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COUNTING (on) VOLUNTEERS

The dynamics shaping the Red Cross relationship with its volunteers in the Global South

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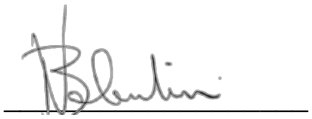
Signature: 

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ABSTRACT

Volunteering is attracting more attention from researchers. Despite growing interest, most academic work is about volunteering in the Global North, with few researchers looking at Global South volunteering. On the other hand, volunteer-involving organizations (e.g. UN, Red Cross) have been increasingly counting on these "local volunteers" to tackle global challenges, such as contributing to the achievement of the "SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals)". As empowering as this speech may seem on the surface, little is known about the effects of organization-volunteer dynamics. In order to explore these bottlenecks, this thesis seeks to decipher dynamics shaping the relationship between the world's largest humanitarian organization, the Red Cross, and its volunteers. Claims are supported by ethnographic field data generated from Danish Red Cross (DRC) in its interactions with Kenya Red Cross (KRCS), across funded-projects in Mombasa and Nairobi.

My findings reveal organizational paradoxes that influence how the organization comprehend, discuss and put volunteering into practice. Furthermore, it displays how these paradoxes are affecting the way volunteering is formed in a Global South set up. Global South volunteering studies ("CBWs -Community-based workers"; "CHWs - Community-health workers", "South-South volunteering") and organization-volunteer dynamics literature ("Org. factors affecting volunteers") were used as analytical lenses. The implications of the thesis concern the need for a new set of organizational practices enabling the Red Cross to develop volunteers as facilitators. I conclude by proposing a new typology of Global South volunteers, based on the insights coming out from the field.

Keywords: volunteering, Global South, organizational studies, humanitarian organisations

ACRONYMS

CBW = Community based worker

CHW = Community health worker

CHV = Community health volunteer

CBDRT = Community based disaster relief team

CBO = Community based organization

DRC = Danish Red Cross

GROV = Global Review on Volunteering (IFRC report)

HQ = headquarter

HNS = Host National Society

ICRC = International committee of Red Cross

IFRC = International federation of Red Cross & Red Crescent

KRCS = Kenya Red Cross Society

PNS = Partner National Society

RC = Red Cross

RCRC = Red Cross Red Crescent

RMNCAH = Reproductive, Maternal, Newborn, Child, Adolescent Health

SDGs = Sustainable Development Goals

UN = United Nations

UNV = United Nations Volunteers

VIO = Volunteering-Involving Organizations

VSO = Volunteering Overseas Organization

VS = Volunteering Study (Danish Red Cross report)

VV = Valuing Volunteering (VSO report)

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1. Introduction

The field of volunteering has been receiving increased attention from academics and practitioners over the last decade. A quick search on Google scholar shows that in 2008, a search for publications containing the word 'volunteering' in the title would result on 13,000 publications, against 23,000 publications in 2017. Despite growing interest, most authors have notoriously been focusing on volunteering taking place in the Global North (North-North), or by Global North individuals who volunteer in the south (North-South). Although the numbers of Global South inhabitants volunteering in their own countries are, by a great deal, bigger, they have been overshadowed by traditional ideas of aid, mainstream conceptions of relief and development, and a sort of direct "rich helping the poor" association (M. B. Smith, 2015).

Within practitioners, South-South volunteering has been put on the spotlight with the launch of UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) when "local volunteerism" was raised as crucial to the successful implementation of the SDGs (United Nations, 2015). The Red Cross Red Crescent (RCRC), the largest humanitarian organization in the world, relies on millions of Global South volunteers. In 2015, the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC) published a Global Review on Volunteering (GROV). This report signaled the need to expand debate and research on the different ways volunteering is evolving, with specific urgency for more in-depth studies and knowledge creation across the Global South (M. B. Smith, Hazeldine, & IFRC, 2015).

The limited "South-South" studies available have been inconclusive with regards of whether or not south volunteers are more cost-effective (Swider, 2002); able to scale service reach and community liability (Boesten, Mdee, & Cleaver, 2011); or increase the pace of change (Lewis, 2015). As much as, at first glance, the rhetoric promoting "South-South volunteering" may give the impression that this approach is more empowering of volunteers, scientific evidence is lacking (Boesten et al., 2011). Additionally, authors have argued that South-South volunteering requires different economic logic; might require a deeper understanding of life journeys; and allow for more flexibility, discontinuity, etc. (Lewis, 2015).

Even though organizations such as the UN and the Red Cross are bringing forward the discussions of volunteering in the Global South, little has been studied by academics or practitioners about the relationship concerning these organizations and the volunteers who provide services through them. Looking at volunteering in general, Studer and Schneiber have explored how organizational factors,

such as HRM (Human Resource Management) practices employed to manage volunteers as if they were regular staff, leads to unnecessary bureaucracy and place constraints on this organization/volunteer relationship (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013). In order to address these voids in academic research, my study aims to provide an overview of the dynamics shaping the relationship between organizations and volunteers in a Global South setup. This overall question is answered by the assessment of pertinent organizational paradoxes and investigation of how these paradoxes influence volunteers on the ground. Such paradoxes shape organizational practices and how volunteering is defined and organized by different stakeholders. This set of perceptions forms the way the organization relates to volunteering in the Global South.

This thesis also proposes a new typology of volunteers in the Global South as a way to create a platform for the organization to think and potentially act upon the theme of volunteering in those environments. Moreover, my study identifies limits to the influence of a Red Cross National Society within the topic of volunteering, shedding light to the importance of further research on enabling ecosystems to tackle some of the systemic issues.

This study's data is generated from fieldwork at Danish Red Cross (DRC) headquarters in Copenhagen, Kenya Red Cross (KRCS) headquarters and branches in Nairobi and Mombasa, as a result of a six months' internship with the Danish Red Cross. The multiple one-to-one interactions during my immersion in the organization, provide support and give a more nuanced understanding of the complex challenges that are presented.

This thesis is structured as follows. In the rest of this *Chapter 1*, I further explain the research aim of this study; *Chapter 2* introduces the theoretical framework, including a contextualization of volunteering, Global South studies on volunteering and organization-volunteer relationship literature. *Chapter 3* brings the methods used in the qualitative research inspired by grounded theory, including the explanation of the setting of my research (Red Cross, Danish Red Cross and the partnership with Kenya Red Cross). The analysis of my empirical material can be found in *Chapter 4*, where the research question is leading the investigation. Finally, I discuss the effects of my outcomes and provide a final synthesis in *Chapter 5*.

1.1.Research aim

Although scholarship on the topic of volunteering is increasing, it is generally embedded in theoretical and empirical preconceived notions coming from a Global North standpoint and practice.

Even when researchers investigate volunteering in the Global South, they usually have an "outsider's" pair of lenses. For instance, reports from UN Volunteers and Volunteer Services Overseas (VSO) in the Global South are mostly on international volunteers (Butcher, 2016). Simply put, studies with Global South "insider" perspectives are less reachable. Thus, the diverse manifestations and understanding of volunteering from the lived reality of Global South constituents are likely to be ignored or understated in the literature. Moreover, most of the existing research looks at this phenomenon in isolation, e.g., looking at the volunteers individually and not for the interaction between them and the organization they volunteer for.

n the basis ofBy the evidence currently available, it is fair to suggest that there is a: 1) lack of research on the relationship between organizations and volunteers and 2) lack of research on Global South volunteering.

On these grounds, the question under research in this study is:

"What are the dynamics shaping the relationship between the Red Cross and its Global South volunteers"?

In my analysis, I first look at how people within the organization understand, discuss and put volunteering into practice. Then, I look at how this process shapes volunteers' relationship with the organization in the field. My analysis finds parallels in theories of organizational factors affecting volunteers (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013) and in studies on volunteering in the Global South (Swider, 2002; Boesten, 2005; Lewis, 2015; Butcher, 2016; M.B. Smith, Laurie, & Griffiths, 2017).

2. Theoretical framework

The present session starts with a literature review around the concept of volunteering as a way to set the ground, displaying the concept' evolution and evidencing the lack of nuanced literature on Global South volunteering and volunteering-organizational dynamics. Sequentially, in order to better understand Global South volunteering, I explore existing academic empirical studies concerning "local volunteers," "community based-workers (CBWs)," and "community health workers (CHWs)" conducted in the Global South. Also, joint studies created by researchers and volunteer-involving organizations, such as the Red Cross and VSO, supplement the set of studies on "South-South volunteering." Finally, I explore the literature on organization-volunteer dynamics in order to map the key concepts and frameworks relevant to the analysis of Red Cross' relationship with its volunteers.

2.1 The concept of volunteering

The very early ideas of volunteering date back to the 18th century deriving from the army connotation of the volunteer as the one who offers himself for military service (Gillette, 1999). During the 19th century, the concept has evolved as volunteering became more organized and defined as "community service." This redefinition is mainly influenced by the work of humanitarians such as Henri Dunant who, in 1859, by delivering aid to the wounded soldiers in trenches, founded the Red Cross (J. F. Hutchinson, 1996).

The 20th century would bring the first manifestations of international relief, as Gillette remarked how in 1920 "a group of Austrian, English, French, German and Swiss volunteers - set to work to rebuild a village near Verdun" in France (p. 1) (Gillette, 1999). This endeavor would inspire the formation of U.S. Peace Corps, the British Volunteer Programme, and further "western to the third world" aid clusters, that as recounted by authors, guided the creation of the UN Volunteers program (Gillette, 1999).

Fast-forwarding a few decades, volunteering has not attracted much academic interest throughout the eighties, with a few notorious publications, such as the work of Karl, and Ellis & Noyes whom noticed that the term volunteer had endured a sequence of alterations, due to the rise of the substitution of volunteers by professionals in the twentieth century. Still, Karl identified that "free will" and "unpaid," the two most essential traits of volunteering, remained its prevailing forms (Karl, 1984).

Ellis and Noyes have opened the debate in the 90's defining volunteering as an act of need recognition with social concern, moving past the individual's necessary duties in life (Ellis & Noyes, 1990). Still in the nineties, Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth studied over two hundred descriptions of volunteering. Their analysis disclosed that all accounts of volunteering discussed the "provision of time", "labor", and "expertise" and were placed on four axes: "(1) free will"; "(2) availability and nature of remuneration"; "(3) the proximity to the beneficiaries"; and "(4) a formal agency" (p. 371) (Cnaan, Handy, & Wadsworth, 1996).

In a breakthrough critique, in 2000, Wilson has highlighted the vast contrast of the activities placed under the umbrella of volunteering. As said by the author, this disparity supported the indiscriminate use of the term. Wilson explained that the field suffered from simplified categorization or as he described "folk" labeling, dividing volunteering activities into naive groups such as "school-related" or "helping the elderly" (Wilson, 2000).

Following the work of Wilson, authors Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, have mapped and identified challenges that were blocking a harmonized theory of volunteering. The imprecision of the term had become more evident as multiple activities, organizations and sectors were engaging with volunteering (Hustinx, Cnaan, & Handy, 2010). Other factors affecting the problem of definition, as highlighted by them, was the lack of proper segmentation of volunteers and the influence of context on how the meaning of volunteering was developed.

The 21st century experienced a boom in volunteering research, influenced by the work of Putnam and Hall who indicated that volunteering was slowly fading in North America (Putnam, 2001 and Hall, 2006; cited by (Musick & Wilson, 2007). It is important to highlight that most of the research of the early 2000's focused excessively on volunteering that took place in the Global North, practically ignoring volunteering in countries of the Global South. One common thread on the subject connecting scholars from that period was that, as pointed out by Wilson, "people with higher social and economic status tended to volunteer more" (Wilson, 2000). This was often referred to in theory as an underlying principle of a "dominant status model" (p. 3) (Selbee, 2001).

These deep-seated molds about the "rich helping the poor" have not been strongly contested by most Global North academics, resulting in few researchers looking at volunteering taking place in the Global South. Even when authors have looked at the social impact of volunteering activity, it was

about Global North volunteers either volunteering at home (Wu, 2011) or going on “volunteering tourism” to the Global South (p. 550) (Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011).

More recently, academics such as Perold, posed criticism over North-South volunteering as the practice profoundly conveyed "colonial legacies" (p. 179) (Perold et al., 2013). North-South volunteer arrangements, for latest researchers, occurred embedded in “unequal power relations” (p. 10) that often infused North-South development partnerships (M. B. Smith et al., 2015). Baillie-Smith argued that such unbalance, therefore, ended up critiquing and benefitting specific kinds of volunteers. Thus, the organizations that enabled their work formed a limited interpretation of "binary" (North-South) interactions of volunteering and development (Laurie & Baillie Smith, 2018).

Consequently, this reductionism, according to the authors, missed out on the significant numbers of Global South volunteers who volunteered in their communities. This academic scholarship disregard towards South-South volunteering, shaped by Global North abstractions, could be seen as an omission, for example in 2012, 81% of UNV volunteers were Global South nationals (United Nations, 2015) (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

Next, I will dive into new bodies of research that challenge the way volunteering is thought out and created, from the perspective of the Global South.

2.2 Studies on Global South volunteering

As briefly discussed in the previous section, the undertaking of volunteering activity by Global South nationals in their own countries have been neglected by academics in general. Despite this gap in research, a rapidly growing literature is bringing new actors and perspectives to the spotlight of volunteering scholarship.

The work of Boesten significantly contributed to the body of research evaluating the whole field of community-based workers (CBWs) (Boesten, 2005), while Swider’s work provides a rich literature review on community-health workers (CHWs) (Swider, 2002). Besides, some authors have been gradually researching volunteering from a "horizontal" perspective from the Global South to the Global South, which they coined as "South-South volunteering." Among the most prominent are, Baillie-Smith and Lewis, co-authoring key studies with the Red Cross and VSO respectively (M. B.

Smith et al., 2015), (Lewis, 2015); and Butcher & Einolf whose research covers the areas of civil society, volunteering and solidarity (Butcher & Einolf, 2016). The following sub-sections will further explore relevant aspects of their works.

2.2.1 Community-based volunteering

As defined by Boesten and Swider, community-based workers are embedded in the community they serve, as they either inhabit it or are part of the target group receiving aid (Boesten, 2005); (Swider, 2002). Both authors state that, in Africa, CBWs or CHWs are usually volunteers, but they could also be seen as “low-paid workers” or "cheap labour," as challenged by Boesten (Boesten et al., 2011). CBWs or CHWs are recruited by the communities, making them accountable to the community right from the start (Boesten, 2005). The significant difference between the two is that CHWs are solely delivering health services. Both profiles frequently have the support from local NGO's as ‘facilitation agents' (p. 31) (Boesten, 2005), but they are not necessarily linked to a formal organization. CBWs and CHWs always obtain brief, objective training and may receive small stipends or travel/food reimbursements (p. 12) (Swider, 2002).

According to Boesten, the use of CBWs have become increasingly attractive for organizations in Africa, such as the WFP (World Food Program), as CBWs are presumed to be more cost-effective, leverage access to services for the most remote areas and enhance community liability (p. 51) (Boesten et al., 2011). Boesten argues that those assumptions are merely speculative, considering that these approaches have not been proven as the field of CBWs is under-theorized (Boesten, 2005). Boesten also examined how CBWs could be used in community-driven development, as described by the World Bank as a way to distribute power and assets to local actors making them more “responsive, equitable, and efficient in serving the needs of the poor” (Mansuri and Rao 2004; Binswanger-Mkhize et al. 2009) cited by (Boesten, 2005) (p. 44). According to the author, there are few or none studies looking at CBWs as agents of change (Boesten, 2005). Researchers Ellis and Freeman, who have conducted fieldwork in four African countries, corroborate that claim and argue that an enabling environment, with CBWs as protagonists, would require a substantial change in public authorities’ behavior and their commitment to more decentralized power structures (F. Ellis & Freeman, 2004).

Beyond her criticism on large institutions, Boesten reinforced the notion that most of the solutions at the local level are only capable of handling small-scale interventions, lacking resources to offer

reliability and scalability (Boesten, 2005). According to Boesten et al., "the ‘bottom-up' cannot fully replace the ‘top-down' approach, because the tension between integration and fragmentation of service delivery and access is always present" (p.55). This full logic shift of service delivery is difficult to manage without the intermediation of a public broker, such as the government (Boesten et al., 2011).

2.2.2 South-South volunteering

Baillie Smith

Baillie-Smith has been leading studies on Global South volunteering, challenging the traditional thinking of the area. According to the author, South-South volunteering defies conventional conceptualizations of development and framings towards “sameness” and “difference” (M. B. Smith, Laurie, & Griffiths, 2017).

Through a collaboration with the Red Cross via the IFRC, Baillie-Smith published the “Global Review on Volunteering (GROV) that has disclosed a “crisis” in volunteering. The publication has found that the numbers of volunteers were diminishing or at least becoming stagnant; protection of volunteers on the ground was being neglected and a disproportionate number of volunteers were uninformed of their duties and rights (M. B. Smith et al., 2015). GROV has also revealed many applications, across several Red Cross national societies, of universal notions of volunteering that could discourage local practices resembling volunteering (M. B. Smith et al., 2015). In the report, Baillie-Smith raised attention to the “vigilant role” (p. 4) that the Red Cross had to play in order to avoid global and standard definitions were eclipsing the more multifaceted and miscellaneous, local and uncommon forms of volunteering (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

On a final note, GROV called up for more research and knowledge production with regards to the dynamics of volunteering and development in the Global South. As stated, research is mostly necessary where notions of volunteering are being “transformed” and “reinvented” out of the relationship between the North and the South (p. 90). Further scholarship in this area may include volunteer remuneration, voices of volunteers and volunteer leaders, and work through collaborations with organizations involving volunteers at local and global scale, academic institutions and broader international players (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

In one of his latest research projects, Baillie-Smith, together with Laurie, showcased how the

continuous privilege of Global North volunteering has kept apart "(…) particular settings and types of volunteering and obscured other, often shared and sometimes co-produced development processes, relationships and spaces" (p. 95) (Laurie & Baillie Smith, 2018). They further presented the notion of a "flattened topography" to try and put volunteers on an equal step while their unique features were preserved (p. 103). Their new framework aimed at making visible new volunteers as well as highlighting "different rhythms" and "routines of volunteering", and diversified "identities", "biographies" and types of "career" and "life-making" associated with volunteering and development (p. 105) (Laurie & Baillie Smith, 2018).

