostility on the part of the host community. Organisations must therefore do everything they can to support and strengthen this relationship.

The development and strengthening of voluntary service in Zambia requires a policy and legislative framework that will define volunteerism, clarify the roles and relationships among stakeholders, and identify necessary legal, social, administrative and financial support.

Further research that could be undertaken to support the development of volunteerism policy and legislation includes:

- Quantification of service organisations and volunteers in Zambia
- Assessment of rates of attrition in service organisations and the reasons for high rates of attrition and/or retention, particularly amongst volunteers who are unemployed and have no other means of support.

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Endnotes

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[3] www.childrenschristianfund.org

Community mobilisation, volunteerism and the fight against HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe

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Abstract

This article presents research findings from a study undertaken on civic service in Zimbabwe. The study revealed that civic service was seen as unrewarded effort whose objective it was to assist less fortunate members of society. The study revealed that the typical volunteers in Zimbabwe are poor and struggle to meet their basic needs. Volunteers are largely motivated by their religious faith. Furthermore, voluntarism is an embodiment of the African culture. Whilst organisations do not provide incentives to volunteers as a matter of principle, exceptions have been made in order to address the vulnerability of the volunteers. The article concludes by observing that volunteer programmes are helping to improve the quality of life of vulnerable groups.

Key words

Civic service; community empowerment; community mobilisation; HIV/AIDS; volunteerism, Zunde raMambo

Introduction

The terms "civic service" and "volunteering" are often used interchangeably, although the term "volunteering" is more common. In this paper, volunteering is viewed as giving one's time to provide a service for the benefit of others in a community or society with no expectation of financial gain. However, VOLSA (2004:7) points out that "a minimum stipend may be allowed to defray particular expenses". The mobilisation of communities for voluntary efforts has taken centre stage in Zimbabwe because of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. This is based on the realisation that the usual support structures are no longer able to cope with the upsurge in the number of orphans and those who are terminally ill. The article lists the objectives of the Zimbabwe country study on volunteering, discusses the methodology used in the study, reviews briefly the relevant literature, and discusses the findings. The paper ends by drawing conclusions from the findings of the study.

Objectives of the study

The study had three specific objectives:

- To identify civic service programmes in Zimbabwe
- To conduct country profile studies of civic service initiatives
- To determine the incentives that exist to promote civic service.

Methodology

The study took the form of a qualitative descriptive research design using a purposive sampling method. Service providers and key informants from government, participating non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and donor organisations constituted the study population. Purposive sampling was used to select organisations promoting the following civic service programmes:

- Community-based care for orphans
- Home-based care for the terminally ill
- *Zunde raMambo*
- Community empowerment programmes for women.

Organisations running the civic programmes were purposively selected and were as follows:

- AIDS Counselling Trust (ACT)
- Family Counselling Trust
- Rusape (FACT)
- Diocese of Mutare Child Care Programme (DOMCCP)
- Child Protection Society (CPS)
- Southern Africa Human Rights Trust (SAHRIT)
- Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA).

Two key informants from government were purposefully selected from the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare and the National AIDS Council, while the key informant representing donors came from the Catholic Relief Services. Six key informants were purposively selected from the participating non-governmental organisations. Thus, a total of nine key informants were selected. The criteria used to select key informants were that they had to be knowledgeable about civic service policies and programmes, and directly involved in facilitating or supporting civic service programmes.

Data from service providers were collected using focus group discussions. There were six focus group discussions in total, representing one focus group for each civic service programme. A total of 65 service providers participated in the focus group discussions with each focus group having between six and eighteen participants. Data from the nine key informants were collected through structured interviews.

The structured discussions guide and the structured interview guide were supplied by the senior research team. A limitation of the study was that the fuel crisis in the country impacted negatively on the timely collection of data.

The context

Zimbabwe has a population of about 11,6 million people, of which about 99 per cent are Africans. At independence in 1980 the country had abundant natural resources and a diversified economy with relatively viable commercial, industrial, mining and agricultural sectors, but its fortunes took a nosedive from the onset of the second decade of independence. Since 2000, Zimbabwe has been experiencing severe socio-economic and political problems that have impacted negatively on the quality of life of its people. Poverty in Zimbabwe has not only widened, but it has also deepened as more and more people join the ranks of the unemployed and low-income earners.

