Youth volunteer exchange programmes in southern and eastern Africa: Models and effects[1]

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Abstract:

This paper seeks to address the question of how volunteerism creates enhances regional integration agenda in eastern and southern Africa regions. Applying a collaborative inquiry and social engagement techniques embodied in the Social Analysis Systems (SAS[2]) methodology, the paper compares the impacts of the Canada World Youth south-to-south Young Leaders in Action exchange programme (between South Africa and Mozambique and Kenya and Tanzania) and the Southern Africa Trust's SayXchange programme in South Africa and Mozambique on volunteers, host communities and host organizations as well as their contributions to development and regional integration.

Keywords: South-to-south volunteer exchange programmes, youth volunteer action, regional integration, Canada World Youth, SayXchange.

Introduction

The peoples of southern and eastern African regions are conjoined by an integral social, economic and political history. Over the last few centuries there have been several forces at play that have had a dual effect on development and political integration project in the two regions. One key force is the process of colonialism and its bifurcated impacts. Colonialism created the present day African nation-states and by extension, the divisions in the regions along the 1884 Berlin Conference that partitioned the continent into insular enclaves of European colonial powers. But the process of colonialism also exacerbated the already occurring migrations of African peoples. In some instances these migrations were across the newly boundaries. Mass migrations started in the 1700s as a response to military and territorial expansions (mainly from southern Africa) and increasing population pressures and in some cases, induced by drought and decreasing resources.

Arguably, it is the wave of migration induced by the colonial political economy that had far-reaching implications for the region and the continent in general. This manifested particularly in regard to developments in taxation, large scale/commercial agriculture and the mining industry. If agriculture and mining sought to attract migrant workers as cheap labour from all over the region from the mid-19th century onwards, it was the introduction of taxation in its various forms, that forced the majority of African populations to migrate in order to sell their labour to pay taxes (Berg, 1965).[2] It is instructive to note here that because the early scramble for Africa was mainly led by imperial companies like the British South Africa Company and the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) among others, the resultant national boundaries were quite arbitrary. However, there were attempts to amalgamate some of the countries as economic federations, particularly the ones that were ruled by the same colonial power. Here examples include the Central African Federation (comprising of Northern and Southern Rhodesia (present day Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (present day Malawi)) and the East African High Commission (overseeing common services and administration of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) during the colonial era. Indeed, the present day South Africa is itself, a product of such amalgamation of several settler colonies.

Due to these developments the people of eastern and southern African countries still travel between different states and many people have kinship, friendships and community ties that span several countries. While most of the earlier economic unions died immediately after independence at the alter of parochial nationalism, the social, political and economic integration of the African people remained, at least on paper, a political project of the Organisation of African Unity as well as its successor, the African Union. As a result, there are today, several regional integration initiatives present on the continent. For the purposes of this paper, two prominent ones are the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the East African Community (EAC) spearheading regional integration in the southern and eastern Africa respectively.

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[2] See also South Africa, available at http://www.info.gov.za/aboutsa/history.htm. Accessed 13th December 2011.

The SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (2008: 4) outlines aspirations for a common development agenda for its member states by calling on people and regional institutions to participate in 'strengthen[ing] and consolidat[ing] the long-standing historical, social, and cultural affinities and links among the people of the region.' Likewise, the preamble to 1999 EAC founding treaty, notes the need for closer integration based on 'close historical, commercial, industrial, cultural and other ties for many years.' Despite the presence of these clear political frameworks, it is less clear that a regional identity is visible or shared among citizens of the member states of the two regional blocks. As Kornegay (2006: 6) argues, a 'sense of being part of a common political space and of holding common political values in southern Africa … is shared more by governments, and in particular heads of state and government … than by the average person.'[3] Likewise, Kasaija (2004: 21) argues that the East African 'leaders have not carried the people along with them on the integration journey. One main problem of attempts at integration in East Africa in particular, and Africa in general, has been that they have been leader-led.' Furthermore such attempts fail to sufficiently mobilise present day shared social, political, economic and ecological challenges to create a common identity.

In view of such conclusions, it becomes evident that regional identity and citizenship needs to be developed 'bottom up' if it is to have meaning in the everyday lives and perspectives of ordinary citizens. Using constructivist perspectives of identity[4] formation, I argue in this paper, that youth volunteer exchange programmes are bridges for people-to-people interactions that can aid a regional identity formation and in facing common developmental challenges. As such, a number of indications are emerging that the enhancement of regional awareness and the development of a regional identity at grassroots level could be fostered through regional youth exchange programmes that support the development priorities of regional integration initiatives such as SADC, the EAC and the African Union. Such priorities include poverty alleviation, combating health challenges such as HIV and AIDS, human resource development, gender equality, environmental conservation and sustainable development, and even peace and security.

It is against this background that the study reported in this paper was conducted in 2011 to explore how different models of youth volunteer exchange programmes in the southern and eastern African regions contribute to development goals and integration. This paper therefore explores how models of youth volunteer exchange programmes in the southern and eastern African regions contribute to

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[3] See also Southern African Trust (SAT) and AFS Interculture South Africa (undated internal report) on the SayXchange programme titled 'Integrating the youth in Southern Africa' for similar observations. They cite the recent xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa as one indicator of how indifferent the peoples of southern Africa are to each other.

[4] As argued by Rogers Brubaker and Fred Cooper (2000). 'Beyond Identity.' Theory and Society, 29, 1, identity can be constructed, is fluid and multiple. Brubaker and Cooper further argue that identity is used politically to get people to understand themselves and their interests in a particular way and to see themselves as similar, or identical to one another and at the same time different from others not in their identity category. This means that identity is a product of social or political actions and interactive processes of self-understanding that lead to the development of solidarity and collective self-understanding, that can be the basis for groupness and collective action (pp7-8).

development goals and integration. The principal research questions that the study sought to answer were:

1. What models of youth volunteer exchange programmes are active in the region?

2. What are the impacts of regional youth volunteer exchange programmes in southern and eastern Africa on:

- Volunteers (specifically, the programme impact on attitudes towards host country; knowledge of development issues; knowledge of host country; communication, organisational and technical skills developed);

- Host organisations (specifically, programme impact on organisational effectiveness in achieving given mandate/goals; efficiency in the use of resources; financial viability; relevance of organisational activities to key stakeholders);

- Host communities (specifically, programme impact on knowledge/learning, attitudes and values, friendships across borders, skills, career studies, and local and regional action).

Further, the study sought to evaluate the programme accessibility and the nature of youth social and economic participation.

A note on methodology

The study utilised the collaborative inquiry and social engagement techniques embodied in the Social Analysis Systems (SAS[2]) methodology. The SAS[2] combines participatory experiential learning and the shared ownership of research results and applies both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The study is evaluative in nature and compares Canada World Youth (CWY) south-to-south Youth Leaders in Action exchange programme (in South Africa, Mozambique, Kenya and Tanzania) and Southern Africa Trust's SayXchange programme in South Africa and Mozambique.

Founded in 1971, Canada World Youth is a not-for-profit organisation that operates in Canada and internationally. It mainly focuses on providing high-quality educational opportunities for youth aged 15 to 29 in leadership for sustainable development. Amongst the CWY most popular and on-going programmes is the Youth Leaders in Action (YLA) programme started in the region in 2009 targeting youths aged 18-24 years. The YLA programme has five components: Youth Exchanges; Inter-Institutional Capacity Building; Sector Projects; the Youth Leadership Initiative (which provides seed grants to youth-led initiatives); and the Learning Forum. The programme focuses on three key sectors: health, environment and gender equality, all aimed at adding the realisation of the Millennium Development Goals. Canada World Youth works through partnerships in Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa and Tanzania in running the YLA youth volunteer exchanges between two countries. The local partner agencies for Canada World Youth are: Volunteer Centre Cape Town in South Africa, AJUDE in Mozambique, UVIKUITA in Tanzania and Kijabe Environment Volunteers (KENVO) in Kenya. The partner organisation in each country selects the community where the team of youth live, volunteer and participate in community activities. This gives the young volunteers an opportunity to explore a neighbouring country and to gain a better understanding of their own countries at the same time. CWY has consciously developed a learning philosophy, which is integral to its programmes. It is

based on what they call 'four pillars' of learning: i.e. learning to be; learning to know; learning to do, and learning to live together effectively.

SayXchange programme was developed by the Southern African Trust –an independent non-profit agency that supports deeper and wider regional engagement to overcome poverty in southern Africa. Southern African Trust aims at influencing the way regional governments make decisions about poverty by involving affected citizens and their organisations in decision-making. AFS Interculture in South Africa and AMODEFA in Mozambique implement the SayXchange programme in the respective countries. SayXchange was started in response to the xenophobic attacks in South Africa during the first half of 2008. SayXchange promotes regional integration and a southern African regional identity amongst young people. This aim supports the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) vision of a common future for all southern African people with improved economic well-being, better standards of living and quality of life as well as freedom, social justice, peace and security. This is anchored, as already mentioned, on a vision of common values and principles and the historical and cultural affinities that already exist between the peoples of southern Africa. The programme targets volunteers between the ages of 18 and 25 years who learn from other African countries and are expected to embrace diversity as well as oneness and interdependence of humanity.

The programme runs for five months and involves the placement of volunteers in community-based organisations (CBOs) in the neighbouring country. Participants are required to develop a business plan for a civic engagement project that draws on what they have learned during their SayXchange experience and which they will initiate in their home country upon their return. Southern Africa Trust financially and administratively supports the participants through this planning process. The exchange programme specifically aims at:

- Encouraging young people to lead;
- Encouraging and supporting youth civic participation: the volunteers plan an activity or a project, which draws on what they have learnt. Each volunteer shares his/her plan with a local community once they return to their home country. This is aimed at ensuring valuable social returns;
- Building a spirit of volunteerism and inclusiveness, which puts poor communities into the value chain, as well as increasing the understanding of the power of volunteerism as an important building block for strengthening civil society;
- Growing regional awareness on cultures and social issues in other countries in the region amongst young people who are emerging leaders in their communities with a view to encouraging utilisation of their values, skills and energy to stimulate positive change and further southern Africa regional integration;
- Building a population of youth that give back to their communities.