Simon Lewis

Simon Lewis is a VSO international volunteer and the lead researcher for the VSO "Valuing Volunteering" (VV) study in Kenya. (Lewis, 2015) VV is considered a milestone in volunteering and development research. This publication does not solely offer supporting evidence in what ways volunteering is unique in developing the human and social capital for sustainable change, but likewise brings various questions that can be unpacked in future research and practice. What is unique about VSO's study methodology in Kenya was the involvement of local volunteers as lead researchers in the project. By using this approach, community members and beneficiaries were more prone to talk about problems that were not spoken before and to establish more meaningful connections with the researchers (the volunteers). Instead of prioritizing long studies and statistics about the community at the meso-level, VV sheds light onto the importance of a deep-dive into community dynamics, empowering volunteers to hear the voices and walks of life from the individuals inhabiting it, at the micro-level (Lewis, 2015).

Other essential results from VSO's report include how life trajectories or "journeys" shape the way volunteering is carried out in such environments, which for this study was Mombasa, Kenya. The report indicates that volunteers' lives are highly unstable in those settings, influencing to a large degree when and how volunteering activity is undertaken, with foreseeable interruptions (sometimes for years) along the way (p. 30-32). Support from families and friends is also crucial for volunteering activity to happen. In one of its final recommendations, the study questions the over-exacerbated discourse coming from the sector to make volunteers "change agents," showing pieces of evidence that this approach might demotivate volunteers, as change is often slow and small (p. 17-19) (Lewis, 2015).

Butcher and Einolf

Another vital piece of work on Global South volunteering comes from Butcher and Einolf who have written "Perspectives on Volunteering: voices from the south," which is the first book to delve into volunteering activity in the Global South (Butcher & Einolf, 2016). Authors have shown the unusual manifestations of volunteering embedded in people's daily routines from different parts of the world, including case studies from Latin American, Asian and African countries. Beyond showcasing an expanded geographical reach of volunteering, authors offered a new look into informal volunteering built on *"*solidarity" and "collective spirit" (p. 3) (Butcher & Einolf, 2016). According to them, informal volunteering originated from cultural legacies of help and mutual collaboration that are, in different ways, part of all societies. Likewise, isolated acts of a voluntary offering of time and energy to a cause could also be counted as volunteering. Consequently, Butcher and Einolf have argued how volunteering, in such contexts, is hard to measure (p. 15; p 21; p. 29) (Butcher & Einolf, 2016).

The authors also address the higher influence of power dynamics on Global South volunteering. They show how government–NGO relations affect volunteering, as public authorities in many countries organize volunteers to undertake social services but restrict and control volunteer involvement in politics and advocacy. Ultimately, they highlight that Global North notions of volunteering as service delivery matched Global South politicians' inclination for apolitical volunteering (p. 272-274). These interactions may ultimately weaken traditional practices of collective action, take away political activism from volunteering and therefore undermine the empowerment of volunteers in the Global South (Butcher & Einolf, 2016).

In addition to the socio-political context (Global South) in which volunteers are, it is also of fundamental importance to understand how the organizational dynamics shape the way volunteering is enacted since much of regular volunteering activity happens through organizations. These volunteer-organization dynamics will be explored next, with an overview of critical findings into a broader body of literature.

2.3 Volunteer-organization dynamics

Studer and Schnurbein have performed a thorough literature review of institutional dynamics impacting volunteer management in their seminal work, “Organisational factors affecting volunteers” (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013). The authors highlight the fact that most researchers have looked at the “micro-level” analysis of volunteering, often uncovering the motives and characteristics of volunteers, leaving out their interaction with the organizations in which they volunteer. By researching at the meso-level, Studer and Schnurbein shed light onto the "incentives" and "organizational features" influencing volunteers altogether. Studer and Schnurbein looked at how volunteer-involving organizations have been simplistically transferring human resource management (HRM) practices to coordinate volunteers alike to paid staff. According to the authors, HRM approaches have contradicting results, with some authors pointing to the fact that those practices increase retention of volunteers (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013), while others pinpoint to the fact that those practices bring a component of institutionalized work, which creates a fragile link between volunteers and payments.

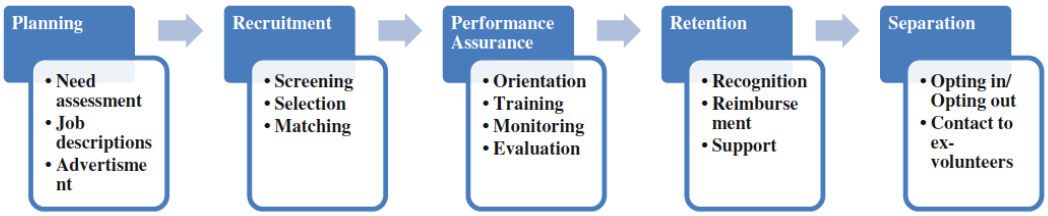

Figure 1 - Volunteer management process i

(Retrieved from (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013) – (p. 409))

A long list of researchers has looked into the adoption of business practices in volunteer management. Hustinx et al., for example, call attention to the need for a unique approach to managing volunteers. As of the non-monetary nature of the activity, volunteers are not driven by wage variations and are not impacted as much by the organizational culture, due to its flexible and reduced schedule (Hustinx et al., 2010). Machin and Paine demonstrated that informal management practices have a better recall among volunteers (Machin & Paine, 2008a). Farmer and Fedor described the symbolic ties that volunteers create with organizations as “psychological contracts” (p. 349). Extending this discussion, the authors examined the immateriality of demands nurtured by volunteers towards organizations. This stream of authors converge ideas that feed into the organizational complexity of seeking to ‘manage volunteers’ as employees (p. 353-354) (Farmer & Fedor, 1999). Volunteers do not possess

the same formalized responsibilities carried out by employees. Also, measuring the quality of work between paid (staff) and unpaid (volunteers) is an organizational ‘pain' that could contribute to the importance of creating parallel structures to organize the ‘work' of volunteers.

> *“(…) Volunteers and paid staff constitute different resources for the organization, and different perceptions exist about the nature of the relationship between them (e.g., concerning work quality standards and the balance of power)".* (p. 354) (Farmer & Fedor, 1999)

Organizations working with volunteers face the quest of finding a definition for volunteer roles that are not too rigid and not too loose (Musick & Wilson, 2007). A starting point, according to Studer and Schnurbein (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013) could be guidelines that allow for expansion or retraction of the role of a volunteer – in line with the levels of contribution that a person can offer to the organization.

Expanding on organizational features that make an impact on volunteers, Studer and Schnurbein have also revealed the paradigm between bureaucracy and flexibility (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013). While some authors argue that a complete lack of bureaucracy leads to alienation (Musick & Wilson, 2007), others claim that a minimum amount of bureaucracy is needed to avoid indifference. The bureaucratic oversight of volunteers has been defined by Milligan and Fyfe as unsettling, claiming that as organizations professionalize and entrench more paperwork, they move from their core responsibilities such as mutual aid, reciprocity, and empowerment to a relationship characterized by more inequality and dependency (C. Milligan & Fyfe, 2005).

As portrayed throughout this chapter, the intersection of organizational volunteering theories with Global South volunteering studies has formed a solid basis to explore the case of the Danish Red Cross. This theoretical framework has allowed for a better comprehension of the dynamics created by the interaction between the organization and the volunteers, in a multifaceted context concerning the Global North (Denmark) and the Global South (Kenya).

In the following section, the methods used in this research are outlined, including the description of the research design and the data generation, in correlation with what has been presented as the theoretical framework.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research paradigm

The research paradigm concerns the researcher's ontology, which is how reality is created, and her/his epistemology, that is how knowledge about this reality can be acquired. According to Monette, Sullivan, and DeJong, there are two key ontological frameworks guiding the research process: positivism and constructionism (Monette, Sullivan, & DeJong, 2013). In the vocabulary of social scientists and philosophers, those categories also routinely appear as empiricism and interpretivism, yet the fundamental assumptions are roughly alike (Thomas, 2006). Positivism's take on reality is that it exists detached from the object of study. Thus, this could imply that the meaning of phenomena is consistent between subjects (Newman & Benz, 1998).

On the contrary, constructionism proposes that the intrinsic meaning of social phenomena is fashioned or co-created by each observer or group (McNamee, 2012). By embracing this viewpoint, one can never suppose that what is observed is understood in the same manner concerning participants and the primary method is to scrutinize variances and distinctions in the respondents' comprehension. Although the different nature of these two undertakings is apparent, this does not mean that researchers will consistently follow one of those and use it for all of his or her research endeavors. Both of these research philosophies are appropriate, and one is not intrinsically superior to the other. Different research questions in specific contexts will tell which of those are more or less suitable to the research design. (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009)

This thesis follows the epistemological method of social constructivism, which by consequence is in line with the viewpoint of the interpretivism framework (Saunders et al., 2009).

Additionally, positivism ties into the perspective that the researcher must focus on facts, while phenomenology concentrates on the meaning and takes into account human interests. A positivist research development would start basing its hypothesis on existing theories. Subsequently, research methods originated from natural science would be utilized; testing those hypotheses in a quest to elucidate social incidences, looking for ways that enable the creation of rules or generalizations. Conversely, social constructivists would claim that reducing social phenomena to a sequence of law-like generalizations points to a significant decrease in the quality of observation, existent within a multifaceted world. As a result, social constructivism is vastly thought to be more applicable for the

exploration of sophisticated organizational phenomena, such as organizational practices as it deals with complex dynamics (Saunders et al., 2009).

With regards to organizational practices, the position of the researcher is to comprehend the subjective reality of the organization, which is represented by people, with very different worldviews. Beyond understanding organizational practices, the term “volunteering” carries multiple ambiguous meanings that are influenced by the same worldviews of the people and the organization being the object of study. The concept of volunteering cannot be captured or fully measured by a unidimensional standard. My understanding of "volunteering," as a researcher, takes shape as an abstract definition heavily influenced by the judgment of the subject at hand.

Due to the mentioned above, an inductive approach seems to carry a better fit as a research method for my study as it pursues to uncover pre-defined concepts and links rooted in a socially constructed world. In contrary to deductive approaches, which work from theory down to elucidate the data, inductive approaches work from the data up to create a theory (Charmaz, 2006). Induction is mostly indicated to support the understanding of core meanings that stand out from the text and are most relevant to the research objectives. Following that, the outcome of the analysis is thematic - identifying the object researched; findings are presented descriptively following those classifications (Thomas, 2006).

As the primary purpose of an inductive approach is to let the study discoveries arise from the recurrent, prevailing, or essential themes rooted in raw data, without the limitations placed by systematized methods this allows for more flexibility when incorporating findings obtained while in the field (Thomas, 2006).

Concurrently as my research has progressed, the framework has come to partially incorporate a deductive approach too. When field observations have clashed with current theories, assumptions have been assessed to confront the dominant hypothesis and generalizations including the legitimacy of the observations. The intrinsic investigative nature of the inductively grounded research was used due to the scarce literature in the field of study (Global South volunteering; organization-volunteer dynamics), and thus it was essential to acquire the empirical understanding and insights. The bounded essence of the deductive logic method was useful when analyzing the findings, the empirical data, and nuancing insightful phenomena on a broader context. As scholars have pointed out, inductive studies will always be somehow impacted by previous studies, as inductive theory building is not

about the negation of knowledge but about not being constrained by it. The inductive study design involves going to the field with an “open-mind still not empty-headed” (Giles, King, & de Lacey, 2013).

I have benefitted from this "elasticity" of inductive research being able to steer the course of the investigation, following firmly what the data was showing me, continually practicing the zoom in and out of the study. This particular approach fits with notions from grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), so for that purpose, I have chosen to work with a grounded theory inspired method, as described in the next section.

3.2.Methodological approach and study design

Having the above as a basis for my examination, I focus on the dynamics that are shaping the relationship between the Red Cross and its volunteers. These dynamics are expressed by the observation of two National Societies of the Red Cross, which are Danish Red Cross (DRC), a partnering national society and Kenya Red Cross (KRCS), a host national society. The understanding of the dynamics between the organization and its volunteers entails the understanding of the dynamics between Danish Red Cross, funder and strategic guidance provider and Kenya Red Cross, implementer. In order to tap into the complexity of this set up to be able to uncover the intricacies of multiple relationships, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork, inspired by Grounded theory.

Grounded theory is a methodology for inductively generating theory, which was established by Barney Glaser, and Anselm Strauss in the 1960s (Evans, 2013). As Van Maanen explained, by developing Grounded Theory, Glaser and Strauss came up with methods that mimicked the natural sciences and offered social scientists the chance to counterattack claims of subjectivity (Charmaz, 2006). Data is the starting point for grounded theorists who make use of systematic, but at the same time, flexible approaches for gathering and analyzing qualitative data (Charmaz, 2006). Grounded theorists do that by examining their initial data and starting to isolate, categorize, and harmonize the data using qualitative coding. Coding is equal to conferring labels to fragments of data that illustrate what each fragment concerntos. Coding refines and sorts data, giving researchers a grip to assess other fragments of data. Given that, grounded theorists accentuate what is going on where and when they code data.

The use of grounded theory is not novel to organizational research and authors have underlined the importance of grounded theory for qualitative studies within organization set-ups:

> *"Measuring in real organizational terms means first of all getting out, into real organizations. Questionnaires often won't do. Nor will laboratory simulations… The qualitative research designs, on the other hand, permit the researcher to get close to the data, to know well all the individuals involved and observe and record what they do and say" (Mintzberg, 1979, p. 586)* (Evans, 2013).

According to authors, such as Locke, the grounded theory should be used in management studies, as it is a comprehensive tool to in capturing complexity helping researchers build a multifaceted interpretation of organizational action in context (Locke, 2003). As grounded theory works closely to actual circumstances, it also becomes useful to bridge theory and practice, making findings more readily understood by organizations and their collaborators. As a consequence, this ends up being a well-rounded method for organizations willing to implement change (Locke, 2003).

Charmaz also discussed the value of grounded theory to break "organizational rhetoric," as discourses and reports, according to her, may camouflage what is being observed in reality. Organizational texts might meet critical organizational commitments, but scholars cannot take those for granted as a perfect representation of organizational practices. Therefore, organizational statements might give useful hints about the organization's 'front stage,' but the researcher will only be able to confront it once grounded theory reveals its 'backstage' (Charmaz, 2006).

As hinted earlier, my thesis does not follow grounded theory in its entirety but uses a grounded theory inspired approach to dive into the complexities of the organization – DRC – being studied. As I have been involved in the organization, previous to the fieldwork, through an internship, I aimed at not allowing myself to be blocked by the institutionalized knowledge created by the organization. The use of grounded theory has allowed me to let the concerns of crucial actors guide the emergence of core issues, lessening the chances of the findings being unrelated or merely insignificant (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

3.3.Data generation

My ethnographic fieldwork took place from December 2017 to March 2018 starting on the first day of my internship with the DRC. Part of the data that this thesis draws upon came out of my internship for the Volunteering Study (VS), a project investigating the protection and wellbeing of volunteers in Africa, commissioned by the DRC. During four months, I frequented DRC headquarters in Copenhagen, between two to three times weekly. On top of that, I also carried out fieldwork with

DRC in Kenya for about two weeks, where I visited DRC office in Nairobi, and Kenya Red Cross office and branches in Nairobi and Mombasa. Although the objectives of this thesis and the VS are not alike, both dealt with capturing, describing and interpreting organizational practices affecting volunteers in the Global South.

For this thesis, ethnography was considered to be the most suitable research methodology. Fieldwork is treated as the “hallmark” of ethnography and the most usual way to capture ethnographic data (Jessor, Colby, & Shweder, 1996). My fieldwork involved a full immersion in the international department of the DRC headquarters in Copenhagen, where I was able to conduct participant observation, semi-structured and unstructured interviews and to talk to DRC staff as a way to assess their unrivaled, “insider” perspectives.

To start with, more than 50 people were interviewed across Denmark and Kenya, combining fieldwork for the *VS* and for my thesis. These included semi-structured or unstructured interviews, focus groups and a couple of staff and volunteers I had to reach via call. Duration of the interviews varied between 45 minutes to 1 hour and a half. The participant observations in Denmark took place mostly when I was involved in meetings, events, and pieces of training, while in Kenya, were upheld in visits to projects involving volunteers. As I was investigating components of the organizational culture, I also observed the work environment in itself. I would be alert for example, for conversations happening when having lunch at the canteen and also how each staff would organize their desk space. Sometimes I had the opportunity to interact socially with the employees I was observing, either at the cafeteria or for happy hours outside the office.

During this experience, I was careful to often take field notes, or "jottings," in a small notebook that I carried with me. Whenever it was not possible to take notes, I would go back to my notebook or my laptop and unpack the conversations as soon as I could. Even though participant observation might be referred to as a ‘bounded' activity, with a clear start and finish, this is not how it often happened in reality (Cassell & Symon, 2004). I was regularly involved in situations that I did not expect to be observing while participating, so I had to improvise and use my memory to return to those unusual situations to get an insight, for example. Although participant observation distinctly portrayed essential parts of the organizational culture, interviewing staff and volunteers either in Denmark or Kenya, was the primary technique to collect data for this thesis.

By being an intern for the VS I had the chance to give input to who should be the informants for the project, but that selection would mostly come from the Project Manager and the External Consultant leading the VS. As I concomitantly would carry out fieldwork for my thesis, DRC has allowed me to use the informants to ask questions that were embedded in the scope of my study. DRC has given me a lot of freedom and autonomy to conduct my research in parallel to the VS. Most of the times, the underlying themes of the VS overlapped with my thematic and when it did not, I was merely given the space to ask "my questions" to the informants who were being interviewed for the VS. In Denmark, I interviewed a wide range of actors working at the International Department, as this is where the VS and my thesis project were located. Interviews included "Desk Officers" (East & West Africa), "Advisors" (protection, health, disaster management, organizational development, partnership) and "Regional Directors" (Asia, Africa, Middle East).

In Kenya, I also interviewed a varied body of players in Nairobi and Mombasa. From DRC I interviewed the "Country Coordinator," and from KRCS we interviewed "Branch Managers," "County Manager," "Volunteer Manager," "Project Managers," "Volunteer Leader" and "Volunteers." On top of that, IFRC had an office in Nairobi, so we also interviewed "Regional Managers" there. Beyond RC staff, in Kenya I also had the opportunity to interview two external organizations working with volunteers, "VSO[1]" and "VIO[2]". Still, in Kenya, the main objective was to investigate how volunteering was taking place within the projects sponsored by the DRC, such as the "Urban Risk Reduction" (URR) in Nairobi and "Reproductive, Maternal, Newborn, Child, Adolescent Health" (RMNCAH) in Mombasa.