Zimbabwe's isolation has increased as a result of unresolved political problems and criticism of the manner in which land reform was implemented, among other factors. This has resulted in the shrinking of the formal sector and has led to shortages not only of much-needed foreign currency, but of basic goods and services as well. Incomes continue to be eroded by inflation which currently stands at just over 1000 per cent.

The middle class has disappeared in Zimbabwe and most people are now classified as poor and in need of government support to meet their basic needs and to enable them to access social services. Although social services including health, education and social welfare programmes are provided by government, local authorities, churches and voluntary organisations with varying degrees of involvement, the prevailing political, social and economic problems have worsened the problem of social exclusion. The exclusion also gets worse as one moves from urban to rural areas as there has been a gradual retreat of NGOs from these areas, owing to urban bias in the provision of services and, to a certain extent, inadequate funding and sometimes perceived interference from organs of the state. The state has also retreated from social provisioning because of resource constraints. The disputed parliamentary and presidential elections have created political polarisation in the country. Consequently, there is mistrust among the people, and mistrust between the government and non-governmental organisations as the government feels that NGOs are meddling in politics. This has created political instability.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has also impacted negatively on the quality of life. Zimbabwe has an HIV prevalence rate of 18,1 per cent among those aged 19 to 45 years. Because of this pandemic, life expectancy is estimated to have dropped from 61 years in the early 1990s to 35 years by the end of 2004. Over 1,3 million children in Zimbabwe have also been orphaned by HIV/AIDS, resulting in the emergence of a new phenomenon of child-headed households. Responses to the HIV/AIDS menace have also been compromised by a lack of consistent support from the international community. The World Bank, quoted in Felsman (2006), reports that Zimbabwe receives the lowest level of donor support among the 15 countries in the world with the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates. This is due to international anti-Zimbabwe sentiments which have resulted in the country being isolated internationally. The fall-out has its roots in Zimbabwe's land reform programme which received worldwide condemnation.

Conceptualising civic service and volunteering

There is no universally accepted definition of civic service, as the meaning tends to vary from country to country. VOLSA (2004) observes that the way in which

one defines volunteering is influenced to a great extent by the history, politics, religion and the culture of a region. Notwithstanding the difficulty of defining civic service or volunteering, McBride et al. (2003:5) quote Sherraden (2001) who defines civic service "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". According to VOLSA (2004:6-7), the core characteristics of volunteering are that: "the activity is not undertaken primarily for financial gain or reward; the activity is undertaken at free will without coercion; and the activity is undertaken to benefit someone or the society at large rather than the volunteer her/himself".

Patel (2003:89) observes that "civic service is not a political neutral activity, but rather draws on wider ideological, social, economic and political ideas". In this vein, Patel identifies four theoretical perspectives to civic service, namely social philanthropy, institutional approaches, conservative approaches and social development. The social philanthropy perspective has its historical roots in almsgiving and social relief targeted at the poor in Europe. This was done largely out of religious considerations as the faithful were expected to render assistance to less fortunate members of society. This was perceived as a requirement for one to enter the kingdom of God. Social philanthropy continues to exist although this is now being carried out under the auspices of voluntary organisations that provide short-term social relief.

Institutional approaches are different from social philanthropy in that they:

> *"... are of the view that government agencies are the best deliverers of social policies and that access to social provision and social rights should be institutionalised through legislation and comprehensive services which provide for universal coverage and access to services and benefits."* (Patel, 2003:93).

Although there is co-existence between government agencies and voluntary organisations, government agencies play a more dominant role. The third perspective is provided by conservative approaches underpinned by neo-liberal values which call for a limited involvement of the government in social provision. Conservative approaches, therefore, support voluntary action by concerned citizens to meet the needs of their fellow citizens. It is assumed that this is a more effective and efficient means of responding to human needs at local level. Lastly, there is the social development approach which focuses on the socio-economic development of the entire society (and not just on pathological individuals) through the active intervention of the state. It adopts a pluralist approach as all groups in society have a role to play (Patel, 2003). The social development approach seeks to promote social inclusion and to improve the quality of life for all.

