Psychology Honors Papers   Psychology Department

2018

Under-researched and Underrepresented: Community Members' Perceptions of International Volunteering and International Volunteers in Swaziland

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Community Members' Perceptions of International Volunteering and International

Volunteers in Swaziland

A thesis presented by

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to the Department of Psychology

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts

Connecticut College

New London, CT

05/03/2018

Abstract

This thesis consisted of two separate studies that explored the perceptions and opinions of local community members in Swaziland on international volunteering and international volunteers. The first study included 27 participants, 18 years and older, 14 of whom were males and 13 who were females, from various subgroups of the population. The subgroups were members of international volunteering organizations, students from Waterford Kamhlaba (a local international high school), members of the professional and working population and host community members who receive international volunteers. All participants answered 20 questions in a semi-structured interview. Qualitative analysis of the responses yielded five overarching themes; 1) international volunteering as an overwhelmingly positive phenomenon, 2) some help is better than none, 3) learning and cultural exchange as important components of/to international volunteering and international volunteers, 4) internalized White supremacy, and 5) children as the specific focus of international volunteering. The second study included 22 participants from two different orphanage sites in Swaziland. Participants ranged from ages 6 – 13 years-old and were comprised of 15 males and 7 females. All participants answered a short semi-structured interview and produced two drawings, one of international volunteers and another of an adult caregiver. Their responses and drawings revealed positive views of international volunteers, as shown through facial expressions and interview comments. Gender distinctions, size distinctions and race distinctions were also analyzed. Contextual differences between the orphanages were contributing factors to the perceptions of international volunteers. This thesis illustrated that while international volunteering is received in highly positive terms in Swaziland, there remain some underlying concerns that point to lingering dependency and internalized White supremacy tensions. International volunteers, while continuing to make contributions in their work, will need to be educated about and alert to these considerations.

At the time this thesis was submitted, Swaziland had recently changed its official country name to eSwatini. For the purposes of this thesis, however, eSwatini will still be referred to as Swaziland.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my thesis adviser, Dr. Jefferson Singer, who is Dean of the College and the Elizabeth H. Faulk Professor of Psychology at Connecticut College. Dr. Singer, not only helped me explore and develop my passion for psychology but has been a phenomenal support throughout my college career and challenged me to do the very best I can. This thesis would not have been possible without his relentless belief in me and unwavering support. I would also like to thank my readers, Professor Jillian Marshall and Dr. Audrey Zakriski for their guidance and constructive feedback that I received throughout this process. Without their input, this thesis would not be the piece of work that I am proud of today.

Furthermore, I would like to thank Marissa Tuler, a senior psychology student at Connecticut College, for her help and hard work on checking my data analysis for both my studies. Your willingness to participate and hard work ethic was greatly appreciated. I would also like to give a huge thank you, to my good friend and translator for one of my studies, Fundile Maphanga. Your input and help with my thesis were invaluable, and I thoroughly enjoying having you help me with this project.

In addition, I would like to thank my friends and family for their love and support throughout this project. Having you all there to talk about my ideas and the things that I wanted to accomplish with this research helped make this thesis a reality.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank all the participants that took part in my study, with special mention to orphanage directors, Robin Pratt (Director of the Sandra Lee Centre) and Pastor Lewis Chomba (Director of Hope House orphanage), who made the second study in this thesis possible. I am truly grateful to have been able to share each and every one of your voices to show international volunteering from the perspective of those affected by it in Swaziland.

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"I need help!" This is a sentence that evokes emotion in those who hear it and often

leads them to initiate a compassionate response. The cry for help is an unmistakable plea that

often can position the recipient as unknowing, lost, and vulnerable. Even when both parties

have the best intentions, it creates a power differential between the helper and the helped. We

all want to give help when called upon, but we may not be privileged enough to do so.

International volunteering is a response to the need for help, as expressed by individuals,

families, and communities in distress. International volunteers are the helpers that come to

provide aid to these communities, yet with the help they offer they bring both the positive and

negative aspects of the power differential that is invariably created.

A part of this power differential within the helping dynamic that has been largely

under-researched is how a person on the receiving end of the spectrum conceptualizes and

views this dynamic. In particular, there have been few systematic studies on how the various

African communities that host international volunteers view these visitors to their cities,

towns, and villages. This thesis examined the perceptions and opinions that community

members in one African country, Swaziland, have of international volunteering and

international volunteers. By interviewing both Swazi adults and children about their

interactions with these volunteers, we can learn more about what those being helped

experience and the nature of the impact that such well-intended help has on the communities

that receive this support.

International Volunteering: The Pros and Cons

Every year millions of people travel to foreign countries to volunteer. A 2008 report

by TRAM found that approximately 1.6 million people become volunteer tourists a year

(TRAM, 2008). The tourist industry, governmental agencies, and the scientific literature all

categorize this form of travel under the designation of "international volunteering."

International volunteering is comprised of many different types of trips. Some of the more

important distinctions among trips that are worth noting include the following.

"Voluntourism," is a trip that combines volunteering with tourism and incorporates travel

through the country with opportunities to provide aid (Wearing, 2001). Mission trips are

volunteering trips that center around teaching and conveying a religious message to

communities while aiding them. Other types of international volunteering trips are purpose-

driven international volunteering trips that teach and promote a message while providing aid

to a community. For example, SKRUM, an international volunteering organization in

Swaziland, uses the sport of rugby to teach Swazi children about HIV and AIDS and gender

violence (About SKRUM, n.d.). There are also volunteer components built into service-

learning courses or programs that are part of academic study. For example, some of the

School for International Training (S.I.T.) programs have volunteer work incorporated into

their curricula.   Lastly, there are service-oriented international volunteering trips that are

purely focused on helping communities through already established organizations or projects

within the communities. For example, Vusumnotfo, a small NGO that accepts a few

international volunteers in Swaziland, provides community training and support to rural

communities in the northern region of Swaziland (Global Giving, n.d.). Over the years the

industry of international volunteering has expanded tremendously. Along with this expansion

there has become a huge divide over the true benefit of international volunteering and how

helpful it really is to host communities.

On the positive side, international volunteering brings help to communities that need

it most and who may otherwise not be able to receive support and/or aid. In addition, it

provides a cultural exchange that allows people to learn about different cultures (Wearing,

2001). Through meaningful contact between host communities and volunteers, stereotypes

that are held about either group can be broken down (Allport, 1954) and intercultural

sensitivity and understanding can be achieved (Kirillova, Lehto & Cai, 2015). Most

importantly, the volunteers that arrive in the country boost the economy as they spend money

in the country and pay to go on these service trips (Wright, 2013). Furthermore, volunteers

often "subsidize social programmes in areas with minimal government and private financial

resources" (Lyons & Wearing, 2008, p. 22). This supports and helps communities in need

while simultaneously contributing to the country's economy. Overall, international

volunteering's premise of providing help and the positive effects that come along with this

make it a highly endorsed industry.

However, international volunteering, especially recently, has been lambasted for its

potential negative effects. Various articles have offered criticisms of the motivations and

outcomes of international volunteering (Barkham 2006; Biddle, 2014; Stayton, 2015). The

most cogent criticism of international volunteering is that it promotes and perpetuates

structures of power and privilege (Ngo, 2014). Implicit in the concept of helping is a

hierarchical differentiation, creating a power dynamic. The issue with this dynamic, however,

is that international volunteers who arrive in foreign countries often do not know how to do

the work they are assigned to do or how to serve the community best. Consequently, some of

the work that is done by international volunteers simply has to be redone, as it is not up to

acceptable standards (Wright, 2013). For example, as Biddle (2014) notes on her blog, on her

service trip to Tanzania all the volunteers did such a poor job of building a library that "each

night the men [locals in Tanzania] had to take down the structurally unsound bricks we had

laid and rebuild the structure so that, when we woke up in the morning, we would be unaware

of our failure" (n.p.). Even though volunteers can be grossly underprepared and

undereducated for the tasks they undertake, they are often still viewed as superior to the

community they are working in since they are providing assistance and possess more resources.

Another concerning dynamic of power and privilege arises from the "white saviour" complex. The white saviour complex is based on the idea that a "white messianic character saves a lower- or working-class, usually urban or isolated, non-white character from a sad fate" (Hughey, 2014, p. 1). This white saviour complex is very prominent in service trips to the continent of Africa, where volunteers believe that their trip can "save Africa" or change the poverty that is present in a community. "One song we hear too often is the one in which Africa serves as a backdrop for white fantasies of conquest and heroism" (Cole, 2012, para. 14). The prevalence of the white saviour complex and these white fantasies is not surprising since McBride and Lough (2008, p. 1) found that "white, highly educated, young, foreign-born individuals without dependent children in the home and [who are] not employed full-time" were most likely to volunteer abroad. White Americans are shown on average to volunteer more, abroad and locally, than do Black Americans (McBride & Lough, 2008; Musick, Wilson, & Bynum, 2000; Wilson, 2000). This difference was attributed to greater availability of social resources, such as income and education to Whites as compared to Blacks (Musick et al., 2000). This difference could also be argued to be attributed to the allure of being a White savior and as a way to alleviate some of the guilt that Whites may have internalized from their colonial histories and pasts. Overall, the white saviour complex can further serve to promote ideas of White racial superiority and reinforce "othering" of host communities (Wright, 2013).

In addition, international volunteering can serve to perpetuate dependency by the host country on outsiders as the host country may need volunteers to provide economic supports to communities (Lyons & Wearing, 2008) or the communities may come to expect that aid will always be given and thus will not use and access their own resources within their country.

Individuals from host communities may not hold their own country accountable for the

provision of essential resources. Furthermore, international volunteering, depending on how

it is conducted, may undermine the dignity of local residents by undermining local residents'

agency (Lyons & Wearing, 2008). Local residents may start to feel that the skills and aid that

they can give to their own communities is not enough or cannot compare to the aid received

from the international volunteers. This could result in local residents' autonomy being taken

away and thus could produce passivity in the community.

Another significant problem associated with international volunteering is that

emphasis is often wrongly placed on the volunteers' experience instead of the community's

needs. Numerous articles and journals talk about international volunteering and its benefits

and drawbacks for volunteers, often forgetting to comment on the most salient aspect of

international volunteering, the host communities (Wright, 2013). As Wright (2013) also

noted, negative effects of international volunteering are mostly located within the host

communities, whereas many of the benefits of international volunteering cluster with the

volunteers, including multicultural experience and exchange, resume building, and the ability

to return to comfortable affluent communities after service. Nevertheless, very little research

has documented the negative impact on host communities to date, meaning that much of the

international volunteering research comes down to hypothesizing about what communities

gain and lose from international volunteering. By directly interviewing members of the host

communities, the current study addressed this gap in the literature.