It is important to highlight that often I had to interview people due to "organizational politics" so not all of our informants had been working directly with volunteers. The act of involving them has given more nuances to discussions, often elevating it to a more meta-discussion about volunteering culture within the RC.

The interviews usually started with an introduction of the project, if I was interviewing for the *VS*, or an introduction to my master thesis if I was exclusively interviewing for the latter. Interviews were deliberately concise, typically comprising of just five or six macro questions at a time, out of respect

[1] *Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) is the world's leading independent international development organization that offers volunteers the chance to work abroad to fight poverty in developing countries.*

[2] *Volunteer Involving Organizations Network (VIO) is an amalgamation of organizations that work in development through and with volunteers to promote volunteerism as a means to development. It has a National Secretariat based in Nairobi.*

for the informants' time and work. The interviewing module of my data collection developed in phases, and started in a rather structured way, with a preliminary set of questions and inquiries that I aspired to ask the staff. As time progressed and I spoke with different people, unexpected features of the staffs' work, of their enrollment with the country partner, the overarching organizational setup and its internal demands became clearer. So, I adapted questions to consider this new evidence, and interviews turned out to be more focused and less controlled, beginning with a specific topic or question, but would then naturally become a more personal chat. This technique is widely discussed by authors, such as Czarniawska who outlined the importance of interviewers to look for the 'reality behind it' (Czarniawska, 2014). Interviews in Denmark were more straightforward as people were often in between meetings so conversations would not last more than 45 minutes. In Kenya, although people were extremely busy, most interviews were more unstructured, and continued for more extended periods of time, frequently exceeding 1 hour. As I was a foreigner and an outsider, there was an initial icebreaker that had to be made before I would be able to scratch beneath the surface. Then, as soon as people started speaking, their enthusiasm and their interest in the conversations developed.

Although interviews were typically tape-recorded as a way of ensuring the legitimacy of the material, many informants have demonstrated discomfort to be recorded, so I opted in those cases to take notes instantaneously or to do it as soon as the conversation was over. Also, in order to keep their confidentiality and privacy, I decided not to include their names when making use of quotes that came out from the fieldwork. The approach used to reference quotes was then to classify them by "HQ leader" or "HQ staff," when informants were employed by DRC, either based in Copenhagen or other countries and "Field leader" or "Field staff" when informants worked for KRCS. Under the term "leader" were positions that managed others. For the quotes where informants were volunteers, the term "Volunteer" was used.

Table 1 - Codes for interviewees

Code	Institution	Country-based	City-based	Category of informant	Interview date
HQS3	Danish Red Cross	Denmark	Copenhagen	Staff	23.03.18
HQS2	Danish Red Cross	Denmark	Copenhagen	Staff	06.03.18
HQS1	Danish Red Cross	Denmark	Copenhagen	Staff	06.03.18
HQL4	Danish Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Leader	10.05.18
HQL3	Danish Red Cross	Denmark	Copenhagen	Leader	06.03.18
HQL2	Danish Red Cross	Bangladesh	Dhaka	Leader	22.03.18
HQL1	Danish Red Cross	Lebanon	Beirut	Leader	16.03.18
VOL8	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Mombasa	Volunteer	29.01.18
VOL7	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Mombasa	Volunteer	29.01.18
VOL6	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Volunteer	26.01.18
VOL5	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Volunteer	26.01.18
VOL4	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Volunteer	26.01.18
VOL3	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Volunteer	29.01.18
VOL2	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Volunteer	26.01.18
VOL1	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Mombasa	Volunteer	29.01.18
FS6	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Staff	26.01.18
FS5	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Mombasa	Staff	28.01.18
FS4	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Staff	25.01.18
FS3	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Staff	25.01.18
FS2	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Mombasa	Staff	28.01.18
FS1	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Staff	25.01.18
FL3	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Nairobi	Leader	25.01.18
FL2	Kenya Red Cross	Kenya	Mombasa	Leader	28.01.18

On top of interviews, when I was at the HQ in Copenhagen, I was continually carrying out prolonged desk research, just for the *VS* alone I had access to 43 reports, being 38 internal reports from the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement (RCRC), including publications from the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), DRC and other National Societies. Access was abundant, and sometimes that would play out against me, as it was tough to filter content and to synthesize large amounts of information, displayed in 50 pages-long reports.

3.4.Data analysis

Patti Lather named data analysis as “the 'black hole' of qualitative research” (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). Qualitative data analysis follows an iterative process, which involves "noticing things," "collecting things" and "thinking about things." This process is not linear, and each step does not exist in isolation, with one challenging the other concurrently (Seidel, 1998). Since the objective of my

thesis was about the organization-volunteer relationship, evaluating sense-making processes, qualitative methods were considered as the most applicable, coherent with the use of ethnography in general (Cassell & Symon, 2004). Quantitative methods entail numerical data for researchers to use and calculate statistical analyses. As I was uncovering ‘why's and ‘how's of this organization, through its staffs' and volunteers' perspectives, it did not make sense to use quantitative data.

Along the four months of fieldwork, hundreds of hand-written pages and laptop entries were collected. I transcribed all of the 12 interviews that were entirely recorded and digitalized all handwritten pages from my notebook organizing them all into files, separating by field location ‘Denmark,' ‘Kenya' (‘Nairobi'; ‘Mombasa'). Moreover, I created a spreadsheet where I controlled all the interviews, which were conducted, outlining the interviewees' names, contact information, and date of the interview.

The way I set myself to ‘make sense’ of the material I had, was to divide analysis into three phases. The ‘zero stage’ of analysis involved a pre-coding exercise where I used post-its to split key themes based on "line-by-line coding," that according to Charmaz helps researchers to stay close to their data (Charmaz, 2006). The line-by-line coding has given me nuances of what was being said, for example, in this interview, the technique has allowed me to expand on a couple of terms which were not fully articulated by the informant:

> *“(...) they were doing trainings and doing SOP's and guidelines for the NS, on how to include these different elements, and I am sure you already know this kind of Caring For Volunteers framework (...)”*

As this was part of a much longer answer that the respondent was giving me, I must have missed the opportunity to ask for the meaning of the SOP (standard operational procedure). This was only the second time that I had heard about the acronym, but after coding this material, I decided to investigate this further and realized that it was such an essential piece of the puzzle for my research.

Another example, from a different interview, was when I re-encountered this line: “(…) RC is our family outside of our families (…)”. By reassessing this line, I comprehended the meaning behind it, which was uncovering an essential theme of the discussion, the volunteers' relationship with their families. At first, I had understood this quote as volunteers missed their families when providing services for the organization, but in this case, this was reinforcing the lack of support that they received from their families to volunteer for the Red Cross.

As I was re-reading all the interviews and field notes, I made sure to classify and interpret simultaneously as suggested by the authors (Czarniawska, 2014). The use of sticky notes to analyze my empirical material, helped me to take a loose yet in-depth approach to analysis, allowing me to quickly iterate and move ideas around in a way that technology would not help at that point. As I managed to move through the chaotic beginning of data "sense-making" (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014), the first phase of analysis started with NVIVO. The software was used to scrutinize and categorize the interview data and the internal materials collected, such as project reports, or Country strategies. It was a long process to validate, remove, merge or change coded categories. Throughout this process, it should be taken into account that 'organizational practices' revealed 'paradoxes' right from the start and those kept on emerging as the research continued. My notes often had reflections on inconsistencies over term definitions, volunteering practices between the North and the South and the disconnection between strategy and action across the organization. Although several aspects of DRC's organizational culture came out as main categories in this process such as goals and objectives, leadership, management structure, and communication mechanisms, organizational paradoxes seemed to be impacting more my object of study.

Concentrating on this issue, during the second and last phase of analysis, the classified themes were employed to create outlines of "interpretative assumptions" with regards to what organizational paradoxes meant in practical examples of what was being said and done in the field. As I was "coding solo," I also used this phase to discuss my train of thought with other peers, as recommended by authors, this has helped me to clarify my ideas and also get more insights about my data (Saldaña, 2016). In addition to that, during this step, I also revisited the field to conduct a second interview with an informant, or to explore a fresh perspective from someone I had not had the chance to interview earlier. As Charmaz defined "coding as the critical link between data collection and their explanation of meaning" (Charmaz, 2006), this was critical to be able to translate my empirical material into analytical frameworks.

Finally, I refined my coding scheme by reevaluating my assumptions over the coded material looking for "counterexamples" and "confirming examples" in the data, which has allowed me to work deeper into my data forming the basis for my analysis (Charmaz, 2006).

3.5. Critical reflections

In general, research projects face challenges, and there are some issues concerning this thesis that should be taken into account, and those justify to be debated here. The idea of researcher bias frequently emerges inherited in ethnographic studies, and to social sciences studies more widely (Webb, 2006).

Cultural bias was one that I had to deal with from the start. My lack of exposure to the Red Cross culture was a positive fact, allowing me to observe issues with a fresh perspective. Still, it was difficult to get beneath the surface or to "deinstitutionalize" discourses as the organization might display an extremely inward culture. The fact that I am a Brazilian, and fieldwork was in Denmark and Kenya, meant that a lot of cultural differences (organizational and national cultures) were at play during this study. As I was already living in Denmark for more than a year, the cultural shocks were less evident as when in Kenya, for example. All interviews in Denmark or Kenya were in English, and though most informants had high levels of fluency, it is something worth noting, as it was the second language for all informants and myself.

In Kenya, as the fieldwork was shorter, I had to quickly adjust to the cultural subtleties, always respecting and fully accepting the way things were handled, following what the locals were telling us to do. As Brazil is considered a Global South country, this has helped me to create *rapport* with a few Kenyans. In one specific interview, an informant quickly became more prone to share his views as he discovered where I came from. Being a foreigner, in general, has limited my *rapport* with informants, with some volunteers demonstrating certain reluctance to share their views with me, as I was often seen as an “auditor” of the projects, making them feel intimidated to talk openly about issues at first.

Regarding sampling, the DRC's gatekeeper, which in this case was the *VS* Project Manager, shaped the choice of informants, at least in the beginning. Though, I was less interested in reaching a certain number of informants interviewed and was more concerned about generating as broad a range of experiences as possible. While the preliminary list of interviewees, given to me by the gatekeeper, involved mostly ‘technical staff,' that sample did expand as my familiarity with the topic increased. With a better understanding of the organization, I could reach out to other staff performing different types of work as well as holding more extensive job descriptions. Limitations to sampling affected more the fieldwork in Kenya, as I was bounded by time and organizational knowledge to decide

whom to talk to freely. Although inputs were coming from me, selection of informants was mostly decided by DRC and KRCS in Kenya.

Researcher role

As Jordan outlined, the inside ethnographer might develop a particular attachment to the organization he or she is studying, to co-workers within the organization and to a prestige based on the relationships nurtured there (Jordan, 2016). In that sense, my role, as a researcher and a DRC intern combined, offered a double-hatting dilemma. It presented an opportunity to get an insider's standpoint on how organizational practices unfolded on a daily basis, a possibility that would not be likely if I was a complete outsider. Detailed observations that took place at headquarters and field level aided me to unbox the internal organizational 'mechanics' from its unspoken rules to its unofficial debates.

On the other hand, it made me somehow accountable to the organization that I was interning for. As Saldaña points out, what "researchers have to offer in exchange is not their views, but their respectful and interested attention" (Saldaña, 2016). An additional struggle of ethnographic double-hatting is to stay focused while having to continuously shift from different styles of writing, academic and organizational. By far the hardest part of double-hatting was that I often caught myself saying "we" when referring to the Red Cross, reinforcing how hard it was to draw the line between the researcher and the intern.

3.6. Setting

Before I present my analysis of the empirical material, I put forward a description of my case study, which is expressed through the organizational practices employed in projects within the partnership between DRC (DRC) and the Kenya Red Cross (KRCS).

Red Cross & Red Crescent (RCRC)

Volunteering has commenced, for the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, in 1859, enacted by Henry Dunant, the organization's founder, at the famously portrayed battle of Solferino. Dunant

assembled local residents to provide care to the injured men participating in the war, no matter what side they were battling for (J. F. Hutchinson, 1996). Over 150 years have passed, and The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is the world's largest humanitarian organization, and voluntary service is considered its 'backbone.' The Movement is neutral (politically/culturally) and impartial delivering aid to vulnerable people afflicted by disasters and conflicts. It consists of approximately 100 million members, volunteers (est. 17 million) and supporters within 191 National Societies (IFRC, 2018c).

The Movement comprises of a tripod: The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)[3]; The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) [4] and 191 Red Cross and Red Crescent National Societies. Through partnerships, the various members of the Movement assist communities to be more resilient with a range of relief undertakings and development projects. The Red Cross exercise its mandate outside of the government, but works in cooperation with government agencies, together with donors and other humanitarian organizations to support people in need across the globe. The ICRC, the Federation, and the National Societies are self-governing entities, not exerting control above the others (IFRC, 2018b).

Danish Red Cross (DRC)

DRC was founded on 26 April 1876. Throughout its first years, it was known as an "association" training nurses, providing first aid to police officers, forestry workers and others who were exposed to a particularly dangerous job. At present, DRC has 120 local branches across Denmark with over 30,000 volunteers carrying out first aid, social and psychological activities. In addition to that, DRC runs various asylum centers for refugees in Denmark. DRC is driven by its vision of: "through voluntary action, DRC prevents and alleviates human suffering, distress and discrimination" (IFRC, 2018a). Compared to other European countries, DRC has unparalleled capillarity, with their branch

[3] *The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose exclusively humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence and to provide them with assistance* (ICRC, 2014).

[4] *The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) is the world's largest humanitarian network that reaches 150 million people in 190 National Societies through the work of over 17 million volunteers* (IFRC, 2018c)

support being a benchmark across the whole Movement. Every day thousands of volunteers around Denmark play a vital role in shaping and implementing numerous actions in different fields.

Through its international front, DRC assists Red Cross Red Crescent societies in Europe, Asia, Africa and in the Middle East. Its front line of action is on emergency response and development programmes – disaster management, community-based health, psychological support, youth, and humanitarian diplomacy.

Overseas, as a National Society affiliated to IFRC, DRC is steered by IFRC Strategy 2020. DRC is a committed actor in change practices within the Movement. The organization contributes to humanitarian action by working in fragile settings and nations where there is an elevated human vulnerability. Its work gets implemented via partners, which means other National Societies, where DRC is present through regional and country functioning operations. Beyond "bilateral partnerships" with other RCRC National Societies DRC also engages in "multilateral cooperation" through IFRC and ICRC. DRC is involved in short and long-term partnerships, being a temporary emergency or a more persistent state of affairs. The organization has as a partnership principle that every partner[5] is "unique" in a way that it requires adaptability and flexibility to navigate the specificity of the context.

Kenya Red Cross (KRCS)

The Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS) was established on 21 December 1965. KRCS functions through a network of 64 branches and eight regional offices distributed across the country. At the countrywide level, operations are led by a management team that responds to the Secretary-General, who is accountable to the national board. By the county level, KRCS is overseen by a board, and a county branch coordinator manages its operations. Every county branch has numerous staff and volunteers. The KRCS supports and carries out several projects at the same time raising awareness to the Kenyan civil society on existing issues which may distress them. Projects are embedded in thematic areas such as famine, blood donation services, first aid projects, disaster, and emergency services and education services (Kenya Red Cross, 2018).

[5]*Partnership principles: mutual respect; National Society ownership; trust and honest dialogue; and mutual transparency and accountability and integrity (DANISH RED CROSS, 2010)*

The KRCS' organization comprises of headquarter (HQ) and 47 County Red Cross branches and 64 sub-County branches to be found in all administrative Counties of Kenya. KRCS counts with 64,000 members, over 70,000 volunteers and over 608 staff members (150 at HQ and 458 in branches). KRCS has built an almost unwavering reputation in Kenya [6]with a reliable and innovative National Society regarding Red Cross capacity assessment reporting and tools. Despite that, their organizational reports highlight needs "to grow even stronger," particularly in connection with its in-house systems for project management along with developing its volunteer and branch management structures (Kenya Red Cross, 2016); (Kenya Red Cross, 2017).

DRC – KRCS' partnership

DRC has a long partnership with KRCS that has begun in 2002. Underpinning DRC - KRCS country vision there is an ambition to "increase resilience in target communities through effective partnerships" in the period 2015-2020. In their theory of change for the country strategy, one of the goals to make a "strong KRCS" is to have "youth volunteers acting as change agents" (Exhibit I). Two of the critical areas supported under community resilience are Urban Risk Reduction (URR), and Reproductive and Mother and Child Health (RMNACH).

The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), EU (Europe Aid and ECHO) are the principal donors to DRC-KRCS partnership. The Kenya Red Cross in partnership with DRC has been granted a fund from European Union (EU) to execute a Reproductive, Maternal, Neonatal, Child and Adolescents Health (RMNCAH) project throughout a time span of three years. The project is taking place in Mombasa, Kenya, at the Tudor slums, which is one of the largest slums in the city, concentrating 25% of the total population, since February 2015. The main concerning areas of this project are community and primary health care interventions; better-quality access to maternal, newborn and child health (RMNACH) care, nutrition and family planning services accepted in the city of Mombasa. The Tudor slums concentrate almost six thousand beneficiaries, and the project support is delivered by 150 community health volunteers (CHV); 50 peer educators; comprising of 4 community health extension workers (CHEW) and ten healthcare workers (HCW).

[6] *KRCS was awarded the coveted Superbrands, during the Superbrands East Africa 2015/2016 Awards ceremony held in November 2016. KRCS was the second most valued brand in Kenya, behind MPESA, a mobile cash company. The recognition confirmed the KRCS as a trustworthy brand among the top brands in East Africa* (Kenya Red Cross, 2016)

The project is underpinning a community health strategy from the government, at the county level. A critical aspect that volunteers are involved with is to increase the slum's population awareness over primary health care services. By working hand in hand with the Ministry of Health in Kenya, the project aims at encouraging a more substantial behavior change and boost community engagement as to be more self-conscious, particularly when it comes to disease prevention.

I visited this project in January 2018, which was one month before the project ended. I had the chance to spend a few hours with volunteers and Kenya Red Cross staff from the Mombasa branch. This project takes a leading role in this case, as it is through the way DRC and Kenya Red Cross work together on that front that it becomes possible to analyze what are the dynamics shaping the relationship between the Red Cross with its volunteers.

