

International Volunteering and Governance

The United Nations Volunteers programme and the
International Forum for Volunteering in Development



Members of a volunteer committee in Hamid Malik village in Kashmore district of Sindh province in Pakistan share their concerns with Volunteers: Communications Officer Alanna Jorde, flanked by Survey/ Data Collection Officer Rab Nawaz Channa and Disaster Risk Reduction Advocacy Officer Shujaat Raza Soomro. (Hifzullah Kaka, 2012)

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inspiration in action

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List of Acronyms

ABG	Autonomous Bougainville Government (Papua New Guinea)
ACF	Arbitration Council Foundation (Cambodia)
AMFOT	Association of Micro Finance Organisations of Tajikistan
AVI	Australian Volunteers International
AVID	Australian Volunteers for International Development
CECI	Centre d'étude et de coopération internationale / Centre for International Studies and Cooperation
CRDP	Chernobyl Recovery and Development Programme (Ukraine)
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
FOCSIV	Federazione Organismi Cristiani Servizio Internazionale Volontario / Federation of Christian Organisations for International Volunteer Service
FSVC	Financial Services Volunteer Corps
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit / German Agency for Technical Cooperation
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IESC	International Executive Service Corps
ISLP	International Senior Lawyers Project
IVCO	International Volunteer Cooperation Organisation
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JOCV	Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers
KOICA	Korea International Cooperation Agency
KOV	Korea Overseas Volunteers
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
ODE	Office of Development Effectiveness (Australia)
ODESAR	Organización para el Desarrollo Económico y Social para el Area Urbana y Rural
PLHIV	People Living with HIV & AIDS
PSABV	Pri-Skul Asosiesen Blong Vanuatu
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNV	United Nations Volunteers (UNV) programme
VEGA	Volunteers for Economic Growth Alliance
VNP+	Vietnam Network of Positive People
VOCA	Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance
VSA	Volunteer Service Abroad
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas
WTO	World Trade Organization

Executive Summary

This paper aims to strengthen evidence on the contributions of international development volunteerism to good governance. We highlight case examples from a variety of International Volunteer Cooperation Organisations (IVCOs) to demonstrate various ways that volunteers and IVCOs have strengthened public and private governance structures through formal and informal interventions. The conceptual framework investigates contributions of volunteerism at multiple levels of governance—from macro-level government structures and policy frameworks to micro-level personal values and normative constraints. While the intentional activities of international volunteers are described, pathways to good governance are also traced to volunteers' relationships and socio-cultural influences. As a people-centred development approach, international volunteering has helped change informal norms and attitudes that determine how people perceive and act on governing institutions, as well as inspire direct participation in political processes that determine formal rules and laws.

Case examples illustrated in this paper are primarily drawn from published studies, grey literature from IVCO evaluation reports, and online sources. We also administered a short survey to members of the International Forum for Volunteering in Development (Forum). This survey asked members to identify additional studies, case examples, and institutional experiences that could be useful for the study. In total, we reviewed 106 evaluation or research reports from Forum members, in addition to a review of published literature. We also included a handful of quotations derived from 14 interviews with IVCO staff members or returned volunteers that described their experiences working on governance-related initiatives.

Findings describing the formal contributions of international volunteerism to governance were categorised according to the classification scheme of the World Bank Governance Surveys Database. The topical dimensions of governance include sections on: rule of law and regulatory frameworks; corruption, collusion and nepotism; voice and accountability; transparency and public awareness; political stability, peace and security; participation; effectiveness and responsiveness; capacity building/development; and activism. Considering the substantial overlap between categories, they are provided as heuristic tools rather than precise theoretical groupings. The examples provided under each subsection illustrate the various ways that international volunteers contribute at different levels of governance.

In addition to volunteers' formal contributions to governance, we also assess the influence of informal social and group norms on governance processes, which is often overlooked, such as inclusiveness and equity, social capital, cultural understanding and exchange, trust, and inspiration and optimism. While these categories are not often portrayed as dimensions of governance, the conceptual model and case examples illustrate how person-to-

person interactions that typify international volunteers' complementary contributions can have an indirect, but significant, effect on governance processes.

The paper also includes a short section describing international volunteerism's contribution to private and voluntary sector governance—including governance of civil society organisations, corporate governance, and self-governance of autonomous groups such as independent village committees, women's groups, and local religious organisations. Case examples illustrate how international volunteers provide support in areas such as strategic management, policy decisions, monitoring of organisational performance, legal functions, and overall accountability of these organisations.

Case examples also illustrate that qualities associated with volunteering add value not easily met through other forms of development cooperation. For instance, trust is commonly developed through volunteering, and volunteers are perceived as comparatively neutral players in governance initiatives. Volunteers and IVCOs also tend to place a strong focus on human rights and inclusive participation, and often benefit small organisations in isolated areas. Considering the complementary contributions of volunteers, stakeholders need to take careful stock of the appropriate 'mix' of various development actors in governance initiatives. Without acknowledging the importance of personal relationships in the process of change, the narrative describing international volunteers' contributions to governance would be incomplete.

All told, relationships with international volunteers matter in development cooperation, and their impact permeates all levels of governance support—from influencing informal group norms and self-governing grassroots organisations to changes in formal public policies. Normative social changes are crucial in the process of good governance, and a definitive outcome of volunteering. Because of volunteers' involvement at multiple levels, they appear to fill a critical bridging role that links development actors across sectors. IVCOs play an important bridging role as well. Via this role, the connections and communication facilitated by volunteers and IVCOs can enhance the possibility of complementary 'coproduction' between civil society and the state. As examples in this paper illustrate, volunteers' efforts to strengthen governance from below and above is a critical combination—escalating citizen engagement as well as building capacity and structural changes in higher governance institutions.

International Volunteering and Governance

1. Introduction

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has recognised governance as a ‘key element of the emerging vision for the development agenda beyond 2015’ (UN General Assembly, 2013, p.13). Strengthening governance has also featured prominently in United Nations Task Team documents as a target that needs to be more carefully assessed in the post-2015 agenda (UN System Task Team, 2012). Although strengthening governance¹ is a key activity for many International Volunteer Cooperation Organisations (IVCOs), the evidence base on international volunteers’ contributions to good governance² is low. This paper aims to strengthen the evidence on the contributions of development volunteerism to good governance.

International volunteerism³ takes many forms, and consists of a vast range of program models. These models include long-term volunteers engaged in development cooperation, short-term ‘professional’ volunteers and pro bono technical advisors, young people participating in international volunteer work camps, volunteer disaster-response teams, and short- and long-term cultural service exchanges. Unless otherwise noted, the evidence and examples provided in this paper refer to international volunteering for development cooperation⁴.

While we recognise that the overarching concept of governance often blurs boundaries of responsibility between state and civil society, and encompasses sets of institutions beyond governments, we set boundaries around the scope of this paper. This paper does not assess potential contributions of international volunteers as self-governing actors in development projects or programs. Although we recognise that successful development is often a function of complementary action or ‘coproduction’ with the state (Ostrom, 1996), it is not the intent

1 The concept of *governance* used in this paper follows the UNDP definition: ‘The exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels....It comprises mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and mediate their differences’ (United Nations Development Programme, 2012).

2 The concept of *good governance* is defined as ‘the allocation and management of resources to respond to collective problems; it is characterised by participation, transparency, accountability, rule of law, effectiveness and equity’ (United Nations Development Programme, 2012).

3 The UN defines *volunteerism* as actions ‘performed with free will, for the benefit of the community, and not primarily for financial gain’ (Leigh et al., 2011). International volunteerism meets these same three criteria but is performed across an international border, in another country, or countries (Sherraden et al., 2006).

4 International volunteering for development cooperation includes short-term (1-8 weeks) ‘professional’ volunteers and longer-term volunteer experts and multidisciplinary teams that bring concrete skills and experience to development projects. They are contrasted with unskilled, and often young, volunteers that are less likely to contribute substantively and sustainably to development efforts (Sherraden et al., 2006).

of this paper to showcase ways that international volunteering may substitute or replace the provision of public goods. We maintain the belief that the transfer of responsibility to external actors, including international volunteers, does not justify reduction of public support (see Mohan and Stokke, 2000). On the contrary, the intent of this paper is to highlight ways that international volunteers and IVCOs strengthen public and private governance structures through formal and informal interventions. The paper specifically highlights ways that international volunteerism has helped to produce more effective, credible, accountable and legitimate public institutions through transparency, access to information, participation and other observed strategies.

2. Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Model

Governance is a useful concept because it acknowledges both formal governing institutions and informal rules that affect public outcomes (Feeny, 1988). Although the central state can provide needed technical and administrative support and legal frameworks for development efforts, an overreliance on the central state often neglects local capacity, as well as individual, group, and community contributions. Therefore, our conceptual framework investigates how international volunteerism contributes to multiple levels of governance—from macro-level government structures and policy frameworks to micro-level personal values and normative constraints.

Political theorist Douglas North makes a clear distinction between formal governance institutions, such as laws and constitutions, and their informal counterparts, which include customs, norms, and traditions. Informal rules are much more embedded in a society and its people. Hence, motivating change in governance requires not only an alteration of formal laws and institutional structures, but also involves direct interactions and relationships between people and groups. As North suggests, formal institutions may be altered relatively quickly, but ‘informal constraints are culturally derived [thus] will not change immediately in reaction to changes in the formal rules’ (North, 1990, p.45).

For many international volunteers, their actions are intentionally and explicitly designed to strengthen public governance structures. International volunteers working with formal governance institutions might work directly with public administrators, or may fill a role in a public agency. They may also strive to influence or promote public sector reform by administering citizen scorecards, or by forming citizens committees and civil society coalitions. Some international volunteers might serve as external monitors during elections, or as field coordinators and registration supervisors, to ensure fairness and transparency during the election process. Others might organise and teach governance or human rights workshops to encourage the participation and inclusion of women in local governance.

While these intentional activities are often observed, various pathways to good

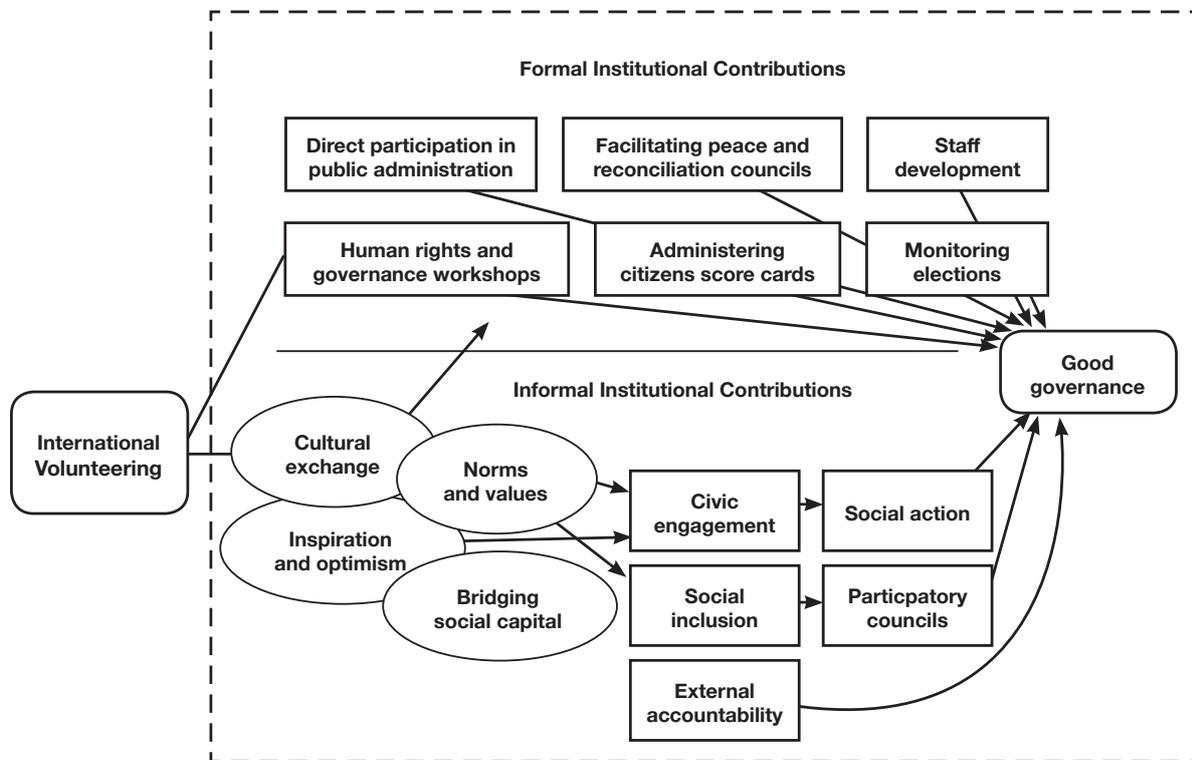
governance can also be traced to volunteers' relationships and socio-cultural influences. On the informal level, volunteers may aim to strengthen governance by, for instance, 'building a culture of peace through understanding and collaboration between different groups' (VSO International, 2012). These less-visible, and sometimes unintentional, contributions are often overlooked, despite their importance to the process of strengthening governance. As will be illustrated through multiple case examples below, volunteers' relationships can be very helpful to the development of civil society in marginalised communities. By working closely with community members to amplify their voices, and by strengthening civic engagement, volunteers help bolster vulnerable communities' coproduction with the state—or active involvement with public institutions to produce and negotiate the delivery of public goods and services (Ostrom, 1996). Contrary to the unidirectional public transfers of goods and services to a community, coproduction is more likely to yield favourable results as citizens' inputs and vested interests are taken into account (Mitlin, 2008).