18 focus group interviews were conducted between August and September 2011. Six of these took place with volunteers (two in South Africa for CWY and SayXchange; two in Mozambique for CWY and SayXchange; one in Tanzania and one Kenya for CWY); six with host families and host communities (two in South Africa for CWY and SayXchange; two in Mozambique for CWY and SayXchange; one in Tanzania and one Kenya for CWY); and six with partner/host organisations (two in South Africa for CWY and SayXchange; two in Mozambique for CWY and SayXchange; one in Tanzania and one Kenya for CWY). The multi-layered approach to the data sources was necessitated by the nested nature of interactions between different actors in these programmes. It was therefore necessary for the study to establish the impacts of these programmes on participating volunteers, host families and host organisations based on a purposive sample of participants who interacted in the course of the implementation of these programmes. The inputs of respondents representing these groups, was therefore a key sampling concern so as to tap insights from each of these groups in determining impacts. The profile of participants is presented in table 1 below.

Table I Profile of the study participants

Session	*Location of focus group session*	*Number of participants*		*Average age of participants (in years)*	*Programme (CWY or SayXchange)*
		Male	Female		
Youth Volunteers- 1	Cape Town, SA	4	2	22	CWY-South Africa
Youth Volunteers- 1	Maputo, MZ	3	2	24.5	CWY-Mozambique
Host families-1	Cape Town, SA	2	8	53.4	CWY-South Africa
Host families-2	Inhambane, MZ	0	8	33.6	CWY-Mozambique
Host Organisations-1	Cape Town, SA	3	7	39.2	CWY-South Africa
Host Organisations-2	Inhambane, MZ	5	1	37.2	CWY-Mozambique
Youth Volunteers- 1	Kimende-Kenya	7	5	24.41	CWY Kenya
Youth Volunteers-2	Chamazi- Dar TZ	4	8	25.91	CWY Tanzania
Host families-1	Chamazi- Dar TZ	1	7	38.37	CWY Tanzania
Host families-2	Kimende-Kenya	3	8	46.27	CWY Kenya
Host Organisations-1	Chamazi- Dar TZ	8	-	34.75	CWY Tanzania
Host Organisations-2	Kimende-Kenya	2	4	30.66	CWY Kenya
Partner Organisation – 1	Kimende-Kenya	5	1	33.5	CWY Kenya
Youth Volunteers- 1	Maputo	2	2	22.5	SayXchange
Youth Volunteers-2	Johannesburg	3		23	SayXchange
Host families-1	Maputo	1	1	33	SayXchange
Host families-2[5]	Johannesburg, SA	0	1	57	SayXchange
Host Organisations-1	Maputo, MZ	3		24.3	SayXchange
Host Organisations-2	Johannesburg, SA		2	34.5	SayXchange
Partner Organisation – 1	Maputo, MZ	1	1	31	SayXchange
Partner Organisation – 2	Johannesburg, SA	2		27	SayXchange

Note: The mean age of volunteer participants in the study (in both projects) is 22.3 years

While data collection concentrated on the focus groups, a variety of other data sources were also used to gather information about the two exchange programmes. For instance, an observation was done on SayXchange volunteers' orientation in Johannesburg between 22nd and 23rd July 2011. Also utilised are additional data and information on youth volunteer exchange programmes such as internal

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[5] We were forced to do a single interview with one SayXchange host family after it became impossible to get any other host families involved in a focus group.

organisational materials from CWY and SayXchange programmes, materials from the websites of the respective organisations as well as blogs of past volunteers (particularly in the case of SayXchange, which runs a blog for past volunteers) that capture volunteer stories and experiences. Some background information on volunteer programmes such as those run by FK-Norway and VSO were also sought with a view to understanding existing volunteering models operating in the region and the similarities they may have with the two programmes under review.

Given the evaluative nature of this study, a data analysis framework based on the key study questions and objectives (already mentioned) was developed to guide both data collection and both the qualitative and quantitative analysis. While noting this framework, it needs mention here that the SAS[2] methodology involves visual ways of collecting data and draws both participants and the researcher into the process of analysing these results. The researcher's role is specifically to facilitate the focus group and to stimulate dialogue between participants on key questions. As such, results are sometimes a negotiated product because people's views sometimes changed as a result of their interaction with each other in the focus groups.

Findings and Discussion

Overview of volunteer exchange models in southern and eastern Africa

Citizens of many African countries demonstrate a strong tradition of volunteering for development and social and political change (see for example Patel et al, 2007; Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler, 2009; Wilkinson-Maposa, et al., 2005). Most of volunteerism is manifested informally.[6] However, in the last few decades, this volunteer energy has also been channelled through civil society organisations. The advent of formal volunteer-involving organisations also saw the emergence of different models and practices in volunteer recruitment, management and sending (VOSESA, 2011). Volunteering programmes in the southern and eastern African regions today predominantly take the following main forms/models:

- A north-to-south model where volunteers from northern developed countries are placed in southern developing countries;
- Volunteering within own communities. This is the most dominant model. A distinguishing feature of this model is that the socio-economic profile of the servers corresponds closely with that of the beneficiaries: servers are as poor and vulnerable as those they serve (Patel *et al.,* 2007). This contrasts with the server profile in industrial societies where servers come from more privileged socio-economic backgrounds (see Leigh et al, 2011). Thus volunteering in one's own community in the region is often a response to poverty and represents local agency in an attempt to mitigate societal challenges.

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[6] Taniguchi (2011: 3) defines informal volunteering as involvement in unpaid work carried out for a charitable, social, or political purpose in an informal network of extended families, friends, and neighbours.

- South-to-south volunteering programmes where volunteers from one developing country are placed in another southern country (Fulbrook, 2007). This is the focus of the current paper and its key features are discussed below.

South-to-south volunteering programmes

South-to-south volunteering programmes are volunteer exchange programmes that have multiple objectives. A key objective of such programmes is seeking to promote development cooperation initiatives amongst developing countries. Fulbrook (2007) highlights how south-to-south volunteering experiences have changed conventional international volunteering discourse that has for long been heavily dominated by the north-to-south model. Specifically, increased involvement of volunteers from developing nations through south-to-south programmes have challenged the orthodox perception of international volunteers as people from northern countries who bring skills and monetary support to poor communities assumed to have zero capacity. The south-to-south exchange programmes have produced a developmental discourse, which showcases the locus of volunteering is sharing skills. Such discourse is useful in challenging existing stereotypes that see developing economies merely as recipients of aid with nothing to offer in development practices.

Moreover, as Plewes and Stuart (2007) argue, south-to-south volunteering help reduce the ethical pitfall of instrumentalising southern communities – a situation in which the receiving communities are perceived as providing privileged northern volunteers with tools for gaining experience. This argument stems from the perspectives of post-colonial theory (see for example Green 2003; Young, 2003; Lazarus, 2004; 2010) that challenge the reified institutional approaches to development. Specifically, the view sees development institutions as part of the problem as they are a 'bureaucratic force with global reach and an explicitly pro-capitalist agenda, operating as a tool of…perpetuat[ing] relations of inequality and dependence between the West and the rest, and through representation, to perpetuate the construction of others as post-colonial subjects' (Green, 2003: 124). Critics like Crush (1995), Escobar (1995) and Ferguson (1990), charge that development as an institution 'overrides the agency of the individuals […and] permits the construction of an anthropological caricature of development as monolith, denying the capacities of social actors within and outside it to influence development outcomes.' (Green, 2003: 127).

The prominence of a development paradigm shaped by theories such as the post-colonial theory therefore supports increased south-to-south cooperation especially in their emphasis and recognition that poor communities have a lot to offer in their own development. In motivating for its south-to-south exchange programme, FK Norway (2009), for instance, stresses that, 'south-to-south exchange is on side with the world of the future: a more self-conscious, educated and powerful South, which does not accept traditional dominance and conditions imposed by the North'. From this motivation, it can be argued that most south-to-south exchange programmes are development initiatives structured in response to and aimed at, addressing the traditional dominance of the north over the south in both aid and development. Programmes such as Canada World Youth's South-to-South Young Leaders in

Action, SayXchange, VSO South-to-South volunteering, FK Norway and Score, join a growing list of south-to-south volunteer exchange models that have emerged in the last two decades.

Findings from the current CWY Young Leaders in Action and SayXchange study

The next section presents the key findings of the current study. It begins by presenting the profile of similarities and differences between the two programmes before analysing impacts the two programme (CWY and SayXchange) on volunteers, host communities and families, and host and partner organisations. It then moves to the identifications of areas in need of improvement on the two programmes before concluding.

The two programmes reviewed in this study have similarities but also some differences, particularly in programme design and length of placements. These have bearings on the impacts of these programmes. The key convergences and divergences are captured in the table II below.