Among all the interviews that I had with volunteers in Kenya, I had the chance to interview volunteers that had been previously involved in the URR project in Nairobi and volunteers who are currently undertaking activities for the RMNACH project in Mombasa.

4. Analysis

My analysis of the ethnographic material revealed that the DRC faces organizational paradoxes when implementing its international strategy of supporting volunteers to become "change agents" in their partnership with Global South National Societies.

By diving into the discourse and practices that are taking place in the DRC headquarters in Copenhagen and in the Kenya Red Cross offices and projects in Nairobi and Mombasa, I uncover paradoxes that shape how these organizations create and sustain relationships with their volunteers. For this thesis, I analyze two themes that have a higher influence on how the organization is seeking to empower its volunteers, those are: organizational paradoxes and volunteering from the Global South.

4.1. Organisational paradoxes

A growing number of authors have explored how organizational paradoxes present many challenges for organizations. Paradoxes, as they describe, are “commonly accepted logical perspectives that appear contradictory” (Bloodgood & Chae, 2010). A few authors have written about how those paradoxes take place in humanitarian organizations. For instance, Terry has stated that paradoxes are "at the heart" of humanitarian action by recalling the puzzling principle of providing relief to a wounded soldier, who could not be stopped from rejoining the war, as rooted in the Foundation of The Red Cross Movement (Terry, 2002). Another author, Roth, has investigated the paradoxes of aid-work from the perspective of professionals working in aid organizations. As she put it: “paradoxically, volunteering has become part of the professionalization processes in ‘aidland,' so those who cannot afford to work without pay […] find it more difficult if not impossible to join ‘aidland’” (Roth, 2015).

Despite an extensive literature on organizational "factors" affecting volunteers, as previously explored in this thesis, more in-depth studies on organizational "paradoxes" impacting volunteering are missing.

This section aims at analyzing how organizational paradoxes can help us better comprehend the multifaceted relationship between the Red Cross and its volunteers. This study discloses three paradoxes that are at the bottom of DRC’s organizational practices affecting volunteers.

The first paradox presented is the heated debate involving volunteer payments in the face of rapidly changing Global South environments. The second paradox is about the inconsistency in how DRC balances the long-term needs communities have with the short-term results donors expect. Finally, the third paradox concerns RC's organizational culture confined in rigid structures while in need of flexibility to attend the demands of volunteers on the ground.

4.1.1. Paid vs. unpaid

The IFRC's Global Volunteering Policy defines volunteering as "an activity that is motivated by the free will of the person volunteering and not by a desire for material or financial gain or by external, social, economic or political pressure" (IFRC, 2011). Under IFRC's rule, even though volunteering is not a paid activity, all volunteers' expenses should be reimbursed. In this case, if individuals are being paid beyond expenses, they are not and cannot be classified as 'volunteers.' There are many inconsistencies in how volunteering payment is named, with a wide range of usages such as "stipends," "reimbursements", "allowances" and "per diems".

The act of paying volunteers has been a matter of increasing concern among researchers, policymakers and volunteer-involving organizations (Sunkutu & Nampanya-Serpell, 2009) (Smith & Hazeldine, 2015). IFRC has been emphasizing the unbalanced monetary dynamics affecting volunteers, especially in the Global South, arguing that, paying volunteers beyond expenses, goes against deeply-rooted notions of voluntarism, making it harder to set apart volunteers from paid staff (IFRC, 2007).

Several RCRC reports progressively displayed volunteer payment as ordinary practice and raised vital objections with regards its liability, legitimacy, and sustainability (IFRC, 2007); (DRC, 2011); (IFRC, 2013); (M. B. Smith et al., 2015). This discussion is even more relevant in Africa, where persistent levels of youth unemployment and the surplus of international organizations showing up to respond to crises, has significantly contributed to the growth of 'payment' for volunteering activities in funded projects (Lewis, 2015).

This sub-section will analyze how this new state of affairs is influencing the DRC and KRCS in their quest to find common ground on the issue of volunteer payments.

Through its 2011-14 international strategy, DRC sought to reinforce partners' volunteer and branch development, contributing to service delivery programmes aiming local volunteers. According to a research carried out by DRC in 2011,"it is crucial for service delivery sustainability that NS can use volunteers from the community to support service delivery and that funds are used more efficiently on strengthening NS capacity to systematically manage these volunteers on a continuing basis than on payment of volunteers for implementing project activities" (p. 5) (DRC, 2011). In order to test the logic of better support versus payments, the report examined the extent to which DRC backed volunteer payments in its bilateral partnerships, and regional audits were conducted aiming at improving DRC's approach towards volunteering sustainability.

In 2018, seven years since this report was published, a lot of the questions seemed to be still hanging in the air. Shedding light on organizational practices with regards to volunteer payments, during talks on the role of Red Cross as a movement, this Field leader with vast experience in project and disaster risk management, said:

> *"We often treat volunteers as cheap labor (…) we are losing the meaning of volunteers giving them incentives; we are calling it everything else but 'salary'... If you take all those incentives, and allowances, meal, transport, whatever you end up calling it amounts to a whole month salary and that means that is very hard for the NS to reintroduce the real value of volunteering… we are messing it up with these obscure incentives…"* (INTERVIEW HQL1, 16.03.2018)

This Field leader's account seems like a harsh criticism when read at first, but many RC NSs somehow endorse his view. This kind of endorsement is found in articles written by experienced RC staff through IFRC platforms, such as the Volunteering Alliance blog (IFRC Volunteering Alliance Blog, 2018), which is open to the public. These critics, who belong to the organization, argue that the act of paying volunteers could be blurring the line between voluntary service and unfair employment. The quote from above brings forward the struggles faced by HNSs to be consistent with its humanitarian principles once payments enter the picture and alter the relationship between the organization and the volunteer. Note in particular the part in which he stated "real value of volunteering." The *real* value of volunteering is often debated across the organization, with diverse views on how this takes shape in reality, which is highly influenced by local contexts.

As a way to protect the value of volunteering, some Field Leaders envision how the organization could adopt new practices. This Field Leader, with a long track record in emergencies across different regions, put forward the following hypothesis:

> *"(…) Let's say in the next sixty days we would have an emergency and we would have allowed volunteers to be paid, but we would hire them for the next sixty days. We would not call them volunteers; we would call them officers… or whatever… this would not contaminate the word 'volunteering.' That is what is missing again and again… for every operation now we get it wrong…"* (INTERVIEW HQL2, 22.03.2018)

Hiring locals to perform specific tasks that are needed during an emergency is one of these ideas that would entail a new denomination for the role of the person involved. An expansion of the earlier testimony can be found in the following Field Leader's opinion. With experience in volunteer mobilization in Africa, she suggested a redefinition of what volunteering meant, detaching it from any work that could be delegated to a local paid staff:

> *"What kind of tasks should be done by volunteers but also by daily labor? For instance, hard physical labor could be offered to volunteers, but we should not call it volunteering and instead distinguish it as a job position. Volunteering is when you are doing PSS (psychosocial support), health work in the communities and we are not paying you (...)".* (INTERVIEW HQS1, 06.03.2018)

As it is often the case, the HQ is usually holding more strategic discussions, where terms, norms, perceptions are created and disseminated across the organization. Statements proffered by HQ leaders or staff, tend to elevate the condition of volunteering, as something "pure" that cannot be "contaminated" by the use of monetary value. In both cases from above, the HQ leaders might have suggested that lines are better drawn to separate volunteer work from paid work.

Consider the following discussion from two Danish staff at HQ:

> *STAFF 1: "(…) ideally a volunteer should not be paid, because they get some personal benefit out of it. They can see they did something good. It is much easier when we do this in Denmark because people have more resources. It is different from other places. It is very context dependent.*
>
> *STAFF 2: "We should also bear in mind that the volunteers in DK are usually +60 years old, the volunteers in other countries, are much younger… it's totally different".* (INTERVIEW HQS2 & 3, 06.03.2018)

On the contrary, Kenyans interviewed for this project, were much less attached to a morally elevated conceptualization of the practice of volunteering. A field leader from Kenya, for example, provides a different view on the "value of volunteering" and the financial constraints related to volunteering:

> *"I see a lot of people giving different names to it, reimbursement for traveling, for this and that… For me, we really have to understand what we mean by volunteerism… Does that mean that I sacrifice my finances to come and volunteer? Or do you want to facilitate my way to the office, my provision of service by providing me transport and lunch? It is about paying or facilitating?"* (INTERVIEW FL1, 10.05.2018)

As she has been working for the Red Cross for more than 15 years, she goes back in time and recalls budgeting volunteer allowances more than ten years ago. She continues in this vein when further reflecting on the topic:

> *"I think volunteerism has to keep evolving… we cannot talk about volunteers as we talked ten or twenty years ago, for instance… A lot of times, we used to say that volunteers are not entitled to gain… But the reality of the matter is that in an economy suffering in Africa, for instance, you cannot expect youth to volunteer five days a week, five hours a day, and then expect that this is only out of good heart and willingness to help the community… yes, there are those aspects but there is also the aspect of survival…"* (INTERVIEW FL1, 10.05.2018)

Her take on volunteering brings forward a more pragmatic outlook of the activity, where payment means access to volunteering, where in a country like Kenya is often constrained by economic conditions. On top of that, her discourse asks for an updated version of the volunteering concept, in which payments are not considered a 'taboo'.

Even though Kenyans were more deliberate about the use of payments for volunteers, the frameworks around this practice remain unclear for individuals who manage those volunteers. For instance, this statement from a KRCS staff, in Nairobi, revealed the discourse towards payments:

> *"We pay 600 Kenyan shillings for a day a volunteer works in a project, daily allowance. If we engage a volunteer to travel to another county, then they will receive a per diem of 3,000 Kenyan shillings* [7] *…"* (INTERVIEW FS1, 25.01. 2018)

When questioned about what was the payment policy for volunteering payments, there was a general hesitance in confirming the lack of clarity on the subject:

> *"We try as much as possible not to make our volunteers lose so much in order to give something back… The transport, this and that, should be reimbursed (...)"* (INTERVIEW FS1, 25.01. 2018)

In addition to that, there is somewhat of a strategy of "don't ask, don't tell" or unspoken rule that new members do not get told about, which is how volunteers are paid.

> *"(…) Most of us have done dissemination before and we know that new volunteers are not even aware of the reimbursements that we make… as people come more often they realize that…"* (INTERVIEW FS1, 25.01. 2018)

This view is not let alone by the practicality and direct link between volunteering and earning a living, but, according to these volunteers from Nairobi, there are efforts to strike a balance and forge a policy that is comprehensive enough so volunteering and earning does not have to be mutually exclusive.

[7] *3,000 Kenyan Shillings = 194 DKK*

> *"There have been discussions to raise the volunteer allowance, for example, our Secretary General categorically stated that within the RC the spirit of volunteerism is so much different than financial… that allowance is to make it easy for you to be able to do the humanitarian work that is involved in volunteering for RC. Getting RC volunteers to understand that is one of the main things we strive for… We're doing this for RC and not because we want the 600 Kenyan shillings* [8] *by the end of the day"…* (INTERVIEW FS1, 25.01. 2018)

This speech sums up the difficult task of RC National Societies to continue engaging volunteers through the organization's purpose, beyond the financial value that this may represent. As Jean Pictet, creator of Red Cross Seven Fundamental Principles, once said: "it is not so important whether or not volunteers are paid but rather that they come to the work voluntarily" (p. 75) (Pictet, 1980).

One's free will is challenged when economically vulnerable people are volunteering. In order to avoid the simplistic dualisms of North (passion to help) vs. South (economic survival) volunteering, Baillie Smith suggested that inserting some financial reward for volunteers, "increases recognition of volunteers' efforts." At the same time, the author says, there is a need to recognize that the increasing burdens to provide payment to volunteers, especially in the Global South, might force the RC to redefine what is meant by and understood as volunteering. On a final note, to fix the underlying need for paid volunteers, the author urges the RC to look "beyond remuneration" by redesigning its policies and programmes to create "employment and livelihood opportunities" (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

The challenges to balance the short-term demands of volunteers, such as paying them, and committing to the long-term needs of the communities RC supports, is the theme of the next sub-section: long-term needs vs. short-term projects.

4.1.2. Long-term needs vs. short-term results

The international aid system has been demanding better accountability and a stronger focus on results over the past two decades (Banks, Hulme, & Edwards, 2015). Organizations delivering aid have gone through increasing public scrutiny and must display the effectiveness of their humanitarian work. As a way to showcase 'value for money' in the face of global economic crises, an increasing number of organizations have implemented frameworks and standard indicators as a way to strengthen donor liaison and public support for development cooperation (Kopinak, 2013). At the same time that this move has amplified organizations' abilities to deliver services, academics and practitioners have

[8] *600 Kenyan Shillings = 39 DKK*

uncovered that this 'results agenda', often get organizations closer to donors and more distant from civil society (Holzapfel, 2016). Researchers looking at the effects of "short-termism" in the Global South have shown that this is even perceived by volunteers and beneficiaries who recognized the obstinate and pretentious drive from some NGO's (Clemens, Radelet, & Bhavnani, 2004); (Lewis, 2015).

Next, we will analyze how organizations such as DRC and KRCS are often trapped between short and long-term visions, struggling to equalize demands from donors and the communities and how this puzzle has an impact on the behavior of involved stakeholders (staff, volunteers, beneficiaries).

Donor management

This inconsistency between short term and long term can be seen in the testimonial from this HQ staff with large experience both in the field in African countries and in DRC HQ. After a few years working on the ground, he is now back at HQ and reflected on the discrepancies involved in the relationship between field and HQ:

> *"The HQ has these very professional, international departments where we often develop programmes (...) We [HQ staff] have to respond to what the donors are calling and the donors are not strong in volunteer management… so when we design and send the applications that is actually to cater to what the donors are requesting… then we have to translate that into, I mean, putting volunteers at the centre of the operation… there is a gap of what to submit to donors and what it looks like on the ground. (...) I think this is where most mismatches come from".* (INTERVIEW HQS2, 06.03.2018)

His speech is anchored in several years of experience working with volunteers in Denmark and in several countries in Africa. Having had the most diverse experiences in the RCRC, from coaching volunteers to designing proposals for donors, he further provided concrete examples of what he meant by "mismatches". For instance, he explained how the guidelines to train volunteers were usually not addressing volunteers' needs, as they were designed in accordance with donor frameworks. Many times, he said, these trainings did not make much sense to the volunteer on the ground (Fieldnotes – DRC staff).

According to the GROV, this 'standardization' in volunteering has been shaped by a requirement, mostly in Global South countries, to deal with great volumes of foreign donor projects. In this way, trainings are approached in a systematized way to, in parts, meet the demands of monitoring and evaluation, as needed by principles of accountability to donors (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

Evidence of this logic was found when interacting with volunteers in Mombasa, where RC training, according to them, "takes too long for volunteers to be up and running". The average time spent training volunteers in the RCRC Movement can take up to a month (American Red Cross, 2014). This other group of volunteers working with school dropouts, in Mombasa, demonstrated some level of demotivation, as they did not feel their training matched the reality they had to face:

> *"We have to deal with some situations that are problematic. These guys [drop out youth] can be aggressive, even physically, to us and we are not prepared at all to deal with that. If there was one thing that RC has to change is to take youth training seriously!"* (VOL1, Mombasa, 29.01.2018)

The outcome of this trend for several NSs has been that it has stipulated bigger investments just to uphold volunteer levels and the training they need to carry out their roles (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

In Nairobi, Kenya, this DRC Field leader spoke about this connection between the funding, the project and the community:

> *"I think it is a challenge for the Red Cross because most of these projects are donor-driven… you see the Mombasa project, for example, it is time-bounded, 3-year program funded, so society knows that in four years the DRC will not have the funds … unless we renew the contract or get other funding sources or change of priorities…"* (INTERVIEW FL1, Skype, 10.05.2018)

Her standpoint comes from ten years of experience in the humanitarian sector, and she particularly worked in long-term aid and development programmes, emergency assistance, and disaster response operations together with relief operations within Africa. She has been increasingly gaining more managerial responsibilities, dealing with multiple and complex contracts and funding agreements and overall programme coordination amongst RC branches. Here she continued her assessment:

> *"(…) When we write these proposals, everything is short-term, you have a deadline, we have to submit this and that to the donor… etc… so there is a lot of rush, and of course not all processes are followed… processes are skipped for the sake of 'meeting the deadline' and that kind of thing…"* (INTERVIEW FL1, Skype, 10.05.2018)

Conventionally, development work is funded in three to five-year cycles, with many people across the RCRC movement arguing that it is too short. In addition, humanitarian aid is often conditioned to 18 months for funds to be spent (Kopinak, 2013). As mentioned above, processes were often omitted due to the pressure to achieve targets and comply with tight schedules. Evidence of this was reported in the RMNACH Project evaluation where community debates ("Tuyazungumze") were completely removed from the project. KRCS tried to make use of substitute approaches to engage the local community (youth and elders) in the project but were incapable to finalize their implementation throughout the project's lifecycle (DRC, 2018a). Tuyazungumze was considered one of the most

important tools to link the Project with the community being served, with this practice often opening up the way for volunteers to act on behalf of the community.

In Mombasa, Kenya, this field staff complained about the difficulties to strike a balance between reporting and managing. When questioned about how this was affecting volunteer management, he stated:

> *"We have a high turnover of volunteers. I think the key reason is life transitions, they find better employment, and we can't hold them. Also, many drop out in the middle of the project".* (INTERVIEW FS2, Mombasa, 28.01.2018)

His impression was confirmed by the RMNACH final project evaluation that warned that the high turnover of volunteers, including the ones involved in the project design, damaged the "institutional memory" of the project and caused discontinuity of relationships at all levels of the project management (DRC, 2018a).

The GROV study also reported that Global South National Societies, subjected to series of foreign funds, often found themselves continuously enrolling volunteers to support specific, predefined projects (whose volunteers might disappear when the project is over), instead of creating long-term collaboration with communities to focus on the challenges placed on them. According to the authors, this, therefore, implies that NSs can experience endless rounds of expansion and contraction developing from one project to the next (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

Income-generating activities

Speaking of the challenges of aligning long-term goals with projects/programmes' financial sustainability, a Mombasa field leader demonstrated their anxiety to be better at income-generating activities.