The development of 'civic virtues' is an empirically-supported outcome of interaction with international volunteers. Similar to domestic volunteerism, interaction with international volunteers often prompts others to engage in civic action and instils a greater desire to participate in public life (Davis Smith, Ellis, and Howlett, 2002; Jones, 2005). As one woman in Peru commented after working with international volunteers who served in her school, 'seeing everything that the volunteers give us, I say I can give more time to the community, and my time to other people' (Lough and Matthew, 2013). As will be illustrated below, the work of volunteers also calls attention toward work for the public good and promotes habits of cooperation among community members. Working together with international volunteers tends to increase people's self-efficacy, or their belief that they can legitimately influence political affairs.

International volunteers are not typically able to resolve deep institutional issues through individual action alone. However, as a people-centred development approach, international volunteering can help change informal norms and attitudes that determine how people perceive and act on governing institutions, as well as inspire direct participation in political processes that determine formal rules and laws. Research with local staff members and the intended beneficiaries of volunteers' services illustrates how the inspiration and optimism of volunteers can spur other members of the community who have not previously engaged in social action or participated in decision-making. Other case examples illustrate how volunteers exemplify norms of inclusion and equality—particularly the participation of women in local councils and boards. Still other examples illustrate how volunteers' connections as independent agents heighten organisational transparency and accountability, and how discussions with volunteers may alter people's expectations of the role and responsibilities of local and national governance. In addition to intentional contributions to formal governance institutions, these relationship-based and process-oriented outcomes will be accentuated and fleshed out in greater detail in this paper.

Figure 1 provides a non-comprehensive conceptual model that diagrams the various ways that international volunteers contribute to good governance.

Figure 1: Conceptual Model: Contributions of International Volunteering to Good Governance



3. Methods

3.1. Literature Review

The bulk of this paper expounds on case examples that illustrate various ways international volunteers have contributed to good governance. Case examples from written material were drawn from published studies, grey literature from Forum member organisations, and online sources. While this study is not limited to case examples from Forum members, it focuses on the work of development-oriented IVCOs, as opposed to shorter-term volunteering for cross-cultural understanding (see Sherraden et al., 2006). While we assimilated grey literature as well as included independent evaluations of IVCOs in this paper, this study relies on examples that evaluators, IVCOs, and their volunteers opted to report. As such, the robustness of the examples is largely subject to the degree of systematisation IVCOs employed in data collection and reporting.

In total, we reviewed 106 evaluation or research reports from Forum members, in addition to a review of published literature. It is important to note that studies evaluating the contributions of international volunteers often lumped national and international volunteers together—making it difficult to parse out discrete differences from each group. This combination was particularly true for IVCOs that explicitly arrange for national and international volunteers to work together in project delivery (such as UNV and VSO International).

3.2. Forum Survey and Interviews

In completing the literature review, it became evident that only a handful of studies have investigated the intersection between international volunteering and governance. Although a number of evaluation reports contained a paragraph or individual case examples, many reports made no explicit reference to governance. In order to flesh out certain sections of this paper, we worked with the Forum Coordinator to administer a short survey to Forum members, which asked them to identify additional internal studies or case examples and experiences that could be useful for the study. We also completed 14 interviews with IVCO staff members or returned volunteers who described their experiences working on governance-related issues. Some of the examples and case examples provided below draw upon these individual interviews.

4. Contributions of International Volunteers to Public Sector Governance

The categories used in this section to describe formal contributions of international volunteers to governance are derived from the World Bank Governance Surveys Database, which has aggregated measures of governance from more than 25 major surveys with over 4,000 questions. Topical analyses of these questions have reduced dimensions of governance to 15 major categories, including: corruption, collusion, effectiveness, local autonomy, nepotism, political stability, poverty reduction, public awareness, regulatory framework, responsiveness, restructuring, rule of law, staff development/capacity building, transparency, and voice and accountability (World Bank, 2013). These categories are not mutually exclusive. For instance, strengthening accountability and transparency most certainly has a positive effect on rule of law and corruption. Considering the substantial overlap between these categories, they are provided here as heuristic tools rather than precise theoretical groupings. The examples provided under each subsection below are intended to illustrate the various ways that international volunteers contribute at different levels of governance. In cases where the categories are less relevant to the work of international volunteers, or the evidence base for volunteers' contributions is too low, they are not explicitly addressed.

In addition to volunteers' formal contributions to governance, we also assess informal social and group norms on governance processes that are often overlooked, such as inclusiveness and equity, social capital, cultural understanding and exchange, trust, and inspiration and optimism. Often, these categories are not portrayed as dimensions of governance. However, as the examples in section 4.2 illustrate, the person-to-person interactions that typify international volunteers' complementary contributions to development have an indirect, but significant, effect on governance processes.

4.1. Formal Public Institutions

4.1.1. Rule of Law and Regulatory Frameworks

Volunteers' contributions to the rule of law and regulatory frameworks refer to instances where volunteers work with government institutions to help strengthen enforcement and adherence to publicly available laws and legal practices. Direct participation by international volunteers in public institutions focuses on building capacity and strengthening the functioning of state bureaucracy to increase equity and endogenous growth (Skocpol, 1985). The assumption behind this strategy is that improved state institutions can more efficiently direct change and can better manage competing or pluralistic interests (Evans, 1995). Transparency and accountability within these institutions and with their regulatory frameworks help to further enhance rule of law, and are discussed in additional subsections below.

One of the most common ways that international volunteers contribute to rule of law and regulatory frameworks is by helping to set up new government programs and policies. As one example, Uniterra volunteers worked with the Guatemalan government to develop a Fair Trade Commission in order to institutionalise fair trade policies for local artisans. Although Uniterra volunteers first began supporting grassroots craft organisations to export and market their products abroad, international trade regulations limited the end benefit to Guatemalan artisans. As a result, volunteers worked together with local civil society organisations (CSOs) and government agencies to promote fair trade policies to support small-scale artisans. These volunteers assumed an integral role by serving as the link between CSOs and the new trade institution. In the end, a commission was set up in the Ministry of the Economy, which continues to work as a Uniterra partner to support fair trade in Guatemala (Fragner, 2008). In addition to the work of volunteers, the work of Uniterra highlights the importance of IVCOs being involved in efforts to change policy—backing the individual efforts of volunteers with higher-level connections and resources.

Volunteers and IVCOs have also helped to set up new government programs that strengthen co-productive relationships with civil society. As one example, UN international and national volunteers helped strengthen the volunteer infrastructure in Sierra Leone by co-

developing a national volunteer program. Among the many activities these volunteers were trained to perform, they assisted District Councils to decentralise planning. This resulted in a coproductive cyclical relationship where governments supported a strong civil society, which then in turn volunteered to strengthen district governments (Kinghorn and Matos, 2007). In this case, volunteers invested their relationships with the state to create a self-sustaining voluntary sector that could exist even after the volunteers' departure.

On the legal front, international volunteers have helped reform judicial systems to better enforce rule of law, and to increase access to justice for vulnerable populations. Strengthening rule of law is at the centre of the International Senior Lawyers Project (ISLP). Through the pro bono work of skilled and experienced retired attorneys, volunteers with ISLP provide legal services to strengthen the rule of law and protect human rights. Examples of past projects include helping to establish the Public Defender Office in Ukraine and providing consultation on India's revised plea bargaining laws (ISLP, 2013). ISLP volunteers have helped governments develop and implement legal reforms, but have also worked with law firms and individual citizens who would not normally have access to legal services. With a focus on vulnerable populations and individual clients, the 'people-centric' nature of volunteerism offers a contribution that is quite different from other typical legal consultancies.

A related example of volunteers' work within bottom-up judicial system reform is Cuso International's Children in Court program, where volunteers work with children who are victims of abuse or violent crime. Volunteers help prepare these children for court appearance—providing guidance and emotional support for children needing to testify in abuse and neglect cases (Cuso International, 2012). Again, this example is not typical of top-down regulatory reform, rather the work of volunteers has promoted rule of law through support of individual due process and the presentation of personal grievances.

Although volunteers often work with individual citizens, the end outcome typically is stronger systems and institutions. Australian Volunteers for International Development (AVID) worked closely with the Cambodian Arbitration Council Foundation (ACF), an independent national institution established in 2003 to support labour disputes resolution (ODE, 2014). Many of Cambodia's legal professionals are young, and lack access to extensive technical training. Operating through the Demand for Good Governance Project, AVID volunteers—older and with more professional experience under their belt—joined with ACF to improve its technical processes and better coordinate its information management systems. Volunteers worked with the new legal professionals within ACF to design and implement a case registry system and a legal bench book, which allow organisations to track litigation cases and guide legal procedures. These tools, co-designed with volunteers, have increased the number of cases ACF can manage.

As will be discussed in greater detail below, international volunteers also engage indirectly to promote regulatory change through advocacy efforts to reform laws that have a negative

impact on vulnerable populations. For instance, volunteers with Cuso International helped to organise local farmers, community-based organisations, and decision-makers in Bolivia to pass a national law that recognises and protects the rights of small-scale farmers. Not only has this law helped to safeguard their property rights, but it has also helped open markets to goods produced by small farmers (Cuso International, 2013). In this way, volunteers engage actors in civil society independently, with the goal of mobilising citizens, groups, and coalitions to pressure governments for change.

In contrast to autonomous engagement with actors in civil society, international volunteers also serve directly by filling functional roles in public institutions. This is yet another way that volunteers can strengthen rule of law. A common role of UN Volunteers is service in public institutions—particularly in post-crisis situations (Snarberg, 2006). As one example, UN Volunteers in Afghanistan worked at the district and provincial levels as field coordinators and registration supervisors before, during, and after elections (World Volunteer Web, 2005). Although professional volunteers who fill direct roles in government agencies may have a positive effect on programs, they may also have a detrimental effect. This is particularly the case if volunteers fill a role for an extended period of time, thereby creating dependency or displacing local employees via labour substitution. For instance, an evaluation of Australian volunteers in the Solomon Islands found that international volunteers made a ‘direct contribution to the continuation of government services (especially in education and health); [however] local retirees were being used to fill gaps at high cost so volunteers were a much cheaper alternative’ (Farrow and McDonald, 1998). Although volunteers may indeed be a ‘cheaper alternative’ for government agencies in some instances, this area of service warrants careful scrutiny.

In summary, international volunteers walk many pathways to strengthen rule of law. International volunteers may work directly as public servants within government institutions to enforce rule of law, or they may consult with public servants to build institutional capacity, or to set up new programs and policies. Alternatively, volunteers may have no direct contact with public institutions, but may work with civil society to press for changes in laws or legal frameworks. Others may act as links to strengthen co-productive relationships between actors from governments and civil society. While there is no single method of engagement, interpersonal interactions with volunteers are viewed as important to most larger, systemic changes that are cited in this paper.

When working to implement laws and other regulatory frameworks, international volunteers and their local partners oftentimes encounter institutional roadblocks that obstruct their efforts—particularly in unstable political environments. In South Africa, for example, the German voluntary organisation GTZ and its partners found that the complexity of, and frequent changes in, the South African policy landscape hindered the implementation of their efforts (Arnold Bergstraesser Institut, 2008). This finding represents another theme that is often

repeated in other areas of this paper: although the work of volunteers can be highly synergistic when governance institutions are supportive and stable, it can also be difficult to implement and maintain in unfavourable and unstable political environments. Similar with many other areas of public-private cooperation, volunteers' participation in governance is a two-way street, and is far easier to navigate when governments are supportive and stable.

4.1.2. Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism

International volunteers' contributions to good governance aim to combat corruption, bribery, nepotism, defrauding, and instances where people are favoured significantly over others by members of the government. For the most part, volunteers' contributions in this area could be subsumed under the category of accountability and transparency. However, a number of initiatives by international volunteers and IVCOs warrant mention here—as they are explicit in their attempt to contest corruption.

Volunteers often work within systems where corrupt practices are normative, and have remained largely unchallenged for years. Considering these normative differences, volunteers frequently note the difficulty of pushing for the adoption of anti-corruption practices with partner organisations and within government institutions. As one international volunteer shared, 'It was the first time that I felt responsible for handling [a] budget. It was a really eye-opening experience and a challenge to try to maintain a transparent budget process in a culture in which bribery appears to be a part of the system' (Scott-Smith, 2011). In attempts to move normative and policy frameworks towards good governance processes, international volunteers have worked directly with government agencies to establish mechanisms for fair spending. For instance, VSA worked with the Provincial Legal Advisor to the Solomon Islands and members of the state Education Office to set up systems to limit corrupt spending and ensure effective allocation of NZAID and EU funding (Swain and Broadbent, 2011).