*Table II: comparisons of the CWY YLA and SAT SayXchange programmes*

Programme feature	CWY	SayXchange
Period established	The south-to-south exchange model is part of the Youth Leaders in Action programme, which was started in 2009.	The programme was established following the xenophobic attacks in South Africa during the first half of 2008.
Total number of youth involved per one round of exchange	18 (i.e. nine pairs)	20 (10 from each country, but they are not paired; the volunteers serve in one of the countries that is not their own).
Countries involved	South Africa & Mozambique; Kenya & Tanzania.	South Africa, Mozambique
Administration	The programme is administered and facilitated by CWY's partners: AJUDE in Mozambique, UVIKIUTA in Tanzania, Volunteer Centre in South Africa, and KENVO in Kenya.	AFS Interculture in South Africa and AMODEFA in Mozambique implement the programme.
Exchange model	Participants from South Africa are paired with counterparts from Mozambique while those from Tanzania are paired with Kenyans. Together, the paired participants spend three months in each other's country.	A reciprocal volunteering approach, which involves the placement of volunteers in community-based organisations in the host country, to which they are sent.
Programme objectives	CWY is focused on providing high quality educational opportunities for youth in leadership for sustainable development.	The programme aims to promote regional integration and develop a Southern African regional identity amongst young people.
Programme duration	6 months	5 months
Parties involved	Volunteer, host family, placement organisation	Volunteer, host family, placement organisation
Technical experience	No technical/work skills experience required	No technical/work skills experience required

The common features of the two programmes include: underlying reciprocity; involvement of active local community-based partners that offer volunteer work placements in community projects; involvement of volunteers, host families and placement organisations; and a stringent selection process for youth volunteers who also receive pre-departure training. The key differences between the two programmes include:

1) The SADC countries focus of SayXchange (currently only three countries (South Africa, Mozambique and Malawi participating), while the CWY south-to-south youth exchange model includes eastern African countries (Kenya and Tanzania) and Southern African countries (Mozambique and South Africa).

2) The CWY YLA pairs two youths and spend time working together host organisations and host families in each country while SayXchange sends young people from their own country into the other country that is involved in the programme (in this study South Africa and Mozambique). The volunteers thus swap places and spend time in a foreign country with a host organisation and host family.

3) Different programme objectives: SayXchange is focused more on promoting regional integration and a Southern African regional identity amongst young people, while CWY aims to promote global citizenship amongst youth.

4) Compared to CWY, SayXchange is responding directly to its environment: it was established following the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The 'SayXchange programme addresses the problems of xenophobia by increasing the understanding of the "other", their different cultures, languages and ways of living' (SAT and AFS Interculture, unpublished report). The CWY's south-to-south programme on the other hand is an extension and refinement of its north-south reciprocal learning approach to volunteers, as well as of its Eco-leadership Program that was in place between 2004 and 2007.

Impacts of CWY and SayXchange Youth programme on young volunteers

Figure I. Helper impact areas
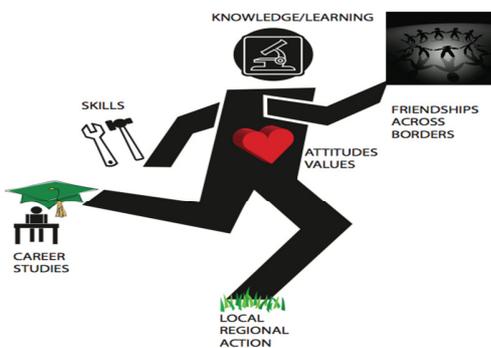
The main impacts of the programme on volunteers were captured and analysed using three key exercises in focus group discussions. The first exercise used a Helper illustration of a human being with six different parts of the human body representing different impact areas as shown in the figure I alongside: the head for knowledge and learning; the heart for attitudes or values; one hand for skills; the other hand for friendships with people from another country; one foot for career steps (including studies); and the other foot for local or regional action taken after or during the programme (in the community the participant lives in, works/studies in, or in the wider community)[7]. Participants were asked to list two of the most important impacts the experience of participating in the exchange programme had or was having on them. Thereafter, participants were asked to select from the Helper, the part that best corresponded to the impact they had described. A

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[7] The Helper image is a different visual representation of the 'Socratic Wheel', a tool that is used to evaluate and rate one or several elements or alternatives on multiple criteria. It is a foundational SAS[2] tool for monitoring and evaluation of project goals, options to choose from, individual skills, leadership styles, products, events, etc.

comparative analysis of the ensuing results shows that that the main impacts of the exchange programme on volunteers differed as shown by the table III below.

Table III: Distribution of the impact cards by impact area

Helper impact area	Frequency of impact cards by impact area/Total # in the FGD	% of total cards by impact area	Helper impact area	Frequency of impact cards by impact area/total # in the FGD	% of total cards by impact area
Friendships across borders (emotive)			Skills (cognitive)		
CWY SA	5/10	50.0	CWY SA	0/10	0.0
CWY MZ	3/8	37.5	CWY MZ	1/8	12.5
CWY TZ	2/24	8.3	CWY TZ	9/24	37.5
CWY KEN	5/24	20.8	CWY KEN	7/24	29.2
SAYXCHANGE SA	3/8	37.5	SAYXCHANGE SA	1/8	12.5
SAYXCHANGE MZ	2/8	25.0	SAYXCHANGE MZ	1/8	12.5
Attitudes/values (emotive)			Career/Studies (Behavioral)		
CWY SA	2/10	20.0	CWY SA	0/10	0.0
CWY MZ	1/8	12.5	CWY MZ	0/8	0.0
CWY TZ	1/24	4.2	CWY TZ	0/24	0.0
CWY KEN	5/24	20.8	CWY KEN	2/24	8.3
SAYXCHANGE SA	1/8	12.5	SAYXCHANGE SA	1/8	12.5
SAYXCHANGE MZ	1/8	12.5	SAYXCHANGE MZ	0/8	0.0
Knowledge/learning (cognitive)			Local/Regional Action (Behavioural)		
CWY SA	3/10	30.0	CWY SA	0/10	0.0
CWY MZ	2/8	25.0	CWY MZ	1/8	12.5
CWY TZ	12/24	50.0	CWY TZ	0/24	0.0
CWY KEN	3/24	12.5	CWY KEN	2/24	8.3
SAYXCHANGE SA	2/8	25.0	SAYXCHANGE SA	0/8	0.0
SAYXCHANGE MZ	4/8	50.0	SAYXCHANGE MZ	0/8	0.0

Volunteers in all study sites and for both programmes expressed appreciation for the programmes as they enjoyed the different exposures, which broadened their scope outside home communities and countries in general. Further, the study shows that while all the impact areas were mentioned in varying degrees in frequency across the various study sites and programmes, friendships across borders registered greatest impacts for volunteers in both Mozambique and South Africa for both the SayXchange and the CWY programmes while knowledge and learning was registered as the most important impact in eastern Africa. Below, I show in details, the reasons advanced for this.

Impacts on friendships across borders on volunteers: The relevance of friendships across borders for the integration project draws from interpersonal contacts and social identity theories postulation that greater exposure to an "out-group" provide opportunities for self-identity but also self-integration into external group (Turner, 1982) and a likelihood the development of cognitive dissonance (Pitner, 2007), where people converge on superordinate shared goals (Pettigrew, & Tropp, 2006; Sherif, 1958).[8] Further, contact theories argue that 'shared goals tend to produce friendly attitudes, mutual

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[8] For an in-depth discussion on how these theories are useful to explaining the impact of contacts to volunteers and especially in the appreciation of the 'other' please see Lough and Mati (2012). Intergroup contact theory for instance sees increased contact between diverse groups as having the potential to reduce inaccurate perceptions of the "other", thereby increasing intergroup tolerance and understanding (Allport, 1954).

understanding, and increased tolerance towards out-group members, their ways of life, and cultures' Ting-Toomey, 1999 as cited in Lough and Mati 2012: 2). The bottom line is that these theories propose a positive relationship resulting from contacts between people of different groups.

For the current study, different reasons were given for why and how friendships across borders were a key impact area. A participant in the CWY South African volunteer focus group, for instance, stated the following:

> Out there, everything is very different from what it is at home. That made me realize that I actually have people to help me and I got to appreciate this even more. As a group, we were 18. We had no family members with us and we had to face whatever situation, relying on what we had, our counterparts whom we were going through this together.

A SayXchange Mozambican volunteer and another from South Africa highlighted how enhanced interactions between volunteers and host communities especially through living with a host family as well as pairing with a colleague contributed greatly to social interactions among other things, led to 'understanding a different culture and learning a language.'

These friendships cultivated close bonds among volunteers and even members of host communities that continue to flourish. The bonds were also formed among volunteers from the same country as the training and orientation sessions provided avenues for people to get to know each other. A South African CWY volunteer highlighted this, mentioning that despite the fact that he and another volunteer came from Khayelitsha, they never knew each other before the exchange programme. They met on their orientation day and have remained friends since then. As such, these friendships are not just across borders. This demonstrates the potency of contacts to create a shared identity through such friendships.

Impacts on attitudes and values of volunteers: Similar to friendships across borders, attitude and values impact of these programmes are premised on both the contact theory and the social identity theories. Volunteers from across the four countries and in both programmes described experiences of self-discovery, valuing who they are, the development of self-esteem and confidence, appreciation of other people and being positive and non-judgmental. For many, the experience changed the way they see other cultures and they came to appreciate others while being proud of their own cultures. A Mozambican CWY ex-volunteer arguably captured this best stating that having lived in another country (South Africa) with so much segregation, and having come from a place where people get along, he 'understood why in South Africans behave in certain ways'.

Volunteers' acquisition of self-confidence from their experiences in these programmes is best captured by a Tanzanian female CWY volunteer who indicated:

> Through interacting with different people from different backgrounds, I learnt how to be part of the group and how to be myself as well. I learnt how to disagree and still be respectful of other people's ideas and how to compromise when convinced that the argument offered was a better one. I learnt how

to accept and appreciate diversity, but learned especially from the experience of Kenya, the importance of ensuring diversity is not divisive and destructive, something we need to be careful about in Tanzania.