> *"We want to initiate various income generation projects so that the funds collected from the projects are directed to providing basic and urgent need to the public."* (INTERVIEW FL2, Mombasa, 29.01.2018)

He went on further detailing the physical renovation of the branch, describing their plans to make the branch self-sustainable economically (e.g., renting out spaces for stores and parking lots). During my time in the Mombasa branch, it was evident that income-generating activities was a top priority for leaders and staff. This is a reflex from a trend in the RCRC movement in Africa especially, where

NSs are trying to find alternative sources of income and diminish external donor dependency. Kenya Red Cross is at the forefront in this area, having been able to invest from ambulance services to hotels.

For staff, income-generating activities are seen as the road to sustainability. At the same time, this rationale did not seem to resonate with volunteers. This experienced RMNACH Project volunteer with eight years of services provided for the KRCS articulated her perspective on the challenge at stake:

> *"Their [KRCS branch leaders] priority is to keep on growing as a branch… Maintaining the theatre*[9] *will be hard and I don't think the government will take care. This is complicated because it damages the image of volunteers. The first time you [donor] send the money you need to see the longer term."* (VOL1, Mombasa, 29.01.2018)

The reference to "keep on growing as a branch" was possibly a way that this volunteer found to describe the disregard to the volunteers and the excessive attention dedicated to the branch's physical structures. Her comment on the theatre refers back to the construction of a maternity theatre, which was a flagship of the RMNACH project. As the project cycle is ending and funding from DRC is moving away, as of now, the local government would become responsible for the maternity theatre. Having the government taking charge of this initiative was a tentative to prolong its longevity. However, volunteers demonstrated a lack of institutional trust in the local government and its ability to carry the project as a whole.

Volunteers' concern with the sustainability of the project reflects their ties with the local communities. During the interviews, several volunteers reported feeling ashamed to face the community when projects have phased out. Since these volunteers are often part of the community, they suffer from an "informal accountability" that beneficiaries throw on them. In some cases, these volunteers confessed that beneficiaries confronted or blamed them for the project's termination (FIELDNOTES – MOMBASA, 2018).

Exit strategy

At the organizational level, having an exit strategy would address the challenges associated with terminating a project and ensuring its sustainability in the future. This is optimized when local communities are involved. Exit strategies are ideally conceived from the start, but rarely done so,

9 *"A new modern maternity wing launched at the Tudor Sub-County hospital in Mombasa, implemented by different partners among them the Danish Red Cross, the Kenya Red Cross, the European Union and the Mombasa County government aiming at reducing the mortality rate in Mombasa."*

across development projects in Africa and do not seem to involve local communities in the process. This Field leader analyzing the causes why community involvement is often not continued, voiced out:

> "*A lot of beneficiaries are just happy that the project has come to their community; how it came about it is none of their business, they think… so it is about the empowerment of the community – do they ask those questions? Do they come and say: "how did you guys defined us as a target area"? "Why doing WASH* [10] *and not Livelihoods*[11]*, for instance?" So, how involved the community is another thing in question. Some do not even understand how the projects come into the community."* (INTERVIEW FL1, Skype, 10.05.2018)

This statement is in sync with what has been found by GROV that Global South NSs rarely have a space in their funded projects to allocate resources to foster more sustainable development-based volunteering at the community level. When there is an investment in volunteering development, it is mostly fixated on enhancing volunteers' technical skills to run the project that is being subsidized (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

On the bottlenecks of exit strategies from DRC projects with KRCS, this field leader admitted:

> *"(…) We should involve the communities, the volunteers, [explain] the partnership between DRC and this project for four years… these are the conditions, these are the resources, as it is… a lot of this is not really done, in the level of volunteering and beneficiaries (…)"* (INTERVIEW FL1, Skype, 10.05.2018)

Evidence that corroborates her argument was found through my visit to the RMNACH project where through informal conversations with the project manager's assistant, I noticed that exit strategy meetings only started in the last weeks of the project. The assistant reported that on top of the list of things to be done was an event to showcase the project to partners.

A few months later, when the RMNACH project was completed, DRC leader in Kenya spoke about the outcomes of this project:

> *"In the RMNACH project, for instance, the establishment of the sex workers*[12]*'organization may not be the intended exiting strategy… it may be an unintended result, which is positive… they now formed a group… the*

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[10] *"WASH= Water, Sanitation, Hygiene Promotion"*

[11] "*A livelihood, under IFRC definition, is a means of making a living. It encompasses people's capabilities, assets, income and activities required to secure the necessities of life. A livelihood is sustainable when it enables people to cope with and recover from shocks and stresses (such as natural disasters and economic or social upheavals) and enhance their well being and that of future generations without undermining the natural environment or resource base".*

[12] *The term sex work was conceived in its modern usage by Carol Leigh as a reference to prostitutes and other workers in the sex industry with the political implication of a labor or workers perspective. Although the term was not in common usage before the 80s, in the early 70s "sex work" was used in some academic contexts to refer to the work of sex researchers such as Masters and Johnson.*

> *project was more than the sex workers (…) All these exit strategies should be thought out within the programme, but sometimes they are done, they feel they worked well here, so it's a difficult balance on how to sustain this work after the project has ended which as anything has an end…"* (INTERVIEW HQL3, Nairobi, 25.01.2018)

The sex workers' organization described by her is CHEC, a community-based organization (CBO), which emerged from the RMNACH project. Created by former sex workers who were included in the RMNACH project as volunteers, CHEC embodied the needs of sex workers through advocacy and counseling. With the end of the RMNACH project, KRCS linked up CHEC with the Ministry of Health in Kenya. CHEC leaders were grateful for this but regretted not having more training and guidance as a follow up from the partnership between KRCS and DRC. This disregard shows the difficulty mentioned in the quote above from the NSs to carry on with activities when funds are gone.

The external evaluator who conducted the final evaluation of the RMNACH project also captured this difficulty. Here he left recommendations for future projects discerning about how to work more sustainably in the long term:

> *"Future projects targeting similar contexts should aim to establish a balance between the duration of the project and the number of different aspects that it intends to impact (…)"* (DRC, 2018a)

> *(…) Broader interventions would need more time (and money) to achieve meaningful impact across a range of indicators. In particular, it is well known that behavior change takes time, and this becomes even more pertinent when planning interventions in communities that do not currently have an active Red Cross presence (…)"* (DRC, 2018a)

Several reports from the RCRC point to this challenge of working in partnership with communities rather than just delivering a service to them (IFRC, 2012); (IFRC, 2013); (M. B. Smith et al., 2015). According to GROV, the primary objective should be to create strategies that enable communities to engage in decision-making that impacts them. Volunteer engagement then becomes a consequence of this rationale (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

In the examples provided throughout, it is possible to notice the troublesome task of tying donor interests with National Red Cross Societies while at the same time building strong and lasting ties with volunteers and communities. The empirical material also showed the complexity of prioritization that NSs face while trying to design organizational practices that are grounded in the community level. While there is a will to be less dependent on donors, and offer more development opportunities for youth in their communities, most NSs are still operating in a way that minimally delivers the high demands exerted by their funders. Next, I will analyze approaches that may decrease the negative impact of rigidity and overcome the obstacles inherent to the delivery system.

4.1.3 Rigid vs. flexible

As this thesis has been discussing, volunteerism is changing at a rapid pace. Back in the day, a volunteer would pick an organization such as the Red Cross and would stay in it for many years or even decades (Frehiwot, 2017). Still, in today's Africa, volunteering is mostly informal and done by the youth (Graham, Patel, Ulriksen, Moodley, & Mavungu, 2013). A growing number of them live in urban centers that demand more flexibility to participate in volunteering activities/ organizations. Arriving on the volunteer field, smaller organizations, there are more specialized, such as Team Rubicon, are often better at targeting specific local needs than the Red Cross (Devex, 2018). Traditionally, the Red Cross is considered slow to adapt to changes. Although National Societies have improved their volunteer management systems over the last decade, they have struggled to become more agile and local (Rosser, 2004); (J. Milligan, 2005). Even with their rigid structures, RCRC National Societies are making the necessary changes to survive as the largest volunteer-involving organization in the world.

As the DRC and Kenya Red Cross try to navigate the new landscape of volunteering, they face challenges to overcome inconsistencies between rigid and flexible ways of thinking and to work in respect to its volunteering strategies/practices. This sub-section will analyze how this plays out at the DRC in its interaction with KRCS, with key struggles being: *formal vs. informal*, *control vs. autonomy*.

Formal vs. informal

According to the UN, informal volunteers are those who deliver aid services without legal protection and frequently with very basic training (United Nations, 2016). In addition to that, informal volunteers help out "independently from organizations as an expression of community, cultural participation or social or humanitarian conscience"(p. 22) (M. B. Smith et al., 2015). Pressured to improve its overall effectiveness in delivering aid, the IFRC has recognized in 2007 that "informal and episodic volunteering prevails in many of these [Global South] societies," acknowledging that flexible volunteering alternatives could be more successful and inclusive (p. 11) (IFRC, 2007). A few years later, IFRC has even added the following statement to the NS's duties in its Volunteering Policy:

> "The member National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the International Federation and the Federation secretariat *"are aware and value informal volunteering in communities, outside the formal organization of National Society programmes and activities"* (Volunteering Policy, 4.1.4) (IFRC, 2011)

More recently, one of the few studies on Global South volunteers, concluded that the impacts coming from informal volunteering surpassed those resulting from formal volunteering in Kenya (Lewis, 2015).

The appraisal of informal volunteering can also be seen in the Danish context. A key donor for the DRC, DANIDA[13], has also recognized informal volunteering as a way to empower youth in their Youth Leading the World 2030 report, by committing to:

> *"(…) Support formal and informal youth-led organizations, networks and movements to lead, initiate, design and implement their own initiatives* (p. 15) (DANIDA, 2017)"

This discourse is replicated across the DRC HQ in Copenhagen. This staff with over ten years of experience in the organization, including training facilitation and volunteer mobilization in many countries in Africa, spoke about RC giving more space for volunteering to flourish beyond the walls of the organization:

> *"(...) We have to see volunteers as an asset but not as a Red Cross asset (...) we do not have to be the only ones activating volunteers… the community should also be activating the volunteers…and we have to work for them to do that".* (INTERVIEW HQS2, 06.03.2018)

Her point of view feeds into how the organization has traditionally been rather controlling of its volunteers as a way to protect the Red Cross brand (AUSTRALIAN RED CROSS, 2017). Defying that convention, there is an escalating discourse of empowering individuals and communities to self-organize on behalf of the Red Cross. This way of thinking goes in line with UN's latest report stating, "Volunteers' capacity to self-organize is a protective factor in resilient communities" (p.40-42). According to the report, the capacity of local volunteerism to self-organize and establish relations within communities are its most prized features (United Nations, 2018a).

An example of a new flexible rationale is the claim of a senior HQ leader with over thirty years of field experience with the DRC. With an extensive track record in disaster management and development programmes in numerous countries, such as Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone and Bangladesh, he reflected on the relationship between the organization and its volunteers:

> *"I think when we say that we want to put volunteers at the center of our operations this is a very wrong statement. I think we should put the community at the center of our response and then there will be a lot of volunteering coming out of that. A volunteer does not have to be someone wearing an RC vest… A volunteer could be a*

[13] *DANIDA is the term used for Denmark's development cooperation, which is an area of activity under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark*

> *community volunteer. Not necessarily someone registered, holding an exclusive role in it…"* (INTERVIEW HQL2, 22.03.2018)

By challenging strategies developed by the organization, such as having "volunteers at the center of the operation" he is putting into question why volunteers need to be the focal point, instead of the community. His speech fuels a debate to make the definition of a "volunteer" more fluid, giving more space for people who are not formalized volunteers to take action. When he mentions the "vest," he is referring to how RC volunteers are identified when responding. Beyond wearing a branded vest, to become an RC volunteer, one has to go through a series of institutional formalities, such as insurance, equipment, and training, which includes systems and processes literacy.

The journey volunteers have to go through to be formalized as RC volunteers is still significantly shaped by how programmes are designed. RCRC National Societies have to ensure that volunteers show up and that activities are arranged in line with the log frame. For example, this DRC HQ leader explained:

> *"We do not design our programmes to serve volunteers that have one day, or 2 hours or 3 months, or whatever… this is not how our programs are designed. We are keen on having the same volunteers every day… they know the routines, we know what they are up to…"* (INTERVIEW HQL2, 22.03.2018)

Having volunteers every day that fit the routines of the organization help National Societies to perform its official duties. In addition to that, it makes it easier to comply with ethical responsibilities, derived from humanitarian principles concerning volunteers. Long-term volunteers have already established links with the Red Cross, so they are more reliable and easier to manage. Also, they expose themselves to fewer risks, as in theory, they have gone through more extensive training.

Extensive training is, in fact, a consequence of the formalization of the volunteering practice across the organization. This can be seen in documents and tools that are widely distributed by IFRC with focus on volunteer management. For instance, the Volunteering Programme Design developed by the IFRC aimed at policymakers, project designers and programme managers has 95 pages (IFRC, 2004). Paradoxically, this toolkit was designed to be "as flexible as possible," containing valuable information to facilitate the work to move from strategy to action. As seen below, the Spanish Red Cross developed the Volunteering Plan, which is part of this toolkit, and it is recommended to any National Society in Europe.

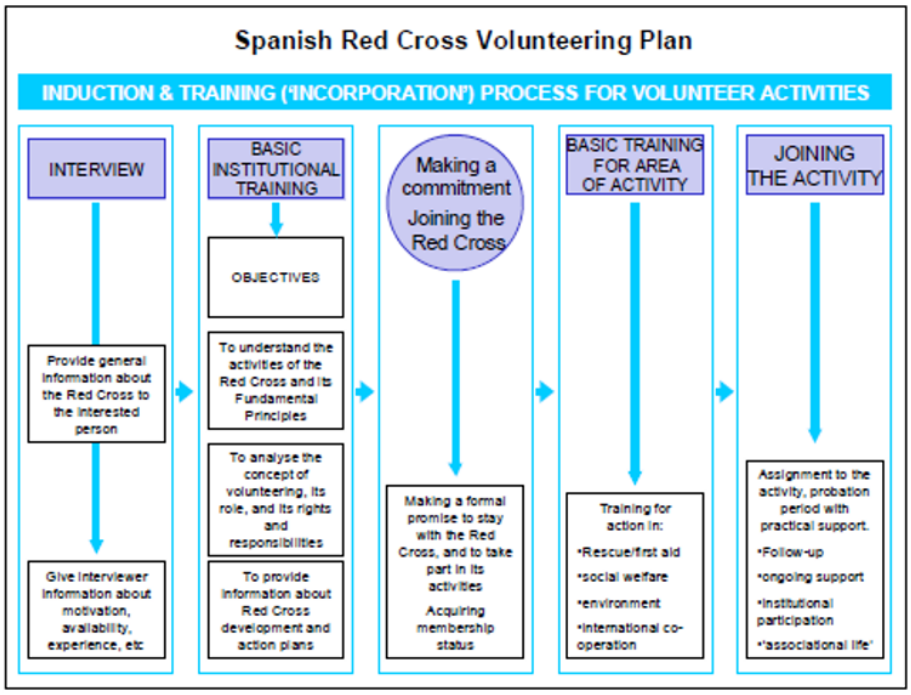

Figure 2 - Volunteer Programme Design

(Extracted from P. 78 – Volunteer Programme Design Tools)

According to the diagram, there are four significant steps before a volunteer is considered ready to join an activity. Started with an interview, had gone through a "basic institutional training," made a "formal promise" to stay with the Red Cross, attained "membership status" and received basic training for the area of activity he/she was assigned to.

Volunteers in the field perceived the rigidity of the volunteering practice when joining the organization. The image below was extracted from a publication designed by RC volunteers from different countries, as part of a Future Newspaper. This empirical object was part of a competition to draft ideas to imagine the future of volunteering in 2030. One of the things volunteers reimagined was the way one would enroll with the Red Cross, from a lengthy and bureaucratic process to a more fluid and seamless experience, with the help of technology (RCRC Volunteers, 2017):

This image (Figure 3) illustrates how volunteering in the Red Cross is often excessively formalized in regards to recruiting, with time-consuming forms to be filled and trainings to be taken before volunteers are matched with activities.

I had the chance to witness traits of informal volunteering taking place more specifically in two contexts, within the DRC funded projects in Kenya. First, as previously discussed, the formation of sex workers' CBO as a follow up from the RMNACH project and second, the distribution of RMNACH information during CHWs' door-to-door visits, as a follow up of the Mombasa project. In both cases, volunteers were not formal RC volunteers and emerged from the communities to support the projects, with stronger possibilities to self-organize with their service provision after the RC project ended (Fieldnotes – Mombasa, 2018).

Figure 3 - RCRC Volunteers Newspaper

According to the DRC's final report, Volunteer Study, there is a broad perception that the dominant logic of DRC-funded projects in Kenya and other countries in Africa is still formalized. The cases of informal volunteering are still peripheral and end up happening in an unplanned and reactive way. Briefly, the organization struggles with designing for informality (DRC, 2018).

On the other hand, one may ask if informal volunteering is the best approach for an organization such as the DRC. As the UN report indicated, "Local volunteerism, particularly when volunteer participation is informal, should not be romanticized" (p. 4). Successful volunteer interventions often entail some assistance from more robust, formalized structures. The absence of structure could exclude minority groups from volunteering when established community power dynamics and politics shape self-organized groups. On the other hand, the report warns that "collaborations must be designed carefully so as not to undermine community capacities. Support from external agencies can weaken local self-organization and ownership if it is too heavy-handed or lasts too long" (p. 14) (United Nations, 2018a).

This experienced HQ leader speaks of how this could look like in reality:

> *"Surely it is a scary thought for NS to let go of their backbone (their volunteers). Do not despair – I am only suggesting we should build stronger and even better skilled RC volunteers, but their finest task should perhaps be to build millions of community volunteers."* (INTERVIEW HQL2, 22.03.2018)

His take reframes the role of volunteers, as they would be responsible for replicating informal volunteering in the communities. His thought-provoking argument feeds into how a Red Cross strategy to scale up informal volunteering and would require the organization to set aside/give up forms of control, shifting its attention to practices that empower communities to be more autonomous. Considering this, the next subsection dives into the difficult paradox of control versus autonomy faced by DRC and KRCS.