Paid development consultants could likely substitute for volunteers who play an intermediary role within high-level organisations. However, international volunteers commonly provide support to small grassroots organisations that are unlikely to receive paid professionals. One volunteer from the UK described her experiences training staff members on fair tendering and procurement processes in subsistence farmers' organisations in Zambia. In this example, board members and members of one farmer's organisation all completed a tendering exercise that was then adopted into their regular hiring practices. A short time later, a new candidate was hired who was also a family member of the association's leadership. Although there was some initial concern of cronyism and nepotism, the association was able to demonstrate and document that they had performed a fair procurement process to back up and substantiate the selection of this new candidate (personal communication, 25 March, 2014).

International volunteers have worked to confront corruption in state-run institutions that are unlikely to receive paid consultants, such as public schools. For instance, volunteers from VSA New Zealand have partnered with the indigenous NGO Pri-Skul Asosiesen Blong Vanuatu (PSABV) and the Ministry of Education in Vanuatu since 1999 in an effort to bring equitable early education to the citizens of that South Pacific state (Swain, James, and Schischka, 2008). One of the challenges the team has tackled is nepotism. Spaces in schools are limited in Vanuatu, and enrolment is often allotted to children of the wealthy elite, which stunts access to universal education, particularly for low-income children of indigenous descent, and especially girls. With international volunteers' comparatively strong focus on human rights and universal participation (see Lough and Matthew, 2013), VSA has worked with PSABV to help provide community-based early education programs rooted in indigenous approaches. As a result, children previously excluded from school have been able to attend. Furthermore, the PSABV-VSA partnership has integrated indigenous approaches and community-based practices into the Vanuatu Ministry of Education's future programming and funding initiatives.

In addition to the work of individual volunteers, IVCOs also try to combat collusion and corruption by modelling and maintaining good governance practices within their organisations. For instance, VSO International has developed an anti-corruption initiative that begins *within* the organisation and extends into the larger community environment. 'Grease money' can certainly help to open doors and smooth bureaucratic gears. However, by setting guidelines that prohibit volunteers and partner organisations from accepting or giving bribes, or from using their power or influence to avoid complying with local laws or regulations, IVCOs and volunteers can avoid reinforcing otherwise normative corrupt practices. As one international volunteer stated when describing how the organisation chooses local partners, 'When we are working in the field, [governance practices] come into discussion when we choose partners. They must follow our transparency guidelines; they must follow our financial reporting.' Additional examples of volunteers' contributions to corporate and non-profit governance are illustrated in section 5.

It should also be noted that some scholars have voiced concern that international cooperation agencies may violate expectations of public accountability if they are deeply embedded in government agencies (Lewis, 2008). Research suggests that the boundaries that separate NGOs (including IVCOs) from the state are often intimate and blurred because employees in third sector organisations often cross over into the government sector through career opportunities and personal and professional relationships. Such crossovers have benefits, as well as challenges. For example, former IVCO staff now working in government departments could provide an insider's perspective on their former organisation's operations. Crossovers could also result in IVCOs being more informed on policy-making and other political processes, which could ultimately result in greater voice and accountability for communities they work with. On the other hand, crossovers between sectors may also result in the 'elite circulation'

of ideas, personnel, and resources between third sector organisations and the state—thus reinforcing patterns of patronage and interest-group politics. Some international NGO leaders have gained preferential access to resources and contracts through ‘brokering, power deals, [and] setting up alliances’ with former NGO colleagues who entered the government (Lewis, 2008). More research is needed to understand the potentially conflicting role of IVCOs, and volunteers by extension, as representatives of local communities and as perceived agents of interest groups—particularly in comparison with other international development organisations.

4.1.3. Voice and Accountability

Voice and accountability refer to strategies that enhance opportunities for people to express their views or to make complaints when they are unsatisfied with governance practices. It refers to methods and processes whereby government bodies are held accountable to their citizens. A key assumption is that if governments are more accountable to special interests than to citizens, they become extensions of powerful interests rather than representing the best interests of their citizens. Theory and practice predict that volunteers from outside may make a significant contribution as third-party intermediaries and may work with local actors to pressure decision-makers to reconsider priorities (Ma, 1992; Shapiro, 2010). Furthermore, by drawing international attention to inequities endured by impoverished populations, volunteers can encourage accountability from both governments and service providers to enact pro-poor policies.

One strategy that has been used to effectively report on accountability in governance is the distribution and utilisation of citizen report cards, where people score government officials according to progress on development outcomes (Stern, Dethier, and Rogers, 2005). International volunteers have used the report card method to help citizens rate the adequacy and quality of local governance (Public Affairs Foundation India, 2011). Although citizen report cards have been critiqued as not entirely useful in non-democratic spaces, these types of strategies have the potential to make a significant impact in rural developing contexts, where volunteers tend to have the greatest impact (Rehnstrom, 2000). Volunteers’ work with local governance institutions and village development committees can have important decision-making consequences at the community level (Nath, 2013).

IVCOs can influence accountability by advocating for governments and international donors to allocate more funds to programs supporting marginalised groups, and by organising these groups to play an active role in deciding how funds should be distributed (VSO International, 2010a). However, the effect and impact is more pronounced among large transnational IVCOs (and other CSOs) that have widespread reputation and influence. For instance, in an evaluation of a youth project in Kyrgyzstan, the influence of UNV (and UNDP, by extension) on the Deputy Minister of Youth Policy was viewed as a significant component of

UN Volunteers' ultimate influence on the governance process (Sterland, 2007).

Similarly, a three-year project initiated by Uniterra and CECI resulted in innovative approaches to accountability—such as taxes being deposited directly into a communal bank account in order to avoid resource misuse. The decision to use this system was arrived at during a course led by volunteers to brainstorm mechanisms and tools to enhance transparency in the collection, allocation, and use of resources. As a collective governance approach, the towns also established committees to look after different aspects of revenue and management, which was a further innovation that emerged from this program. Involving people from outside an otherwise closed system also tends to prescribe a norm that theft and corruption will be checked and enforced.

Innovation and ingenuity are common traits associated with international volunteers, who come from outside the system and are likely to introduce new ways of thinking about solutions to old problems (Lough and Matthew, 2013). For instance, as a study on international volunteering in Kenya reported, 'We have what I call the *'mzungu factor'*, when they see a *mzungu* they say...at least now we won't have theft, because where the *mzungu* comes from they don't tolerate this kind of corruption. Especially to the layman and people at the grassroots' (Lough and Carter-Black, n.d.). However, we know from global experience of development effectiveness that putting a 'watchdog' in place without changing local processes and capacity building often fails to produce long-term sustainable changes in ownership and accountability.

In addition to influencing internal accountability within local organisations, volunteers may also strengthen mutual accountability for results (see OECD, 2008; SDSN, 2013). Initial research with staff members of host organisations describes perceptions of volunteers as among the most autonomous of development agents, due to their relative newness in the field and their limited ties to local power structures (Lough and Matthew, 2013). Other research suggests that international volunteers are typically perceived as more accountable to the communities they are embedded in (Devereux, 2010; Lough, 2012; Rehnstrom, 2000). In comparison, technical development assistance personnel are often seen as more accountable to transnational development organisations and bilateral aid agencies (Devereux, 2010). This is partly based on the assumption that volunteers are highly motivated 'to make a difference' by focusing on local organisations that work to 'reduce social and economic inequality' (Lough, McBride, and Sherraden, 2009, p.13). As perceived representatives of both community-based and transnational organisations, international volunteers may have a unique bridging role to play in communicating and ensuring mutual accountability.

4.1.4. Transparency and Public Awareness

Transparency is a necessary condition for accountability. In this paper, transparency primarily

refers to the availability and communication of information to the public (Fairbanks, Plowman, and Rawlins, 2007). It describes ways that international volunteers have increased public awareness of government activities and programs—including community-based networks and assemblies that can be used to communicate government activities (Swyngedouw, 2005). Transparency is critical to fair and democratic elections; citizens must have adequate information to critically evaluate decision-makers' choices, and to sanction their malfeasance via participation in public elections. The ability of citizens to effectively monitor governments and hold officials accountable is mediated by people's access to available information. If citizens are unaware of wrongdoing, they have little substance on which they may base decisions and hold public servants accountable.

Increasing transparency and public awareness is an important area of contribution for many international volunteers and IVCOs. As one source confirms, citizens and government representatives in Sierra Leone believed that UN Volunteers' most valuable contributions were in the areas of increasing public awareness and grassroots mobilisation (Kinghorn and Matos, 2007). These post-election volunteers in Sierra Leone worked together with young people and CSOs to advocate for, and monitor follow-through on, campaign promises (Kinghorn and Matos, 2007). International volunteers with other IVCOs have explicitly engaged young people in pre- and post-election monitoring to strengthen governance. Volunteers have also worked in many areas beyond election monitoring, such as informing people about key issues and potential candidates, involving young people and women in democratic processes and debates, and mobilising marginalised groups for social action.

On another level, the existence of open financial records is perhaps the most straightforward and valid indicator of transparency. The availability of open financial records can be a significant indicator of accountability when paired with grievance-enforcing mechanisms. Civil society organisations are becoming increasingly professionalised by enforcing transparent business-like practices encouraged by funders, such as strict budgeting and auditing measures, while concurrently incorporating 'genuineness' and human relationships into their activities by bringing more volunteers on staff (Lacey and Ilcan, 2006). On one hand, international volunteers may help to promote organisational transparency simply by being perceived as arms of the funding mechanism. Volunteers also build organisational capacity by training staff on professional budgeting, auditing, and procurement procedures (see subsection below on Capacity Building). On the downside, volunteers—particularly younger ones—may lack experience in enforcing and implementing measures aimed at increasing transparency (Lacey and Ilcan, 2006; Salamon, Hems, and Chinnock, 2000).

As outsiders, international volunteers often describe transparency as a limited social reality at the grassroots level. Volunteers' previous experiences suggest that without higher-level structural changes to support freedom of information, bottom-up efforts to promote

transparency are often thwarted. One volunteer described her experiences training Zambian subsistence farmers to perform social auditing. Although they were well trained on the procedures, when it came to perform the audits, the trained social auditors found it nearly impossible to obtain access to accurate information. These trained local volunteers were often passed around from person-to-person in public institutions—eventually becoming disillusioned and despondent. Despite training at the micro-level, auditors often became fatalistic in due course, lacking confidence that they could substantively influence governance (personal communication, 25 March, 2014).

Another volunteer gave an example of how her work to promote transparency and public awareness in Burma was limited in the absence of larger governance reform. Although the international volunteers could teach the meaning of democracy and its common practices, the trainees did not necessarily view this knowledge as useful in a system that supported military governance. Thus, raising awareness of how a democratic government works failed to make a significant difference—at least in the short term. While this volunteer saw no immediate impact of her work in the governance space, she believed that they succeeded in planting seeds of leadership and civic engagement with young people, which she anticipated would have an impact in the long term (personal communication, 23 March, 2014).

4.1.5. Political Stability, Peace and Security

Political stability and peace is both an outcome and a predictor of good governance. It represents a virtuous cycle whereby stable and secure governance can be strengthened through the absence of violence and upheaval resulting from conflict. This section describes international volunteers' contributions to monitoring elections and a legal voting process, as well as other facets of the political process that promote political stability and the peaceful transition of power.

International volunteers have actively participated in activities aimed at the peaceful transition of power. Perhaps their most commonly cited role is preparing for and monitoring elections. For instance, 400 UN Volunteers helped to register around one million people for the municipal elections in Kosovo in 2000 (Snarberg, 2006). Likewise, UN Volunteers in Afghanistan provided technical and administrative logistical support during registration activities before elections. With the support of the international community, 300 national UN Volunteers entered data and monitored a computerised database of registered voters in Afghanistan (World Volunteer Web, 2005). UN Volunteers in Kenya also acted as mediators for peace during the 2010 constitutional referendum by diffusing tensions between the Kuria and the Luo, who were on opposing sides of the proposed constitution. As UN Volunteers reached out to conduct peace and consensus building meetings between the Kuria and Luo communities, both communities agreed to maintain peace during and after the referendum (Bohoko, 2010). While it is possible that paid workers could fill these roles, volunteers are symbolically representative of an active

civil society. International volunteers are also typically viewed as more neutral and impartial than local actors, which strengthens claims on fairness (Lough and Mati, 2012).

The participation of young people in elections is viewed as a particularly high priority for the ongoing stability of the peace process in many countries rising out of conflict (Kinghorn and Matos, 2007). Some IVCOs have found that youth are oftentimes among the first to ‘offer a hand of reconciliation’ and overcome territorial and behavioural barriers in post-conflict regions (Bezhani, 2008, p.5). For this reason, young volunteers—and particularly young national volunteers—may be particularly effective in peace-building (Bezhani, 2008). VSO International reported that peace-building through national volunteers in the Philippines and the Balkan Region was particularly effective, as national volunteers often came from similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds, which allowed them to more quickly adapt and connect to both the local community and the voluntary organisation (Bezhani, 2008). In Indonesia, international volunteers were particularly effective at engaging young national volunteers in anti-corruption ‘election watch’ efforts. These volunteers worked closely with media and acted as allies of advocacy groups (volunteer, personal communication, 21 March, 2014).