This clearly points to values gained and how the experiences have shaped the worldviews of these young people. The exchange programmes have taught these young people some valuable things like 'the value of time, of working hard, and of being assertive' (Tanzanian Volunteer). Another Tanzanian volunteer indicated impacts on his patriotism:

> The programme made me know my country better and be more patriotic. I am proud of my country, especially our peace and unity across the nation, which is very different from Kenya, where people are very divided with ever present fear of political violence along tribal lines in the aftermath of elections.

This indicates that the exchange programmes have allowed for acquisition of ideas and values critical in creation of a shared sense of oneness and identity.

Impacts on volunteers' knowledge and learning: The most significant knowledge and learning impacts were closely related to changes in attitudes and values. Most volunteers in all study sites pointed to learning about other cultures, languages and foods. Mozambican volunteers in both the SayXchange and CWY programmes highlighted experiences of learning English and Portuguese respectively. A SayXchange Mozambican volunteer for instance noted: 'I did not know how to communicate in English and it was a big challenge. It was enjoyable later on to be able to speak a little and participate.' The implication here is that language is a key factor in ensuring participation and by extension, to communication. This enables people to converse and understand or assign meanings. Learning was not limited to language and culture alone. Mozambican volunteers in both the CWY and SayXchange programmes pointed to volunteers learning organisational skills, leadership, public speaking, social and technical skills that improved their confidence, built team-working ability and introduced them to conflict resolution. These are key developments in conflict-laden region.

There were also, arguably more mundane impacts in the area of knowledge that had fundamental life changing lessons that volunteers encountered in the course of their volunteer experience that may be taken as a given, but those that contribute to respect and appreciation of commonalities. A Mozambican volunteer in the CWY programme talked of how a visit to Robben Island for an African youth conference themed 'Africa unite against xenophobia' was a 'great educational experience that gave [me] a lot of information on some of the things that unite Africans, as well as the challenges on the continent that need a united approach.' A CWY ex-volunteer stated how he changed his attitudes about other African countries after going to Mozambique and learning first-hand about the situation there. He stated:

> I had my expectations to see an extremely poor country. But when I got there, my impressions changed almost immediately because I had an opportunity to be with the people and learn more about their culture, their food, their economy, their challenges etc. and saw similarities with my own country.

Such experiences greatly served to change the overall perspective these volunteers had of host countries and the commonalities of developmental issues faced in these countries. This is a positive development because as Appiah (1993) points out, a successful attempt to unify Africa must be based on shared economic, socio-political and ecological challenges.

Impact on volunteers' skills: For some volunteers, the experience exposed them to opportunities to learn skills and get a sense of purpose in life that they would later utilise in their own lives as they seek to contribute to changing the world in which they live. For instance, a Tanzanian CWY volunteer stated that the programme exposed him to opportunities to:

> Learn some skills such as teaching. But I also became aware of my circumstances, my surroundings, and myself in a way I had not considered before. This has given me a new perspective in life. Coming back from the programme, I was a different person, grown up, responsible, quite informed and with a different approach to life and things. For instance, I am not complaining so much about situations, but trying to know my role and what I can do to change difficult situations.

In the words of one Tanzanian CWY volunteer, the programme made him more proactive in pursuing the ambitions and goals in his life. A Kenyan CWY volunteer stated how the experience has enabled him pursue a career in the agricultural industry, undertook various trainings on farming and farm management and ended up becoming a farm manager. This was because of his exposure to framing practises during the exchange.

Many more volunteers expressed similar experiences of acquiring practical skills in agriculture, establishing tree nurseries, spice farming, waste management, making of compost. These are skills they have utilised well past their volunteer time. As seen from table III above, the highest distribution of skills development occurred among eastern Africa volunteers. A higher concentration of skills impact in the eastern Africa CWY programme, I suggest, must be understood from the perspective of the objectives of the partner organisation in Kenya-KENVO. KENVO's work concentrates on environmental conservation and as the discussion on the impacts on host and partner organisations later in this paper will show, all the host organisations as well as the volunteers work on these areas.

Impacts on volunteers' career/studies: Some volunteers were influenced through their interaction with other volunteers through shared interests. This brought about new ideas about what to study and fields in which to work in future (mentioned by Mozambican SayXchange volunteers). Other examples of the programmes impacting on the careers of these volunteers include the Kenyan CWY volunteer pursuing a career as a farm manager (mentioned earlier); a Tanzanian CWY ex-volunteer starting spice farming; a South African CWY ex-volunteer starting an NGO focused on youth issues, and former volunteers working as programme staff in partner organisations. There was also the case of a CWY a Kenyan volunteer in Tanzania receiving teaching job offers in a host community school.

Impacts on local/regional action: Volunteers in both programmes also indicated that as a result of living in host communities, they saw how people make a difference in their communities through simple actions. Evidence for impacts on local action were highlighted mostly from learning experiences i.e. volunteers learnt new ways of doing things from seeing local action in the placement communities.

Conclusions on self-assessed impacts on volunteers

Participants were of the opinion that impacts are very dependent on what value a volunteer place on the programme. In turn, the value gained is dependent on factors such as the volunteers' age and the extent to which the planned objectives of the placement were accomplished. Moreover, as a SayXchange ex-volunteer in Mozambique pointed out, 'even with limited communication abilities (due to language barriers), the overall impact of the programme was positive and the experience opened doors (for some) and broadened their horizons and view of South Africa.' This suggests that the programmes are having desired impacts among young people. Nonetheless, more needs to be done by both programmes to ensure greater returns for investments in these programmes. The specifics of what needs to happen are covered under the recommendations generated later in this paper.

Programme activities contributions to impact areas

After establishing the different impact areas as outlined above, the study sought to establish the relationship between specific programme activities and impacts. To do this, volunteers were asked to identify and rank two activities that contributed most to the impact(s) identified. Both programmes comprised of the following predetermined activities: living with a host family, doing a community service project, pairing up/interacting with youth from another country (specific to the CWY programme), and receiving educational/training support. Volunteers were asked to place each of the activities identified on a Cartesian graph after giving it either a first or second ranking. This yielded varying results with contact related activities such as living with a host family, pairing up/interacting with youth from another country being most impactful. Strong bonds were formed between volunteers and host families and sometimes extending to even to parents of volunteers and host families. This has therefore been one aspect that contributes immensely to a sense of friendship across border. The distribution of the responses received from all study sites as captured in the table IV below shows that there was no unanimity on which programme activity contributed most to impact. Indeed, in all the study sites for both programmes, all programme aspects were mentioned in varying degrees as leading to the impacts.

Table IV. The contribution of programme activities to impacts on volunteers

Programme activity	Frequency ranked first	Frequency ranked second	Total first and second ranking	Programme activity	Frequency ranked first	Frequency ranked second	Total first and second ranking
Living with host family				**Being paired with another volunteer**			
CWY SA	1	2	3	CWY SA	5	0	5
CWY MZ	2	0	2	CWY MZ	3	0	3
CWY TZ	7	7	7	CWY TZ	7	2	9
CWY KEN	5	3	8	CWY KEN	4	4	8
SAYXCHANGE SA	1	1	1	SAYXCHANGE SA	1	1	2
SAYXCHANGE MZ	1	1	1	SAYXCHANGE MZ	4	0	4
Doing community service project				**Receiving educational/ training support**			
CWY SA	0	0	0	CWY SA	0	2	2
CWY MZ	1	0	1	CWY MZ	2	0	2
CWY TZ	6	2	8	CWY TZ	4	0	4
CWY KEN	3	1	4	CWY KEN	12	2	14
SAYXCHANGE SA	2	0	2	SAYXCHANGE SA	2	0	2
SAYXCHANGE MZ	2	0	2	SAYXCHANGE MZ	1	6	7

Education/training: Identity is often a 'basis for social or political action' (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 6). Further, identity is seen as a collective phenomenon, which 'denotes a fundamental and consequential sameness among members of a group or category' (*Ibid*: 7). Here identity highlights the shared dispositions and consciousness of particular group, which is cultivated, supported, recognized, and preserved' through interactive processes (*Ibid*). This means that conscientization is critical in identity construction that can lead to groupness and collective action (*Ibid*). This conscientization is manifested in pre-departure training with the two programmes invest time in such in varying degrees of intensity. These trainings help in generating a shared experience and appreciations that generate solidarity and identity, key in the integration project based on commonalities between self-communities and others. Volunteer participants of both SayXchange and CWY programmes reported learning something valuable from the education and training days. Nonetheless despite all the time and resources spent in the orientations, some volunteers felt the need for more and better training so that the programmes achieve their stated goals, have clarity on regional identity goals was mentioned as needing to be incorporated in these programmes especially for SayXchange.

Living with a host family: Volunteers from both programmes reported positive experiences of living with a host family and described how this contributed to impacts. A Tanzanian CWY volunteer for instance noted that 'living with host family in Kenya gave her insights that no books or class lectures will be able to teach as effectively.' This is empirical manifestation of how contact theory works. But some volunteers cited inadequate information or preparation for both the volunteer and the host families on what to expect. For instance, one CWY Mozambican volunteer noted that being moved from one host family to another affected his opinion as no information was provided about the host family he went to live with or the conditions to expect.