The *Strive Times* (2004) makes a distinction between volunteering in the West and volunteering in Africa. It notes that in Western societies where the economic status of most citizens is sound, volunteering is mainly done by the rich who have accumulated material wealth and can, therefore, afford to give up both time and resources for the benefit of the less privileged. The situation is, however, very different in the African context where volunteers tend to be poor and struggle to meet their basic needs. SAFAIDS (2004) notes that a typical volunteer in Zimbabwe is very vulnerable and would personally qualify to be a beneficiary of the programmes he/she serves. However, in spite of their situation, they are willing to dedicate time to serving other vulnerable people in the community.

Volunteers in Zimbabwe typically offer their services in orphan-care and home-based care programmes. The duties of volunteers include identifying beneficiaries in communities and providing them with limited development-oriented material support, carrying out home visits, and liaising with other community groups, leaders and organisations concerning the progress of the programmes in the community. The Population Council (2005) notes that for volunteers to be effective, there is a need for them to be provided with appropriate training, supervision and support not only by the community as a whole, but also by organisations that facilitate the programmes they work in.

Research findings

The findings of the Zimbabwe country study were as follows:

Meaning of service

In view of the fact that the definition of service varies from country to country, the study sought to understand the meaning of service in the Zimbabwean context. Respondents gave different meanings and interpretations of civic service and preferred to talk of volunteering rather than civic service. Respondents felt the term "service" had an element of state compulsion, whereas "volunteering" denoted giving up one's time for a cause. Respondents further noted that the effort one put into volunteering had no immediate monetary benefit. Thus, civic service or volunteering was understood to be unrewarded effort that was most often for the benefit of disadvantaged members of society. In a nutshell, respondents viewed volunteering as giving up one's time in the service of others without monetary gain. The meaning given to civic service in

Zimbabwe conforms to the definition of Sherraden (2001) as quoted by McBride et al. (2003:5) which was discussed earlier on.

When asked what had motivated them to become volunteers, the majority of the service providers indicated that they were driven by their religious faith which called for earthly deeds that resulted in heavenly reward. Volunteering was thus seen as putting one's faith into action. Others were motivated by the need to secure employment and thus viewed volunteering as a stepping stone towards becoming employed in the programmes that they served. It was also apparent that civic service had a traditional connotation, whereby it was seen as a duty enshrined in the culture and norms of the community. It was seen as an embodiment of "*hunhu*", meaning being a responsible human being. This traditional perspective is institutionalised in the community with the village head taking a leadership role. This was particularly true of the *Zunde raMambo* (Chief's Granary) which has always been seen as a manifestation of community responsibility. Participants involved in the *Zunde raMambo* did not consider themselves as volunteers, but rather as beneficiaries of the programme. Thus, they viewed it as a self-help initiative meant to benefit the community. Fulfilment comes from being able to solve community problems especially those of orphaned children, widows and the elderly, particularly with respect to food security. Local terms which mean volunteer include; *vabatsiri*, *vanozvipira* or *vanetsiyenyoro*. These terms are in line with the social philanthropy approach to volunteering as discussed by Patel (2003).

New values are emerging which are negating the concept of community responsibility. These new values have transformed many Africans into individualistic and inward-looking beings. Consequently, many no longer extend assistance beyond their nuclear families. This is also a function of the difficult economic environment which is preventing many people from offering assistance to their extended families as they are preoccupied with their own daily struggle to survive. There is thus increased vulnerability now, given the failure of the state to make adequate social provision.

Form, scope and age of service programmes

The study revealed that the volunteer programmes range from home-based care programmes to community-based care programmes for orphans and other vulnerable children, and empowerment programmes for women. The following table provides the profile of the participating organisations and their volunteer programmes.

Table 1: Profile of organisations and their volunteer programmes

Organisation	Programme	No. of years in operation	No. of servers	Age range of servers	Gender of servers
ACT	Home-based care for terminally ill	18 years	24	25-46	Predominantly female with only one male
CPS	Orphan-care programme	18 years	34	33-60	Female
DOMCCP	Child-care programme	6 years	67	29-55	Both female and male
FACT	Home-based care for the terminally ill	19 years	400	50-60	Both female and male
SAHRIT	Zunde raMambo	8 years	102	14-64	Both female and male
YWCA	Empowerment programme for women	49 years	Varies	27-72	Female

The table shows that the volunteer programmes have been operating for long periods and that both men and women participate as volunteers, although the majority of participants are females.