International Volunteering and its Presence in Africa

One of the major targets for international volunteering is the continent of Africa.

Some of the most popular countries to volunteer in Africa are South Africa, Uganda, Kenya,

Ghana and Tanzania, to name a few (Salvesen, 2014). These countries are some of the most

popular as a result of their high need combined with good in-country support for volunteers

as well as tourist and travel attractions. Africa is the second most searched region for volunteering opportunities only topped by Asia (Salvesen, 2014). This is not surprising when looking at Africa's poverty statistics. Sub-Saharan Africa is home to half of all individuals living in extreme poverty worldwide. There were roughly 389 million people who were living on less than $1.90 a day in 2013 (Poverty Overview, 2016). Based on statistics such as these, Africa presents as one of the regions in the world with the highest need. This need attracts international volunteers, who are seeking to provide help where help is most needed.

Case Study of Swaziland

Swaziland is one example of a country in Africa that attracts international volunteers. Swaziland is a small Southern African country landlocked by South Africa and Mozambique. It has a population of 1.37 million people and is 17,364 km² (Swaziland Population, 2017). Swaziland is one of the last remaining monarchies in the world and is ruled by King Mswati III.

The Swazi people emerged from a northern nomadic Nguni tribe in Southern Africa led by Dlamini in the 15th century (Mabuza, 2007). Swazis as a people have always been led by kings and thus, the lineage of kings tells the story of Swazi history. Swazi history, itself, has many varying versions as a result of the history being orally transmitted (Kuper, 1986). However, all histories include the kings and their main accomplishments.

The Swazis only became viewed as a nation in the 1600's and 1700's after the Portuguese came across them on their travels and conquests (Mabuza, 2007). Two important kings to be noted in Swazi history are; King Mswati I (reigned from 1480–1520), who was revered as the King who gave the Swazi people their identities as Swazis, as they are the people of Mswati (Kuper, 1986), and King Sobhuza I (reigned from 1815-1839), also known as King Somhlolo. He is most famous for the vision which "he received from God in connection with the coming of the Missionaries with the gospel message to Swaziland," prior

to the White settlers' arrival (Mabuza, 2007, p. 22). This message by King Somhlolo can be interpreted as a premonition of the White man coming to Swaziland.

Following King Somhlolo's rule, his son, Mswati II took over and once King Mswati II died in 1868, the Swazi nation fell into turmoil as there was no king old enough to take the throne. After a king dies in Swazi culture, the king's first-born son is meant to take the role of king of the nation. However, if the first-born son is too young, the queen mother, who is seen to have a special role as the mother of the nation due to her birthing the anticipated king, becomes the acting regent of the nation, known as the Queen Regent. Swaziland is unique in its political structure as the King and the Queen Mother are both seen as extremely powerful figures within Swaziland and are viewed as having almost equal power in the governance of the Kingdom. The King and Queen Mother are active monarchs of Swaziland and do not just serve as figure heads for the nation. Following on from King Mswati II's death, there was a disrupted succession of reigns, which ultimately led to a power vacuum within the Kingdom that continued to weaken Swaziland's position as a country. As a result, colonial powers began to infiltrate Swaziland and take advantage of the turmoil and instability within the Kingdom.

The Boers (Dutch settlers in South Africa) and the British started to migrate into Swaziland in the middle of the 19th century. The influx of the Boers and the British into Swaziland mainly came about as a result of the discovery of gold in the northwest of Swaziland (Kuper, 1986) and the use of land in Swaziland for farming by the Boers. The British also wished to add Swaziland to their empire.

During the reign of King Mbandezi (reigned from 1875-1889) the colonial powers of the Boers and the British were allowed to intervene in Swazi political life as a result of their promises to give Swaziland independence and sovereignty. Without the consent of the Swazi government, Great Britain colluded with the South African Republic to make Swaziland a

protected dependency of the Republic in 1894 (Lincoln, 1987). However, at the conclusion of

the Anglo-Boer war, the British established a colonial administration in Swaziland as a result

of their victory.

Swaziland became a British protectorate in 1903 with the British establishing a white

administration and power structure in Swaziland that controlled all internal and external

affairs. Unlike a protected dependency, Swaziland was controlled internally by the British

and Swazis were not given any independence to govern any aspect of its domain. Swaziland

was governed by a resident commissioner, who was White, and ruled in accordance with the

decrees of the British High Commissioner for South Africa. Even though the Swazis' hopes

for what the British would provide for Swaziland never came to fruition, "the Swazi

recognized the Whites as a vital part of their world and the years of friction merge[d] with a

period of interdependence and reluctant acceptance of British control" (Kuper, 1986, p.15).

When King Sobhuza (reigned from 1921 -1982), son of King Ngwane V, was old

enough to take the throne in 1921, he performed the Incwala ceremony, an important ritual in

Swazi culture that "involves scores of ritual sequences, which cumulatively are expected to

renew the powers of the Swazi King, kingship, nation and land" (Lincoln, 1987, p. 33).

Empowered by this ceremony, he took his rightful place as King and began to reunite the

Swazi people under Swazi culture. King Sobhuza II started to regain the power and trust of

the people as his years on the throne progressed and they witnessed his commitment to

Swaziland, its culture and its traditions. The Swazi people started to believe once more in the

King and in the Swazi way of life, and the British soon realized that it was time to give

Swaziland the independence they had been promised for so long, otherwise they would enter

into direct conflict over power and control of the nation. First in 1967, King Sobhuza II was

officially sworn in as King of Swaziland (Kuper, 1972). Then, on September 6th, 1968, Great

Britain granted Swaziland independence from colonial rule. Even though there were many

other factors that influenced Swazi independence, the presence of a stable King who believed

in Swazi culture and values was a main source through which Swaziland overcame the

oppression of the colonial powers.

Overall, throughout Swaziland's time as a British colony and before, there were no

wars with the Whites, even though there may have been underlying tensions. There have

never really been any violent struggles within Swaziland's history, which has contributed to

Swaziland's reputation as a peaceful and nonviolent land today.

Swaziland, nowadays, has a population that is 97% black and 3% white (Swaziland's

Demographics Profile, 2014). Even though colonial powers have left, there are still remnants

of their rule that are seen in Swaziland today. For example, Swaziland has two national

languages, SiSwati (the native language of the Swazi people) and English, as a result of

Swaziland being a British protectorate. In addition, all private schools in Swaziland are

taught in English and all public schools learn English. Both private and public schools follow

a westernized curriculum. Western legal systems are also in place in Swaziland, which are

often used for criminal punishment in urban areas. The more traditional legal practices that

are used often occur in smaller and more rural areas.

Whites and Blacks within Swaziland live in relative harmony. Swaziland, unlike its

neighbour South Africa, was critical of the Apartheid era within South Africa and refused to

take part in it. However, Swaziland still had to rely on South Africa for economic reasons

during this time because of its location (SAHO, 2017). Swaziland, thus, has often been

viewed as a peaceful nation with a diverse population. Swaziland even established its first

interracial school in opposition to Apartheid called Waterford Kamhlaba in 1963 (UWC

Waterford Kamhlaba, 2017). This school also became a United World College in 1981,

which is a movement that promotes diversity and multicultural understanding through

bringing together students from all different countries around the world to attend a single

school. This school has further served as a way to bring diversity to Swaziland and foster a

culture of acceptance among people. However, even though racial tensions seldom manifest

in overt hostility in Swaziland, there is definitely a recognition of racial difference. As one

example, White Swazis are mostly middle class to upper class within Swaziland and are in

careers that require more education, such as medicine, business, and counselling. Hardly any

White Swazi children attend public schools in Swaziland. White Swazi's are often assumed

to be wealthy and dominant in social class.

In some cases, White Swazi's and Black Swazi's (through internalized racism) have

portrayed Whites as racially superior. This idea stems from the days of British colonization

and the myths that the British perpetuated that treated Blacks as inferior (Kuper, 1947). The

Whites within Swaziland were originally seen to bring Western ways and skills that changed

Swazi society and thus, Whites were often seen as "more skillful but less kind, more

powerful but less generous" (Kuper, 1947, p. 34). The fact that most Whites in Swaziland are

more highly educated and come from a higher socio-economic class compounds these racial

stereotypes. Furthermore, White Swazi's have also been criticized for being separate from

Swazi culture and traditions and not integrating into the Swazi way of life (Nkambeni, 2015).

This helps to explain why Whites are often perceived as foreigners in the country, even if

they have citizenship. In addition, because English is a national language, many Whites do

not learn SiSwati, which once again serves to divide the people across racial lines.

Lastly, there is also an exaggerated respect granted to Whites in Swaziland, which can

also be seen as internalized racism. This respect is a holdover from the British colonial days,

but also is a result of the values that Swazi's hold inherent within their culture. For example,

Kuper (1947), describes rules that an educated Swazi had for Black-White behavior back in

colonial days. One of these rules stated that one should "show respect; if necessary, agree to

lies" (p. 35). Respect in Swazi culture is essential for elders; one is seen as having more

authority if one is older. This idea of respect is also shown as a result of seeing Whites as foreigners and thus, treating them as a guest in one's own home. However, as mentioned before, regardless of these racial divides and difference, Whites and Blacks within Swaziland live in relative harmony. There is no consistent history of racial clashes or uprisings.

Although Swaziland has made great strides as a country over the years, it still has many struggles. For example, 63% of the population currently live below the poverty line (The World Bank in Swaziland, 2017). It also has a staggeringly high percentage of orphans and vulnerable children (abbreviated as OVC). OVC account for 15% of the population (Volunteer Opportunities, 2013), amounting to roughly 100,000 children (S.O.S Children Villages International, n.d.). One major contributing factor to this number is that Swaziland has the highest HIV and AIDS rate in the world with approximately 27% of the population living with HIV (HIV and AIDS in Swaziland, 2016). Parents often die young as a result of the disease and are no longer able to look after their children. Swaziland's HIV and AIDS rate is a result of a variety of factors; 1) polygamy is widely accepted and practiced in Swaziland; 2) Transactional sex is very common in Swaziland and thus, sex becomes a way many people can get the things they need to survive; 3) Swaziland is a highly patriarchal society and thus, there are huge gender imbalances that contribute to protection not always being used during sexual encounters (HIV and AIDS in Swaziland, 2016). This combination of extraordinary need and a peaceful, safe setting make Swaziland one of the world's prime spots for volunteering. In addition, familiarity with the English language is another incentive for volunteers to come to Swaziland because of the ease with which they can communicate with most locals. Its natural beauty and the allure of doing something tangible "to help Africa" are additional incentives for international volunteers.