Pairing with another young volunteer: This activity was not a formal requirement for the SayXchange programme, but was applicable to the CWY YLA programme. However, volunteers in both programmes mentioned working with other volunteers though not necessarily paired, contributed to mutual learning and understanding of their partners. South African SayXchange volunteers added that as a result of working with local colleagues in Mozambique, they 'appreciated the levels of hardships and the autonomy of local volunteers and people in general' but more so, admired their resilience. Another stated: 'being with other volunteers was very insightful; it exposed one to different culture.' A similar experience was reported by a Tanzanian CWY volunteer who said: 'pairing and interacting with our counterparts allowed us to know so much about Kenya, about their way of life and to learn good lessons from them. For a Kenyan CWY volunteer, because of pairing, 'as time goes a conflict may arise between the partners. From such conflict, you learn that there are different kinds of people [who] think differently, and maybe these people cannot just agree with you.' In the process, these young people learn how to resolve conflicts through negotiations and accommodation of difference. This is a crucial aspect that can lead to a reduction of violence in a conflict prone region (e.g. persistent xenophobic violence, and the post election violence in Kenya and Zanzibar to mention but a few). Another Tanzanian CWY volunteer added: 'pairing and interacting gave us a yardstick to

compare ourselves and look at where our colleagues are. I think in this regard we realise that there is great contribution from pairing, …we had the opportunity of exploring Kenya through our friends.' These responses suggest that the peer group experience was valued by the volunteers across both the CWY and SayXchange programmes – not only for what was learnt through positive engagement, but also for the insights gained about human relations through more challenging personal interactions.

Doing a community service project: This was widely acknowledged as one of the programme activities contributing to impacts in various areas, especially in knowledge and learning. A Mozambican SayXchange volunteer for instance mentioned that community projects taught him lot about other people in and issues he did not expect. Another SayXchange South African volunteer indicated that through participation in a community service project, he got greater insights into 'aspects of the social Life in Mozambique, such as new methods of community building and creative ways of generating an income in the informal sector.' A Kenyan CWY volunteer indicated: 'I was adventurous. I went out, and from involvement in a community project, I learnt more skills.' A Tanzanian CWY volunteer stated: 'doing [a] community project was practical and therefore easily understood and enjoyable.'

To conclude, volunteers in all study sites and for both programmes expressed a general sense of appreciation for the programmes as they enjoyed the different exposures that the programmes afforded them, which broadened their scope outside home communities and countries in general. However, volunteers in both programmes pointed out a number of programme aspects that needed improvement. For instance, volunteers in Kenya and Tanzania pointed out the need to broaden the sectors in which volunteers could work other than just concentrating on environmental conservation only. This suggests that a broadened focus might offer greater opportunities to volunteers. Another Kenyan volunteer pointed to the need for education on explicit political issues to be provided in the pre-departure preparation when he argued:

> It is important for CWY to tell us explicitly what their expectations are. That would help us to be more open-minded and mindful to learn even more. If you look superficially it might seem as if they are not helping us much as young people, but if you remember, in 2007 we fought in Kenya along tribal lines... We do not want this to happen again. The programme helps us interact with other people from different areas and different cultures. This way, you get to understand that other people too have a right to live their own way of life the way he/she sees it necessary. And when you come back to Kenya you start seeing things beyond tribal demarcations. If CWY can give [an] indication of the essence of the programme, it will be appreciated more as people consciously make efforts to learn and to assimilate the good things and transmit them in the community more aggressively. For instance, on the issue of peace, we could have learnt more effectively how Tanzania managed to create national unity and greatly reduced tribes as a factor for allegiance or privilege. If you look at Tanzania, all the Presidents so far have come from not very big or influential tribes, the current President is from a very small tribe in Tanzania, and that did not hinder him from gaining national support.

The above suggests a level of consciousness that the programme assisted in generating. It also suggests that young people exposed to environments where there is appreciation of differences are most likely to embrace diversity and be more accommodating.

Programme impacts on specific aspects of volunteers' knowledge, skills and attitudes

The second key exercise evaluated the programme's impact on six specific aspects including: communication skills; technical skills; organisational skills; knowledge of host country; knowledge of development issues such as knowledge of HIV/AIDS dynamics in host country, knowledge of sources of regional conflict, knowledge of development challenges in host country, knowledge on gender dynamics in host country; and attitude towards the host country e.g. feelings of solidarity, respect for the national culture, appreciation of national contributions, etc. A Socratic wheel displayed below aided this exercise.

Figure II: Socratic wheel assessing knowledge, skills and attitudinal impacts on volunteers.
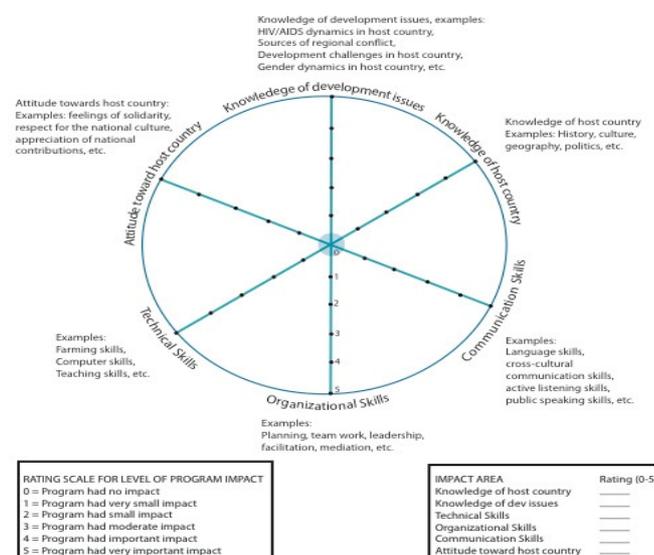
Overall, the participants in both programmes reported a positive impact. The results also point to volunteers gaining knowledge of development issues, and communication skills including other languages, presentation, and public speaking. A Mozambican SayXchange volunteer for instance indicated learning about host community's experiences, problems, and conflicts. Cross-cultural learning was also reported in all the study sites. The results also demonstrate that impacts were well rounded since the volunteers related to most impact areas being assessed and felt that they gained experience.

The table below summarises the key findings from this exercise.

Table V: Impact ratings for knowledge, skills and attitudes

Programme impacts	Average rating X/5	Highest rating	Lowest rating	Programme impacts	Average rating X/5	Highest rating	Lowest rating
Communication skills				**Knowledge of host country**			
CWY SA	4.5	5	4	CWY SA	4.2	5	3
CWY MZ	3.75	5	3	CWY MZ	3.75	5	2
CWY TZ	2.9	5	2	CWY TZ	3.7	5	2
CWY KEN	4.7	5	3	CWY KEN	3.75	5	2
SAYXCHANGE SA	3	4	2	SAYXCHANGE SA	3.3	4	3
SAYXCHANGE MZ	4.5	5	3	SAYXCHANGE MZ	4.75	5	4
Technical skills				**Knowledge of development issues in host country**			
CWY SA	3.33	5	2	CWY SA	4	5	3
CWY MZ	3.25	4	1	CWY MZ	3.75	5	3
CWY TZ	3.75	5	2	CWY TZ	3.9	5	2
CWY KEN	3.3	5	1	CWY KEN	3.5	5	0
SAYXCHANGE SA	3	3	0	SAYXCHANGE SA	1.6	3	1
SAYXCHANGE MZ	4.45	5	4	SAYXCHANGE MZ	4	5	3
Organisational Skills				**Attitudes towards host country**			
CWY SA	4.2	5	2	CWY SA	4	5	3

Programme impacts	Average rating X/5	Highest rating	Lowest rating	Programme impacts	Average rating X/5	Highest rating	Lowest rating
CWY MZ	4.25	5	3	CWY MZ	3.5	4	2
CWY TZ	3.9	5	2	CWY TZ	3.5	5	1
CWY KEN	4.5	5	3	CWY KEN	4.08	5	2
SAYXCHANGE SA	1.3	3	0	SAYXCHANGE SA	3.3	5	2
SAYXCHANGE MZ	4.5	5	4	SAYXCHANGE MZ	5	5	5

Programme impacts on host families and communities

Programme impacts on host families and communities were captured utilising the same Helper used by volunteers. The findings indicate that the programme had impacts on host families and communities in both programmes. All study sites reported gains stemming from the interaction with youth participants and influenced by the volunteer values and attitudes, especially towards people from other cultures. As such, host family and community FDG participants felt that the programmes were relevant to their communities, as they shaped relationships between community members as well perceptions about people who are different, and also an appreciation of multiculturalism. Specifically, the programmes have resulted in friendships across borders, changes in attitudes and values, gaining knowledge and learning and even skills. Perhaps even more important is the appreciation that these exchange programmes have had an impact of rejuvenating the volunteering spirit in these communities. The table VI below summarises the results of the key findings.

Table VI: Programme impacts on host families

Helper impact area	Frequency of impact cards by impact area	% of total cards by impact area	Helper impact area	Frequency of impact cards by impact area	% of total cards by impact area
Friendships across borders (emotive)			Skills (cognitive)		
CWY SA	5	50	CWY SA	0	0
CWY MZ	3	37.5	CWY MZ	1	12.5
CWY TZ	2	8.3	CWY TZ	9	37.5
CWY KEN	5	20.8	CWY KEN	7	29.2
SAYXCHANGE SA	0	0	SAYXCHANGE SA	3	50
SAYXCHANGE MZ	2	25	SAYXCHANGE MZ	1	12.5
Attitudes/values (emotive)			Career/Studies (Behavioral)		
CWY SA	2	20	CWY SA	0	0
CWY MZ	1	12.5	CWY MZ	0	0
CWY TZ	1	4.2	CWY TZ	0	0
CWY KEN	5	20.8	CWY KEN	2	8.3
SAYXCHANGE SA	2	33.3	SAYXCHANGE SA	0	0
SAYXCHANGE MZ	1	12.5	SAYXCHANGE MZ	0	0
Knowledge/learning (cognitive)			Local/Regional Action (Behavioural)		
CWY SA	3	30	CWY SA	0	0
CWY MZ	2	25	CWY MZ	1	12.5
CWY TZ	12	50	CWY TZ	0	0
CWY KEN	3	12.5	CWY KEN	2	8.3
SAYXCHANGE SA	0	0	SAYXCHANGE SA	0	0
SAYXCHANGE MZ	4	50	SAYXCHANGE MZ	0	0

On the whole, the findings indicate that host families and communities in both programmes benefit directly through extra income, cross-cultural and language learning. The most common impact mentioned by host families in all the study sites was financial benefit. As a Tanzanian host family

indicated: 'hosting has helped me financially, because the supporting funds I get help all of us in the house and not only volunteers; so by getting that support and adding my own money, we are able to increase our income and afford things better than without that support.'