Another way that international volunteers help promote political stability is through the promotion and development of democratic institutions. VSA was instrumental in assisting the new Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) with the development of democratic institutions in the post-conflict region. Operating on a memorandum of understanding with the Government of Papua New Guinea, VSA was solicited to monitor Bougainville’s constitutional arrangements, assist with organising the 2005 elections for an autonomous government, aid in developing the new ABG administrative branches, and help execute peace-building and poverty alleviation efforts (Swain, 2005).

International volunteers’ peace and reconciliation efforts form an important component of building and maintaining peace in remote areas with vulnerable populations. Managers of missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) report that volunteers are more willing to serve in high-conflict areas, and are more likely to be sent to remote areas (Mavungu, 2010). FOCSIV (Italian Federation of Christian Organisations for International Volunteer Service) ‘White Helmet’ volunteers have provided humanitarian interventions in a variety of crisis areas by strengthening relationships between ‘forgotten communities’ post-crisis, and by promoting non-violent interventions based on personal interactions (personal communication, 31 April, 2014). Likewise, Skillshare International has a long history of volunteers participating in international work camps and humanitarian cooperation. By working together with those from other cultures, volunteers strive to enhance peace, understanding, social cohesion, and solidarity between nations. The work of international volunteers in politically sensitive areas, including post-apartheid South Africa, has been highlighted as particularly impactful (Skillshare International, 2004). The importance of personal engagement across sectors, networking, and

bringing people together is evident in this quote from a community member in Kenya who worked with international volunteers from Germany:

When it comes to post election violence, the international volunteers have played a very big role because they have engaged the opinion leaders on the ground, the chairman of the IDP camps, and the victims who have faced the violence...when it comes to peace reconciliation they also played a big role because they met with peace working groups...they formed the peace committee within the volatile hotspot areas, and they engaged with them in their day-to-day activities. There was also a percentage of partnering and networking (personal communication, 5 June, 2012).

On the micro-level, volunteers may be charged with a variety of indirect tasks helping to promote peace, such as opening space for dialogue. According to an evaluation report of Unité volunteers in the Big Lakes region of Central Africa, the volunteers had ‘a role to play in the establishment of a public space to seek to overcome the lack of debate and dialogue in the region’ (Unité, 2008, p.4). International volunteers have also contributed to long-term changes in individuals and families traumatised by conflict—such as providing psycho-social recovery and helping to implement lasting, culturally-relevant psychological support mechanisms (Bezhani, 2008). Trust is a critical component of the therapeutic relationship, and tends to be higher among volunteers than other actors on the international development stage (see Lough and Matthew, 2013). Psychological rehabilitation is a first step in the peace-building process, as well as a foundational facet of reintegrating citizens into their communities and promoting long-term social-civic participation (Bezhani, 2008).

In summary, international volunteers are often perceived as relatively neutral and impartial members of civil society. As such, they are often witnessed filling important roles in high-conflict and post-conflict development interventions. Trust appears to be a central mediating factor for volunteers working in this area. Greater trust in their efforts allows volunteers to engage in activities ranging from monitoring elections and mobilising groups around common causes to providing therapeutic support. While we recognise that some stakeholders may have high mistrust for international volunteers and may believe they represent biased interests, international volunteers generally appear to have a specific role to play in situations where local tensions run high.

4.1.6. Participation

Participatory approaches to good governance promote accountability of local leaders to their constituency (Blair, 2000). Approaches that invite citizen actors to participate in ‘co-governance for accountability’ tend to decrease malfeasance in governing institutions, while increasing the quantity and quality of public services (Ackerman, 2004). Although opportunities may be

opened for marginalised populations to make claims on power through the institutional and legal reforms discussed above, these changes will only be socially self-sustaining if citizens act on these opportunities. Therefore, public reform must be supplemented by efforts that facilitate participation of citizens in decision-making bodies. The 1999 UN Expert Working Group on Volunteering and Social Development defined participation as a form of volunteerism, by which people engage in the governance process ‘from representation on government consultation bodies to user-involvement in local development projects’ (UN Volunteers, 2001, p.5).

Much academic work has been done on the importance of citizen participation to good governance. Popular terms used to describe this process have been referred to as participatory democracy (Botchway, 2001; Cleaver, 1999; Mohan and Stokke, 2000; Rodrik, 1999), inclusive development (World Bank, 2001), deliberative development (Evans, 2004), democratic empowerment (Heller, 2001), democratic development (Hadenius and Uggla, 1996), citizens’ voice and client power (Alsop, Heinsohn, and Somma, 2004), democratic local governance (Blair, 2000), empowered participatory governance (Fox, 2004; Fung and Wright, 2001), and collaborative governance (Ansell and Gash, 2008; Newman et al., 2004).

While these concepts may differ slightly in details of implementation, they retain a shared effort to provide the politically oppressed with a greater voice in the decisions that affect their daily livelihoods. Participation is promoted as a democratisation process which may increase the substantive freedoms of the disenfranchised and provide governing bodies with more accurate information regarding the needs of its citizens. It can help increase a sense of ownership of legitimate and democratic governance processes among typically disenfranchised groups. By enabling greater participation by citizens and redistributing decision-making power, research suggests that greater resources will be invested in efforts to build human capital, including education and health. In one evaluation, UN organisations and international partners believed volunteers’ greatest contributions to governance lay in their ability to mobilise participation and inclusion of young people and marginalised groups in decision-making bodies (Kinghorn and Matos, 2007). As illustrated in the conceptual model (Figure 1), social inclusion is an important (though often unrecognised) pathway to good governance.

Rocked by post-election violence, the Kenyan government, for example, reached out to VSO International and requested that the organisation initiate a youth volunteer program to engage disengaged and distraught youth in positive community-building efforts (2010b). International volunteers partnered with various districts and the Kenya Ministry of Youth and Sports for this effort. While encouraging active citizenship among youth does promote civic engagement among this often-restless population, the question remains how sustainable youth civic engagement is, given the persistence of root causes like unemployment and socioeconomic insecurity.

The ability of international volunteers to engage young people may provide a

marginal benefit over other development experts in the area of youth participation. A youth-oriented project in Kyrgyzstan described the contributions of UN Volunteers who organised public consultations between rural youth and governments. An evaluation study using 28 focus groups with more than 300 young people found that ‘the consultation process [with volunteers] has been both fulfilling and novel...this has been the first time that they have been asked to describe their situation, identify their needs and express their opinions on issues that affect them to those in positions of authority and power’ (Sterland, 2007, p.18). In another study, UN Volunteers helped to develop youth centres in rural Ukrainian villages through the Youth Social Inclusion for Civic Engagement in Ukraine project. An evaluation of the project compared villages with youth centres to villages without youth centres. This found that villages with youth centres offered youth more possibilities to influence local authorities. This influence was attributed to greater networking opportunities and support provided by UN Volunteers, along with stronger partnerships developed between local authorities, NGOs, youth centres, and young people. In addition, youth involved in the volunteer-developed youth centres were more likely (32% compared to 16%) to believe that their interests were taken into account by local authorities (Vološevych, 2011).

With a focus on building relationships, international volunteers often link groups of people to enhance their influence on governance. In Cochabamba, Bolivia, Unité volunteers worked with an alliance of 40 women’s groups from various sectors, which ally to push regional, local, and national government agencies for recognition of the women’s mutual needs and demands (Unité, 2008). The network focuses on strengthening the internal organisational structure, amplifying their influence, and encouraging civic participation among women. Unité volunteers were charged with supporting and advising coalitions during the building of new and stronger organisational structures, helping to manage tasks such as lobbying strategies. During its four-year effort, which began in 2000, the women’s network evolved into an effective, government-acknowledged social and political player in Cochabamba.

On a different level, international volunteering tends to produce heightened notions of global citizenship and participation in volunteers—even after they return home (Baillie Smith and Laurie, 2011; Lough and McBride, 2013). Volunteer alumni may influence governance by participating in political processes upon return to their home countries—often on behalf of international populations. In one study, volunteers returning from South-South placements learned new skills, attitudes, and ideals during their service, which they later invested in developing civil society in their home country (Popazzi, 2004). Development volunteers often engage in ‘soft education’ practices upon returning to their home country, in which they disseminate knowledge, raise awareness, and either indirectly or directly encourage home community members to engage civically to promote development (O’Neill, 2012).

Despite the valuable contributions described above, some have voiced concern that

volunteers as intermediaries may weaken, rather than strengthen, local governance. For example, an evaluation report of FK Norway in Malawi questioned whether FK volunteers' presence and intervention weakened ties between the municipal officers they were assisting and other government bodies by potentially taking up roles that local agents may have filled and serving as gatekeepers that hampered direct ties between government officials (Ingdal, Shreshta, and Mussa, 2009). The same report also noted that the volunteers' presence was contingent upon available funding in Norway, elucidating the vulnerability of international volunteer-dependent operations in the South.

Overall, international volunteers are known for encouraging participation and engagement of people in democratic processes—with a particular focus on increasing participation by youth, women, and minority members. Reports suggest that international volunteers may be particularly helpful in areas where inclusion in governance is not fully respected in practice. With the help of local leaders and IVCOs, volunteers also link coalitions of groups with common needs and interests in an effort to help governments better recognise the needs of less-powerful groups in civil society. However, IVCOs must carefully structure programs to ensure that the involvement of volunteers does not alienate members from groups with competing interests, or diminish internal solidarity and direct relationships that would otherwise form in the volunteers' absence.

4.1.7. Effectiveness and Responsiveness

The effectiveness of governance refers to the efficient allocation and use of public resources. Responsiveness is a sub-concept of effectiveness that measures how well a government service responds to public complaints and requests. In states where there is political will within institutions, international volunteer organisations oftentimes work directly with official ministries and agencies in an effort to promote the effective and responsive allocation of state resources (VSO International, 2008). In states where political will is low, international volunteer organisations often opt to ally with civil service agencies to lobby agencies and to bolster governmental allocations (VSO International, 2008). Although civil society alliances may fill an institutional void, they must be developed with committed stakeholders with sufficient capacity to work effectively (van Steenberg, Lange, and Steigerwald, 2009).

Indeed, governance cannot be responsive if the needs of its pluralistic constituents are unknown. As noted above, women and traditionally marginalised groups can make their needs known by increasing their presence and representation in decision-making bodies. In one report, a survey of 187 women politicians from 65 countries revealed that 89% believed that they were responsible for representing the special needs and interests of women (Waring, Greenwood, and Pintat, 2000 - as referenced in Nath, 2013). This is an area where international volunteers, in collaboration with local partner organisations, have made a measurable impact. A volunteer

working in collaboration with a Women's Empowerment Action Forum helped women in Nepal mobilise during leadership training sessions to act collectively and raise their voices in village development committees. In this instance, women succeeded in changing the budget allocation to go towards resources addressing women's issues, such as stretchers for women in labour and resources to help victims of domestic violence and abuse (Nath, 2013, p.18).

International volunteers may work with local agencies to increase governmental responsiveness by strengthening sustainable connections with governments. For instance, by cultivating personal relationships over a number of years with the director of Xinxing, a local street children's aid and advocacy program, long-term Australian volunteers helped the organisation establish ties with the local government to better serve a vulnerable target population (Australian Volunteers International, 2013). As AVI reports, the volunteers 'focused on networking and advocacy combined with developing Xinxing's work to let it grow and 'speak for itself.' The director gained confidence over time as the Provincial Government began not only to listen, but increasingly to support Xinxing and its 'holistic approach [to aiding street children]'. Over time, the organisation has leveraged representation of vulnerable children by deepening dialogue with the Provincial Government.

With the help of volunteers, young people in Kyrgyzstan were included and empowered to implement community development projects. Evaluators viewed the work of national and international UN Volunteers as important facilitators of the process. As stated in the final evaluation report on this project: 'By insisting that youth initiative groups coordinate with their local authorities and community leaders...the project has been instrumental in...advancing real cooperation with local governments, where previously there had been none' (Sterland, 2007, p.27). In a separate evaluation report that surveyed 67 UN Volunteers serving with the Hiroshima Peacebuilders Centre, 37% felt their main contribution was enhancing capacities among governments to deliver public services, followed by improving 'inter-institutional coordination' in the delivery of services (13%), and improving the availability of information on public services or access to services (12%) (United Nations Volunteer (UNV) programme, 2012). Of note, these top contributions all referenced some dimension of governance. This reflects a view by some analysts that governance provides a window into volunteers' distinct contributions. As one study concluded, studying volunteers' contributions to governance 'touches on all areas of UNV's distinctive contributions to development - from mobilizing voluntary action at the community level to improving access to services to enhancing participation and inclusion' (Kingham and Matos, 2007, p.20).

Volunteers have also helped to increase overall effectiveness of governing institutions by aiding to establish new and innovative programs aiming to increase responsiveness of governments. International volunteers in the Philippines, for example, helped implement a community health volunteer program, which not only improved the health of local residents,

but also helped mobilise local health volunteers to push for government policy that would lead to improved benefits and incentives for health workers (VSO International, 2008). As a result, legislation has been introduced that provides and guarantees training for healthcare workers, among other benefits. As another example, Unité has worked with InterTEAM volunteers and the Namibian Ministry of Education since 1964 to establish the national school system in Namibia (Unité, 2008). Volunteers have been involved at every level from local education systems to the Ministry of Education. These volunteers have also helped to develop an innovative national ‘curative pedagogy,’ where schools teach on subjects such as girls’ empowerment and HIV/AIDS. In these scenarios, volunteers’ efforts responded to local-level demands, and are illustrative of volunteers’ perceived accountability to local institutions.