Examples of International Volunteering in Swaziland

One of the longest standing examples of international volunteering in Swaziland is the Peace Corps, which is a cultural exchange and service program where Americans are placed in Swazi communities for a minimum of two years (Peace Corps in Swaziland, n.d). The Peace Corps has been in Swaziland since 1969 and currently has 90 volunteers in Swaziland (Peace Corps in Swaziland, n.d.). Another major international volunteering organization in Swaziland is All Out Africa, which is a volunteer tourism organization that combines travel around Southern Africa and short-term community service. All Out Africa was founded in Swaziland in 2004 with around 120 volunteers coming to Swaziland every year. The volunteer tours include caring for orphan and vulnerable children by providing education support, being involved in sports and play programs to help support children and building infrastructure in communities. These volunteer projects are often paired with tourist excursions like safaris, canopy tours and cultural village tours among other activities (About All Out Africa, 2017). Challenges Missionaries Swaziland (CMS) is also another organization in Swaziland that accepts international volunteers and was founded in Swaziland in 1977. CMS focuses on mission impact with international volunteers by enlisting international volunteers to assist community members in CMS's various locations, while spreading the Christian faith throughout Swaziland (Challenge Ministries Swaziland, 2015). Bulembu ministries, a subsidiary of CMS, runs the largest orphanage in Swaziland, in Bulembu, a small town in the northwest of the country. Bulembu ministries is a "not-for-profit organization serving Jesus Christ through community enterprise and community care" (Bulembu, 2011, n.p.). Bulembu receives hundreds of international volunteers a year from various locations and partnerships.

There are also smaller scale organizations that deal with international volunteering like Vusumnotfo, which is an NGO that uses international and local volunteers to help the

Piggs Peak community (a community in northern Swaziland). Furthermore, smaller

orphanages in Swaziland are often sites where international volunteers are present as they are

placed there through direct external application or association with bigger international

volunteering organization like the Peace Corps. For example, the Sandra Lee Centre, is a

Christian affiliated orphanage in Swaziland that accepts local and international volunteers to

help run and assist with the orphanage (Sandra Lee Centre, n.d.). Another important source of

international volunteers is Waterford Kamhlaba UWCSA, an international high school in

Mbabane, Swaziland. Part of Waterford's curriculum places international and local students

in the communities in service learning settings. Even though this is not a pure form of

"international" volunteering in Swaziland, it is still fosters a pseudo-international

volunteering phenomenon by placing international students in local communities.

International volunteers that frequent these international volunteering organizations

often come into contact with diverse areas of the Swazi population. Still, international

volunteers most often serve a specific, often rural, community and thus, they have the most

direct impact/contact with these members of the Swazi population. However, international

volunteers also interact with and affect people within the international volunteer

organizations that sponsor them, as well as the professional and working population of

Swaziland. They may also interact with the students at Waterford Kamhlaba who may

overlap with them in some of the community settings. These categories of the population

(members of the host communities, professional and working individuals in the local

communities, staff members at the international volunteering organizations, and students at

Waterford Kamhlaba) make up the categories from which the sample for the first study of

this thesis was drawn. These four categories served to represent the general population within

Swaziland that has contact with international volunteers. In addition, another vitally

important aspect of the Swazi population that is in heavy contact with international

volunteers are orphan and vulnerable children (OVC) that are placed in the many orphanages around Swaziland. The study of OVC's perceptions and opinions of international volunteers comprised the second study for this thesis. In looking at these populations and international volunteering, it is first paramount to understand the psychological theories that relate to how these populations may interpret and view international volunteers and the effects that they have. To be noted, however, due to the lack of research on international volunteering and the opinions of host communities, there is no broad overlying theory that can be simply used to sum up how host communities perceive international volunteers. Thus, the psychological theories that follow provide some initial ways that one might conceptualize the community members' responses to their interactions with the volunteers.

Psychological Theories for International Volunteering

Making sense of the world we live in and the interactions that occur is an ongoing task, which is determined by how we perceive and process information. Often times our perceptions can lead us to create stereotypes, since categorization is a fundamental way of processing the world and understanding it (Tajfel, 1969; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2001). As mentioned by Macrae and Bodenhausen (2001), categorization "enables perceivers to streamline cognition and increase the intelligibility of an otherwise dauntingly complex social world" (p. 251). Looking specifically at the stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Zu, 2002), research has shown that social perception has two fundamental dimensions of warmth and competence, which are predicted by status and competition. Fiske et al. (2002) found that out group members were perceived as high on competence, if they had a higher status, and were perceived as low on warmth, if they were judged as competitive. Since all the international volunteers who come to Swaziland are of higher status than the host community locals whom they are there to support, it follows that host Swazi communities may judge these individuals as competent. In addition, depending on whether the volunteers

are seen as warm or not, the locals may feel admiration or envy (Fiske et al., 2002; Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2008). As mentioned earlier, Kuper (1947) noted that Swazis saw Europeans as "more skilful but less kind, more powerful but less generous" (p. 34). This would align with the Fiske et al. (2002) model of seeing foreigners as high in competence but low in warmth and thus lead to viewing foreigners as competitive and of a high socio-economic status. In addition, students at Waterford Kamhlaba, people in volunteer organizations, or professional and working population in Swaziland may view themselves as having the same or higher status to international volunteers. This could result in these groups seeing international volunteers as less competent because they may view the work that international volunteers do as something local residents in Swaziland could do and probably would do more effectively rather than having to outsource these volunteers. Furthermore, depending on whether the international volunteers are seen as warm or not, these groups may feel pity or contempt towards them (Fiske et al., 2002; Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2008). Understanding how various groups in Swaziland may create stereotypes or categorize international volunteers is important, as often hundreds of volunteers will come to Swaziland within a given year. Categorization and forming stereotypes become ways in which community members understand and make sense of individuals engaging in international volunteering.

Social exchange theory can also provide a model through which to understand community members' opinions and perceptions of international volunteers. Social exchange theory suggests "…that people evaluate an exchange based on the costs and benefits incurred as a result of that exchange. An individual that perceives benefits from an exchange is likely to evaluate it positively; one that perceives costs is likely to evaluate it negatively" (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005, p. 1061). Following this model, Swazi host communities may view international volunteers positively, as many of the benefits of international volunteering for communities are overt and have visible effects, such as aid in

communities, new infrastructure and programs. However, many of the negative effects of international volunteering are often more covert, such as a perpetuation of White supremacy and cultivation of a dependency mindset. Students at Waterford Kamhlaba, the professional and working population and the members of international volunteer organizations may be more aware of the covert costs that occur. Their higher education and distance from the poverty and need found within the host communities may give them more perspective and scepticism about the motivations of the international volunteers. Nevertheless, especially in the case of the international volunteering organizations, interactions with international volunteers may still be seen in an overall positive light as a result of the money these organizations receive to host these volunteers, as well as the community work they share. These more calculated judgments of costs and benefits may be a key dimension in understanding the way this study's participants perceived international volunteers.

In addition, recognizing the cultural context of Swaziland and how it functions might provide another window into the perception of international volunteers. Swaziland is labelled as a high context culture (Titone, Plummer & Kielar, 2012). High context cultures tend to be collectivist and largely emphasize indirect and non-verbal communication (Titon, Plummer & Kielar, 2012). In addition, as mentioned by Hall (1976) who first introduced this concept, "High-context cultures make greater distinctions between insiders and outsiders than low-context cultures do" (p. 113). This is important to note as international volunteers may be perceived as more distinct than similar to the Swazi population by Swazi's and thus, seen as outsiders and different from the Swazi population. Furthermore, someone from a high context culture may expect someone to know what is bothering them rather than explicitly revealing it (Hall, 1976). Understanding this difference in communication is important in conducting and analysing my research.

The altruistic-egoistic debate in social psychology may be another lens through which to consider community members' responses to international volunteers. It has been posited by many researchers that the motivations for volunteers to volunteer abroad often come down to these two main motivations of altruism and egoism, or some combination of the two (Smith, 1981; Clary & Miller, 1986; Mustonen, 2007). Egoistic motives focus more on self-interests of the volunteer, whereas altruist motives focus more on helping others or communities (Mesch, Tschirhart, Perry & Lee, 1998). Understanding that motives for volunteering may fall under these categories helps to inform how communities may perceive international volunteers. For example, the more the students at Waterford Kamhlaba, the professional and working population and the members of the international volunteer organizations subgroup know about international volunteering, the more they may judge volunteers as coming to Swaziland for egoistic reasons as opposed to altruistic reasons. This is thought to happen because by knowing more about international volunteering these groups would become more aware of the less explicit egocentric reasons for which international volunteers volunteer, like resume-building, cultural exchange and tourism. Furthermore, many host community members may perceive that international volunteers were coming for more purely altruistic reasons, partly because they are often told that international volunteers are coming to support and help communities like them and they may be unaware of the self-aggrandizing dimensions that this volunteering can possess. The attributions each group makes about the volunteers' motives might determine how they are perceived and viewed within Swaziland.

When looking generally at the opinions and perceptions of community members toward international volunteers, one might also consider the developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1986). This model serves to "…explain how individuals construct their responses to cognitive and behavioural differences in a foreign culture and

how these reactions change as they move 'from a worldview with relatively few distinctions to one with relatively many distinctions' " (Kirillova et al., 2015, p. 385). This model has six stages that one may progress through, starting with denial and moving through to defence, minimization, acceptance, adaptation and finally, integration. In denial, one's worldview is very narrow minded and seen as the only reality possible. When one enters defence, one recognizes differences in world views but refuses to accept the centrality of another world view. Strategies such as negative stereotyping and assumptions of cultural superiority are used in this stage. In minimization, cultural differences are acknowledged but hidden through emphasis of cultural similarities. In acceptance, one understands and accepts that there are different worldviews and cultures. In adaptation, one changes one's way of processing reality in cross cultural situations so that empathy and cultural pluralism can be used. And finally, integration involves being able to see one's identity as well as others as values and behaviour in a culture rather than a universal standard. One progresses through these stages through encounters with difference and intercultural experiences which leads to greater intercultural sensitivity (Kirillova et al., 2015).

Kirillova et al. (2015) found that volunteers developed better intercultural sensitivity as a function of the quality of volunteer-host interactions and the length of the international volunteering program they participated in around the world. The type of work that these volunteers were doing in their international volunteering programs included community work, conservation and construction projects. Since Kirillova et al. (2015) found that volunteers' intercultural sensitivity could be increased through contact with host community members, it is possible that community members in Swaziland might also be able to develop more intercultural sensitivity to international volunteers through quality interactions and longer periods of contacts with the volunteers. Furthermore, community members may also proceed through the six stages within this model when interacting with international

volunteers. For example, they may first refuse to see other world views and ways of thinking as important but through learning and experiencing more cultural difference through quality interactions with international volunteers, they may gain a better understanding of how their own world view is culturally relative and how other worldviews work and differ.

A Focus on Children

This thesis also examined orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC) as another important segment of the population that interacts with international volunteers. The second study delved into the perceptions and opinions that OVC have of international volunteers. Specifically, when looking at children's perceptions, there were some theories that needed to be taken into consideration.