Time commitment and nature of service

The role of servers differed depending on the programme they were working in. However, it was interesting to note that the roles of volunteers working in orphan-care programmes and those involved in home-based care were similar. Their roles included participating in identifying orphans and other vulnerable children (OVCs) in consultation with the community, maintaining up-to-date registers of OVCs, and monitoring the programme to ensure that assistance goes to the intended beneficiaries. Other roles included maintaining links between beneficiaries and service providers, assisting in the distribution of handouts to beneficiaries, and suggesting alternative ways of providing support to the beneficiary population. The volunteers involved in home-based care also had additional roles such as assisting with the actual care of the sick, namely bathing and feeding; teaching primary caregivers how to care for the terminally ill, e.g. giving demonstrations on how to give bed baths; and giving talks to the community on home-based care. The roles of volunteers in the Zunde raMambo initiative involved performing agricultural tasks such as ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting.

The time commitment of the volunteers varied from one organisation to another. The volunteers in the FACT home-based care programme worked for three hours a day and for two days a week. This was purely for supervision purposes only; in reality, circumstances in the community forced them to work more hours. The volunteers at times worked around the clock because community members are able to call upon them for help any time they need assistance. However, in the DOMCCP child-care programme, the situation was different in that no working hours were prescribed for the volunteers. It was up to the volunteers to decide when they wanted to work and for how long. In the orphan-care programme run by CPS, volunteers dedicated two hours a week towards meeting the project goals. It was up to them to choose which days they wanted to work. In the Zunde raMambo programme, the community was expected to turn up once a week on a Thursday. This day was chosen because individuals do not go to their own fields on that day, as per local tradition and taboos. Volunteers in home-based care for the terminally-ill run by the AIDS Counselling Trust were supposed to work once a week but, because of the need in the community, they ended up working almost on a daily basis. Finally, members of YWCA attended training meetings once a week on a day that was convenient to the whole group.

Servers, service areas and goals

Servers

Volunteers were found to be predominantly women ranging between the ages of 14 and 60 years. The over-representation of women among volunteers can be attributed to the fact that most of the volunteering is confined to caring for orphans and the terminally ill, a duty that traditionally has been performed by women. There is also a perception that women perform this function better than men. The age range suggests that volunteers have to be mature people who can relate well to the beneficiary populations. The profile of the volunteers shows that volunteers in urban areas are largely unemployed women with a low socio-economic status. Rural volunteers are also poor.

Service areas and goals

All the organisations running the volunteer programmes operate in specific districts, with the exception of the Young Women's Christian Association which has a national focus. Both rural and urban areas are covered. The goals of home-based care programmes are to strengthen the capacity of families and communities to

provide care and support to those infected and affected by HIV/AIDS, while orphan care programmes seek to meet the nutritional, food, educational and emotional needs of orphans and other vulnerable children. The Young Women's Christian Association seeks to develop the leadership and collective power of females with a view to achieving social and economic empowerment.

In terms of service goals, it was apparent that community-based interventions were preferred and that these served to strengthen the capacity of families and communities to care for orphans and persons infected and affected by HIV/AIDS. The assumption is that families and communities are willing to provide care and support but are constrained by lack of resources. It is for this reason that orphan-care programmes provide food packs to families and pay school fees for the children. This removes the burden from the families. Similarly, care programmes for the terminally ill focus on imparting knowledge on how to care for terminally ill people and providing caregivers with gloves and disinfectant. The community-based programmes help to locate problems in the community and to allow communities to find solutions to their problems with technical and material help from outside. This guarantees the relevance and immediacy of the intervention. Community-based programmes mirror elements of the conservative approach to volunteering which sees voluntary intervention as being more responsive to local needs (Patel, 2003). Furthermore, volunteerism promotes popular participation.