Because technical support is often required during project implementation, the degree to which volunteers are able to provide technical training often determines the degree to which governments can respond to the needs of constituents (Clever, 1999). A key strategy for JICA has been enlisting volunteers with special expertise in technology to train staff of public agencies. For instance, JICA has a longstanding partnership with the Bhutan Ministry of Information and Communications. JICA’s JOCV (Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers) continues to work with the ministry to consider how information and communication technology can be applied to increase the effectiveness of governance at various levels (personal communication, 21 March, 2014).

Related to technological training, Uniterra volunteers facilitated the exchange of techniques and training methods between Canadian CSOs and grassroots literacy organisations in Niger and Senegal. One of these shared strategies focused on how to persuade their respective governments to increase financial support for literacy programs. As a result of these efforts, governments stepped up their resource support for the grassroots CSOs (Fagnier, 2008). Buckles and Chevalier also described how Uniterra volunteers influenced local governance processes by documenting outputs such as changes in leadership, or the development of financial reports, by-laws, news bulletins, etc. (2012, p.18). More precise examples of these dimensions of effectiveness are outlined in the Capacity Building subsection below.

4.1.8. Capacity Building

Capacity building is one of the contributions of international volunteers most frequently cited by community members and staff of host organisations (Lough and Matthew, 2013). Capacity building typically takes two forms: (1) building a local partner agency or civil society group’s *strategic capabilities* and (2) strengthening their *operational functioning* (Watkins and Khan, 2009). Development of public staff, a component of capacity building, aims to refine the quality or skills of government employees. A key goal of KOICA’s Korea Overseas Volunteers (KOVs) program, for instance, is to work with national governments to augment the skills and experience

of government staff. JICA's cooperation volunteers also focus heavily on capacity building of organisational staff. As one example, JOCVs in Ghana have helped build capacity of government administration and management in a variety of areas including budget support, public financial management, training of civil service workers, and monitoring and evaluation (JICA, 2011).

The history of AVI in the Solomon Islands is illustrative of why IVCOs deploy volunteers to enhance the skills base of public staff members. In the early 1980s, public officials in the Solomon Islands engaged in discussions with AVI to meet the 'lack of trained and experienced personnel to meet growing demands for education and health services' (Farrow and McDonald, 1998). As a result of the government's workforce review process, they decided that 'there was renewed interest in recruiting foreign volunteers as a source of cost-effective technical assistance.' After years of working with international volunteers, discussions with government officials in the Solomon Islands led to the conclusion that 'Volunteers were seen as an integral part of this continuing provision of technical assistance.'

As with AVI, VSA has developed and maintained a strong focus on capacity building in the Solomon Islands, and mentors for government officials (Swain and Broadbent, 2011). Contributions of volunteers' that have been found particularly helpful include modelling in leadership and management principles, incorporating useful planning and structuring strategies into everyday organisational activities, and helping to develop and strengthen local staff's planning and budgeting efforts. In a recent re-evaluation of the program, international volunteers were cited for their special attention paid to relationship building compared to other development actors working in the Islands (Swain and Broadbent, 2011).

One common way to improve public accountability and responsiveness is through decentralisation of power and devolution of public services (Faguet, 2011). Capacity building and training of staff members at the local level is often needed to effectively decentralise. With the Zambian state's poverty alleviation efforts to redistribute funds to the sub-national level, international volunteers in Zambia were instrumental in building local government officials' capacities during the decentralisation processes (Gay and Baptist, 2012). In this role, volunteers assisted with organisational capacity assessments, resource allocation planning, and resource sustainability training. Workshops provided new skills training in areas such as fundraising and project proposal writing. Volunteers also taught local officials project monitoring and evaluation skills. As a result of these efforts, local officials have expressed their increased confidence and enthusiasm in program planning, implementation, and evaluation, and have spread their knowledge learned to other sectors, such as a regional water and sanitation project.

In addition to building capacity within public agencies, volunteers' efforts also extend to the community level; building capacity of local citizens is a parallel process. Unité volunteers joined efforts with the Nicaraguan non-profit ODESAR to boost citizen participation and negotiation capabilities with municipal and national governments. In

the evaluation of this project, program participants reported improved leadership skills and greater confidence to participate in civic engagement initiatives (Pfister and Barrios, 2007). As one participant stated, ‘Before working with ODESAR, I was shy. Now I am not—now I am a leader’ (Pfister and Barrios, 2007). Building leadership capacity in communities is not without challenges, however. Some participants, for example, asserted that political tensions in their communities stagnated efforts to promote social change—despite encouragement from volunteers to engage in civic action. Clearly, efforts to build capacity among citizens also require larger structural changes in governance institutions to be most effective. In this sense, bottom-up activity from volunteers appears to be one component of an overall shift in governance patterns. Broad shifts in governance must also include changes from above within macro political, social and economic structures.

In order to strengthen governance from below and above, IVCOs and development agencies often blend direct and macro-institutional capacity building efforts. Such is the case with GTZ’s efforts in the microfinance sector in Tajikistan. Here, the organisation assisted ‘at the micro level, with technical assistance, grants and loans to microfinance organisations; at the mezzo level with training and grants to AMFOT [partner organisation] for developing the association’s services and capacities; and at the macro level, with technical assistance to develop the regulatory and supervisory capacities of the National Bank’ (GTZ, 2010). Per the evaluation, as a result of GTZ volunteers’ capacity building efforts, the capacities of staff members and organisations were enhanced.

International volunteers from private sector industries have been particularly effective at teaching skills required for effective public-private relationships. For instance, the Ministry of Economy and Finance in Cambodia committed to a belief that the insurance sector could play a central role in the economic development of Cambodia. In response to requests from the ministry, insurance examiners serving with the Financial Services Volunteer Corps provided training on life insurance practices and principles to members of the ministry (FSVC, 2014b). The ministry then used these practices and principles to develop and improve the insurance sector. In particular, participants gained a better understanding of life insurance principles and how they may promote an effectively functioning life insurance sector in Cambodia.

From a somewhat different perspective of capacity building, international volunteer service is also a career development pathway for volunteers, who often return to their home countries to work in public institutions. Returned volunteers often become ‘multipliers’ of development, from campaigning and advocacy efforts to pursuing careers in the development field (O’Neill, 2012). FK Norway, for instance, has reported that former volunteers have pursued development and leadership programs funded by institutions such as the British Council (Ingdal et al., 2009). Former volunteers have also moved on to earn advanced university degrees in areas such as politics, media, diplomacy, public management, and communications

to prepare for working in future governance and development initiatives at home and abroad. More broadly, international volunteering provides volunteers with work and life experiences that deepen their cultural competencies and their understanding of issues affecting the Global South (Hawkins, Verstege, and Flood, 2013). Volunteers can later apply these experiences and interests as they advocate for good governance in the South.

In consideration of the many benefits international volunteers have provided to development of public staff, challenges must also be considered. Evaluations of international volunteers' training of public staff uncovered a number of problems 'due to inadequate orientation, e.g. [volunteers] don't have sufficient understanding of government policies and expectations' (Farrow and McDonald, 1998). In another instance, public employees saw volunteers as a means to 'fill in the gaps' rather than a source of skills to be transferred (Swain and Ulu, 2012). Because volunteers are interim staff, and are often willing to work without compensation, some governments seemed to take unfair advantage of volunteers' readiness to engage in tasks that other employees were unwilling to accept. Along these lines, there was concern that volunteers may assume spaces of employment in public institutions that may otherwise be allocated to local persons. There was further concern that prolonged reliance on volunteers creates dependency if there is poor succession planning. While further exploration of these concerns is warranted, some of these problems could be mitigated if volunteers develop a plan for training public employees to replace them after departure.

As a related concern, some reports stressed a concern that training and capacity building must be culturally and temporally relevant. International volunteers who come from a different culture and context may be more likely than national volunteers to use an etic lens to interpret project objectives—and may teach skills or train methods that are not necessarily appropriate or correct for the context (Swain and Ulu, 2012). Where appropriate, however, a focus on capacity building could mitigate the loss of effort and knowledge vis-à-vis volunteer turnover, as well as minimise dependency on volunteers in public organisations.

4.1.9. Activism

While the majority of examples provided above describe volunteers' and IVCOs work with governments, international volunteers also work outside official public processes of governments to pursue their objectives. Often being perceived as somewhat neutral parties, volunteers may help to more easily mobilise diverse interest groups to engage in activism and advocacy. With a broad base of community activism, the reach of volunteers often extends to other non-formal community efforts, such as community action committees or advocacy efforts that participants continue after the volunteers' departure (Talcot, 2011). Broadly speaking, volunteerism is both a complement to, and enabler of, grassroots, organic, change-oriented social activism (Cronin and Perold, 2008).

As illustrated through various case examples above, IVCOs often approach development through a rights-based orientation that encourages ‘active citizenship’, or an active interest in civic decision-making to improve state institutions. When competing local interest groups question each other’s motives, they may find it difficult to mobilise on their own. However, because volunteers are not often perceived as beholden to a particular interest, they can help in the formation of coalitions, and may encourage civic and democratic activism. This section describes instances where volunteers engage others to participate in processes aimed to influence decision-makers (rather than illustrating how they have helped others participate directly as decision-makers).

Regarding volunteers’ comparative strength in coalition building, one volunteer described her work strengthening lobbying and advocacy coalitions in Zambia—working with local groups to build a coalition of CSOs that had previously been doing much of their advocacy in isolation. When this volunteer left the country in 2012, the coalition contained 13 CSOs. When she returned a year later, she was pleased to find that much of the initial competition had diminished through mutual cooperation. A year later, the coalition had grown to 35 members. The volunteer described this as a lasting impact of her work because the coalition continued to grow and lobby for their rights long after she left the area (personal communication, 25 March, 2014).

Other volunteers promote active citizenship by encouraging community efforts to advocate for frequently overlooked populations, such as persons living with disabilities (Voluntary Action Network India, 2011). VSO India volunteers partnered with the North Bengal Council for the Disabled to introduce the Vikas Sathis Initiative. This initiative mobilises local community volunteers to provide support and advocate for persons with disabilities in North Bengal region, and empowers persons with disabilities to become more engaged as active citizens by informing them of their rights and entitlements, how to access these rights, and how to engage in civic decision-making processes. Many other examples of volunteers’ activism have been provided through a variety of evaluation studies (Barrig and Vargas, 2008; Kinghorn and Matos, 2007; NIRAS International A/S, 2009).

A common method to encourage activism to support governance reform is via communications and media support. Many online volunteers have the potential to promote good governance by offering these types of services. Through UNV’s Online Volunteering service, thousands of international volunteers from across the globe have invested their skills through the internet, with youth under 29 leading this movement (United Nations Volunteer (UNV) programme, 2013). Through this portal, qualified volunteers work on governance projects by contributing research, translation, web design, and other skills on hundreds of activism-oriented projects coordinated by development programs.

In addition to volunteers’ potential contributions to governance abroad, training obtained during lobbying and activism abroad appears to translate to increased active

citizenship among returned volunteers, which will likely continue to promote good governance both within and outside of volunteers' home countries. Indeed, international volunteers often return to their home countries to become more involved in political activism that aims to influence good governance abroad. Even short stints of volunteering abroad have the potential to challenge volunteers' perceptions about their social obligation to those in other countries. As McGehee & Santos assert, '...volunteer tourism also has the potential to trigger a consciousness-raising experience. As this involves a major change in an individual's perceptions about society, more specifically about the origin, perpetuation, and solutions of social problems...volunteer tourism experiences have the potential to change participants' perceptions about society...' (2005, p.761).

International volunteers and voluntary organisations have also implemented projects that assist the efforts of particular political parties and interests. For example, a FK Norway project, Sosialistisk Venstreparti, has worked with the left-wing Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) party in El Salvador to assist with national and internal party elections, as well as to help develop a communication strategy (Scanteam, 2005). Likewise, in the early history of the UK's International Voluntary Service (precursor to Skillshare International), volunteers supported liberation movements for disadvantaged and stigmatised groups in post-apartheid South Africa (Skillshare International, 2004). In such cases, where volunteers are involved in politically sensitive areas, complex and contentious relations may emerge between funders, IVCOs, political parties, and governments.

Although effective development efforts often recognise and promote synergistic or complementary relationships between the state and society (Fung and Wright, 2001), we recognise instances where international volunteers work with CSOs that may retain an adversarial stance toward the state, and refuse to integrate and coordinate their interests with the state. None of the evaluation reports reviewed in this paper explicitly illustrated volunteers acting in a strongly adversarial role; however, this is likely common among volunteers serving in activism-oriented organisations, which certainly has a complicated but potentially significant influence on governance practices.