Programme impacts on friendships across borders on host communities and families: Similar to the volunteers, host families made very good friends across borders both with the volunteers and their parents. Kenyan and Tanzanian host families in the CWY programme were particularly specific on this outcome, stating that this happened because parents would usually follow up on their children's actions and in the process, got to know the host families. Cell phones aided these contacts. A SayXchange programme host family in South Africa mentioned that strong bonds were formed, resulting in the volunteers learning skills that they could use at home on their return. Also mentioned by a SayXchange programme host family in South Africa were the strong bonds formed between the host family and the volunteers hosted as they got along well with kids in the host family. 'They were like siblings.' The impact on friendships across borders was mentioned in all study sites. An added benefit was that these friendships promoted new friendships at local level. As stated by one Kenyan host family respondent:

> Through this programme, we have made new friends even here in our community. For example, host families are brought us together to share experiences. We have therefore become friends through this project … in the community. We have made friends because of common interests'

This points to an evolving shared identity, which could make regional integration possible.

Programme impacts on host communities attitudes and values: Generally, host families and communities learn from the behaviour and actions of volunteers involved in the exchange programmes, which positively impacts on their attitudes and values especially in regard to tolerance and empathy with people who are 'from other cultures, who are different, have different needs and diets and from other cultures. This is specifically so as through hosting volunteers, host families learn of complexity of humanity and how to handle diversity' (Cape Town CWY host family participant). A participant in the Kenyan as well as a CWY host family in South Africa specifically mentioned that the volunteers also taught local communities the value of volunteering. A participant from a Tanzania host family focus group attributed positive impacts in attitudes and values to the fact that most volunteers have well disciplined. This has shown host families that a volunteer is not a burden, but can be a good thing because they are good role models even for host families. A CWY host family focus group respondent in Cape Town, South Africa, similarly stated: 'they [the volunteers] are a help to the community and bring hope to our youth that is disadvantaged because of alcohol, HIV and unemployment.' The programmes have also 'encouraged multiculturalism as the community learnt that it is possible to be in an environment with mixed races and cultures' (Cape Town CWY host families' focus group participant). Indeed, as one SayXchange host families participant indicated, 'hosting brought with it conflicts. But it is the ability to resolve such conflicts that reflected just how much they had been learning from each other.' I argue here that such value intercourse is critical in accepting difference and in turn, accommodation, making integration possible.

Programme impacts on host communities' knowledge and learning: As with the volunteers, there was a lot of cross-cultural learning among the host families, especially around culinary skills and cultural modes or behaviour. A South African CWY host family participant for instance stated: 'thanks to this programme we are able to do many things in the arts and craft. We are able to make earrings, bags and other useful crafts.' Other subtle impacts mentioned included improving the ambience of the house/home: 'when you have a guest, things are different and improve a bit. Hosting volunteers has improved the atmosphere in the house and motivated us to improve' (Kenyan host family). Furthermore, hosting had an empowering impact especially on values and attitudes resulting from new knowledge gained from these experiences. Host families in both the Kenyan and Tanzanian focus groups mentioned being exposed to knowledge on issues about each other's country. A Tanzanian CWY participant indicated hosting brought 'good experiences and it show that, human beings are one family, can all coexist and live harmoniously irrespective of our cultural or family backgrounds.' Similarly, a CWY Cape Town host family participant indicated that the experience of hosting volunteers had taught her that human beings have a responsibility to build relationships with new unknown people and to love each other. These attitudes and behaviour are good ingredients for building confidence in direct people-to-people interactions that can go a long way towards fostering regional integration.

Programme impacts on host communities' skills: As already shown in Table VI, host communities gained skills mainly on new cooking styles as well as how prepare new foods (mentioned in the CWY host families focus groups in Mozambique, Kenya, South Africa, and Tanzania). A Cape Town host family focus group participant for instance indicated that the volunteers from Mozambique brought valuable experiences and skills that they imparted on host communities. In Tanzania, a host family focus group participant indicated the reciprocal nature of acquisition of skills by both volunteers and host communities.

Programme impacts on host families/communities career/studies: Only Kenya and Mozambique CWY host family focus groups registered impacts on careers and studies. However, no specific examples were given. The dearth of impacts on host families in this area is perhaps explained by the socioeconomic demographics of the host families in Kenya: 'most of us here are just simple farmers, we have been farming all our lives and that is why there is nothing much to say of career or studies. Also when you look at us, we are elderly people and past time to get concerned about career or about studying.'

Programme impacts on host families/communities in local action: Like careers and studies, only Kenya registered impacts in this area. The specific reason given, overlapped with reasons advanced for changes in attitudes and values. Specifically, this was due to the demonstrable effect of volunteer actions at keeping the church compound well maintained, there were triggers for local community to be engaged in similar initiatives at the local level.

To conclude, participants in both programmes and in all study sites reported gains stemming from the interaction they had with the participants and the changes they saw happening in the communities' values and attitudes, especially towards people from other cultures or other races. This is key in appreciation of difference and how to accommodate the 'other'.

Programme impacts on host and partner organisations

In order to determine the programmes' impact on the effectiveness of host and partner organisations, representatives from these organisations who participated in the focus groups rated impacts in terms of effectiveness, efficiency, relevance, and financial viability, using a Socratic Wheel with a 5-point scale where 1 represented no impact and 5 the greatest impact level as illustrated in figure III below.

Figure III: Socratic wheel assessing effectiveness, efficiency, relevance and financial viability on host organisations
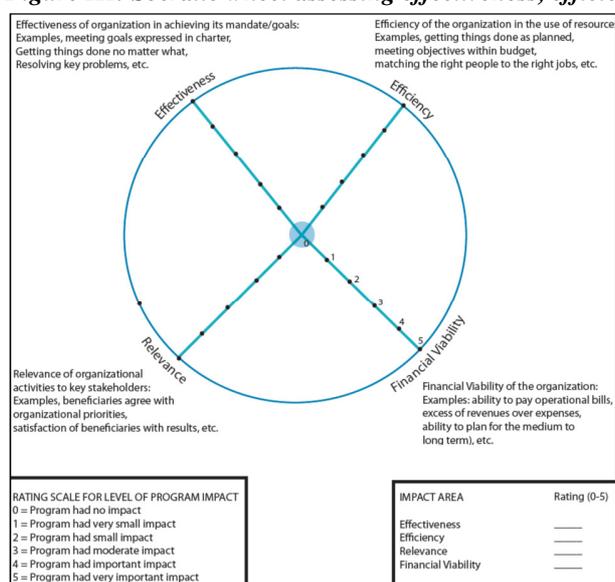

Table VII below summarised the rating by the different organisations that took part in this study. As can be seen below, there are consistently higher ratings in Eastern Africa compared to southern Africa.

Table VII Impacts on host and partner organisations

		Effectiveness Impact rating (X/5)	Efficiency Impact (X/5)	Relevance Impact (X/5)	Financial Viability Impact (X/5)	Average rating for all impact areas (X/5)
CWY KEN	Org 1 (partner)	4	3	4	3	3.5
	Org 2	4	3	3	3	3.25
	Org 3	4	5	5	4	4.5
	Org 4	5	4	4	4	4.25
	Org 5	4	5	5	4	4.5
	Org 6	4	5	5	3	4.25
	Org 7	4	3	3	3	3.25
	Average rating per impact area	4.142857143	4	4.142857143	3.428571429	3.928571429
CWY TZ	Org 1 [9] (partner)	4	4	5	5	4.5

	Average rating per impact area	4	4	5	5	4.5
CWY SA	Org 1	4	4	2	2	3
	Org 2	4	3	4	3	3.5
	Org 3	5	2	5	3	3.75
	Org 4	5	1	5	3	3.5
	Org 5	2	2	2	2	2
	Org 6 (partner)	4	4	4	4	4
	Average rating per impact area	4	2.666666667	3.666666667	2.833333333	3.291666667
CWY MZ	Org 1	4	4	4	1	3.25
	Org 2	4	4	4	4	4
	Org 3	4	4	5	5	4.5
	Org 4	3	4	4	3	3.5
	Org 5	4	5	4	3	4
	Average rating per impact area	3.8	4.2	4.2	3.2	3.85
SayXchange SA	Org 1	4	3	4	4	3.75
	Org 2	1	1	0	0	0.5
	Org 3 (partner)	3	4	5	4	4
	Average rating per impact area	2.666666667	2.666666667	3	2.666666667	2.75
SayXchange MZ	Org 1 (Partner)	4	3	4	3	3.5
	Org 2	4	3	5	3	3.75
	Org 3	4	4	4	4	4
	Org 4	4	4	3	5	4
	Org 5	4	3	3	5	3.75
	Average rating per impact area	4	3.4	3.8	4	3.8

Programme impacts on effectiveness of host and partner organisations: Overall partner organisations registered satisfaction and higher levels of impact than host organisations across board. Nonetheless the variations in the level of impact rating between host and partners organisations across both programmes were not very significant except for SayXchange in South Africa. The lower scores given by host organisations were attributed to the amount of time an organisation had been involved in the programme. Organisations involved for longer periods indicated greater impact. For partner organisations Kenya and Tanzania, the common reason given for high organisational effectiveness impact was a high level alignment between the mission of the organisations and the CWY YLA programme goal. Specifically, partners work on environmental issues, which is one of the key programme areas for CWY. Such alignment is not as significant in Mozambique and South Africa, which registers a variety of issues that volunteers and partner organisations work on. This suggests

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[9] The partner organization in Tanzania uses youth volunteers in their projects and does not place them in other organisations.

that programme area alignment between partners is a key variable in explaining the effectiveness impact of such programmes.