Institutional dimensions: Access, incentives, information and facilitation

Access

Participation in the programmes is voluntary although guidelines are set as to who may volunteer. In the programmes that are community-based, the community plays a leading role in the selection of the volunteers, sanctioning who can and cannot be a volunteer. Those interested take the initiative to be part of the programme. In determining who participates as a volunteer, organisations often look for mature, literate and morally upright persons. It was apparent that volunteering is more accessible to women because of the nature of the activities undertaken, which conform to traditional stereotypes about the role of women in society. There were also instances when people with specialised skills were invited to become volunteers. Alternatively, those with specialised skills applied for positions in the organisations.

Incentives

The issue of incentives was very sensitive and received mixed reactions from the participants. Some key informants were vehemently opposed to the use of incentives as this was believed to undermine the purpose of volunteerism. In order to ensure sustainability of activities, no incentives were given to volunteers in the CPS programme. However, the vulnerability of the volunteers forced the organisation to negotiate with one of their donors (who gives food packs to families in the community) to include all volunteers on the beneficiary list. The justification for this is that it is not logical to expect volunteers to take food packs to clients when they themselves are hungry and are in the same vulnerable position as the clients. The AIDS Counselling Trust has a similar policy of including the volunteers in the beneficiary list. However, the volunteers have been made aware that this arrangement will last only for the duration of the contract with the donor who is supplying the food. When the contract expires, the incentives that the volunteers were getting would also come to an end. The volunteers from the two organisations were satisfied with this arrangement and noted that it had come as a pleasant surprise because when they joined the programmes, they were not expecting to receive any incentives.

In the SAHRIT programme, the community members indicated that they did not receive any monetary incentives for dedicating their time to serve in the Zunde fields. They were motivated to work in the fields by their desire to make a difference in the lives of orphans, the sick and the elderly. They also developed a sense of security in knowing that if they themselves were to die, their children would be taken care of by the community. It is instructive to note that even those receiving food packs as incentives still saw themselves as volunteers. Thus, the incentives did not diminish or compromise their role as volunteers. VOLSA (2004) argues that monetary compensation is allowed provided it is kept to a minimum.

Information and facilitation

The study revealed that the organisations involved in volunteer programmes were facilitators of a process rather than direct implementers. The justification for this is that history has shown that programmes that are donor-driven die when donors pull out. In view of this, the volunteer programmes are largely community-driven. CPS provides technical support through training the volunteers in areas such as basic counselling, bereavement counselling, basic monitoring and evaluation, psychosocial support with special focus on memory books, and facilitating the establishment of support groups for children in the community. SAHRIT provides inputs and training and collaborates with the Department of Agricultural Research

and Extension (AREX) who conduct field days to educate the community on good farming practices. The AREX field days continue to provide the community with knowledge and skills that enable them to increase yields in the Zunde fields. Volunteers under ACT and FACT also receive intensive training covering basic nursing care, counselling and care of bed-ridden patients. Staff from the Ministry of Health are invited to facilitate the initial one-week training.

There was, however, a high turnover of volunteers under the ACT programme, which makes retraining difficult because of resource constraints. This high turnover of volunteers can be attributed to the fact that the volunteers use volunteering as a stepping stone towards securing remunerated work. They thus use the experience and skills acquired to secure paid employment and quit their positions as volunteers once they find employment.

Programme administration

The success of civic service and volunteering depends on good programme administration. The study revealed that in the FACT programme, monthly meetings are held with the volunteers where the volunteers meet and discuss the work they have done during the month. Training and refresher courses are organised at least quarterly to give the volunteers practical skills in carrying out their duties effectively. The volunteers conduct the meetings on their own and meet with the supervisors once a month. The supervisors then report directly to FACT. The success of the programme is dependent on the commitment of the volunteers as they have to operate with minimum supervision. It was apparent that allowing volunteers to take their own day-to-day decisions had contributed to the success of the programme. The supervisors also gave the volunteers the support they needed.

As far as the Zunde raMambo is concerned, the committee meets once a month to discuss what activities need to be undertaken. If it is during the planting season, they discuss what type of inputs are needed. At the end of the season, they hold a community meeting in which they give feedback on how they performed and what amount of harvest was realised. This meeting also serves to plan for the following season. There is a strong sense of community ownership of the programme, even though the programme is supported by SAHRIT. However, there is always the temptation for community members to concentrate on their own activities for personal gain at the expense of the community programme. In the end, the burden tends to fall on a few members of the community.