Given that OVC, who are predominately Black, generally interact with White international volunteers, how these children respond to race was critical to explore. Clark and Clark (1947) were some of the first researchers to study children's recognition of race as well as race preference. Clark and Clark (1947) found that Black children could identify the skin color of dolls presented to them and mostly had a preference for white dolls. Gregor and McPherson (1966) conducted similar studies to that of the Clark and Clark (1947) doll studies and found that White and Black South African children had a preference for lighter skin and blonde hair. More recently, Shutts, Kinzler, Katz, Tredoux, and Spelke (2011) found that Black South African children showed a stronger preference for people who are White as opposed to their own race. The researchers posited that a preference for White skin is still prominent because children's preferences reflect the relative status of racial groups within South Africa. Whites are viewed as having the highest status in South Africa. Even though some researchers have argued that racial preferences are improving, and there is less of a divide (CNN US, 2010), a persisting White preference for skin within Black children reflects entrenched socialization toward white superiority and black inferiority. By studying OVC in

Swaziland, I predict that children would both perceive a distinction in race between

international volunteers and themselves, and reflect an internalized idea of white superiority

and a preference for Whites.

Current research on children's specific perceptions of international volunteers has

produced conflicting results. For example, Joutsijoki (2015) conducted research on children's

perspectives on international volunteers in orphanages in Kenya and found that many

children thought of the volunteers positively. They believed that the volunteers came to help

them; however, they did make the distinction that some of these volunteers were only around

for a short amount of time and that this was often not enough time to establish a bond or a

good relationship with them. In addition, Voelkl (2012) noted in her study of an orphanage in

Ghana that although the children enjoyed time spent with the volunteers, received care,

recognition and attention from the volunteers, and learned about different countries and

cultures, they still expressed an "us vs. them" dynamic that reflected stereotypes of Western

ideals and ways of life. Furthermore, Loiseau et al. (2016) found that host communities

generally perceived international volunteering as good, but only listed material reasons for

why volunteering was good. This emphasis on material exchange might be reflecting an

aspect of a dependency mindset within the host communities. These studies serve to

demonstrate that, in general, children may perceive international volunteers as positive;

however, upon closer inspection, there may be more implicit negative attributions.

To examine the potential effects of international volunteering on OVC, I interviewed

children in two orphanage sites, and elicited drawings from them of the volunteers with

whom they had interacted. Children's drawings help to access their views and experiences

more indirectly through their narratives and explanations of the pictures they have created.

As Ehrlén (2009) mentions, children's drawings are important in understanding children's

conceptions, but only if they are combined with understanding the meaning that children give to the drawing itself.

The children I interviewed were quite young (an average age of 10.6 years) and some were shy to speak to a White, English-speaking woman, (even though I had a Black male translator present). Thus, drawing offered a more comfortable medium than direct dialogue, which relies solely on language ability. Drawing is useful because it is a familiar and accessible task and serves as a non-threatening means of communication (Einarsdottir, Dockett & Perry, 2009). Furthermore, Samaras, Bonoti and Christidou (2012) argued that having both drawings and interviews for children is paramount as they give a more comprehensive picture of a child's perception. In their study, they found that Greek children's drawings were much more stereotypical than children's interviews on their perception of scientists and thus, combining both gave a more holistic view of children's perceptions. Drawing has also been shown to differ depending on a child's age. Cherney, Seiwert, Dickey and Flichtbeil (2006) found that older children (11-13 years) were more likely to draw figures with clothes and less likely to draw stick figures, which were often drawn by younger children (5-7 years). Older children's drawings were viewed as more realistic and with more distinct features. The change in children's drawings and representation of people within their drawings is an important consideration when looking at the drawings of OVC in Swaziland who were between the ages of 6 – 13 years old. Lastly, when considering children's drawings their socialization may play a prominent role. Children are socialized into distinct gender roles from a young age, and their drawing can often reflect this. For example, children may choose to depict females by giving them dresses or skirts, as opposed to pants (Arslan Cansever, 2017).

Overview of the Studies Conducted

The first study examined the perceptions and opinions of the Swazi adult and young adult population towards international volunteering and international volunteers through a series of semi- structured interviews. I interviewed four different categories of people in Swaziland – 1) members of international volunteering organizations; 2) students at Waterford Kamhlaba High School (an international school that has a strong community service focus and thus, makes up a portion of the international volunteers that communities receive); 3) the professional and working population of Swaziland, which I defined as anyone who had a job in Swaziland that could provide them with a living wage, and 4) members of host communities of international volunteers, which were defined as community members who had contact with international volunteers and were impacted directly by international volunteering. These four categories broadly represent the groups which are affected by international volunteering in Swaziland. Consequently, interviewing individuals from these four differing categories was central to obtaining a well-rounded perception of how international volunteers and international volunteering is viewed in Swaziland. The interview covered five different sections of questions; basic demographic questions, awareness of international volunteering questions, feeling and impact questions about international volunteering, questions on the effect of international volunteering on children, and finally, a few summary questions.

The second study addressed the perceptions and opinions, implicit and explicit, that orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC) have towards international volunteering and international volunteers. For this study, children from two different orphanages participated. They drew pictures of themselves and the international volunteers that visit them, as well as pictures of the adults who they knew and stay with them in the orphanages. In addition, the children were also asked questions about their drawings and their experiences with

international volunteers. The two orphanages that were used for this study are both Christian affiliated; however, they differed in their locations, resources that were available to them and the types of volunteers which they received.

In summary, some of the questions that were central to both studies were the extent to which international volunteering is perceived as beneficial in Swaziland, how the racial dynamics of international volunteering might serve to perpetuate structures of power and privilege within communities in Swaziland, the extent to which orphan and vulnerable children's sense of identity and race are affected by international volunteering in Swaziland, and the extent to which international volunteers might serve to perpetuate stereotypes. In exploring these questions, the two studies conducted served to shift the lens by which we view international volunteering to a community perspective, thereby giving often neglected voices a chance to be heard.

Study 1

Study 1: Perceptions and Opinions of International Volunteers and International Volunteering in Swaziland: A general population study.

Methods

Research Design

This qualitative descriptive study offered a similar semi-structured interview to four distinct groups within the Swazi community which were then analyzed for predominant themes.

Participants

The total number of participants for this study was 27 and all participants were 18 years or older (*Range*, 18 -71 years, $M = 37.6$, $SD = 2.12$). Participants were pooled from four different subgroups of the Swazi population (see Table 1). The first group contained 10 people (6 male, 4 female; 6 White, 4 Black) and was made up of people who worked at international volunteer organizations within Swaziland or were affiliated with these

organizations. The organizations that these individuals were from included All Out Africa,

Bulembu Ministries Orphanage, Vusumnotfo, Sandra Lee Orphanage, Hope House

Orphanage, The Peace Corps and Challenge Ministries Swaziland. Participants in this group

had degrees ranging from diplomas to a Ph.D., 60% had a BA or BS degree. The second

group contained 9 people (5 male, 4 female; 2 White, 7 Black) and was made up of people

who were identified as the local professional and working Swazi population. This meant that

the participants had a job that provided them with a living wage. People in this category held

a variety of positions, ranging from service employees to highly compensated professionals,

including sales assistant, gardener, housekeeper/cook, teacher, Prime Minister's adviser,

police officer and administrative assistant. Participants' education level in this group ranged

from getting a post graduate degree to only finishing middle school with 56% having a

college degree or higher. The third group contained 4 people (2 male, 2 female; 1 White, 2

Black, 1 Middle Eastern) and was made up of international (n= 3, nationalities included

Egypt and Zimbabwe) and local students (n =1) from Waterford Kamhlaba UWCSA who

were 18 years of age or older. All students were in the process of completing their IB

diploma. The fourth group contained 4 people (1 male, 3 female; 4 Black) and was made up

of the rural Swazi population that are helped by international volunteers, otherwise known as

host community members. People in this category included a head of a homestead where

international volunteers helped, a person who had grown up in an orphanage that

international volunteers frequently visited, a person who worked in the community with the

international volunteers and a person who was part of community that international

volunteers served. Participants in this group had education levels that ranged from finishing

high school to only reaching Form 3, an equivalent of a high school sophomore in the United

States. Participants ranged from spending just 6 months in Swaziland to their whole lives.

Fifty-nine percent of participants who were interviewed had spent their whole lives in

Swaziland and 21% had spent over 17 years in Swaziland. The unevenness of participants across groups resulted from the access and availability I had to members within each of these groups. Only 4 students volunteered to participate in my study and I was only able to get in contact with 4 community members. All interviews were conducted in English.

Table 1

Participants divided by subgroup

	International Volunteer Organization Subgroup	Professional and working population subgroup	Students from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup	Host community members subgroup
Number of participants	10	9	4	4

Measures

Perceptions of international volunteering and international volunteers

Perceptions and opinions of international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland were assessed using a semi-structured interview designed by the researcher. The interview is comprised of 5 sections. Section one includes demographic questions, section two includes questions on awareness of international volunteering in Swaziland, section three is based on questions about the impact international volunteering has and the feelings the participants have towards international volunteering, section four consists of questions about how children are impacted by international volunteering, and section five are final round up questions (Appendix D). All questions were open ended and answered at the participants' discretion. All participants received the same 20 question semi-structured interview; however, the host community members group and international volunteering organizations group had one extra question, each which was not present in the other semi-structured interviews. Respectively, the extra questions were "How often do international volunteers come into your community?" and "On average how many international volunteers do you get in a year and where do most of the international volunteers come from?".

Procedure

Participants were recruited through telephone and email communication by the researcher using a recruiting script (see Appendix A). In the case of the students at Waterford Kamhlaba, they were recruited through an announcement at a school assembly asking for voluntary participants. Only two participants contacted declined to partake in the current study. Participants were recruited from people the researcher knew in the case of the local professional and working Swazi population and international volunteer organizations. These individuals served as good representatives for the larger population because they encompassed a wide variety of professions and varying contact and knowledge about

international volunteers and international volunteering. However, it should be noted that this

sample was a convenience sample as opposed to a true representative sample. The rural

Swazi host community members were recruited through the suggestions that the international

volunteer organizations had on how to proceed or get in touch with this specific subset of the

population.

Meeting times for the interviews were set up and interviews were undertaken in these

times that were convenient for the participants at a location of the participants choosing with

the researcher. Starting the interview, participants were informed that they were participating

in a study to assess the perceptions of international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland.