4.2. Informal Social and Group Norms

It is important to understand volunteers' impacts on both formal governance structures and informal norms because end-outcomes do not fully reflect why, and in what ways, voluntary action is important to the process. Interactions and relationships between people and groups often mediate many of the formal contributions described above. As illustrated in Figure 1, social action has the potential to positively influence good governance, which may not happen without a civically engaged population. Such engagement may not happen if democratic norms and values are not present, or if people remain isolated or marginalised. Although changes to

informal social and group norms are evident in the many of the examples in Section 4.1, the purpose of this section is to flesh out the theoretical change process by further describing some of the informal processes through which volunteers influence governance. Standing alone, these less-visible ‘soft’ contributions are often overlooked—and may not otherwise be associated with governance outcomes. However, it is only through recognising these mediating effects that the full narrative of volunteers’ contributions to governance can be understood.

4.2.1. Inclusiveness and Equity

As discussed above, in order to be accountable to all citizens, good governance must be inclusive. The voices of all constituents are needed to fully comprehend the needs of the governed. As power inequalities exist even in the smallest villages, marginalised groups including women, the poor, Romas, Dalits, and other minority groups can be empowered to participate in the decision-making process (Blair, 2000). Scholars caution that it may be difficult for international voluntary organisations to identify and engage the most marginalised populations because volunteers may not speak the language of minority groups, and people on the fringes are not often connected to ‘accessible’ mainstream civil society organisations (Gay and Baptist, 2012). To some degree, this is a valid argument—and provides greater backing for national volunteer programs. On the other hand, many case examples provide examples of international volunteers as outsiders helping excluded groups to be more involved and active in society. A variety of examples are provided here.

Through its Gender Equality Project in Mali, which operated from 2007 to 2011, CECI volunteers collaborated with various local women’s associations to push for women’s participation in policy development (CECI, 2011). Working alongside the Mali Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and the Family, volunteers and local associations working on this project made significant strides in women’s political inclusion and more equitable gender representation in policy. Among the initiative’s greatest achievements were assisting in the development of a national gender equality policy (*Politique Nationale d’Égalité Entre les Femmes et les Hommes*), and helping three government ministries (*Ministère de la Fonction Publique*, *Ministère de la Réforme de l’État*, and *Ministère de la Justice*) integrate gender issues into their policies. A common hypothesis is that international volunteers, as outsiders with a strong focus on human rights, have different norms for gender inclusion. However, this claim has not been tested vis-à-vis other national and international actors.

Some stakeholders have raised concerns about international volunteers’ influence on social inclusion. While international volunteers often work to break down barriers to inclusive participation, some organisations note that their presence can exacerbate unbalanced power dynamics—especially if the volunteers are from the North and serving in low-income communities in the South. In addition, volunteers may disrupt local power dynamics in the

process of strengthening inclusiveness and equity within communities. These underlying forces can have both positive and negative effects. Organisational leaders often report discomfort with ceding decision-making power to Western volunteers, and granting them opportunities which are not readily available for local community members (Scott-Smith, 2011). This may be particularly objectionable if volunteers are younger and less experienced than members of the local community. As exogenous actors, volunteers have the potential to break down norms and rules that otherwise bind in-groups and out-groups and prevent inclusive governance. However, as exogenous actors, the potential challenges that volunteers may introduce to the system also need to be carefully considered.

4.2.2. Social Capital

Social capital or the ‘norms and networks that enable people to act collectively’ is perceived as highly beneficial to governance and other forms of economic and community development (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p.225). As one international volunteer from the Philippines attested, ‘One of the greatest strengths of the international volunteers was networking’ (personal communication, 26 March, 2014). International volunteers can influence both bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital refers to strong networks of trust between people who are relatively similar in status (see Woolcock, 1998). Bridging social capital refers to networks between people who are often different in status, and has the potential to tie together diverse social groups that might not otherwise have equal access to power and resources (DeFilippis, 2001; Harriss and De Renzio, 1997).

Language capacity and the duration of volunteer placements are key mediating factors that appear to affect relationship development and the formation of both bonding and bridging social capital. When international volunteers speak the native language, they are more likely to have the communication capacity needed to promote the development of relationships and solidarity (Devereux, 2008). As such, it may be difficult for volunteers who lack language skills to understand community and organisational needs and facilitate linkages with people and organisations. In addition, when residents in host communities are asked about volunteer service duration, they often claim that a longer time is needed to establish and build meaningful relationships with volunteers (Comhlámh, 2007).

Bonding Social Capital

International volunteering has a comparatively poorly-defined impact on bonding social capital and its effect on governance. Shared group identity is often cited as a psychological and social necessity for collective action and, at the most basic level, interpersonal contact and connections are precursors to collective action (Olson, 1971). Interpersonal relationships lend themselves to the development of ‘critical consciousness’ of development issues, or an awareness of the roots

of social problems, and a willingness to engage in solutions that address deep structural causes of poor governance (Freire, 1968). In theory, as marginalised groups and people connect and realise their shared identity, they more readily organise to challenge their marginalised status and demand that their needs be met (Freire, 1973; Gutierrez, 1990; Lee, 1989; Mohan and Stokke, 2000; Parsons, 1998). A critical question that remains unresolved is whether international volunteers promote in-group bonding and action, or whether they tend to interrupt this process.

The social relationships, networks, and organisational alliances that are developed and strengthened by international volunteers can be quite helpful at reinforcing social movements that support (or resist) change and are, in fact, predictors of political participation (McGehee and Santos, 2005). Within international voluntary organisations, social capital is most often bonded at the individual level between volunteers and single persons within local agencies or communities (Ingdal, Shresta and Mussa, 2009). However, the likelihood of forming bonding social capital may be contingent upon factors such as power dynamics between individuals (Ingdal et al., 2009) and mutual fluency in the common spoken language (Scanteam, 2005).

Overall, international volunteers' roles in the process of developing bonding social capital have not been extensively researched, and few examples have been provided. In general terms, the process of collective action rests upon the ability of 'leaders' (including international volunteers) to involve the community in identifying problems, understanding the roots and implications of these problems, and, finally, devising a plan for collective action. Hypothetically, solidarity networks with international volunteers may help to spread the risk of engaging in political activity; the power inherent in volunteers' social and professional networks can make a difference in people's decisions to engage. However, volunteers may also theoretically dampen in-group trust and community ties founded on mutual solidarity and support, which are needed for social action.

Bridging Social Capital

People who increase 'horizontal' bonding social capital without also building 'vertical' links or bridging social capital can easily become isolated and disenfranchised, which may greatly limit their power or influence on governance structures. Fortunately, international volunteering has a more obvious impact on bridging than on bonding social capital. While there are exceptions, international volunteers often have more powerful connections to individuals, groups, and associations than do local organisations and community members they work with. With these connections, international volunteers can serve as a link between communities, grassroots organisations, and larger CSO and funding bodies. In addition, international volunteers also often have expansive expat networks (McWha, 2011). As such, volunteers are able to strengthen governance by making organisational linkages between less powerful actors and other comparatively influential partners.

International volunteers in Zambia, for example, have been instrumental in leveraging ties to inter-governmental organisations like the European Commission to gain access to extended funding for participatory planning processes in their governance-building initiatives (Gay and Baptist, 2012). In South Africa, GTZ's strong ties to the German Development Service and the South African government have yielded high program output relative to investment input, and relatively low transaction costs in program development and implementation (Arnold Bergstraesser Institut, 2008). Because power and resource redistribution often involves conflict, obtaining resources frequently requires allies in the state or with national and transnational networks (Houtzager and Moore, 2003). While volunteers' linkages with political actors are important, they must be balanced with a degree of political autonomy in order to maintain the integrity of local community-based organisations (Evans, 1995; Heller, 2001).

International (and national) volunteers' ability to network across various types and levels of organisations was consistently cited as an added value that was unparalleled by other development actors. In an evaluation of women's contributions to development in Latin America, evaluators concluded that international volunteers 'are the channels through which communication flows to and from partners, beneficiaries, and UNIFEM' (Barrig and Vargas, 2008, p.42). On the level of global governance, grassroots communities often remain unheard at forums held by international organisations such as the WTO or UNFCCC. Volunteers are viewed as actors of both local and transnational organisations. 'Being trusted by both agencies as a [neutral] outsider' (Hacker, 2013, p.11), volunteers play an important bridging role to bring the voice of grassroots community organisations to relevant international actors. As a Nepalese community member stated in reference to the international volunteer's entrée into the governance system, 'A Nepali person couldn't do it at all but an [international] volunteer could open doors' (Hacker, 2013, p.11).

As voluntary organisations, IVCOs also have a role to play in bridging social capital for governance purposes. For instance, Uniterra worked with Senegal's Ministry of Education to strengthen literacy training and other methods of informal education. When this project began, umbrella bodies that represented hundreds of Senegalese literacy organisations within the volunteer sector had difficulty connecting with or influencing Senegalese authorities. As Uniterra worked with the literacy branch of the Ministry of Education, they decided it may be best to invite the ministry to become a Uniterra partner. This partnership promoted constructive dialogue between the literacy branch of the government and literacy organisations in the voluntary sector. In the following months, the CSOs continued to engage in constructive dialogue with the ministry, and many co-productive projects were planned (Fragner, 2008).

Another way that volunteers bridge parties is by connecting local authorities with higher-level governance structures. International UN Volunteers, for example, led the social

mobilisation and governance component of the Chernobyl Recovery and Development Programme (CRDP) in Ukraine (Russell, 2007). A key outcome of the volunteers' participation was the 'Establishment of lasting partnerships between community organisations and municipal and regional governments to support the long-term promotion of community self-governance and grassroots-oriented development strategies' (p.16). The volunteers strengthened these partnerships through capacity building projects that sensitised government authorities to the advantages of collaborating with local community councils and organisations. The volunteers also helped to create forums and roundtables to encourage dialogue and interaction, and to train local organisations in organising skills to continue influencing governance structures (Russell, 2007). With the unstable political environment in Ukraine, social mobilisation and strong partnerships between local governments and community organisations were cited as vital to successful completion of the project—particularly because there had been 'a large degree of mistrust and dependency on the government to resolve community issues' (p.17). The evaluation concluded that:

The driving forces behind local governance and youth issues are international UN Volunteers. . . Without their involvement, the high quality expertise would not have been possible within the budget of the project. In addition, the commitment to volunteerism, the international experiences, and the direct connection to a UN agency are significant factors in their effectiveness (p.25).

In addition to their networking skills, this quote above illustrates the common benefits of cost effectiveness and expertise as additional advantages of utilising international volunteers.

In truth, it is difficult to ascertain the true depth of local agencies' connections to international networks and governmental associations vis-à-vis international volunteers; cooperation between the local and governmental agencies may already be well underway when volunteers arrive (Ingdal, Shresta and Mussa, 2009). In addition, evidence suggests that local partners working with international volunteers often 'grow out' of their home organisations after leveraging connections made through volunteers, which results in a loss of human and social capital for those organisations (Ingdal et al., 2009).

Lastly, we consider how relationships formed during international volunteer placements may be leveraged after volunteers return home. Returned volunteers often capitalise on the connections made abroad to catalyse development efforts in their home country. For example, in a 2003 study, over a quarter of returned Kenyan volunteers assigned to South-South placements became members of the National Volunteer Network Trust (NAVNET) of Kenya (Popazzi, 2004). Within this organisation, returned volunteers work with other civil society organisations through volunteerism to reach Kenya's social development goals through efforts such as lobbying and advocacy. Returned volunteers from the Global North have reported using their contacts to coordinate humanitarian aid projects,

international exchanges, research trips, internships, or return trips to the host country (Lough, McBride, and Sherraden, 2009; Perold et al., 2011). In addition, these contacts have been used to leverage resources or facilitate future employment opportunities (Hudson and Inkson, 2006; Thomas, 2001). In other cases, returned international volunteers have been uncertain whether to encourage their extended networks to become involved with political issues in other countries, particularly when the tasks of their volunteer placements were completed to full satisfaction (Scantteam, 2005). All told, however, the social capital developed during the volunteers' placements can be leveraged long after the service placement has ended.

4.2.3. Cultural Understanding and Exchange

Cultural exchange and modelling have an effect on the normative perceptions of acceptable governance practices. During interviews, many volunteers described how people they worked with in oppressive governments were often fatalistic and disillusioned about their ability to make change. Initially, these citizens had accepted governments as fundamentally corrupt, and their practices as pragmatically unchangeable. However, through the exchange of ideas with international volunteers, these fatalistic attitudes were challenged. In addition, international volunteers and IVCOs often model transparent and accountable behaviours as standards of good practice, which purportedly challenge norms of acceptable governance practices.

As illustrated in many examples in Section 4.1, interactions with volunteers also seem to reshape expectations of who should be engaged in governance processes. An independent assessment of the effect of international volunteers in Mozambique found that, 'volunteering can lead to small shifts in gendered power relations for some women, manifested in increased confidence, social networks and independence' (Peach, 2011). On the other hand, unchallenged gender norms within local organisations, combined with time and resource constraints on the ability of women to volunteer, resulted in a conclusion that deeply 'transformational change is unlikely' for these women, despite a few altered norms toward greater inclusion. As this critique suggested, expanded participation is not a proxy for social inequity (Peach, 2011). As argued in other sections of this paper, altered norms from interpersonal interactions must be complemented with structural changes from above in order to make truly 'transformative' changes in governance processes.