In the CPS programme, volunteers report directly to a community-based committee made up of representatives from the community. Volunteers are divided into five teams which operate in specific areas of the community. Each team selects

its leader who then reports to the committee. Communication from CPS to the volunteers takes place through the committee. A similar arrangement is in place at DOMCCP, where a community management board oversees the operations of the volunteers. A supervisor of the volunteers at village level reports to the board which then reports to DOMCCP. In the orphan-care programme of FACT and the child-care programme of DOMCCP, programme administration is decentralised so that day-to-day decisions are taken at the local level. This contributes to greater responsiveness to local problems and issues.

Factors promoting or hindering service and volunteering

A number of factors were identified as promoting service and volunteering. Chief among these was the issue of religion, which makes people more disposed to volunteer in order to fulfil Christian teachings. Also, any evidence that points to the fact that the programme is helping vulnerable groups or has potential to do so serves to encourage volunteering. Furthermore, there has to be a sense of community ownership of the programme. Community ownership is more likely if the community was adequately consulted at the programme inception stage. With respect to the Zunde raMambo, it was revealed that competition among villages for the best Zunde has the effect of providing the impetus to volunteers. Also, visits by outsiders to learn from volunteers (whatever the programme) gives volunteers a sense of pride.

The study also revealed that unity among community leaders, and harmonious relationships in the organisations running service programmes, make people more amenable to volunteering. Another motivating factor is the existence of capacity-building initiatives such as workshops. Volunteers are often excited to implement what they have learnt in workshops. Finally, regular meetings for volunteers provide a forum for them to share experiences and to draw strength from each other.

Factors that hinder volunteering were also identified. Firstly, some members of the community suggest that the volunteers are being exploited by donors and this discourages and upsets volunteers. Secondly, it is not always possible to meet the expectations of the intended beneficiaries due to limited resources. Thus not all identified cases in the community receive material assistance from the volunteers, and those that are left out often accuse volunteers of bias and corruption, which is demoralising. Thirdly, poverty makes it difficult for volunteers to continue working when they have to look for resources to fend for their families. Fourth is that political interference in the activities of volunteers is also a hindrance to volunteering. Respondents revealed that some volunteers have been accused of trying to mobilise support for the opposition, a situation which does not augur well

for volunteering. Fifthly, regular crop failure as a result of drought or too much rain makes volunteers unwilling to continue participating in the Zunde raMambo as their efforts are often in vain. Finally, the ever-increasing number of orphans was seen as a demotivating factor as it engenders a sense of helplessness among volunteers.

Conclusion

It is apparent from the study that volunteering is a response to unmet needs in the community and that religion is a major motivating factor for people to engage in volunteer work. The government has become so overwhelmed by the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which has seen a phenomenal increase in the number of orphans, that it cannot cope with the demand for its services. The usual government and community structures are not able to deal with this problem effectively. Because of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, hospitals have to discharge the terminally ill early in order to provide beds for other patients. The situation has been exacerbated by the economic and political problems bedevilling Zimbabwe today, which have forced the state to retreat from social service provisioning. The government cannot be expected to deal with these problems on its own, but should partner with other service providers to creating welfare pluralism.

It is apparent that volunteer programmes are helping to improve the quality of life. Orphans are given access to education and health services, and are having their basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter, met. The terminally ill are receiving proper care and support, enabling them to live their final days with dignity. The demand for volunteers will continue to grow until the government is able to re-establish its dominance in social provisioning. The sustainability of volunteer programmes in Zimbabwe depends on ensuring that there is community ownership of the programmes. Furthermore, volunteers should be allowed to make day-to-day decisions to reinforce community ownership of the programmes. In addition, collaboration with religious organisations will strengthen volunteering, given the fact that volunteers are largely motivated by religious considerations. Finally, the future of volunteering will depend on the government creating an enabling environment for non-governmental organisations so that they can operate with minimum constraints.

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Endnote

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The Social Work Practitioner-Researcher ISSN 1011-2324
Journal of Social Development in Africa ISSN 1012-1080