Participants were then given an informed consent form (see Appendix B) that they were

asked to sign. This informed consent form was used to provide consent for the interview to be

recorded via an electronic device. Thereafter, participants were told some basic instructions

and definitions of international volunteering (see Appendix C). Participants then answered a

series of questions dependent on the area of the population they were from in the form of the

semi-structured interview asked by the researcher (see Appendix D 1-4). After the interview

was finished participants were thanked and given a debriefing form (see Appendix E). All

participants spoke English and in some cases consent and debriefing forms were read aloud to

insure participants fully understood the study and to what they were agreeing.

Ethical Issues

The study questions were on a sensitive topic and concerned potential stressful themes

regarding power, privilege, and race. Participants thus had a clear understanding that their

responses would be kept confidential and that all audio recordings were destroyed at the

conclusion of the study. Participants were also reminded that they could decline to answer

any question and that they could withdraw from the study at any time. Furthermore, as a

researcher of a different race, class and gender to some of the groups of the population

interviewed, these factors might have influenced how participants responded. In particular, I might have been creating a similar hierarchical structure of power to that which the international volunteers create. To counteract this, I made sure that I asked participants a question at the end that allowed them to have their say in the research, how it will be used, and what they would be interested in knowing about the topic.

Strategies for Data Analysis

The semi-structured interviews were first transcribed and then each participants' answers to the questions were recorded in summary into an excel spreadsheet to make the data easier to analyse and judge themes across subgroups. Unusual or memorable quotations were highlighted throughout this process in the transcribed interviews. After recording the data in the excel spreadsheet, primary themes that emerged were noted. Thereafter, all participants' answers to a certain question were coded for emergent themes. After all questions had been coded for relevant themes, overall themes across the data were coded resulting in five main themes throughout Study 1.

In addition, to examine the reliability of the researcher's interpretation of the interviews, a senior psychology student also read and provided a thematic analysis of a subset of the interviews. This student was trained through showing her examples of how to look for themes in data that were not related to my project. The student was also given time to have all her questions about the process answered beforehand. This student was then given segments of the interviews conducted and asked questions with regard to the themes that she discerned. In addition, the student analyzed three full interviews for thematic content.

The concurrence rate between the student's responses and the researcher's responses to the questions was 82% for the short interview segments and 88% for the full interviews. Differences noted in the coding of answers from the short interview segments were mainly categorized by the student misunderstanding the point the participant was trying to convey

due to region-specific phrasing. One of the short interview segments the student was unable to code entirely because the participant's train of thought was hard to follow and changed often. For the full interviews, the only discrepancies between the student and the researcher were not in the specific themes identified for a given participant, but in the emphasis placed on a particular theme for a particular interview.

Results

The data from this study were divided into two different types of data, qualitative and quantitative. Quantitative data were graphed to highlight various trends in international volunteering statistics, while qualitative data were subjected to thematic analysis.

Quantitative Data

The majority of participants, 41%, viewed international volunteering as happening everywhere, however, one third of the participants also identified international volunteering as happening specifically in rural areas of Swaziland. Figure 1 indicates the general perception of places where international volunteering was viewed to occur in Swaziland.
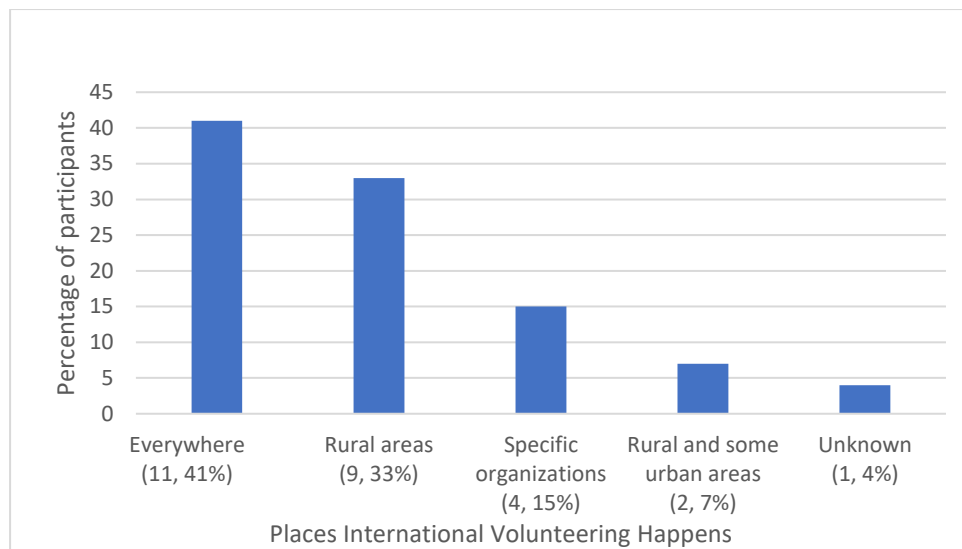
Figure 1. Perception of places international volunteering takes place in Swaziland

       The majority of participants, 41%, also categorized international volunteering and international volunteers as predominantly affecting impoverished communities in rural areas. This was followed closely by youth as being viewed as another heavily targeted population. Figure 2 indicates who participants thought were the most affected by international volunteering in Swaziland.
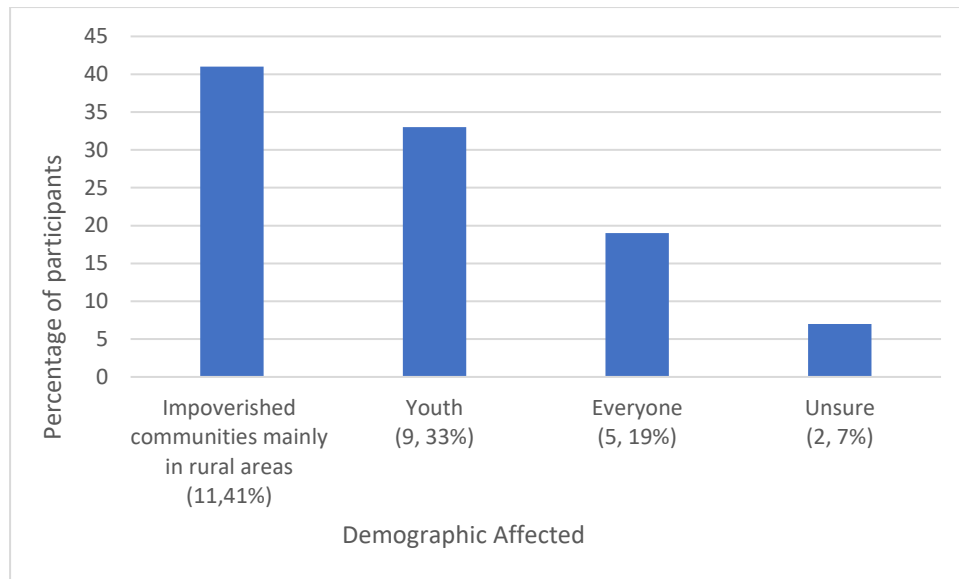
Figure 2. People who were thought to be affected by international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland

Finally, the majority of participants, 56%, described international volunteers that come to Swaziland as white; however, there was also a substantial amount of people, 37%, who indicated that international volunteers were from a variety of different racial backgrounds and could not be categorized into one specific race. The racial categorizations of international volunteers that were most common in Swaziland are featured in Figure 3.
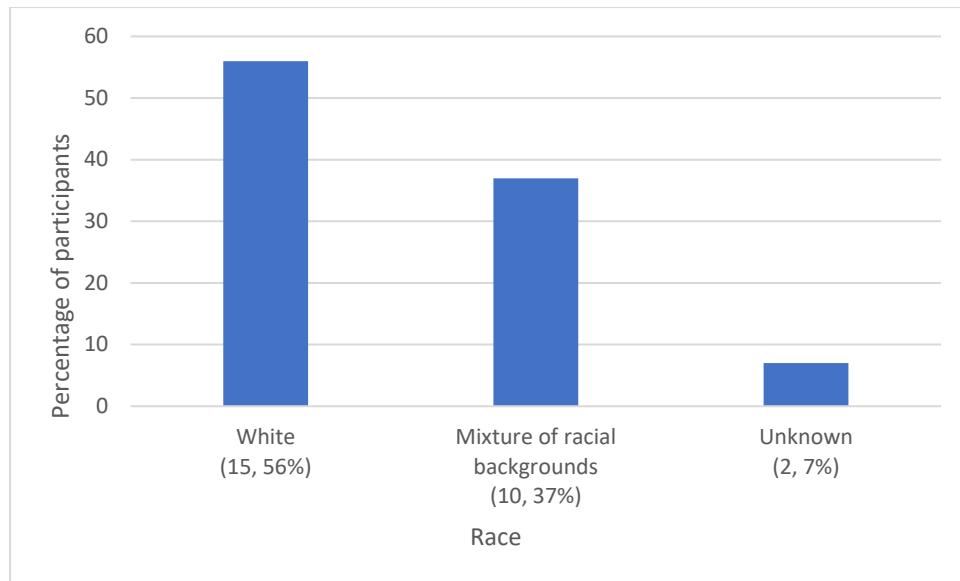
Figure 3. Perception of international volunteers' race in Swaziland

Qualitative Data

Using thematic analysis five main themes were obtained from the 27 interviews conducted. Results for this study were organized by the main themes found and then trends among the subgroups were discussed. Subgroups were discussed in terms of their most prominent trends. Specific questions from the interviews were also used to highlight trends of the main themes among subgroups in this results section. Table 2 demonstrates a summary of the overall themes.

Table 2

Main themes across participants

	Main Themes				
	International Volunteering as an Overwhelmingly Positive Phenomenon	Some Help is Better than None	Learning and Cultural Exchange	Internalized White Supremacy	Children as a Specific Focus of International Volunteering
Participants coded for each theme	100%	45%	41%	41%	100%

International Volunteering as an Overwhelmingly Positive Phenomenon

All 27 participants viewed international volunteering as a positive thing for Swaziland and its people. International volunteering was seen as positive in the interviews for a variety of reasons. Two of the most frequent reasons for this positive view were: 1) that international volunteering provides cultural exchange for both international volunteers and/or community members (33%) and, 2) international volunteering and international volunteers provide help and resources to communities (33%).

Overwhelmingly so, in comparison to other subgroups, cultural exchange was seen as the most important reason for the international volunteering organization subgroup as 60% of the time international volunteering was referred to as a source of cultural exchange.

> *I think overall anything that gets people [international volunteers and community members] exposed to places outside their comfort zone, outside where they grew up, is beneficial.*
>
> (Jane, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup)

The director of an orphanage in Swaziland also alluded to this idea of cultural exchange and how it affects Swazi children:

> *I love it because they have learned a lot about the world. They know a lot about different countries now and places. It has opened their eyes. I think that for your average Swazi child, they don't really know much outside of Swaziland whereas our children are more exposed, and I think that is a good thing. I think in our case it is good and I think our children are a little more savvy to the rest of the world than a lot of other children would be.*
>
> (Mary, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup)

Cultural exchange was also mentioned in all the other subgroups as a theme but was not as prominent as compared to the international volunteering organizations subgroup.