Programme impacts on efficiency of host and partner organisations: Participating organisations rated efficiency based on their ability to achieve objectives utilising volunteers with zero or minimal cost to them. The CWY partner and host organisations organisation in Kenya acknowledged that the volunteers engaged are not experts or professionals, but usually secondary school leavers without professional skills training or experience. As such, they take a long time to complete their activities although they still get the envisaged results. Other reasons given for the ratings in Kenya included volunteers' efficiency in demonstrating good examples to the youth in the community with the spirit of volunteering away from their home country as well as working and associating well with others. In Tanzania, partner organisation argued there was an operational benefit accruing to it from hosting the programme. For instance, 'there are printers, which are meant for the programme, but also benefit the organisations in other activities.

SayXchange programme partner in Mozambique stated that 'although it has contributed to reaching of objectives, the planning and coordination aspects of the programme between AMODEFA and AFS needs improvements in order to ensure volunteer satisfaction'. Nonetheless, the programme has had important efficiency impacts because, as they stated, 'one of the operational areas for AMODEFA is adolescents and youth empowerment. As such, the programme has helped achieve one of the main goals.' In South Africa, SayXchange partner stated that the objectives of the programme have been met within budget. They stated that to some extent, they have managed to match the right people to the right placement. However, due to delays in project implementation, the volunteers feel compromised in regard to their placements. It would appear that they face what has turned out to be a 'take what you get at the moment' type of situation. The participant nonetheless stated: 'there are instances when we as the organisation could have done more. For example, investigating more about the participants during the interviews and resources could have improved the programme.' The sentiments of the partner organisation are also shared by one host, which gave a score of 1, indicating little if any impact of the programme on organisation's efficiency. They stated that the programme has not been very effective because the volunteer who joined them was young and could not easily communicate in English.

Programme relevance to host and partner organisations: CWY registered higher rating. In South Africa the CWY FDG indicated that the programme has been very relevant, but most importantly, has also continued to enhance the relevance of organisation:

> Our service, especially to young people, helps them to gain skills especially because very few of them ever go to the university. But through volunteering these young people are given an opportunity through other means to gain an education and gain skills and can be able to make them more employable. This exchange programme is therefore an opportunity for many of our young people who would otherwise not have set foot outside of their own environment. It is informal learning. Moreover,

it instils discipline as well as exposes them to the world of work. This is empowering (CWY partner organisation in South Africa).

Participants from CWY South African host organisations agreed with the partner organisation on relevance of the programme and the impacts it is having on their own organisation's relevance. This is because there are many things that volunteers do in the community, which gives these organisations some visibility and enhanced status. Moreover, as stated in Mozambique, the CWY YLA programme has efficiently increased knowledge between people of different countries and 'made them aware that differences among peoples of the world are not that big.' This suggests that these programmes aid in understanding and appreciation of difference.

Critical issues of environmental conservation came up in the Kenyan FGD as the partner organisation stated that stakeholders identify with this as a priority concern. The CWY YLA programme has therefore enhanced their relevance because volunteers are sent in host organisations that identify with KENVO's priorities in environmental conservation. As such, volunteers are relevant in implementation and in ensuring that the message and accompanying activities trickle down to the rest of the community. Responses from host organisations corroborate KENVO's views. Similar to Kenya, Tanzanian partner indicated that the programme has been relevant because stakeholders, including:

Youth, who are the first beneficiaries, their parents, the community, and even the government, sees the programme as important and relevant. … This year [2011], this programme was discussed in the parliament of Zanzibar and how useful it is [to] youth and its potential to help more youths.

The partner organisation in Mozambique stated the utility of the programme lay in its practical ways of linking young people in favour of regional unity, taking into account similar histories and customs of the people in both South Africa and Mozambique. In South Africa, AFS reported beneficiaries' satisfaction as a pointer to its relevance as well as its purpose in spreading the message of integration. However, a host organisation said that the programme did not in any way contribute to the relevance of the organisation indicating a need to do more in terms of 'preparing host organisations as well as volunteers on what to expect, volunteer's personal priorities, state where they need growth so that it makes life easier for everyone involved.'

Programme impacts on financial viability of the host and partner organisations: In South Africa, the partner organisation gave a higher rating than host organisations stating that there were financial benefits as the coordinating and volunteer placing organisation. However, host organisations indicated that there had been no financial viability impact for their organisations because volunteers are not engaged in any fundraising or generating income for the organisations. Similar to South Africa, in Mozambique, some CWY host organisations cited lack of internal funds as the primary constraint to making the programme more financially effective. For some, there are even 'some extra costs the organisation incurred because volunteers work in an area that need money for transport.' But others stated that because the 'programme allocated a budget to the volunteers, they were not a burden [on] the host organisation.'

Kenyan FGD cited the cost-saving aspect of the programme that afforded host and partner organisations, albeit at a minimal cost, returns that far outweighed inputs. In Tanzania, the CWY partner organisation stated that there is no aspect of the organisation that has not benefited from the support that the project offers. This includes host families and sector projects of UVIKUITA, which serve as work placement for volunteers. Within UVIKUITA, staff members have benefited from extensive training on preparing programme budgets, reporting systems, record keeping and documentation, all of which add significant value when translated into monetary terms. There are even some staff members who have been employed to work on the programme and on other activities in the organisation with the funds from the programme. On the whole, this has translated into better financial sustainability of the organisation.

The partner organisation for SayXchange in Mozambique noted that 'the money given by Southern Africa Trust goes a long way in supporting management of volunteers and host families, which ensure a sustainable and better conditions for the volunteers and the host families.' This view was supported by host organisations who indicated that 'the programme is on the right path because it facilitates involvement of the community/local resources. Therefore, impacts are spread wide in the communities. Nonetheless, the partner organisation pointed out that there is a financial strain in terms of administrative expenses for the organisation that needs to be addressed. In South Africa, there was no unanimity on the financial viability of the organisations. While partner organisation indicated that the programme meets required expenses, even in cases where non-budgeted expenses emerged, the host organisations indicated there had been no impact on its financial viability.

To conclude, in most cases the length of time an organisation has been involved in the CWY programme determined the scores. In other words, the longer the organisation's involvement in the programme, the greater the likelihood of impact. On this basis, it is likely that lower scores for SayXchange relate to its being a relatively new programme. In South Africa, the CWY partner organisation, noted that the CWY programme has been 'highly appreciated and it addresses a very serious situation (unemployment) that is faced by communities in the townships.' Through this programme, youth have been able to make a productive use of their time and have offered huge support to host organisations work in surrounding communities. In Mozambique, participants pointed to the CWY programme contributing to organisations' visibility at no cost while giving young people an opportunity to learn and contribute to their skills development. In Kenya, CWY programme, it was highlighted has had a demonstrable impact on organisations in all areas. The host organisations pointed to great work being done on environmental protection by volunteers with a lot of 'commitment and passion.' It was observed that there was a possibility that paid labour could not achieve the enthusiasm, commitment and degree of success volunteer work was able to achieve.' Moreover, the experiences shared with institutions are sustainable in that individuals and the institutions continue with similar projects. For SayXchange, concerns were raised regarding communication between host and partner organisations. It was suggested that this should be strengthened by means of coordinating a procedure that would allow for more satisfactory interaction

between volunteers and host organisation. The representative also pointed out the need to put in place structures for evaluating performance and well as the achievement of set goals in order to judge the volunteer's evolution and to provide an appropriate platform to allow them to voice their issues, concerns and intentions, and open dialogue between the volunteers and organisations.

Challenges and opportunities for improvement

Being an evaluation, this study would be incomplete without looking at challenges and areas in need of improvement. The identification of challenges and recommendations for improvement entailed a careful analysis of key programme strengths (framed as factors that drive greater participation of volunteers in the exchange programmes) as well as the countervailing forces against the same. This analysis utilised the Force field analysis tool in figure VIII below.

Figure VIII   Force field analysis tool
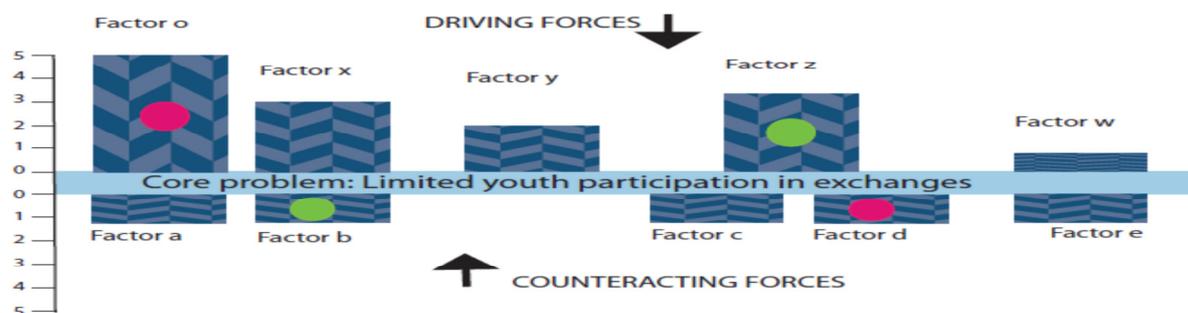
The force field analysis tool was designed to specifically help answer the following questions:

- How could the accessibility of south-to-south exchanges be increased for youth volunteers?
- What are the factors that might reduce people's access to regional youth volunteer exchange programmes and how can these be addressed?
- What are the main challenges faced by youth volunteers, the hosting communities and the partner organisations?
- What programmes or additional elements could be further developed, from an experiential learning perspective, to help volunteers reflect on their experience and articulate the skills and knowledge they have gained?
- Which partnerships should be developed in order to integrate disciplinary skills within south-to-south models?