Control vs. Autonomy

Since volunteer-involving organizations created the role of volunteer managers in the 1960s in the UK, it has become unanimous that the service provided by volunteers should be "better organized," "supervised" and "supported". Claims have been backed by researchers as studies have shown volunteers' increasing satisfaction as their work was better managed (J. D. Smith, 1998); (Low, Butt, Ellis, & Davis Smith, 2007).

However, over the following decades, as organizations brought informal managerial practices, bureaucracy overruled volunteering. Studies confirmed that volunteers perceived the excessive bureaucracy linked to their functions, making it look a lot like paid work (Low et al., 2007); (Rochester, Paine, Howlett, & Zimmeck, 2010). As the authors described, volunteering became excessively "controlling" of the volunteer experience removing engagement channels and prospects for volunteers to thrive in their work (Barnes & Sharpe, 2009). Control was exerted by assigning roles, formalizing processes and practices which often inhibited freedom, flexibility, informality, creativity, autonomy, and socialization among volunteers (R. Hutchinson & Ockenden, 2008); (Guirguis-Younger, Kelley, & Mckee, 2005).

Afraid to repel volunteers, volunteer-involving organizations have shifted their attention to ***how*** volunteers should be managed in "the 21st century" (Rochester et al., 2010). With organizational psychology and other areas of studies entering the picture, volunteers' autonomy was scientifically linked to better performance and engagement (Vareilles et al., 2015).

Evidence that shows the intensified narrative concerning autonomy can be seen in how the word "autonomy" was not mentioned in UN volunteering reports prior to 2011. In a UN report from 2002, the several mentions of 'volunteer management' highlighted its importance and the way forward to strengthen ecosystems of volunteers. The State of the World's Volunteerism Report marked a change in the discourse around volunteering management. In its first edition in 2011, the word "autonomy" linked with volunteers appeared once, against five times in 2015 and thirteen times in 2018. In the 2018 report, a framework based on norms and behaviors to achieve community resilience was presented (United Nations, 2018a):

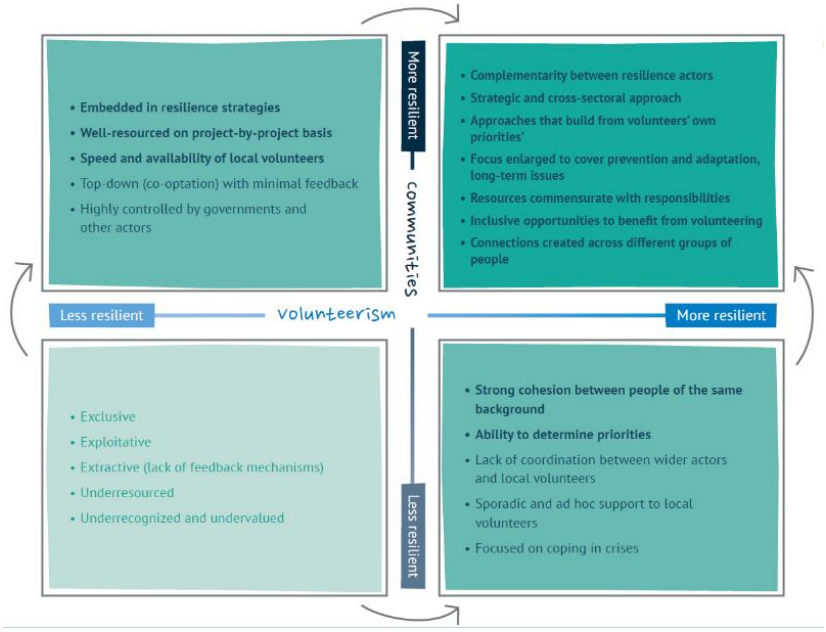

Figure 4 - UN SWVR Report 2018 framework i

(Extracted from p. 26 (United Nations, 2018a))

This framework shows how control and autonomy impact communities and voluntarism' resilience. For instance, in the upper quadrant, the following feature "approaches build from volunteers' own priorities" is placed as a factor to increase communities' resilience. The second, "highly controlled by the government and other actors" was underlined as a factor that weakens the resilience of voluntarism. The caveat is that outside support for the local volunteer if done correctly can result in successful collaborations. If done poorly, with excessive control or competition can weaken the positive outcomes of volunteerism's unique features. Too much regulation can also restrict diversity and access to volunteering, and consequently damage the civic space. Volunteers need space to act and respond to changing environments.

Within DRC structures, this DRC HQ leader summarized how the whole discourse towards community resilience should be addressed by the organization:

> *"I think the key is in the NS near-global subscription to the "(not so) new black" building community resilience. If serious about this intention, we also have to move out of our comfort zone and kick the bucket a bit.* (INTERVIEW HQL2, 22.03.2018)

> *Indeed revisiting the role of volunteers to be catalysts rather than hands-on "doers" will require some repositioning of protective mindsets. However, if handled wisely it can be seen as elevating the current volunteers to be more of an educator of community people.* (INTERVIEW HQL2, 22.03.2018)

In his speech, he brings to light the fact that community resilience is a raging discussion that if the DRC wants to reach that agenda, it needs to take some risks and change the "protective mindsets." This protective mindset is linked to the legacy that the Red Cross as a whole carries, by its size, reach and importance, by the type of activity that its volunteers perform and by being in situations of extreme vulnerability. In his argument, the organization would need to relax some forms of control so volunteers can take a more prominent role.

Although the KRCS is a recognized partner for working innovatively on several fronts such as volunteering, the notion of control still prevails in many of the interviewed cases. Note, for example, how this seasoned leader who oversees many branches in Kenya talks about challenges involving volunteers in Nairobi and at the national level:

> *"The biggest problem is how to retain them (volunteers). There are so many of them who come to join us but there also so many of them who end up looking for other things to do. We encourage them to become members and volunteers. So, once you encourage them to be members and volunteers, some of them will not engage fully. The population of Nairobi is 4MM inhabitants, and our target is to have 3% of the population to be members of KRCS. To retain such a number…"* (INTERVIEW FL3, Nairobi, 25.01.2018)

His vision/ambition of reaching an aggressive and, for many, unrealistic goal of volunteers in the city still carries control notions as essential to the success of volunteer activities. One of the issues that he deals with is that of formalizing volunteers as members, who, for a fee, would be entitled to take action on local boards and vote for the different committees. This often ends up turning away volunteers, since it conditions participation or extends involvement with the organization.

His speech also carries a significant focus on retention, which presents the traditional vision of how volunteers should be managed and kept in the organization. This goes in the opposite direction of what has been discussed previously, about giving more flexibility and autonomy for volunteers to come and go, participate for short moments and have more freedom of choice.

Another feature that displays the controlling mindset towards volunteering is the constant use of policies, tools, and systems to improve volunteer management. The DRC Country Strategy for Kenya, for instance, prioritizes having a "strong Kenya Red Cross" as a strategy for achieving an active and capable volunteer base. To achieve that, DRC and KRCS have come up with the following indicator: "Strong volunteer management system in place" (DRC & Kenya Red Cross, 2015). In addition to that, in its International Strategy for 2015-2020, DRC has committed to the following, within its goal of having volunteers and youth as change agents:

> *"(…) support our partners to develop, refine and adjust volunteer management tools, approaches, and systems to ensure that the RCRC Movement remains relevant".* (DRC, 2015b)

Among staff working at HQ, this controlling mindset towards hard practices became evident during my numerous conversations with leaders working in areas such as protection, organizational development, and health. Many of them give strategic guidance and auxiliary support in their work through programmes with partners in Africa, such as KRCS. Volunteering did not seem to be something that was part of the universe of their areas, as if the volunteer was never considered at the time a program was being designed. This is partly explained by the partnership principle, as DRC as a PNS, does not hold an implementation role. In this case, DRC's approach is that "capacity development cannot be 'done' for others but only by the others themselves. This implies that the concept of National Society ownership must be at the center of DRC's support (DRC, 2010).

On the volunteering matter, the fact that DRC HQ leaders are not implementers themselves might have a slight influence on how they assess DRC's international role on the topic of volunteering. The empirical material shows their inclination to recommend more tools and policies when challenged to think of solutions for volunteering within DRC partners, such as KRCS. For example, in a meeting where DRC HQ leaders were tasked to reflect on the effectiveness of DRC support to NSs on volunteering, participants have given the following diagnosis:

> *"There is a clear **lack of tools** to capture the NS's reality on the ground. I don't think we understand it enough…"*
>
> *"We could benefit a lot from more comprehensive **volunteer management systems**."*
>
> *"I am not sure we are being **systematic** enough, and that is also because of the way things unfold in the field… **collecting data** on this topic is always complicated".*
>
> *"What is missing is a kind of a map of **guidelines and tools** at NS level. We need more cooperation with them… like the new dynamics of volunteering, urban environments particularly, we definitely lack knowledge".* (Fieldnotes, DRC HQ, Copenhagen, 09.01.2018)

Surprisingly, this automatic reaction to systematization is frequently transferred to the field. As we can see below, these young staff leading the youth volunteering initiatives in Kenya speaking about their top priorities to improve volunteering dynamics:

> *"We need to implement the database (...) sometimes you find yourself in a situation that you know that you have this number of volunteers in that county… in any particular moment, if you need that kind of volunteer in that kind of place… the profiling of these volunteers is something to work at…"* (INTERVIEW, FS3, Nairobi, 25.01 2018)

This mindset, however, is not unanimous across the organization. The following quote comes from a staff who has returned to the HQ this year, after four years working in the field, in countries such as Jordan, Tunisia, and Sudan. Based on her experience with Regional Youth & Volunteering Programmes, she questioned that mindset:

> *"(...) We are too often saying "we should have a database, a policy" and in my view, maybe in the long run this is important, but in the day-to-day, this just ends up never being applied. So I think what really works well is to try to focus more on "blurry," or "fluffy" or "soft" practices, whatever you say."* (INTERVIEW HQS3, 23.03.2018)

Her perspective belongs to the group of people who challenged the status quo of the volunteering practices across the organization, as exposed in the previous sections of this thesis. Her speech brings to the front the struggle PNSs have to cater to the needs of the HNSs, which are constantly dealing with the fluidity of life in Global South environments. The "soft practices" as she defined are related to relational, interactive, real-life scenarios, for example, going to the branch and talking to the volunteers, designing for interaction and fluidity, instead of distance and solidity.

Similarly to that, different initiatives indicate the future of how tools can be used to increase volunteers' autonomy. An example of this is the i-Volunteer programme in Kenya. In 2012, Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS) launched i-Volunteer, a "new tool to engage digital volunteers on social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn and Bloggers to help with rescue and recovery efforts in an emergency situation digitally" (p. 1) (Kenya Red Cross, 2015). Initiated by Kenyan volunteers, i-Volunteer called attention to KRCS' activities and has enabled more engagement with their online communities. iVolunteer received 200,000 registrations within two months of its launch. While social media expanded public access to information on disasters, response and recovery, it also

increased the user platform of i-Volunteer. For instance, as of the West Gate terrorist attack[14], KRCS notified the public through social media to boost the public to contribute with money or blood donations. Kenyans become iVolunteers by liking the Facebook page and by following KRCS page on Twitter. By engaging in social media, i-Volunteers help to circulate critical messages to acquaintances, which consecutively stimulates them to become an i-Volunteer. One of the interviewees in Nairobi spoke about this initiative:

> *"I have seen a lot of people volunteering, but might not be physically. Here we call them the iVolunteers, people who are willing to help out, in terms of information, resources or sharing something that needs to go out, or just helping in a particular activity, like Kenyans for Kenya*[15]*, for example."* (INTERVIEW FS1, Nairobi, 25.01.2018)

According to him, the concept of i-Volunteering is diminished by PNSs, which do not see the practice as the same as volunteering:

> *"For us, we see this as volunteering… you are going out of your way to use your resources to help. It is the same as you go to a branch and you offer your knowledge, and you are offering what you have. We see this as mobilization of a community".* (INTERVIEW FS4, Nairobi, 25.01.2018)

In Kenya, where the Red Cross struggles with many more applications for volunteering than it can possibly accommodate, this initiative shows that tools are not always a way of exercising control. In some cases, when well implemented, it gives more autonomy to volunteers, fosters new ways of mobilization and contributes to the overall work carried out by the KRCS (M. B. Smith et al., 2015). As discussed in the GROV report, when National Societies from the Global North fail to acknowledge this kind "particular cultures of volunteering," they could be weakening local action and replicating traditional aid and development strategies.

This chapter attempted to analyze how organizational paradoxes affect the way organizations like the DRC, and KRCS understand, discuss, define and put volunteering into practice. “Paid or unpaid”,

[14] *On 21 September 2013, masked shooters attacked the Westgate shopping mall, an upscale mall in Nairobi, Kenya. The attack resulted in 71 total deaths, including 62 civilians, 5 Kenyan soldiers, and four attackers. Approximately 200 people, including at least five United States citizens, were wounded in the mass shooting.*

[15] *The Kenyans for Kenya initiative was launched on Wednesday 27th July 2011. This was an initiative spearheaded by Safaricom Foundation, Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB), Media Owners Association (MOA) and Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS). The group mobilized corporates and members of the public to raise Ksh500million in 4 weeks towards relief for 3 million Kenyans faced by starvation in the Northern part of Kenya* (Reliefweb, 2011).

“short term or long term”, “rigid or flexible” – these are not merely dull debates concerning terminology or jargon; they influence how DRC and KRCS define and relate to volunteers.

First, we saw that volunteer payments fall into various categories and the practice is verbally condemned but practiced by the DRC through its partners, such as KRCS. The lack of standard procedure for the practice might be negatively redefining the relationship between volunteers and the organization.

Second, the sustainability of RC programmes was scrutinized. We looked into how the short funding cycle of DRC-funded projects in Kenya have an impact in the way local branches are run (activities and priorities) and in the engagement of volunteers, as they might get deprioritized when funding is over.

Finally, I looked at how some elements of organizational culture (processes, support mechanisms) might be imposing challenges for DRC and KRCS to align discourse and practice with regards to more flexibility across its organizational practices on volunteering.

Despite the all-encompassing knowledge acquired by its almost bicentenary work, the Red Cross, among them the DRC and KRCS National Societies, experience at some level the paradoxes that were presented in this section. The next section provides an exercise that aids our understanding of the impact of these paradoxes on the lives of volunteers in the Global South, Kenya in this case. The subsequent micro-level analysis discloses a possibility to think the profiles of volunteers in a Global South environment, by identifying their different walks of life and by unravelling the unique relationships that are created with the Red Cross as an organization.

4.2. Volunteering from a Global South perspective

4.2.1 Typology of volunteers

Having nuanced the organizational paradoxes that are shaping how DRC and KRCS define and work with volunteering, I now explore the dynamics of volunteering in Kenya and how they are a consequence of the organizational paradoxes. As Baillie-Smith has written, Global North imaginaries of what volunteering looks like frequently blind the comprehension of who are those South volunteers. As the author suggests, the Global North vision tends to overlook the heterogeneity of the Global South volunteers (M. B. Smith et al., 2017). This generalization of the profiles of Kenyan volunteers by DRC and KRCS was observed during my fieldwork in Kenya.

During my visit to one of the projects supported by DRC, the RMNACH Project in Mombasa, Kenya, I had the opportunity to interact with over 30 volunteers. It was striking to me that those groups of volunteers had very different profiles but would fall into the most prevalent and straightforward labeling practice across the DRC, which was to call all of them as "the volunteers." Every time the RMNACH Project Manager would come in with a different group of volunteers, I would promptly try to identify those differences, regarding age, behavior, amount of dedication and motivation. Volunteer segmentation has very few literature by academics and practitioners (Hustinx, Cnaan, & Handy, 2010), especially if expanded to Global South volunteers (M. B. Smith et al., 2017), more specifically African volunteers.

In that sense, the following typology of volunteers is a contribution to not only RC volunteering segments but to all volunteer-involving organizations in projects across the Global South. This framework was designed drawing inspiration from the work carried out during the Volunteering Study with DRC and consultant Ian Steed. I use the Typology of Volunteers from that study as a frame of reference to further explore the profiles of the Kenyan volunteers and the contextual conditions that are influencing their lives and their volunteering undertaking. Global South volunteers based on this classification can be broadly seen as “branch volunteers” – AMBASSADORS; “project volunteers” – HUSTLERS; “community volunteers” – BAREFOOT DOCTORS and SELF-LED volunteers.

‘AMBASSADORS’

“Helping people is my passion. I love this since I was a child. (…) I joined RC when I was in school. I remember that I watched a program on TV about the work done by RC and when I came here to do a course I felt like this was the right thing to do. Of course, also for my career…”

Table 2 - Ambassadors

Typology	Profile	Relationship with RC	Level of empowerment
“Ambassadors”	Young volunteers (18 – 27 y.o) Mostly educated (University or technical schools) Mostly financed by family Technical expertise Not from the target group	Long-term (5 – 8 years) Go to the branch frequently Work 2-3 hours/week Highly trained (E.g. psychosocial support) Want to build a career in the humanitarian sector RC as a second family	See the gains of volunteering, personally and professionally Able to reflect and criticize volunteering management

Ambassadors are young branch volunteers who have initiated their involvement with the KRCS during their education through youth clubs. Once they reach secondary school, they are encouraged to become registered members in one of KRCS’ branches. These volunteers offer fewer hours to the branch/projects (2-3 hours/week) but are the ones with the longest history with the branch (5-8 years). They often carry out ‘soft tasks,' such as community clean-ups or health dissemination but they are usually the first ones to be called upon when funded projects arrive. Also, due to their close-knit connection with the branches, “ambassadors” receive a lot of capacity building, so they have plenty of organizational knowledge, often referring to the Movement and the humanitarian values.