The provision of help and resources was also made quite apparent, especially among the

students from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup with 50% mentioning this as a reason (see

Table 3 for a breakdown of reasons for positive feelings towards international volunteering

across subgroups).

> *I think [international volunteers] are a good thing, I feel like volunteering has helped*
>
> *save lives because of the awareness and the work that they generally do. I really don't*
>
> *find any problem with it.*

<div align="right">(Tanzi, Student from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup)</div>

> *I think it's good because they do give the skills to us, they help us.*

<div align="right">(Andile, Professional and working population subgroup)</div>

Table 3

Reasons for positive feelings towards international volunteering by subgroup

	Reason for positive feelings	
Subgroup	Cultural exchange	Provision of help and resources
International volunteering organization members (n = 10)	60%	40%
Professional and working population (n = 9)	11%	22%
Students from Waterford Kamhlaba (n = 4)	25%	50%
Host community members (n = 4)	25%	25%

Finally, when participants were asked about what they thought the impact of international volunteering and international volunteers was on the communities that they served, most participants viewed the impact as predominantly positive, with only one person in each subgroup group being unsure of what the impact was or seeing the impact as negative. The impact of international volunteering was seen as positive for reasons such as cultural exchange and exposure to difference as well as the provision of help and resources. Empowering people was also another reason for perceiving the impact of international volunteering as positive (see Table 4 below for a breakdown of the reasons given for positive impact of international volunteering across subgroups).

> *I think the community really benefits from the international volunteers because some of the volunteers teach us life skills. Because I heard in one of the places they were teaching them about woodwork and crafts, all those sorts of things that they don't get taught otherwise. It really helps.*
>
> (Mandoza, Professional and working population subgroup)
>
> *Well, it is a life changing thing. It gives people equal platforms. You now also have access to the same things other people more privileged than you do and you can do something about your life.*
>
> (Michelle, Students from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup)

Table 4

Reasons for positive impact of international volunteering by subgroup

	Reasons for positive impact		
Subgroup	Cultural exchange and exposure to difference	Provision of help and resources	Empowers people
International volunteering organization members (n = 10)	30%	20%	10%
Professional and working population (n = 9)	11%	56%	-
Students from Waterford Kamhlaba (n = 4)	25%	50%	50%
Host community members (n = 4)	25%	25%	-

Negative views of international volunteering acknowledged.

Even though there was an overwhelmingly positive response to international volunteering, 63% of the participants also noted negative views and thoughts they had on international volunteering and international volunteers. However, the negative views, as stated by the participants or demonstrated through their examples, did not outweigh the far more positive benefits of international volunteering for the participants.

For example, one participant stated that:

Yes, it is positive 98% but the 2% [negative] is logistics and funds to get the logistics done. We always supply the hardware that they need if they want to plant poles or whatever. We have to supply it. Ninety-eight percent of the time they actually pay for it, but we need to still bring it in. I would say 98% it is fantastic but 2% it does put a strain. But we are desperately needing them.

(Veronica, International Volunteering Organization subgroup)

Another participant noted:

It's generally a positive thing in the sense that there is a lot of help that is needed in the country and they come and offer that. It then boils down to different individuals. So, for example, there are some volunteers that have certain misconceptions about the country and they can bring those negative stereotypes. That can make the country develop a stereotype.

(Benjamin, Professional and working population subgroup)

Benjamin was the only participant to mention stereotype creation when talking about the negative feelings he had towards international volunteering. Benjamin alludes to how volunteers can bring negative stereotypes and therefore not be open to seeing Swaziland in a different way. This results in them viewing their whole experience through the lens of a certain stereotype. This will impact how they interact with people in host communities and

treat host communities. Overall, stereotypes being created through international volunteering was a negative that was mentioned by 26% of the participants at some point in the interview. For example, some people alluded to stereotypes that all international volunteers must have money, that only Whites help, and that Swaziland is often categorized as backwards compared to other countries.

Both participants mentioned above highlight the overall positive effect of international volunteering; however, both allude to a negative factor, like strain on resources or the formation of negative stereotypes. These negatives, nevertheless, were mentioned much less frequently than the positive perceptions of international volunteering which were mentioned in 100% of answers.

In looking more deeply at the negatives, three other significant themes that emerged were the following: 1) international volunteering can provide a dependency mindset (19%); 2) implementation and organization of the international volunteers can be poorly structured (11%); and 3) international volunteering cannot be sustainable due to time constraints (19%) (see Table 5 below for a breakdown of the perceived negative effects across subgroups).

People affiliated with international volunteering organizations were the most likely group to specify negative effects of international volunteering as related to the sustainability of international volunteering programs. Fifty percent of interviews contained this theme in the international volunteering organizations subgroup as compared to the professional and working population subgroup where only 22% of participants specified this theme.

> *I would say if it is done right it is a positive thing. I feel like volunteering is a very short term-based thing, so sustainability is a major problem, meaning if you are here for two weeks it probably doesn't have the impact that you are thinking it does.*

(Cameron, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup, Peace Corps Volunteer)

The director of an orphanage notes this same idea of sustainability:

In our institution, it's positive. I think in some places it is more negative when it's just

coming in large groups and bringing lots of gifts and only there for a couple hours

and then gone. I don't think that's all that positive. But I think in our situation it is

because people come for at least a week.

(Mary, International Volunteering Organization subgroup)

However, unlike the previously quoted Peace Corps volunteer, the director views a

week as a sustainable amount of time as highlighted through this quote.

People have asked me "Do you think it's more of a positive or negative, because do

you think it is confusing to them to have people come in and out of their lives?" But I

answer no because the children have a mother, a Swazi mother and a Swazi Aunty

that are there permanently. They speak SiSwati in the home. So, they are very set in

their culture and stable and they have us there every day. So, the visitors are just like

the cherry on the cake.

(Mary, International Volunteering Organization subgroup)

For the director, international volunteering, even if it is fairly short term, is seen as

positive because the children already have a strong support network and do not need to rely

on volunteers for support. Difference in opinions on what sustainability consisted of was seen

throughout all interviews, as sustainability was viewed as being situation dependent and not

defined by a fixed definition.

In addition, the idea that international volunteering can create dependency was also

heavily noted in the professional and working population with 33% mentioning this theme.

And then another aspect about international volunteering is that some NGO's become

dependent on international volunteering such that they do not grow their strategy.

They always work it around international volunteering. It really affects their growth

because international volunteering is not constant and there will always be a different

person there for a short period of time. So, when they leave, the project they were

working on dies out. I've seen a lot of organizations being stuck in one place or

deteriorating because they develop a dependency problem.

(Benjamin, Professional and working population subgroup)

But then, [international volunteering] could be bad because some people are

dependent on them and they exploit them. I have heard people will ask for money and

do all sorts of things and I think it is wrong. Some people are lazy, and they don't

want to work because the work was done by the volunteers. Some teachers refuse to

go and teach in the rural areas because they have the volunteers to do the work. And I

think it's wrong because we have to uplift the standard ourselves instead of depending

entirely on foreigners, but the volunteers have done a lot of good work.

(Andile, Professional and working population subgroup)

Finally, a participant noted that the language barrier between international volunteers and community members meant that skills and resources could not be shared effectively, and help may not be as impactful as first thought. This negative impact was noted by a participant in the host community members' subgroup.

We find that the volunteers are unable to speak in SiSwati even though they are here

to help the Swazis. And sometimes you know most of the Swazis do not understand the

English language. Most of the volunteers come here speaking in English and

sometimes you find that the volunteer is trying by all means to help the Swazi, but the

Swazi cannot understand the words that come out of his mouth. So maybe the

volunteer will think 'I have done my role,' but in the end, nothing has happened

because people didn't understand.

(Jabu, Host Community subgroup)

Table 5

Negative effects of international volunteering by subgroup

	Negative effects of international volunteering				
Subgroup	Stereotype creation	Dependency	Poor implementation and organization of International volunteering	Sustainability issues	Language barriers
International volunteering organization members (n = 10)	10%	10%	20%	50%	-
Professional and working population (n = 9)	33%	33%	-	22%	-
Students from Waterford Kamhlaba (n = 4)	50%	-	25%	-	-
Host community members (n = 4)	25%	-	-	-	-

Understanding that many participants in this study were able to note negative effects of international volunteering, like sustainability and dependency issues, shows how some people in Swaziland are more critical of the help they or their communities are receiving.

Still, overall, 75% of the participants in the host community's subgroup viewed international volunteering as solely positive with no mention of negatives throughout the interview. Whereas, in the international volunteering organizations, students from Waterford Kamhlaba, and the professional and working population subgroup over 55% of participants were more likely to note negative and positive views in regard to international volunteering throughout their interview (see Table 6 below for breakdown of positive and negative views across subgroups).

Table 6

Positive and negative views towards international volunteering by subgroup

	Views of international volunteering	
Subgroup	Only Positive	Mention of a Negative
International volunteering organization members (n = 10)	30%	70%
Professional and working population (n = 9)	44%	56%
Students from Waterford Kamhlaba (n = 4)	-	100%
Host community members (n = 4)	75%	25%

The host community subgroup was also coded as the most grateful for the international volunteers, as all members noted at the end of interview how thankful they were for these volunteers. The gratitude from the host community subgroup is so strong because of how impoverished Swaziland is as a country; many host communities lack basic resources and support and therefore any help is important to these communities.

> *[International volunteers] are so grateful to us and they are so helpful to us. We are so thankful to have them. We are so thankful to have them around us. They are so helpful.*
>
> (Lebogang, Host Community subgroup)
>
> *I want to say thank you to Vusumnotfo for bringing those volunteers, they help me a lot. They teach us rhymes from America, Poland; they give us many things. They are good, they are very good.*
>
> (Ntoko, Host Community subgroup)

Overall, international volunteering was viewed as overwhelmingly positive in its impact and in the opinions that participants had towards it, even if there were negatives that were commented on in the interviews.

Some Help Is Better Than None

The second biggest theme across the data was the view that some help is better than none; 45% of participants were coded for this theme. This theme arose due to the continued justification of international volunteering being good despite its negative aspects. Swaziland was often characterized as being extremely impoverished and affected by the HIV and AIDS epidemic and thus, it was justified that any help that was provided was a great help to communities.

I probably didn't emphasize enough that I really do think that international

volunteers in Swaziland have done a good job and there are the negatives, but we

have a huge problem and we need a lot of help.

(Megan, International Volunteering Organization subgroup)

In the long run, to a great extent, it is a good thing. I would love to believe it is a good

thing but there might be some motives behind it. Maybe some companies have

something to gain. But to a great extent and in the long run it is a good thing. I mean

people are getting helped in the country.