Participants were asked to list the driving factors that make it difficult for young people to participate in the exchange programmes, and later pile and sort them. Thereafter, participants were asked to list counteracting forces that can enable young people to participate in the youth volunteer exchange programmes and later pile and sort them. The driving forces that make it difficult for youth to participate in the exchange programme as captured below, show congruence of views between the two programmes in the different study sites. Key driving forces were identified as:

1) Information gaps: There is limited awareness among young people of the existence of the programmes in all the study sites. Moreover, sometimes, the youth assume that such a programme only exists for the educated people. Many youth either do not undertake Internet research or cannot afford it, to see what kinds of programmes are available to them (mentioned in South Africa, Tanzania). As such, there is little enthusiasm and motivation to participate in such programmes because a lot of youth have very little understanding about volunteering and its value.' Moreover, according to a Tanzanian CWY host organisation participant, this is compounded by the fact that society, represented by parents and the state, 'does not provide youth-friendly information and activities to motivate youth engagements in these kinds of the programmes.' Limitations also arise owing to parents being over-protective of their children (mentioned in both South Africa and Mozambique in both SayXchange and CWY programmes). Specifically, parents are cautious of sending young people to other African countries due to ignorance and misconceptions that there are civil wars everywhere in Africa. In Kenya, youth were said to 'fear cultural differences and its outcome from such exchanges.' This emerges from the fact that 'most of the youths are spatially localised and thus fear of a foreign place, the environment and culture dissuades them from attempting to apply.

2) Resource constraints: Limited financial abilities to meet costs for travel documents, accessing Internet for applications, and paying the administration fee charged by the organisations to potential participants, though very minimal, cuts out some potential programme participants who cannot afford these.

3) Lack of life skills: Participants argued that in most instances potential participants are too young, some have a low self-esteem, and have no life experiences. As such, it was argued, sending them away at this age might expose them to so many challenges that they are not prepared for. And because they are so young, failure might negatively impact on them. Moreover, some organisations think that because the participants are too young, they cannot be of much use in their placements. In Tanzania (CWY) as well as Mozambique (SayXchange), cultural reservations were given for some families or parents not allowing their daughters to apply/participate in the programme on the guise of protecting them from 'potential risks' of travelling independently to a foreign country or staying with another family while so young and can be easily manipulated. Qualification criteria –a pass at secondary level, and age limits (18-24 for the CWY south-to-south programme and 18-25 for SayXchange), were also cited as constraints. This is precisely because at 18, there are other competing priorities, especially education. In all the countries in the region 18 year olds are matriculating and joining colleges and universities. At 24, they are just completing university and other colleges and by then, they are already 'too old to participate'. The specific criticism here was that these programmes use 'an imported design' when it comes to criteria for participation not suitable for local context.

5) Competing priorities and other structural constraints: There are also competing priorities in that some youth choose to engage in many other things such as work, entertainment, sports, home

chores, and thus do not have time for exchange programmes. Participants indicated that the start up of the exchange programme clashes with educational semesters in South Africa, Kenya and Mozambique. Youth in school who would like to take part are restricted by term dates as they pay fees at the beginning at the year while these exchanges start in the middle of a semester. Youths therefore do not have time to take part as they have started classes at the university or college by the time the exchange programme starts. Moreover, considering that the CWY south-to-south programme tends to attract unemployed youth barely having graduated from school, some youth may not have sufficient time to volunteer unless they take a gap year to enable them participate.

Structural constraints include a declining culture of volunteering among the youth in the region. As such, young people do not actively participate in community activities especially as they have ambitions to get full-time employment so as to face their social and economic realities (CWY Mozambique). In Kenya, a country with a rich volunteering culture (Kanyinga, 2001; Kanyinga, Mitullah and Njagi, 2007), participants argued that volunteering is not a priority for young people. Most youth consider activities to be beneficial only if they have direct and immediate financial gain. As such, they view the exchange programme as a waste of time, energy and opportunity because they are not paid. Moreover, most young Kenyans would rather participate in the north-south exchange than in the programme across the border in Tanzania. But even when there is sufficient interest from the youth to volunteer, the programmes themselves only have a limited number of spaces – a factor also mentioned by SayXchange host and partner organisations focus group participants in Mozambique. A Kenyan participant stated that 'the programme gives a chance to only a few volunteers to participate'. A Tanzanian participant also pointed to the limited number of opportunities in comparison with the large number of potential participants available. Few chances limit the ability of others to participate due to intense competition involved.

In Mozambique, everything is political. This creates structural constraints from political interferences. Participants argued that political interference is deeply embedded in the Mozambican national ethos. The interference emanates from competition between different political parties, as each party wants to know 'which political party is behind each event'. This leads to poor youth participation in public debates because they fear association with one or another political party. Participants in South African and Kenyan CWY host organisations also pointed out to an inherent structural discrimination in the programmes. For instance the South African CWY focus group mentioned limitations on youth with physical disabilities who may be unable to participate because the programme does not take care of such youth who may nevertheless have many other abilities. 'This is discrimination of youth with physical disabilities.' In Kenya, participants stated that there is inherent gender discrimination in these programmes, especially for 'young mothers who are unable [to participate] to due to responsibilities that they need to address as young and single mothers.'

Enabling factors for youth participation in the exchange programmes

The analysis of the data collected from the various study sites for both programmes indicated that the key force fields that make it possible for the youth to participate in the volunteer exchange programmes include:

1) Availability of resources: The specific contributing variable here is political stability and peace, which are critical for the programme to flourish. Moreover, the participation in the programme is made possible if there is evidence of goodwill between host and partner organisations to accommodate and manage the volunteers. Programme pillars were identified as youth volunteer participants, partner organisations, work placements, host families and communities, and the financial donors who finance the operational and logistical aspects of the exchange. In addition, monetary resources for the participants' upkeep and paid personnel such as programme coordinators, programme supervisors and work placement supervisors were said to be key. Government support was also mentioned in both Kenya and Tanzania as key in making it possible to run these exchanges. Youths of both countries therefore participate knowing they are in something legitimate and approved by the respective governments. In Tanzania, South Africa and Mozambique, parental support was mentioned. In Tanzania for instance, a participant indicated: 'most youths especially from poor or dysfunctional families are struggling by themselves, and parents and other family members rarely provide support to enable them move ahead. Without such support they fail to attempt many opportunities including participating in such a programme.' Such support was said to be most likely to manifest in more affluent families and enables the youth to apply and get a passport as well as get financial support from parents. In South Africa, the CWY host and partner organisation focus group revealed that parental influence was key because, in some instances, some 'parents who have had the opportunity to travel and thus know the benefits of exposure, encourage their children to participate. An exposed parent offers greater chances for their kids to explore. Once they are informed, there is a greater chance and eagerness to participate.'

2) Interpretative abilities to see lifetime opportunities in these exchange programmes: Parental exposure was said to enable young people have interpretative abilities of opportunities arising out of such exchange programmes and therefore support their children participate (mentioned by CWY and SayXchange South African and Mozambique). The SayXchange host and partner organisations focus group in Mozambique, noted that these young people develop a lot in the course of these placements in skills like youth and community development, communication. But such opportunities, it was mentioned, are not limited to the skills gained. They are also cultivated from the social networks that emerge. This creates social capital that lasts past the exchange period and can be relied upon for connections to information on job or educational opportunities. As such, these exchange programmes enhance networking. The ability to see such opportunities is therefore a critical factor that could aid youth participation.

Conclusion:
The key findings point to the fact that while all the impact areas were registered in varying degrees of frequency across the various study sites and programmes, friendships across borders registered

greatest impacts for volunteers in both Mozambique and South Africa for both the SayXchange and the CWY programmes while knowledge and learning registered most impact in eastern Africa. For host families and communities impacts include extra income, cross-cultural learning, and language learning across the two programmes. The study also recorded that overall, CWY partner organisations registered satisfaction and higher levels of impact than host organisations across board. Nonetheless the variations were minimal. The lower scores were usually dependent on the duration of time an organisation has been involved in the programme. Organisations that have been partners for longer periods of time have had the project registering greater impact on their operations in the four impact areas that this study sought to assess.

The CWY and SayXchange programme designs present important learning opportunities for youth volunteer exchange experiences. While the former grows out of a north-south exchange model and the latter was designed within the southern African context, the research findings demonstrate that both programmes still need to evolve and find their appropriate form within the southern and east African contexts in which they are operating. Overall, the research results produce new insights in relation to a tension between an old (traditional) order of volunteerism in African communities and the new (modern) emerging forms exemplified by these exchanges. This is specifically due to monetisation or commodification (through stipends) of time. There is definitely an appreciation, even among host families, of new forms of volunteering such as these exchanges, because of reciprocity, mutual benefit, and an appreciation of common humanity.

To conclude, while the political and economic integration project has largely neglected or does not give sufficient emphasis on the potential that social contact can contribute to social capital cultivated through people-to-people interactions has in enhancing the possibilities of success of regional integration project, the current study suggests that regional awareness and the development of a regional identity at grassroots level can be fostered through regional youth exchange programmes that support the development priorities of regional integration initiatives. As such, these new forms should be fully appreciated for their potential to bring communities together in aid of development and regional integration.

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