From the interviews conducted with ambassadors, it is possible to track down their "volunteering journey" with the KRCS. In the beginning, camaraderie was highlighted as an important factor in forming the link with the organization:

> *"Red Cross is a family away from family. If you feel stressed, you will always find someone here who will help you. There is no judgment… Ideally, this is how society should be at large…"* (INTERVIEW, VOL2, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

The conviviality found in the Red Cross was an important first step in their journey with the organization. As they kept coming back to volunteer, other factors have had a higher influence on "ambassadors" to stay volunteering for the organization:

> *"In the beginning, I was happy to come and meet people, but, after a while, I figured out that here helping others was a genuine thing. We did not expect anything in return. Not more than someone could offer. That made me stay. In RC is just open, you have the freedom to choose the level of involvement you want to have".* (INTERVIEW, VOL3, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

The next step after creating a social circle within the organization was to discover the real meaning behind the work they performed. As soon as they discovered the value in their actions, they began nurturing a certain passion for the work accomplished, as well described by this ambassador while reflecting on his journey as a volunteer:

> *"My [journey] I will define in one word: self-satisfaction. It is always self-satisfactory for me when someone comes to me and says that I am doing a good job, that my work is valuable. I always feel a sense of touch, I feel like I touched somebody's life. When I joined RC, I was working at the finance office and all of a sudden, I saw people coming in and out, going to the communities… One day, I went with them, and I realized that purpose made the passion... I made someone smile… To be a volunteer is to make a difference in people's life. I remember when I met a woman who was distributed food, she was over 60 and her house had burnt down. So the person thanked me…"* (INTERVIEW, VOL4, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

As described by him, these stories of volunteers being "emotionally rewarded" for the work they do are numerous, especially among ambassadors. However, ambassadors find it very difficult to articulate these stories outward and impact their families with the work they do.

When they were questioned about the hardest part of volunteering for the RC, there was a common agreement about overcoming "family pressures":

> *"Most of our family members do not understand. They are always pressuring us: "Why do you go to Red Cross, why can't you find a real job somewhere else?"* (INTERVIEW, VOL5, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

> *"The immediate family [is the main hardship] […] when you tell them that this is a passion, they say: "Really? A passion? And are you getting peanuts out of it?"* (INTERVIEW, VOL6, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

> *"It is really hard to convince people about the tasks that we are doing: a building is collapsing and instead of running from it, you go towards it to save someone. Of course, the support we get from RC is well-rounded, psychological support, etc. But still, it is a hard job to communicate what we do to our families".* (INTERVIEW, VOL7, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

As the statements above show, ambassadors find it difficult to convince their families of the work that they do. Concerns with employability, the unsalaried or low pay nature of the activity, and the perceived risks families see on volunteering are among the most cited reasons for the lack of family support expressed by ambassadors.

Having to respond to their families concerning money and career was more likely to be because these volunteers were on their way through higher education and the families expected them to be in "real" jobs. Even if the financial burden was not a matter of survival as other groups of volunteers, who rely more on Red Cross stipends, ambassadors have placed these as key points of improvement in their journey as volunteers:

> *"If you have a very good volunteer, reliable, it's good that you absorb this volunteer. This doesn't happen that often".* (INTERVIEW, VOL4, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)
>
> *"I think I would like to change the remuneration part of it. Six dollars a day, imagine! Then you have to sustain yourself to live in the city. It has to be leveraged to a certain level. We cannot expect employment because we are so many..."* (INTERVIEW, VOL5, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)
>
> *"[I would change the] absorption of volunteers - if they are good at their work, you train them, and you give them a possibility..."* (INTERVIEW, VOL6, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)
>
> *"[I would like to see] more financial resources."* (INTERVIEW, VOL3, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

Being hired as a staff is, unfortunately, unrealistic as RC National Societies working in developed countries, have about one staff for every nine volunteers while in developing countries this rate is about one staff for every 180 volunteers (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

In Mombasa, volunteers would stick around the branch for a few years waiting for a paid job to appear. Some of them have argued that there is an informal preference for those who have devoted more time to the branch. For instance, Saïd was our driver in Mombasa, and he has been working with the RC for about 15 years. The first five years he was a volunteer, waiting for his chance to be hired as staff. As he put it *"volunteers nowadays are too impatient, they want a job right after their first volunteering experience"* (Fieldnotes, Mombasa, 29.01.2018).

Despite the challenges described above, ambassadors appeared to have a satisfactory degree of autonomy to develop their activities and make some decisions on their own. Even though many of them did not come from the same communities with which they volunteered, they claimed to be able to identify and respond to the needs of the communities they served:

> *"Mainly volunteers come up with the activities […] we are aware of the community needs, so we bring ideas to the branch and people decide together on how to tackle that challenge. After that, we will go back to the community with something more substantial to act on".* (INTERVIEW, VOL4, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

Even though ambassadors praised the independence they had to carry out activities, they complained about the lack of funds to implement new ideas.

According to this KRCS staff, a former program delegate in the DRC-funded project URR in Nairobi, stated, KRCS branches find it hard to accommodate the "technical needs" of "ambassadors." In Kenya, especially in Nairobi, KRCS "struggles" with more job applicants than it can handle (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

To avoid losing these qualified volunteers, KRCS is seeking new approaches to engage ambassadors. As a way to help them with career development, branches have started writing recommendation letters specifying the technical work they have done with the Red Cross (e.g., website design, logistics management). On top of that, initiatives that can give more autonomy to volunteers, in the long run, are taking shape. Concepts such as "hackathons" and "innovation hubs" are being designed to make sure these volunteers can better achieve their potential:

> *"We want them to use their own resources to make something. What we want to encourage is via the innovation hub that if they decide for example plastic bags is a problem for them, a young man or young woman comes up with an innovative way to use it as a way that it is environmentally-friendly and good for the community, forming livelihood, etc…* (INTERVIEW, FS5, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

> *"We could send those individuals to a hackathon because they have the potential. They need to sharpen those ideas… After the hackathon, they need to be prepared to sell that idea to the private sector and find the resources, funds for those ideas, so they can implement it. It is a very long thing that we are trying to start to get awareness on that aspect so our communities understand that they have their own resources…"* (INTERVIEW, FS6, Nairobi, 26.01.2018)

Overall, ambassadors receive certain attention from the branches, which see them as a resource repository. At the same time that they are loyal to the branch, they might leave or drastically reduce their commitment in case they find a formal job elsewhere. Similarly, they might exert more pressure on the branch for an employment as soon as they finish their education. KRCS seems to recognize that RC has to be a platform for this kind of volunteer so they can push the boundaries of the organization based on their drive and expertise. Even if funds might be scarce, a more sustainable strategy is being employed to create practices to better work with ambassadors.

‘HUSTLERS’

> *“We know each other from another volunteering project. I am speaking for the group, I guess, we are doing this because we want to help our communities but also because there are no jobs for us… this is very little pay but is either this or nothing!”* (INTERVIEW, VOL7, Mombasa, 29.01.2018)

Table 3 - Hustlers

Typology	Profile	Relationship with RC	Level of empowerment
“Hustlers”	Adult volunteers (27 – 35 y.o) Dropouts from primary or secondary education Informal jobs or unemployed Life skills From target group	None (incorporated from another USAID project) Not allowed access to the branch Work 8-10 hours/week Lack of training More financially vulnerable RC as a second income	Demotivated with their needs not being met by RC Self-organized to address particular needs

This group of volunteers call themselves “hustlers”[16]. Hustlers are project volunteers, which means, volunteers who are recruited for a specific need coming from a KRCS funded-project. According to a VSO study in Mombasa, this profile of volunteers is rising within communities receiving aid. Hustlers are usually non-educated, often financially vulnerable so they have to “make ends meet” by themselves. This makes hustlers different in the fact that they fluctuate from one organisation or project to the next, depending on which has funding. In this case, hustlers from the RMNACH project in Mombasa were volunteers formerly providing services to a US AID project. As they joined the RMNACH project, they had not volunteered with the Red Cross before. Despite of their need for money, hustlers also wanted to support their communities. They might not inhabit the communities they serve but are mostly from the same target group, such as in this case, working with out-of-school

[16] *“Hustling” is now an officially accepted response among many Kenyans upon enquiry on what they do for a living. Vague as it may sound, many young Kenyans may mean well, hoping that the contextual vagueness best explains their informal side trade ventures of making ends meet.*

youth[17]. As they are recruited for a specific project, they do not have the same "perks" as the "ambassadors" in regards to branch access or the same trainings. Also, because of their lack of connections to the branches or to the Red Cross in general, they were more outspoken about their needs:

> "*We need proper training, youth training being taken seriously… we are not prepared to give counseling to out-of-school kids. This is something that we are constantly asking for…"* (INTERVIEW, VOL8, Mombasa, 29.01.2018)

As per the quote above, hustlers demonstrated dissatisfaction to the way they were trained by the KRCS, as they felt unprepared to deal with the needs of the out-of-school kids and adolescents they were providing services to. Their undertaking involved dealing with a volatile population likely to be under the influence of alcohol or drug abuse. One of the volunteers reported during the interview that some beneficiaries were aggressive towards them, posing a risk to their physical safety.

"Hustlers" were also quite critical with regards to the stipends (20 USD/month) they received, which according to them, was often delayed and below what they could make with another organizations. This apparent grading of volunteering organisations – somewhat centred on the amount of money each pays – basically offered a stepping-stone for this cohort of volunteers. When a worthwhile volunteering prospect was obtained with a reliable/resourceful organisation, "hustlers" were less likely to roam between organisations.

The "hustlers" interviewed described their own situation as 'in transition', on the "cliff to get a proper job" so, in their opinion, they needed to earn at least 60 USD/month to be possible to volunteer for the Red Cross.

The RMNACH final evaluation report confirmed the low probability of this group of volunteers to continue engaged with the Red Cross after the project was over:

> *"Youth peer educators [hustlers] are unlikely to continue over the longer term as they are looking for work and other opportunities, with the volunteer stipend representing a significant motivation […]"* (DRC, 2018)

As stated above, the difficulty to deal with the beneficiaries who were "out of school" youth is an additional constraint to having this type of volunteer committed in the long run. In that sense, the

[17] *Out of school youth is a target group receiving support from the RMNACH project in Mombasa.*

evaluation recommends KRCS to keep on recruiting and training new volunteers for this kind of activity.

According to a report on Volunteering in Africa co-authored by the Swedish Red Cross, volunteer-involving organizations must be better at adapting to this growing number of volunteers, often labeled as "project volunteers" that engage in short-term projects and keep on moving to the next opportunity. In the context of high unemployment, unless these organizations provide concrete next steps, such as a job or stable income, episodic and improvised forms of volunteering shall be predominant, as volunteers perceive it as a way into employment (Graham et al., 2013).

'BAREFOOT DOCTORS'

> *"People call us 'doctors' which is funny… but I guess we are somehow… they can call us anytime (…) it is an honor for us, by helping others we are helping ourselves as well – we learn from what we teach (…) but I have to bring food home to my three-year old boy so I am not sure if I can continue doing this…"* (Fieldnotes, Mombasa, 29.01.18)

Table 4 - Barefoot doctors

Typology	Profile	Relationship with RC	Level of empowerment
"Barefoot doctors"	Mostly mid-age women (40 – 55 y.o) Embedded in the community (Selected by community elders)	None outside of the project Some have been on and off with RC for + 10yrs Work 20 hours (On call if something happens) Not allowed access to the branch Training is outdated Community as a duty	Feel important to their community Respect and self-appreciation

In Kenya, CHVs are selected by their neighbors and inhabit the areas they work. CHVs belong to a vital network within Kenya to deliver health education and services to those who lack access to care. The communities served call CHVs "doctors". CHVs are essential in raising family planning

awareness and also in connecting women and families to the health system. They provide their service by going door-to-door, informing how family planning improves health, debunking myths and advising women and their spouses on contraceptive methods.

In the context of the RMNACH project in Mombasa, these 'barefoot doctors' were most likely contributing the greatest hours per week among all the groups of volunteers. They were mainly mid aged women, and had a high level of exposition in the communities they served. The fact that they lived in the communities they served, helped with access, which was given by the elders who were seen as gatekeepers.

The role played by the CHVs was highly recognised by the Kenya Red Cross in the RMNACH project, which is evident in their mid-term evaluation of this project:

> *"CHVs [Community Health Volunteers] are a key pillar in success of CHS [Community Health Strategy]. They've been engaged in various community interventions including health promotion. Dynamics of the informal settlements withstanding, the selection of the CHVs is crucial to the sustainability of the strategy. Most of the volunteers interviewed indicated their self-drive led to their selection into the CUs [Community Units](...)"* (KENYA RED CROSS, 2016) – Mid-term evaluation of the project

As stated above and during my field visit to RMNACH project the "barefoot doctors" demonstrated motivation to keep up with their work, as they were now a reference for information and guidance with community members. They also spoke of their fear of letting the community down in case the project was discontinued. Through their work, they were able to implement Community Units, which involved house-to-house dissemination, follow-ups, and bookkeeping of services distributed. According to the RMNACH final evaluation report, the government has *"committed to absorbing the CUs into the normal management, reporting and oversight of the Ministry, but has stated categorically that they cannot pay the CHV stipend".* Stipend discharge could inhibit CHVs participation, as most of them are raising children and have household obligations.

With the incapacity to continue supporting them with stipends, KRCS and the government are dedicated to employing "non-monetary ways" of assisting and encouraging the CHVs. The government is assisting CHVs to start income generating activities with trainings and structure for their initial stocks. Local authorities have also pledged to register CHVs on the NHIF - National Hospital Insurance Fund for obtaining free health care. According to the Final evaluation of the RMNACH project, the use of non-monetary incentives might also be needed to keep CHVs outreach activities going, which is the core of their work. A vital element of outreach lies in its ability to move

as CHVs are going where the needs for their services are. CHVs interviewed for this project said that outreach is harder during emergencies, such as floods, and they often lack visibility equipment. This was a constant complaint during the RMNACH project as whole, as volunteer kits were regularly delayed or not fully delivered. This can be seen in a recommendation that came from the RMNACH final evaluation report:

> *"KRCS projects supporting CHVs should consider factoring increased non-monetary incentives for volunteers to increase motivation to continue after the project has ended, through increased visibility in their communities and increased personal association with KRCS. Items such as branded t-shirts, bags, caps, gumboots etc. create a positive self-identity as a KRCS volunteer in the community (volunteers mentioned that they only received one t-shirt for the entire three-year project). These 'small' items can go a long way in motivating and mobilizing volunteers".* (DRC, 2018)

Despite the fact that CHVs were given the responsibility of solving the health access problematic, their volunteering experiences were often neglected. Regardless of their anxiety with the future of the project, it was possible to notice, during my dialogs with CHVs, a strong cohesion and community embeddedness. It would require little effort from the KRCS and its partners to remain working with these volunteers. Developing them would require CHV programs to pinpoint "disempowering" organizational set ups and take action to address them.

For instance, indifference towards monetary incentives to CHVs, as they mentioned, created discouragement and a feeling of powerlessness over their short-term future.

This issue was also raised by the RMNACH Final evaluation advising KRCS to certify CHVs' stipends as a long-term commitment from national health agencies. Reports from other organizations also suggest CHV programs to include CHVs in action research as a way to get them closer to the results of their actions (Lewis, 2015), (Kane et al., 2016). Beyond improving program efficiency, it would also put CHVs closer to becoming change agents, on top of being a bridge between the community and the health system.

‘SELF-LED’: CBDRTs (Community-based disaster relief teams)

> *“Sometimes when they (the fire fighters) come here, they give us the pipes; they say, “take the hosepipes, do what you want”. Because, you know, we know this place very well”* (Quote extracted from \AAsveen, 2014)

Table 5 - Self led (CBDRTs)

Typology	Profile	Relationship with RC	Level of empowerment
“Self-led”	Mostly young people Own the house they live in the communities 2 representatives from each village	Training and back up from KRCS Allowed to use RC ambulances	Free to make arrangements with external partners Influence decisions of politicians in their areas

Through one of its flagship programmes in partnership with KRCS, the URR, DRC has supported the creation of Community Based Disaster Response Teams (CBDRTs). CBDRT’s were assembled to operate as *“eyes on the ground”* and first-hand responders to immediate emergencies.

The CBDRTs were adapted to fit the environment of the informal settlements. The rationale behind these teams was that KRCS could be more effective at disaster response, especially to fires. Recruiting for the teams required some out-of-the-box thinking done by KRCS:

> *“There is quite a lot of dynamics and mobilization in the slum areas. So, what we did was that we identified the persons who were actually able to get their own spot where they could live, because a lot of the slum inhabitants are forced to pay rents to landowners… So because this person is owning his or her land, he or she would be more motivated for contributing with information”.* (Quote extracted from \AAsveen, 2014)

Besides, KRCS put in place a clear engagement/retention strategy:

> *“We train them, give them satisfaction, certificates. We even take them for lunch, hold meetings with them – those kinds of small things that keeps them busy, and make them feel appreciated”.* (Quote extracted from \AAsveen, 2014)

CBDRTs are prepared to deal with the most prevalent risks facing their communities, such as fires, floods or traffic accidents. KRCS also trains them on how to carry out basic RC assessments, a 24 and 72 hours assessment.

> *“The only thing we do [after training them] is verification. So when they are doing assessments, we have two or three people from the branch supporting them and making sure that every data they collect is the right data, and*

> *the information is shared among the relevant stakeholders (internal and external).”* (Quote extracted from \AAsveen, 2014)

Because CBDRTs have become skilled at most of the work, KRCS only worries about following up on their capacity building. Training is also a way for KRCS to take care of CBDRTs sustainability by making sure that more experienced volunteers are supporting new volunteers.

Having community-based volunteers as such also rearranged relations of power and trust. Before, in case of a fire in the informal settlements, firefighters often did not respond, fearing violence or some other disaffection with specific communities. Consequently, CBDRTs became the link between firefighters, Red Cross and the communities:

> *“Because for me, it will take some time before me and my team can reach an area like Mathare (Nairobi area), but these guys, if there is a fire outbreak for instance, they will be able to respond to that fire, so with this structure we have actually managed to reduce response time from around 15 minutes to around 5-6 minutes”.* (Quote extracted from \AAsveen, 2014)

Despite being, at first, formally organized by DRC and KRCS, responders demonstrated their capacity to self-mobilize, when funding was no longer available, as this DRC document reported:

> *“We had a gap in 2012/2013 because we went from specific hazards to multi-hazards programming… so there was a gap in terms of supporting the activities monetary wise, but you see, they [the volunteers] continued with their activities, and this shows that they now owned their projects, they see ‘this project is ours’”.* (Kenya Red Cross & DRC, 2017)

As this CBDRT volunteer speaks, CBDRTs were successful in finding their own approach to withstand recruiting through community mobilization:

> *“The way we have recruited is very unique. Because, if you talk about fire in Mathare, you are not talking about fire in a particular place, you are talking about fire in the whole of Mathare…You need to recruit from every area so that all 12 villages of Mathare are actually represented in the team… We recruit at least two representatives from each village, to complete the 40 members”.* (Quote extracted from \AAsveen, 2014)

CBDRTs are equipped with a basic communication toolkit for prompt warning such as a mobile phone, whistles, megaphones and sirens, which allow them to respond quickly. On top of that, KRCS’ ambulances are at the disposal of CBDRTs to support their work in conditions of displacement. Another feature that shows the autonomy CBDRTs have is the consent from KRCS to meet external partners and influence political decisions in their areas to improve their response conditions.