(Michelle, Students from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup)

In addition, apart from the characterization of Swaziland being extremely

impoverished and international volunteering providing the help that is needed, quite a few

participants, 22%, noted that international volunteering provides the help where the

government or the people of Swaziland have not. For example, one participant stated that:

I think they [the international volunteers] have done a very decent job. It is helping us

because as I say our government doesn't provide for us as much as we would like and

[international volunteers] are good because they help people down in the rural areas.

I think it is definitely superb.

(Max, Professional and working population subgroup)

A participant, who experienced international volunteering as a child when he was in

an orphanage, also noted this idea that outsiders are the ones to provide help to Swazi's:

It helps many people, most especially Swazi's and the orphans in the country because

if you can just take an observation in our country, those people who are in the high

class, they don't mind about those that are needy but they are greedy. They like fancy

things and they don't mind about their neighbors who are living under poverty, but I

can say that the whites are the best because they understand the situation and they

decided to move from their country and come help the Swazi's while the Swazi's have

not helped one another. It is not necessarily that Swaziland does not have enough

money to support the country, it is only that they're greedy.

(Jabu, Host Community subgroup)

Furthermore, Jabu's quote highlights how international volunteering creates negative impressions of Swazi's among the Swazi population, which serves to foster division among the Swazi people. His quote also hints at how Swazi's may have become dependent on international volunteers. Since international volunteers are seen as helping the country Swazi's may feel that they do not need to do so; this view may come across as greedy and self-centered.

Overall, the theme of some help being better than none feeds back into this idea of international volunteering being viewed as positive and provides a justification through which participants can overlook the negative aspects of international volunteering that they have seen.

Learning and Cultural Exchange

Forty-one percent of participants were coded as viewing international volunteering as an opportunity for learning and cultural exchange for both community members and international volunteers. This theme arose as a main theme by itself because, apart from being mentioned as a reason why international volunteering was positive, it was also used to demonstrate the function of international volunteering as well as the reasons why volunteers volunteer and the impact that they have. This theme was mostly apparent in the international volunteering organizations subgroup with 80% of participants being coded for this theme (see Table 7 below for breakdown of learning and cultural exchange theme across subgroups).

The quote below demonstrates how volunteers experience cultural exchange and learning by coming to Swaziland.

I think because we have a diverse culture, we still have a king as well, [they come to

Swaziland]. So, the culture is quite an attraction. Maybe we have negative reports on

the king, especially with the claims that he spends a lot of money on luxury stuff, but I

think our culture is quite diverse and I think we have a strong royal background.

(Thando, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup)

In addition, another participant demonstrates how learning and cultural exchange also

happens for Swazi communities through international volunteering.

I believe it is very important for Swazi children to be exposed to people from the

outside world just so they have knowledge of what else is going on outside of

Swaziland.

(Mark, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup)

Table 7

Theme of learning and cultural exchange by subgroup

Subgroup	Learning and Cultural Exchange Theme
International volunteering organization members (n = 10)	80%
Professional and working population (n = 9)	11%
Students from Waterford Kamhlaba (n = 4)	50%
Host community members (n = 4)	50%

In response to the question, what do you think the function of international volunteering is in Swaziland, 67% of participants saw international volunteering's main function as an opportunity for the volunteer to experience traveling and a cultural exchange. Additionally, 59% also mentioned an opportunity for sharing resources and bringing new skills to communities, essentially helping communities learn. These percentages suggest that international volunteers are viewed as coming to Swaziland primarily for their own personal gains, such as traveling and experiencing a different culture, followed by bringing skills and resources that help communities experience learning and a form of cultural difference and exchange. A third theme that was noted for the function of international volunteering was the idea of international volunteers coming to help those less fortunate; this was only present in 30% of the answers presented. Overall, there was more emphasis on a reciprocal relationship of learning and cultural exchange, where both the international volunteer and the community members benefit from international volunteering through learning and cultural exchange.

This theme is highlighted particularly well in this participant's answer:

The service that [international volunteering] provides for the volunteer itself is that they gain a perspective of a different culture or different country. And then sometimes the service projects they're doing do some good for that community. So, whether it's building something or teaching or whatever, the host community benefits somehow immediately from it as well.

(Cameron, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup)

Also, when participants were asked about the motives and reasons why international volunteers come to volunteer in Swaziland the theme of learning and cultural experience was once again prominent. The two main motives that were noted by participants were giving help and coming for personal gains, which included experiencing a different culture, personal growth and improving their resumes. International volunteering organizations were most

likely to suggest international volunteers' motives were related to personal gains along with a

desire to help, whereas all other groups have a majority of participants stating that

international volunteers came because they wanted to help.

>*Yah, I think some of them want to come to Africa just as a way to travel. Also, just to*
>
>*help I guess. People who actually like being around children, I guess that would be*
>
>*another reason.*
>
>   (Sipho, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup)
>
>*I think the reason is that of helping. To uplift the standard. I am not sure about us, but*
>
>*I think the motive is to help the less privileged and the disadvantaged people to come*
>
>*up. I am not sure if they do reach the target, if they are able to reach what they*
>
>*initially wanted to see happening.*
>
>   (Andile, Professional and working population subgroup)

Lastly, learning and cultural exchange as theme was found to come up in a question

where participants were asked in the interview if they saw themselves as personally affected

by international volunteering. The majority, 70%, of the international volunteering

organizations subgroup stated that they were affected in some way personally by international

volunteering, whereas the professional and working population, the students from Waterford

Kamhlaba and, interestingly, the host communities had all but one participant saying they

were not affected personally by international volunteers. The main reason participants gave

for being affected or not affected by international volunteers was because they had worked

with or had made connections or friendships with the international volunteers. This reasoning

can be viewed as a form of learning and cultural exchange between community members and

international volunteers. Most of the participants, aside from the international volunteering

organizations subgroup, interpreted the word 'affected' as having a largely negative

connotation and were thus less likely to note that they were affected, even when stating that

they had made connections and friendships with international volunteers.

The exchange below demonstrates the difference in understanding of the word

"affected," between the community member and myself:

L: It doesn't affect me, no, it doesn't.

Researcher: Even though, you are living with an international volunteer?

L: No, it doesn't, I am just grateful to be with an international volunteer. It's not

affecting me, it's nice to stay with him.

(Lebogang, Host Community subgroup)

This participant identifies the reason why he is affected by international volunteering:

I think I am affected. Well I am affected in a way like I have said before, I now have

friends and I am pretty sure we are still going to meet new people and learn a lot from

them. I am working in an organization that actually takes volunteers every now and

then, even though we don't actually stay with them here, they do come visit.

(Sipho, International Volunteering Organization subgroup)

Overall, learning and cultural exchange was a consistent theme that was seen

throughout these interviews and can be clearly noted in the perceived function of

international volunteering and the motives why international volunteers would come to

Swaziland, but also, through the reasons why participants stated they were affected or not by

international volunteering.

Internalized White Supremacy

Unlike the other themes which could clearly be seen in excerpts from the participants,

the Internalized White Supremacy was mostly an underlying theme with only two

participants explicitly acknowledging it as a factor. However, if one looked for the mention

of the race of the volunteers (besides in the question when this was asked directly), this topic

did re-surface in 41% of the interviews. In these instances, participants noted that it was

Whites who were providing the help within Swaziland. These statements were most prevalent

among the professional and working population (44%) and students from Waterford

Kamhlaba (75%), followed by the international volunteer organization members subgroup

(40%) and the host community members subgroup (25%).

Some of the most illustrative examples were found within three of the interviews

where participants all categorized the racial makeup of the international volunteer population

at the beginning of the interview as a mixture of different races, but then throughout the rest

of the interview would refer to international volunteers as White when demonstrating their

points. In these interviews, participants did not seem to notice this discrepancy in their

answers, which further serves to show a potential tendency toward internalized white

supremacy that some of the participants might have in regard to international volunteering.

For example, one participant when commenting on the difference between

volunteering with adults and volunteering with children noted:

> *People are different. Others are like 'I don't want these white people coming in my*
>
> *house'. Others will welcome them.*

> (Joy, Professional and working population subgroup)

This participant had indicated that the race of international volunteers was mixed.

Another participant when asked where international volunteering takes place

mentioned this comment, even though earlier in the interview he stated he did not know what

the main race of international volunteers that comes to Swaziland is:

> *Oh, definitely it is the rural areas and if you think about it, if you have got a role*
>
> *model white man, which always counts for a little bit, who is your role model out*
>
> *there and is organizing groups and helping, informing and instructing and educating*
>
> *in the area of HIV Aids and personal behavior and all these other things that I*

mentioned. You can see the benefit to the individual. It helps keep them on the straight

and narrow and it is informative. It is all part of it, further developing their

education.

(Oliver, Professional and working population subgroup)

Internalized White Supremacy is also heavily tied to internalizing Whites as White

saviors. One participant strongly sees Whites as saviors:

Take for instance our kids, whenever they see these international volunteers and they

are coming from the West. They [the children] feel like they [international volunteers]

are very, very important to have these white people coming to see them and when they

come to them, they even inspire them to study hard and work hard. Some of them, they

also come with some projects where they want to empower the people by maybe

teaching them a trade and how to do things, how to make something.

(Steven, International Volunteer Organizations subgroup)

In many of the interviews there is a comparison between Whites and Blacks with the

White individual being viewed as more powerful and superior to that of the Black population.

One participant from the host community's subgroup alludes to this fact with a short anecdote

about children and their doll preferences:

Most of children, they like White people. One day there was two children playing and

I had these small babies [dolls] that you buy at Shoprite. One was White and the

other one was Black. Then there were three children and I said choose which one you

want. Everybody wanted the White one and I asked why they don't want the Black one

and they said the Black one is so ugly. So, most of the time they like to share the White

one. They want to just be closer with the Whites.

(Jabu, Host Community subgroup)

Later in this interview, it was clarified that the children probably preferred White dolls because they mostly saw White volunteers and wanted to be like them. This quote shows from an early age just how entrenched an idea of white supremacy can becomes in part because of White international volunteers that come to Swaziland.

In addition, another participant from the students of Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup also noted a view of internalized white supremacy with strong white savior connotations when comparing the Swazi population and the international volunteering population:

I don't think most of them [international volunteers] are like the Swazi population because I feel like for Black people in general, they feel like people have made it or if people have got knowledge they tend to go to America or European countries and then they don't come back to help educate their own. So mostly it is White people from other parts of the world that come to help educate the Africans.

(Tanzi, Student from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup)

This quote, similarly to earlier when Jabu talked about international volunteers providing aid and locals not caring to provide aid, demonstrates how international volunteering can create a negative perception of local Swazi's because they are not providing the aid that the international volunteers are providing. This continues to create a divide among Swazi's. However, whatever divide that may be created by international volunteering, does not compare to how differently the Swazi population sees international volunteers in comparison to themselves.