The comparative benefits that international volunteering offers to changing norms is not always well articulated. However, the importance of personal interactions is sometimes stressed in comparison with other development actors who often fail to form personal relationships. In one study, a handful of former Australian volunteers returned to the Solomon Islands as consultants. Independent researchers who spoke with Solomon government officials viewed this as:

Particularly beneficial because of the much greater understanding that such people [i.e. international volunteers] contributed to their work involving the Solomons. They contrasted this strongly with the many problems caused by other consultants with little understanding of the Solomons or its people and cultures (Farrow and McDonald, 1998).

As one Senegalese volunteer from CECI-West Africa asserted, ‘The interpersonal connection is very important. The fact that these people are coming as volunteers rather than as paid workers gives them another level of credibility’ (personal communication, 27 March, 2014). On the other hand, there is a danger that international volunteers may be incorrectly perceived as knowing more than national volunteers. As the same Senegalese volunteer stated, ‘When volunteers come from the North, there is a mentality that they have experiences that national volunteers do not have. People pay attention to them because they know another system, whereas national volunteers are perceived as only knowing the local, national system of doing things.’ While the benefits of cultural exchange with international volunteers can have many lasting impacts on local governance systems, IVCOs and volunteers can avoid criticism of cultural and structural imperialism by stressing the importance of indigenous knowledge, practice, and policies.

While the interviews and case examples referenced many instances where volunteers effectively altered local norms through cultural exchange and interaction, many volunteers also reported becoming more sensitised and accepting of instances of poor governance. For instance, one volunteer described how money from national governments to local governments was often very slow coming down the pipeline—or failed to come at all. She expressed having accepted the conclusion that local governmental officers may not get paid for months at a time, and yet still need to provide for their families. This volunteer became more open to, and accepting of, under-the-counter practices, bribes, and informal mechanisms for getting things done that would not normally be accepted in contexts where rule of law was more forcibly applied (personal communication, 5 April, 2014). In this instance, bi-directional cultural exchange seemed to effect a normative understanding of practices that was not always towards good governance.

4.2.4. Trust

The concept of trust is underdeveloped in previous literature and case examples of international volunteering. However, trust is an important mediator in the development of participation, activism, social capital, political stability, and other areas discussed in Section 4.1. Trust is one of the primary reasons that people defer to authority—particularly when trust is instrumental and based on social bonds (Tyler, 1998). Because of this, trust is often enhanced through repeated interpersonal interaction, which has important implications for governance (Levi, 1998; Tyler, 1998). As one evaluation report concluded, ‘It is a truism that change does not happen in a vacuum, it happens in the context of a relationship’ (Swain, 2005). This statement

was used in reference to a volunteer who assisted with the establishment of the Autonomous Bougainville Government. As he noted, ‘Volunteers are in a unique position to help rebuild trust – especially between locals and “outsiders”. Volunteers can be the first people with whom locals can begin to test the foundations of trusting relationships.’ The drivers of this change were VSA volunteers ‘liv[ing] and work[ing] closely with local people’ and participation between the local and international partners on-site in Bougainville (Swain, 2005). Indeed, higher levels of interpersonal trust have been shown to promote political participation by a variety of development actors (Klesner, 2007).

Although the word ‘trust’ is not consistently used in text, the concept often emerges in evaluations and interviews during discussions about volunteers’ motivations, aspirations, and enthusiasm. A returned volunteer from the Philippines touched on this while discussing international volunteers’ uncanny capacity to organise disparate groups of people to participate in civic action:

Overall, I think volunteers are seen as being more credible in networking. Not to judge paid development workers, but you know how people look at volunteers—that they’re doing it with more passion without getting paid. So it’s the value that they’re more passionate—it’s how they’re perceived in communities. They’re not seen as being politically or commercially motivated (personal communication, 1 April, 2014).

Entire treatises have been written about the role of trust in building and maintaining effective governance (Levi, 1998), and much more could be said about volunteers’ potential contributions in this area. As Levi stated, ‘Trust is, in fact, a holding word for a variety of phenomena that enable individuals to take risks in dealing with others, solve collective action problems, or act in ways that seem contrary to standard definitions of self-interest’ (1998, p.78). Acting collectively to hold decision-makers accountable or to otherwise change poor governance practices often takes courage, as well as trust that allies (including international volunteers) will support participation.

4.2.5. Inspiration and Optimism

Inspiration and optimism of volunteers seem to play an important mediating role in areas such as participation, capacity building, and activism. The energy of international volunteers appears to animate members of the community who have not previously engaged in social action or participated in decision-making (Devereux, 2010; South House Exchange and Canada World Youth, 2006). In an evaluation of women’s contributions to governance in Latin America, the commitment and creativity of international (and national) volunteers were cited as two of the most important assets for advancing a project on budgetary transparency (Barrig and Vargas, 2008). The energy of volunteers was viewed as particularly effective at generating synergies and

promoting collaborative action among volunteers and local citizens in decision-making.

The impact of optimism and idealism of international volunteers appears to be important for development volunteering, as well as for shorter-term volunteer assignments. Youthful energy and green enthusiasm, combined with a desire to engage in cross-cultural experience, may provide positive contributions to otherwise mundane and routine services (Dumélie et al., 2006; Thomas, 2001). This may be particularly impactful in situations where longstanding poor governance, corruption, or lack of governmental response has resulted in widespread fatalism and despondent attitudes among local actors.

5. Contributions of International Volunteers to Voluntary and Private Sector Governance

The concept of governance discussed in this section is different in a number of ways from governance in the public sector. Private sector governance in this paper refers to the process of providing leadership and direction for non-profit, corporate, and self-governing organisations. In particular, it refers to international volunteers' contributions to strategic management, policy decisions, monitoring of organisational performance, legal functions, and overall accountability of these organisations. For instance, a primary mission of VOCA (Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance) is to strengthen non-profit, corporate, and public governance. VOCA sends volunteer consultants abroad to provide technical assistance and training in areas such as agribusiness, enterprise development, and financial services. As one example, VOCA volunteers have been working for many years in Iraq to increase the operational self-sufficiency of micro-finance institutions, to increase democratic engagement of civil society with public policy institutions, and to strengthen the capacity of local governments and communities in Iraq's northern provinces to improve social services (ACDI/VOCA, 2014).

5.1. Governance of Civil Society Organisations

International volunteers often work with local civil society organisations to strengthen internal governance mechanisms in order to enhance access and appeal to funders. As one example, Volunteers for Economic Growth Alliance (VEGA) facilitated a project with volunteers from the International Executive Service Corps (IESC) to increase the governance capacity of local Cambodian organisations. A key purpose of the volunteers' work was to help partner organisations effectively implement USAID-funded activities. Volunteers worked with the organisation to perform risk assessments and financial reviews, and to identify potential weaknesses and areas of improvement.

FK Norway volunteers have also worked with a variety of civil society organisations

and community-based organisations to improve institutional capacity and overall governance of the organisation. A survey of FK Norway's local partner organisations revealed that 88% were satisfied with the institutional capacity building efforts led by FK Norway (Fredskorpset, 2008). The partners cited specific improvements in language and technical skills, staff training and motivation, and organisational leadership as the most important contributions. One potential downside of enhancing organisational staff capacity is the difficulty reported by organisations in retaining employees with advanced skills, who may choose to pursue more lucrative careers in the government or private sectors after undergoing extended trainings with volunteers (Scanteam, 2011).

As another example of volunteers working to improve CSO governance, volunteers with the International Senior Lawyers Project (ISLP) have partnered with CSO staff lawyers on public interest litigation strategies, and have worked to train staff to defend against abusive criminal libel charges. They have also advised CSOs on legislation aimed at halting domestic violence and human trafficking, and 'land grabbing' or the illegal appropriation of property (ISLP, 2013). Under the banner of capacity building, examples demonstrating international volunteers' contributions to organisational governance in the voluntary sector are widespread. Strengthening governance of civil society organisations seems to be a particularly strong focus for international corporate volunteer programs (Allen, Galiano, and Hayes, 2011; Hills and Mahmud, 2007; Marquis and Kanter, 2009; Vian et al., 2007).

5.2. Corporate Governance

International volunteers also work in for-profit corporations in cases where corporate interests intersect with development interests. For instance, Uniterra continues to work with partners in Peru and Bolivia to improve the governance and management of public and private water and sanitation companies. These volunteers work with company management to improve the coverage and quality of services provided to water consumers—as well as to ensure the proper disposal of solid waste. In addition to capacity building from the top, volunteers also aim to educate users on the sound use of water and waste disposal, and to increase the active participation of users, especially women's groups, in municipal governments and CSOs. By opening spaces for communication, volunteers help build relationships between service users and suppliers that increase governance from below and above (Uniterra, 2013).

In another sector, the Financial Services Volunteers Corps (FSVC) promotes private-sector development in Tunisia to improve the legal and regulatory environments for banks and financing entrepreneurs. FSVC's work emphasises dialogue between the public and private sectors in order to strengthen governance for all in-country partners (FSVC, 2014a). Likewise, the International Executive Service Corps (IESC) recruits retirees from a variety of professional backgrounds and matches them with companies in other countries including small and medium

enterprises and business support organisations. These retired professional volunteers work on governance issues such as being transparent with transactions in order for businesses to meet criteria for foreign institutional investments and economic growth (IESC, 2014).

Another way that international volunteers influence corporate governance is through activism, consumer pressure, and focusing international attention. Volunteers with Greenpeace International, for instance, are known for challenging corporate governance practices that have detrimental environmental consequences. Likewise, international volunteers with Amnesty International have worked for decades to organise groups to fight for the rights of factory workers, and for the protection of indigenous peoples affected by game farms, deforestation, and other corporate practices that often have negative externalities (Beigbeder, 1991). As these examples illustrate, volunteers and IVCOs sometimes choose to take an adversarial stance in order to improve governance of both private and public institutions.

5.3. Self-Governance of Autonomous Groups

International volunteers have worked on a number of projects aimed at strengthening the self-governance of independent village committees, women's groups, local religious organisations, and other local authorities. Self-governance describes situations where groups are able to exercise governing power without intervention from larger public authorities.

One interesting example is the Tonlé Sap Conservation Project in Cambodia. In this project, international volunteers worked as facilitators to strengthen the participation and protection of the natural resources through increased environmental awareness of biodiversity in communities, as well as through strengthening financial management of self-governing groups (Devereux, 2010; NIRAS International A/S, 2009; United Nations Volunteer (UNV) programme, 2012). Through this project, self-help groups were empowered to develop proposals for livelihood initiatives, and to manage funds received. They were also mobilised to lobby community needs with local authorities such as the village chiefs, commune councils, CSOs, and government institutions that worked in the village. Data from an evaluation report of this initiative showed that around half of all self-help group members (85% of whom were women) participated in community development meetings of the commune councils—with the greatest rates of improved participation occurring among women and 'the poorest and most vulnerable families in the area' (NIRAS, p.24).

While improving self-governance was one positive outcome, evaluators also found that wider governance processes were also affected. As one report stated:

The trust that has been enhanced by the UN Volunteers to this community is not only within the group but to their providers such as the government and NGOs. Before the communities felt that they were abandoned by the government. This resulted in less participation of the

communities in the development of their village. The UN Volunteers' intervention has changed this perception through the integration of community activities within the whole village especially partnership with local authorities, government institutions working in the area, and different NGOs. From this initiative of the UN Volunteers, trust and participation of the communities with the government and other development workers were enhanced and become stronger. (NIRAS International A/S, 2009, p. 20)

Once again, distinctive features of volunteers—such as heightened trust and an impetus to participate—were cited as important to the success of this initiative. Immersion and living with community members also provided the volunteer facilitators with access to real issues and barriers to economic conservation (NIRAS International A/S, 2009).

Other examples of self-governance include international volunteers working to strengthen the internal procedures of a farmers' association in Zambia—fortifying the robustness of its constitution and financial procedures, or volunteers working to improve the capacity of people living with HIV (PLHIV) in Viet Nam. Various examples describe how volunteers help to mobilise self-help groups, co-ops, unions, and empathy clubs to govern their own affairs, and to work with service providers at higher government levels to obtain technical and financial assistance (Burke, 2011). In the case of Viet Nam, volunteers also encouraged broader participation with government institutions to address the needs of PLHIV. A key outcome of this project was the sensitising of government leaders and community member to issues faced by PLHIV. Trust and communication with volunteers were critical components of the program, as suggested by the final evaluation of this project:

The increased degree to which PLHIV are able to express their needs and have these needs more comprehensively addressed by government care and treatment facilities, demonstrate that the application of technical expertise by UN Volunteers and support from the Vietnam Women's Union assisted PLHIV self-help groups and individuals develop their ability to support PLHIV in the process of accessing such services. (Burke, 2011, p. 21)

As noted in other examples, greater participation of marginalised people, such as PLHIV, in national and provincial level planning and decision-making coincided with the work of volunteers. The project also emphasised volunteers' high capacity to network, which resulted in the creation of the Vietnam Network of Positive People (VNP+), a national network of PLHIV self-help groups that maintains a level of larger self-governance for this group of people.