Having CBDRTs embedded in more remote communities has a downside, it is more expensive for them to engage in activities elsewhere:

> *"It depends a little on resources. We have had to cancel several meetings and trainings because they are very far and even if we dig deep into our pockets, there is no money to spend on those activities".* (Quote extracted from \AAsveen, 2014)

Despite financial constraints, now, after ten years since its inception, CBDRTs are full volunteer-led initiatives. When interviewed for this thesis, the KRCS County Manager in Nairobi confirmed that CBDRT's did not require much attention from the County or the branches. According to him, CBDRT's are self-running for a while and have been critical at scaling capacity building on prevention, mitigation and preparedness for disasters [Fieldnotes, Nairobi County, 2018].

'SELF LED': SEX WORKERS

> *"The programme is good because it teaches us to take care of ourselves, know your status and your partner status, and educate your peers. We are now strict about condom use, even with boyfriends. We have become more respected higher class and learned the importance of protection. The programme taught us to leave a client if he won't use protection, be assertive about condom use, always use condoms, and get tested for HIV"*
>
> (Sex Worker Volunteer testimonial, "The Social Dynamics of Selling Sex in Mombasa" – Kenya) (Hampanda, 2013)

Table 5 - Self led (Sex workers)

Typology	Profile	Relationship with RC	Level of empowerment
"Self-led"	Currently active as a sex worker Well-informed about the local context and site Accepted by the community Self-confident and with potential for leadership	From stigmatized to respectful Linking up CBO → Govt.	A powerful voice in their community

Since 2011, KRCS has been raising funds to support sex workers through focused programming on prevention, diagnosis, and counseling. Studies show a depiction of what a sex worker is prone to look like: young, single and with just basic literacy and numeracy. They are often not aware of their health status and are unprotected from HIV or other sexually transmitted diseases. Reaching this target group has always been a challenge for the KRCS.

The RMNACH Project was the first time that KRCS involved sex workers as volunteers. This approach made sure health messages arrived at this "hard to reach" target group. Sex workers were highly stigmatized in Kenya, and KRCS trained them in voluntary counseling and testing to distribute home-based care for individuals with HIV. By engaging in volunteering activity with the Red Cross, a handful of them ended up walking out of the streets. Two mature women, former sex workers, and long-standing volunteers led the initiative, which has proven to be a success in diminishing sex workers' stigma and increasing acceptance by community members.

During conversations with them, it was possible to acknowledge that their volunteering work with the Red Cross was an important platform for their ideas to take shape and for them to become "sex worker activists," as defined by them. Because of this initiative, these two women, ended up starting their own organization, called CHEC, which is an NGO devoting to the cause of "destigmatization" of sex workers in Kenya.

According to the Final Evaluation, *CHEC* supported their members to initiate a collective income-generating activity producing and commercializing cleaning products, snacks or even setting up beauty shops. One of the CHEC founders spoke about the impact that volunteering has had on the lives of sex workers leveraging the respect they had in the communities. She told sex workers began to protect themselves more against venereal diseases, being aware of the use of prophylactics, hygiene and also alerting their partners.

As an element of the RMNACH project completion, KRCS have officially introduced *CHEC* to the NASCOP (National AIDS and STI Control Programme) belonging to the Ministry of Health, which is the leading agency in Kenya supporting Key Populations[18]. Still, *CHEC* founders sensed that as an emerging organization they required more training on how to run an organization as such to certify its sustained development.

In 2012 the (WHO), (UNFPA), (UNAIDS) and (NSWP) (WHO & UNAIDS, 2012) advised aid organizations to focus on "providing money and resources directly to sex worker organizations and communities, rather than sex workers being solely volunteers." According to (WHO & UNAIDS, 2012), sex worker organizations are commonly set up by a few number of self-motivated individuals.

[18] *Key populations are defined groups who, due to specific higher-risk behaviors, are at increased risk of HIV irrespective of the epidemic type or local context. Besides, they often have legal and social issues related to their behaviors that increase their vulnerability to HIV. These guidelines focus on five key populations: 1) men who have sex with men, 2) people who inject drugs, 3) people in prisons and other closed settings, 4) sex workers and 5) transgender people. (https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK379697/)*

Yet, to achieve sustainability, these organizations must safeguard robust leadership, management, and breeding the next generation of leaders. This entails resources for "leadership training" and "capacity-building" along with linkages with crosscutting levels of sex workers groups to transfer knowledge and encouragement. On this later point, CHEC is well placed being an affiliated from the regional (Coast Sex Workers Alliance) and national networks (Kenya Sex Workers Alliance) to the Africa Sex Workers Alliance. A result of more casualty than planning, CHEC was referred to as the most positive outcome of the RMNACH project:

> *"The real 'success story' is with CHEC, who have self-mobilized into a CBO, which will continue advocating for the rights and needs of sex workers.*
>
> *"Sex worker peer educators have been highly capacitated and have really come together to support their peers, and are likely to continue through CHEC, although as noted previously, this nascent initiative will likely need some management and financial training support before it is fully self-sustaining."* (DRC, 2018a)

This case shows the potential of a Red Cross volunteer and the journey that they could take part in, acting outside of the Red Cross movement, applying what they have acquired during their time as volunteers. DRC and KRCS recognized sex workers acting as volunteers as more of a positive surprise than something that has been already imagined by them. With that acknowledgment, internal conversations in the DRC, have shown a great appreciation for this kind of approach as many HQ staff has been referring this case with enthusiasm. Conversations have been going to expand this kind of work of using beneficiaries as volunteers and by that expecting to achieve more results when recruiting individuals from the target group receiving aid, who might want to help themselves with the help of the Red Cross (Fieldnotes / DRC headquarters, 2018).

As this session attempted to illustrate, different profiles of volunteers engage with the organization. These volunteers are tied to contextual conditions that are somewhat different from one another. In some of these cases, volunteers remained in the organization because they found a warm and familiar environment where they could use their resources spontaneously ("branch volunteers" – AMBASSADORS). In other cases, volunteers are only in the organization temporarily, but they might not stay because they do not have the best conditions to do so. They are volunteers who rely more on the organization for resources such as learning and money to sustain their lives ("project volunteers" – HUSTLERS). The most emblematic cases are the volunteers who have a closer relationship with their communities ("self-led" – CBDRTs); ("barefoot doctors") or with their most direct beneficiaries ("self-led" – Sex workers). These volunteers expand the value attributed to the community, making it more important than the organization, Red Cross in itself. In this case, these

volunteers, even if they receive little or some support from the organization, they see it as a platform to reach their goals and impact those around them. They might continue their work despite the presence of the organization.

In overall terms, Red Cross volunteers in Kenya were the sum of all the intricacies of each profile. In its quest to empower volunteers, both, DRC and KRCS might need to consider every aspect that made each cohort more or less likely to become change agents. This effort should start with an acknowledgment of its organizational paradoxes (some of them analyzed above), which impact how these volunteers fit in and out of the organization.

5. Discussion

Based on the findings examined in the analysis chapter, I argued that organizational paradoxes shape the Red Cross' relationship with its volunteers. Those paradoxes challenge current organization practices and pose dilemmas over paying or not paying volunteers, deploying rigid or flexible practices and attaining short or long-term goals. These paradoxes run in parallel with Red Cross' lack of an all-encompassing comprehension of volunteering in the Global South. Based on that, I have provided an analysis of volunteering coming from the Global South, more specifically Kenya, where I presented a typology of volunteers based on my fieldwork. I will advance by unraveling how my analysis answers my research question and at times is supported by what is found in the literature.

RQ: What are the dynamics shaping Red Cross – volunteers' relationship?

5.1. The existence of organizational paradoxes

On chapter one, I argue that organizational paradoxes are one of the dynamics shaping Red Cross' relationship to its volunteers as those have been making it problematic for the organization to assess and improve its relationship with volunteers.

The underlying issues behind these paradoxes were largely presented in reports from key humanitarian organizations, analyzed throughout session 4.1. The Red Cross itself urged for a "debate on the ways different forms of remuneration of volunteering are shaping volunteering activity" (payments) (M. B. Smith et al., 2015). VSO articulated how "dependency on external support creates added challenges for volunteering-for-development organizations" (sustainability) (Lewis, 2015) and the UN stated how "informal local volunteering is more flexible and responsive than both formal volunteerism and development and humanitarian programmes" (flexibility) (UNITED NATIONS, 2018a). Although these studies have offered some understanding of the challenges faced by organizations working with volunteers, the interconnectedness of these topics have not been analyzed as paradoxes shaping volunteering.

The debate over volunteer payments goes beyond the issue of financial support and leads to a more elaborate discussion over what volunteering is and is not. As my fieldwork findings suggest, Global North conceptions represented by DRC, argue that volunteering should only be tied to the purpose of helping others. On the other hand, there is a strong view in the Global South, represented by KRCS, reclaiming that volunteering is also embedded in make a living. Definitions over volunteering have

been debated since the 2000's, with Wilson criticising volunteering's "folk labeling" (Wilson, 2000) and Hustinx et al. calling attention to its lack of segmentation as one of the most critical problems in a clear definition of volunteering (Hustinx et al., 2010). The act of paying volunteers is transforming its configuration and creating more nuances to its undertaking.

In addition to this difficulty in finding common ground between National Societies, my analysis showed that paying volunteers is not only a consequence of making service delivery possible in developing countries but also due to increasing competition in the humanitarian world. With new players jumping in the bandwagon, the Red Cross is subject to external pressure from donors to make its processes more efficient and accountable. The intensified burden on the organization to create control mechanisms and adopt market practices is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it helps ameliorate organizational capacity to deliver its services, on the other hand, it brings an excessive focus on creating tools and reporting systems that might amplify the distance between the organization and one of its most important assets, the volunteers.

The convoluted calendar of Red Cross schedules, processes, project proposals, project agreements, implementation plans, monitoring reports, etc.… accentuates the distance between PNSs and the world of volunteers. On top of that, this puzzle makes it hard to transition from a bureaucratic nature and allocate time and resources to change the status quo fundamentally. This is critical when thinking about the sustainability of volunteering within projects with a short lifecycle.

Volunteers demonstrated discontent when faced with this organizational rigidity. An example of that was when they spoke about feedbacks "going up" and not "coming down" (branch volunteers) or when they were only expected to join an activity after a month of training. The support, in theory, could be found in the bureaucracy/flexibility paradigm, that shows how “low levels of bureaucracy and formalization” increase volunteers’ feeling of accomplishment (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013).

As covered throughout this thesis, donors exert influence in how things run in the Red Cross, but, when a PNS, such as the DRC, is funding projects through an HNS partner, such as the KRCS, dynamics differ, a partner does not “go there and tell another partner what to do”. As revealed throughout this thesis, working in partnerships is one of the foundations of the RCRC Movement as also underlined in the 2020 IFRC Strategy. Interestingly, as the empirical material indicated, DRC’s international strategy calls for "more volunteers acting as change agents," which means that host national societies such as KRCS, are the ones implementing that goal. This inconsistent dynamic

between partners could be discussed as a partnership paradox, a "meta-paradox," influencing all other paradoxes presented in this thesis. Without this meta-paradox being resolved, the other paradoxes might not be eliminated.

5.2.Lack of Global South volunteers' in-depth understanding

Even though the Red Cross works closely to local communities in the most remote areas of the world, there is a clear lack of understanding of group particularities and how volunteering dynamics differ from one target group to the next. Empowering volunteers as change agents requires a change in organizational practices and the knowledge of the profile of volunteers carrying the organization's work on the ground. This diagnosis from my fieldwork resonates with the Global Review, where author Baillie-Smith urged the Red Cross to invest in further research on the relationships concerning volunteering and development in Global South setups. The reinvention of volunteering, in light of urbanization and aid-funded volunteer payments, were also among critical themes where research was most lacking, according to the author (M. B. Smith et al., 2015).

In chapter 4.2, it was also presented a typology of Global South volunteers, shedding light on the different types of profiles and ways of relating to the organization, shaped by volunteers' contextual conditions. This part of the analysis also met Baillie-Smith's advice: to hear the voices of volunteers and to develop co-productive partnerships with academic bodies. The segmentation that I provided brings the organization to what Baillie-Smith has described as a "flattened topography," where variations in volunteering geographies are leveled. This dissection might be a start for the organization to go through a self-assessment and reconnect with its volunteers, thinking together how to design new volunteering journeys.

What my fieldwork provided was a closer look at the most prominent traits that came out from these profiles of volunteers in Kenya: the relationship with their families, with their communities, with the Red Cross, and above all, an understanding of their different motivations when volunteering. A similar deep dive into the communities of volunteers in Kenya was done by VSO, although looking exclusively at international volunteers providing services in those communities.

The organizational capacity to identify opportunities within communities and make those turn into successful usages of volunteers as change agents is present. Good cases of volunteering initiatives were tapped by the organization, such as when deeply-rooted community individuals were identified to be the "CBDRTs" (Community-Based Disaster Relief Teams) or sex workers incorporated as

volunteers. Those cases show the potential for an organization like KRCS to stay grounded and, as pointed out by DRC, to get inspired by how they solve things that fall into the community level. The issue, in this case, it is often about replicability meeting what Boesten has written that “most of the solutions at the local level are just capable of handling small-scale interventions, lacking resources to offer reliability and scalability” (Boesten et al., 2011).

Would the DRC be the one player able to unfold a systematic change in the field of volunteering? Most likely no, but chances might increase with the involvement of others. In the analysis chapter, it is possible to notice inclinations to hand back the power to volunteers, increasing informality and self-led initiatives. According to the literature, “bottom up will not fully replace the top down” so the Red Cross might need to find mechanisms to balance this logic and achieve what has been defined in the literature as an “enabling environment” (Boesten, 2005). It also means that change will not come overnight, precisely as we are talking about systemic change, so more small-scale models could be tested as a way to start.

The fieldwork disclosed the importance of creating this environment when, at the end of the RMNACH project in Mombasa, CHVs (Community Health Volunteers)’ stipends continuity was conditioned by the political goodwill of the government, which was taking over the project. Beyond systemic level changes, what else could be done by the Red Cross to shift current practices within existing structures? PNS and HNS might have to think about how to test small-scale pilots that fit into the established PNS-HNS partnership norms.

With a more suitable segmentation of Global South volunteers merged with an acknowledgment of the evolution of the field of volunteering, especially in urban environments such as Kenya, Red Cross might be able to empower volunteers as change agents. The question is then: how would the volunteers establish a new narrative? How would a South-South volunteering practice look like? How would south volunteers want their relationship with the Red Cross to advance?

Something that is being tested as a follow up from this thesis is the idea that volunteers can be more than service providers but facilitators. Two pilot projects, in Kenya, and in Malawi, are setting in motion the ideas of volunteers, taking as a departure point, the concept of "Red Cross as a platform," in a way that the organization's most important asset is its "access." Following that concept, what volunteers get from the organization (training, networking, physical structures, etc.) turns them into "community brokers." These kinds of initiatives link back to the most avant-garde discourses in the

field, that looks to the future with fewer formal RC volunteers needed to ignite thousands of community volunteers. This might require a new set of organizational practices to enable the Red Cross to develop volunteers as facilitators.

Given the above, it is possible to affirm that the research question was answered via two different approaches of examining the object of the study (Red Cross – volunteers' relationship). First, a broad and systemic look at how people within the organization understand, discuss and put volunteering into practice uncovered organizational paradoxes shaping this relationship. Second, a specific and individual look at how these paradoxes affect volunteers in Kenya revealed a typology of volunteers that helps to reflect on the dynamics influencing this relationship, from the volunteers' point of view.

I believe this study contributes to the field of volunteering in the Global South, as it fills some gaps in the academic literature, by looking at organization – volunteer relationships, and by proposing a segmentation of volunteers in the Global South. Although this study has captured some trends in the field of volunteering in the Global South, more specifically in Kenya, such as informal, self-led, local and online volunteering, it was not possible to delve into how these new forms are developing and redesigning the volunteering map in a border region. More studies in these areas are fundamental to help elucidate what is yet to come. In addition, more active research is necessary to test these models of co-creation where volunteers take control and have more autonomy in deciding for their own future.

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APPENDIX I – Interview guides

Interview guide for HQ (leaders; staff)

Q1. Tell me a little bit about yourself and how did you get start your involvement with the Red Cross.

Q2. How would you describe your experience working with volunteering?

Q3. How do you see the impact of your work on volunteers?

Q4. How do you see the organizational practices involved in working with volunteers?

Q5. Would you be able to describe me how the interaction was the last time you were with volunteers? What went well? What did not go so well?

Q6. How do you see the support that a *PNS* can offer to an *HNS* with regards to volunteering?

Interview guide for Field (leaders; staff)

Q1. Tell me a little bit about yourself and how did you get start your involvement with the Red Cross.

Q2. How would you describe your experience working with volunteering?

Q3. How do you see the impact of your work on volunteers?

Q4. How do you see the organizational practices involved in working with volunteers?

Q5. Would you be able to describe me how the interaction was the last time you were with volunteers? What went well? What did not go so well?

Q6. How do you see the support that a *PNS* can offer to an *HNS* with regards to volunteering?

APPENDIX II – Fieldwork photos

Interviewing volunteers (CHEC founders) – Mombasa, Kenya.

Interviewing volunteers – Nairobi, Kenya.

APPENDIX III – Fieldwork log

JAN/FEB 2018

W1	Interviews HQ / Copenhagen, Denmark
W2	Interviews HQ / Copenhagen, Denmark
W3	Field preparation / Copenhagen, Denmark
W4	Fieldwork Kenya (Nairobi, Mombasa)
W5	Fieldwork Kenya (Nairobi, Mombasa)
W6	Fieldwork Kenya (Nairobi, Mombasa)

MAR/APR 2018

W7	Participant observation / Copenhagen, Denmark
W8	Participant observation / Copenhagen, Denmark
W9	Interviews HQ & Field (calls)
W10	Interviews HQ & Field (calls)
W11	Co-creation with consultant
W12	Interviews volunteers (call)
W13	Immersion at HQ / Copenhagen
W14	Immersion at HQ / Copenhagen
W15	Immersion at HQ / Copenhagen