6. Summary and Conclusions

Clearly, international volunteering is not a uniform practice. Given that, this report sought to answer a few sub-questions, including: 'What different attributes of international volunteerism

impact governance outcomes?', 'What can be considered good practice?' and 'What methods work best, and under what circumstances?' While viable conclusions are mostly based on volunteers' and evaluators' perceptions, a number of potential advantages rose to the fore. In this section, we summarise some of the main conclusions emerging from the case examples. We also raise questions that remain unanswered and may be worth further research and discussion.

In summary, qualities associated with volunteering add value not easily met through other forms of development cooperation. For instance, trust is commonly developed through volunteering, and volunteers are perceived as comparatively neutral players in governance initiatives. Volunteers and IVCOs also tend to place a strong focus on human rights and inclusive participation, and often benefit small organisations in isolated areas. Considering the complementary contributions of volunteers, stakeholders need to take careful stock of the appropriate 'mix' of various development actors in governance initiatives. First, a closer look at the principal conclusions:

Relationships Matter. The importance of person-to-person interactions between volunteers and other stakeholders was an overarching theme that consistently emerged in previous studies and throughout the interviews with staff members and returned volunteers. All told, relationships matter in development cooperation and permeate all levels of governance support, from influencing informal group norms and self-governing grassroots organisations to changes in formal public policy. Many volunteers asserted that their greatest *perceptible* influence was on individual people within an organisation with whom they worked. This was enhanced by volunteers' general tendency towards immersion in local culture and their cultivation of personal relationships. Indeed, volunteers, staff members, and evaluators often regarded the human connections, individual training and modelling, and personal interaction with staff and community members as critical to their effectiveness at strengthening good governance. However it was also clear that changes made through person-to-person contact did not end at the individual level. Changes in relationships extended to mezzo-level changes within organisations, as well as macro-level policy and structural changes. In this sense, the sum of interpersonal interactions must be understood as greater than individual changes wrought through individual exchange.

Volunteers Perform an Important Bridging Link. Because of volunteers' connections with multiple organisational and sectoral levels, they appear to play a critical bridging role in governance—connecting development actors 'from below' with actors 'from above', as well as the many stakeholders between. The connections and communication facilitated by volunteers can greatly enhance the possibility of complementary 'coproduction' between civil society and the state, as well as improve mutual accountability for the results of development projects. Strengthening governance at multiple levels is a critical combination. Efforts to build capacity among individual citizens would ideally be paired with larger structural changes in governance

institutions, to be effective. As multiple case examples illustrated, without higher-level structural changes, bottom-up efforts were often less sustainable. However, the responsiveness and intentions of governance institutions complicates this connection. In politically-sensitive situations, international volunteers and IVCOs must tread carefully, lest their political convictions and alignment estrange them—blocking them from making linkages (see Skillshare International, 2004). On the other hand, while volunteers' linkages with political actors are important, these linkages must also be balanced with autonomy to avoid being co-opted, and to maintain the integrity of the goals and priorities of local groups and organisations—particularly when these groups are politically marginalised (Evans, 1995; Heller, 2001).

Normative Changes are Crucial in the Process of Good Governance. The importance of social norms on institutional change cannot be overstated (North, 1990). Personal interactions between international volunteers and local partners can confront and reshape informal norms that may otherwise constrain inclusivity and equity in the proscription of governance participation. As illustrated in the conceptual model, incremental changes in normative values are necessary for the functional inclusion of women or disenfranchised groups in participatory councils, or for lowering social tolerance of corrupt practices. These small normative changes are often a direct result of personal interactions between international volunteers and members of communities, organisations, and governments. Likewise, witnessing international volunteers at work seems to inspire people to engage civically in their own communities and political institutions. Building personal relationships is critical to the development of social capital, social mobilisation, and social action, which are key to collective democratic movement that holds decision-makers accountable. Further, exchange and communication enhance organisational governance and institutional capacity through the transfer of skills and technical expertise between volunteers and staff members. The normative changes that occur at the micro level constitute critical contributions to good governance which are not always valued. Going forward, greater attention should be paid to measure and evaluate the impact of personal interactions on values and norms over the long term. Without acknowledging the importance of personal relationships, norms, and values in the process of change, the narrative explaining international volunteers' contributions to governance is incomplete.

Volunteers Challenge Internal Constraints to Participation. In conjunction with changes in social norms, this paper touched on the internal constraints that may change through interactions with international volunteers. Efforts to promote participation in local governance councils may, for instance, require confronting internal constraints among marginalised populations such as fatalistic attitudes, inexperience, or lack of will. If people do not believe they can make a change to governance structures or if they have a history of failed attempts, it is more difficult to continue trying, and collective action is more difficult. Personal relationships are an important method to effectively overcome personal constraints (Abrams and Hogg, 2006; Murray and Holmes, 2011). One concern raised in this study, however, is that the many

marginalised individuals may find it difficult to engage with international volunteers due to potential language differences and those individuals' general lack of access to mainstream CSOs (Gay and Baptist, 2012). Given the person-to-person connections inherent in volunteering, it may be worth further investigating ways that volunteers can influence internal constraints of marginalised groups to exercise their agency within the open opportunity sets provided after external constraints to good governance are removed (see Stern et al., 2005).

Volunteers Prioritise Human Rights and Inclusive Participation. International volunteers and IVCOs tend to focus heavily on human rights and equality, which has an impact in multiple areas of governance from fairness and impartiality before the law to equity in grassroots participation and civic activism. This focus allows stakeholders to better see the effects of gender, ethnic, and class inequality and its implications on governance and political stability. Volunteers appear to be particularly adept at connecting with youth, and at reaching women and marginalised groups. While this does not guarantee that volunteers are culturally or linguistically prepared to best serve these populations, it suggests that volunteers may be suitable to advocate for policies that support these populations. The efforts of international volunteers working in collaboration with local partners to increase the participation of women, young people, and marginalised groups in decision-making bodies certainly strengthens this position.

The Title of 'Volunteer' Counts. A topic that was not carefully delimited in the illustrations, but that warrants discussion, is the use of the designation 'volunteer'—and how the use of this title affects volunteers' ability to engage different development actors. Volunteer was a somewhat contested concept—as described in multiple reports and interviews. The use of the title 'volunteer' complicated our analysis of volunteers' contributions to governance-related work. Some reports interchangeably used the terms international volunteer, technical advisor, and project coordinator. A few volunteers described how, when they introduced themselves as a 'volunteer', they were sometimes treated with less deference, or were assumed to have fewer skills and expertise than a 'consultant' or 'development expert'. As a result, some volunteers claimed that they rarely presented themselves as a volunteer, but rather introduced themselves as consultants or 'co-operants'. Others carried their title of 'volunteer' as a badge of honour—believing in the importance of making an impact without a formal position of hierarchy within an organisation, and without the funds often accompanying such positions of authority. These volunteers acknowledged the value of being perceived as independent from hierarchical structures. For these volunteers, the ensuing respect, trust, mutual ownership and buy-in speaks much to the complementary value of the title 'volunteer'. The subtleties of volunteers' putative titles somewhat complicated a valid analysis of how volunteers are perceived by others working in the governance space, and muddied a prescriptive understanding of volunteers' unique contributions in this space. Nevertheless, it may be advantageous in practice to employ the title, which permits volunteers to straddle various sectors and spaces.

Volunteers Particularly Benefit Small Organisations. Volunteers are often recruited and used to provide support to small grassroots organisations that cannot afford specialised services by paid professionals. While we cannot claim that volunteers are more useful to small organisations, examples from the literature suggest that volunteers advantage small organisations that may not otherwise receive support from mainstream development agencies. The capacity building work of volunteers may also stretch further in rural and isolated areas, where staff members are often less educated and credentialed than those in metropolitan areas. In addition to capacity building, the volunteers' linking role may be more important for smaller agencies that are removed from city centres, and often receive a lower priority response from central governments. For grassroots organisations, the involvement of international volunteers was cited as particularly helpful for getting their voice heard by governmental and administrative agencies.

IVCOs are Significant Players. While many of the examples illustrate how individual volunteers made valuable contributions through personal efforts and interactions, other examples suggest that volunteers' efforts are boosted when IVCOs back the efforts of individual volunteers with resources and connections. In addition, IVCOs play an important role in mezzolevel organisational changes in their own right. In addition to facilitating individual volunteer placements, IVCOs advocate for changes and work to influence governance practices of local CSOs, other transnational organisations, and governments. This is illustrative of yet another way that international volunteerism provides a bridging role in governance at the institutional level as IVCOs link other organisational actors across sectors. On the other hand, careful attention is needed when IVCOs become involved to ensure that their influence in governance initiatives does not reproduce interest group politics or the mere shifting of scarce resources from one marginal group to another.

Trust in Volunteers' Neutrality Adds Value. Because international volunteers are often perceived as relatively neutral and impartial, they appear to instil a high level of trust among those they work with. This is particularly true for volunteers who serve for long durations in host communities, as trust is developed through repeated positive interactions. Leveraging trust for international volunteers (as exogenous actors) seems to be particularly impactful for peacekeeping efforts in high conflict areas. An obvious implication is that volunteers may have an unmatched role to play as mediators in governance initiatives when local tensions run high. Instilled with high levels of trust and perceived neutrality, international volunteers may also be useful at solving collective action problems by bringing diverse people together to act collectively to champion their best interests, and to hold decision-makers accountable.

What is the Appropriate 'Mix' of Volunteers in Governance Initiatives? In practice, international volunteers engage in governance at many different levels, and with many different actors. We still do not know when and under what circumstances it might be most appropriate for volunteers to act in different roles. While some volunteers work directly as public servants

within government institutions, this approach has been criticised by some as a substitute for local labour, and as potentially creating dependency. However, under some circumstances this approach might be a better approach than working with public servants to build their institutional capacity. Yet what constitutes these special circumstances remains ambiguous and case-specific. Other examples showcase how volunteers cooperate with civil society to influence governance through democratic engagement. Relatively few examples described instances where international volunteers and IVCOs have a special interest and take an adversarial stance toward the state—refusing to integrate and coordinate their interests with the state. Likewise, as we seek to understand the optimal division of labour from different development actors, we have yet to understand the best mix of contributions provided by international volunteers, industry-specific technical experts, paid local residents, local volunteers, short-term consultants, and other actors. While it is clear that international volunteers make many substantive contributions to good governance, more work is needed to understand their differentiated responsibilities vis-à-vis other development actors. The variety of case examples referenced here challenges IVCOs to think critically and carefully about the widely different roles that volunteers can take in connection with other development actors.

Understanding Contributions to Governance Requires a Long-Term Vision. Finally, it is often difficult to see the combined value of volunteers' contributions to good governance in the short-term. As one evaluation concluded, 'many initiatives, particularly those related to governance, capacity building and institutional strengthening and livelihood recovery require a timeline longer than that of traditional funding mechanisms...' (Goodyear, 2008, p.11). As with other development initiatives, when it comes to studying and evaluating international volunteers' contributions to governance, a long-term vision is required. The bulk of this paper is composed of examples from practice. As such, it is primarily a summary of finite, short-term evaluations and case examples. With this rather restricted view, it may understate the true contributions of international volunteerism to governance over the long-term. Nonetheless, these examples showcase the many ways that other development actors can take advantage of international volunteers' distinct qualities to help produce more effective, credible, accountable and legitimate governing institutions.

Going Forward. As we move towards a new generation of development goals with the post-2015 agenda, gender and youth empowerment and the integration of marginalised groups in governance will continue to be central to development efforts. Although the concept of governance is somewhat politically charged, important issues such as accountability and transparency will continue to receive critical attention post-2015. Theoretically, the fulfilment of these principles depends on social norms that demand good governance combined with a wider enabling environment that supports the protection of human rights, political freedoms, and inclusive participation. Without strong and accountable public institutions, development cannot work over the long run. As the many examples in this paper demonstrate, IVCOs and

international volunteers have a complementary role to play in promoting good governance ‘from below and above’. Because the functional roles that volunteers play in the promotion of good governance appear to be quite flexible, a challenge for IVCOs going forward is determining when and where to place volunteers in the mix of other development actors. As such, this paper likely raises more questions than answers. Thus in closing, we present with the following questions to stimulate further discussion:

1. When might governments request volunteers to fill positions in public institutions, and under what circumstances should IVCOs agree to provide them?
 - » How do IVCOs minimise potential concerns about labour substitution and dependency from volunteers serving in public institutions?
2. Under what circumstances might it be best for volunteers take an activist or adversarial role to press for changes in laws or legal frameworks?
 - » Although working with governments is often necessary, how can IVCOs and volunteers help partner organisations also maintain their autonomy when governments are not wholly responsive or accountable to local priorities?
3. What qualities of volunteers make them effective bridges to build and strengthen co-productive relationships between governments and civil society?
 - » Can these qualities be measured and marketed as nonpareil contributions by international volunteers to development initiatives?
4. How can we ensure that the involvement of IVCOs in governance initiatives does not reproduce interest group politics—resulting in a mere shifting of scarce resources from one marginal group to another?

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