International volunteers as different from the Swazi population

Participants were asked in the interview whether they saw the international volunteers as similar to the Swazi population in any way; 81% of the participants indicated that international volunteers were not the same as the Swazi population; 100% of the participants in the international volunteer organizations, the students from Waterford Kamhlaba

subgroups, 78% of the professional and working population and 25% of the host community

member subgroup felt that the volunteers were different. One of the main reasons given for

the difference between the two populations were international volunteers being from a

different culture and a different way of life. Another reason given was that international

volunteers were more privileged than the communities they were coming to aid. Surprisingly,

race was only mentioned as a factor for this difference by two participants in the whole

sample. These participants were from the Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup.

Leaving out race, this participant indicates the reason for the difference between the

two populations is a result of a different culture and way of life:

> *They are different by virtue of their background, their culture, their education, the*
>
> *standard of living and all the rest of it, their health, their stature.*
>
> (Oliver, Professional and working population subgroup)

One participant in the sample could not express the reason behind the difference

between the volunteers and the Swazi population. This can be seen in an exchange I had with

the participant:

> *Researcher: Do you think that the majority of international volunteers is similar to*
>
> *the population of Swaziland in any way or not really?*
>
> *S: Not really.*
>
> *Researcher: Why do you think, 'not really'? Is it because they act different or they*
>
> *look different?*
>
> *S: [laughing] To me they are different.*
>
> (Solomon, Professional and working population subgroup)

Most participants could ultimately provide reasons why they thought the volunteers

were different; however, with most participants it was a quick response that the Swazi

population and international volunteers were different, and only after prompting for an

explanation would participants extrapolate on their answers.

Interestingly, 75% of the participants in the host community's subgroup stated that the

international volunteer population and the Swazi population were the same. The reasons

participants gave for this varied, but all had a tone of everyone being the same because we are

all part of the human race:

I think they are the same. They are from a different culture but that's just the culture.

(Lebogang, Host Community subgroup)

You cannot know which one is a volunteer and which one is a Swazi. They have to tell

you.

(Ntoko, Host Community subgroup)

The theme of 'us all being part of the human race' was also explicitly stated as

justifications across other answers in the subgroups to show the universality between

international volunteers and the Swazi population.

Lastly, when participants were asked how they would describe an international

volunteer to someone who didn't know what one was, participants overwhelmingly described

international volunteers in terms of the reasons why they came to Swaziland; 70% of

participants did this. With the biggest reason mentioned being to help. However, features

describing the international volunteers such as age, class, gender, education and dress, as well

as qualities of international volunteers like caring, altruistic and kind-hearted were also other

prominent characterizations of international volunteers. Forty-four percent of participants

and 41% of participants respectively mentioned one of these attributes in their descriptions of

international volunteers. Interestingly, only one participant mentioned race when describing

international volunteers; race otherwise was not mentioned as a descriptor. Race may not

have been mentioned as a descriptor at the beginning of the interview because I, the

interviewer, am white, and they may not have felt comfortable in the interview yet.

Nevertheless, as shown from the statistics above, the theme of whiteness as synonymous with

international volunteers was often discovered later on in many of the interviews that were

conducted.

Overall, internalized White supremacy can be found within just under half the

interviews conducted. Participants' descriptions of international volunteers, as well as their

judgements of how similar the international volunteers were to the Swazi population, were

surprisingly non-inclusive of racial reasons; however, the fact that this theme still emerged as

a prominent factor suggests how subtly entrenched the internalized White supremacy may be

within these populations.

Children as the Specific Focus of International Volunteering

Children as the specific focus of international volunteering was a theme that arose

because of four of the questions in the interview explicitly targeted international

volunteering's impact on children.

Youth, as noted in Fig 2 of quantitative data section above, were viewed as one of the

demographics of the population that were heavily targeted by international volunteering.

To start with, when participants were asked whether there was a difference in

volunteering with children versus adults, 70% of participants thought that volunteering with

children was different to volunteering with adults. Reasons given for this included: children

being easier to interact with because adults were set in their ways and had more of an

opinion; adults being able to understand more than children; and volunteering with children

requiring a completely different skill set to that of volunteering with adults.

Here is an example of the difference in working with children and the different skill

set required:

Yes, I think volunteering with children is fun, it's sexy if you will. Like people want to do that. Volunteering with adults takes a lot more patience, a lot more language proficiency, a lot more skill also because you are not teaching the basics, but you are going more in-depth to a certain topic or whatever you are doing. They also have more ideas of how to do something, so it takes a lot of compromise and a lot of coming together to make a decision. Rather than you just make the decision for the kids and that's what you do.

(Cameron, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup)

In addition, another participant in the professional and working population subgroup noted the importance of understanding Swazi culture and Swazi family dynamics for volunteering with adults in Swaziland:

In a developing country like Swaziland, the limiting factor of volunteering with older people is that here they venerate age in a way that we don't. Here there is a rigidity in the way they venerate age. They mourn the death of an old person far more than they mourn the death of a young person which is completely the opposite to the way it is with us. So, they venerate age, so if you work in a community, the younger you are, the smaller your captive group of listeners and learners. If you are 21 years of age, it is not easy for you to relate and command the same authority and position with older people as you can with young people. So, with the volunteer you have a captive group if you are working with the younger people. If you are working with the entire community, you do have this generation challenge where you have to be careful how you talk and instruct somebody who is 60 when you are 25.

(Oliver, Professional and working population subgroup)

Interestingly, the majority of the participants, 75%, in the host community's subgroup described volunteering with adults and children as the same or similar. Seventy-five percent of those responses did not note why it was the same; however, one participant did note that:

There is no difference because adults and children; all of them need help.

(Ntoko, Host Community subgroup)

Participants were also asked in the interview what they thought the impact was on children who were exposed to international volunteers, if they thought there was an impact at all. There were mixed results for this question. A majority of participants, over 75%, thought that there was an impact on children from international volunteering. Most participants viewed that impact as positive, with the host community's subgroup and the students from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup having the highest number of positive responses at 75% each. Some of the reasons for the positive impact included skills improvement, like English improvement and confidence building, and exposure to difference, as well as help and support from international volunteers.

Here is one participant's answer to the question of what the impact of international volunteering and international volunteers is on children:

Exposure again. I am not really sure about this question. Pertaining to Bulembu [an international volunteering organization], I know they love the international volunteers because it is so different, and that difference, they find it intriguing and kids, especially, are curious about new things.

(Alex, Student from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup)

The unsureness expressed in the answer above was also more directly noted in a number of other answers, approximately 22% of participants, who expressed that the impact depended on the specific circumstances or that they could not answer the question:

Way too broad a question, I would have no idea. It depends upon the volunteer, how

the volunteer was orientated, motivation for coming, organization support.

<div align="right">(Jane, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup)</div>

In contrast, negative views on the impact that international volunteering and international volunteers have on children were categorized as international volunteers being able to leave children behind after their volunteering stint is over and the language barrier that can exist between children and volunteers.

One participant aptly summed up this tension between the negative impact of international volunteers leaving and positive impact of having international volunteers in general for children:

Again, I think it depends on the situation. I think in the rural areas if people come and

have a short stay and then leave it can be a negative. But with our children, because

[international volunteers] are living there with the kids and usually for at least a

week, they get to know them and I think a relationship is established. Like with one

family in particular, it is probably their sixth time here and the kids are so excited

when they come but they are used to them coming and going. I have wondered, Is it

really hard on them? Do they grieve? But I don't think so. I think they just know that

some people come in and out of their lives. Even that's normal. Some people try to

make a bigger deal of it, even in your life you have had aunties and uncles from

overseas who come visit who love on you and play with you and dote on you and then

they are gone and it doesn't crush you.

<div align="right">(Mary, International Volunteering Organization subgroup)</div>

In addition, another participant noted how he had seen reasons for international volunteering having a negative impact online but that he had not seen those effects in Swaziland.

Researcher: Do you see that negative impact that is talked about on the internet? Do

you see that in the communities?

T: No, I don't to be honest. I suppose you need to be in the shoes to understand.

(Thando, International Volunteering Organizations subgroup)

The responses for this question were multifaceted and thus, it is hard to determine

overall what the impact of international volunteering is on children as perceived by

communities in Swaziland. Nevertheless, international volunteering is viewed as leaving

more of a positive impact as compared to a negative one.

Another question participants were asked in the interview was whether there was any

difference in their opinion between the impact volunteering with orphaned children has

versus the impact volunteering with non-orphaned children has. The majority (60%) of the

participants in the international volunteering subgroup, professional and working population

(67%), and students from Waterford Kamhlaba (100%), viewed volunteering with orphans

and vulnerable children as having a different impact from volunteering with non-orphaned

children as compared to the host community subgroup which had a minority of participants

(25%) viewing volunteering with orphans and vulnerable children as having a different

impact. The main reason given for this was that orphans are more vulnerable and thus, need

more help and support because of their early life experiences.

I think there is a difference. The orphans are really struggling, and the other children

do not struggle as much as the orphans.

(Mandoza, Professional and working population subgroup)

In addition, approximately 30% of participants noted that there was a difference but

that the difference depended on a variety of things, such as the age the child became an

orphan and the particular circumstances of the orphaned child.

Yes, there is [an impact for the orphaned child], so I guess it depends on social

support. So, it just depends on how grounded they are in the community. It depends on

a case to case basis.

(Mohammed, Student from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup)

Around 26% of participants noted that there was no difference between orphaned

children and children who were not orphaned. The majority of the host community's

subgroup (75%), said that there was no difference between the two types of children. The

reasons given for this response were often related to the fact that all children need help and

that all children are the same.

The response below highlights how all children can need support in Swaziland and

that sometimes there is a bias towards orphans, even though they may not be the only ones in

need of help:

No, I think [the impact is] the same. Children are just happy, but the problem will be

the parents. The people in the community have to know which ones are orphans and

which ones are not, but they shouldn't create that gap. Sometimes there is a

difference, but it won't be too much… orphans can be looked after by the

international volunteers, but sometimes international volunteers don't look after the

ones who have parents, because they are not orphans. But, the problem with this is,

what kind of parents do they have? Some of the parents are very old; they have never

been to school and they do art, and they don't get enough money to support the

children and keep them to the standard of these [well looked after orphaned]

children. So, there is a gap. I wish they would choose non-orphaned children as well,

because some of the parents, both the father and the mother are not well, or one of the

parents is sick, so the mother has to look after the father and the children. These

children are suffering more than the orphans.

(Joy, Professional and working population subgroup)

Lastly, participants were asked if international volunteering and international volunteers affected children's perception of their race and identity. The majority of the participants in the international volunteering organization subgroup and students from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup said that it did affect children's perceptions of their race and identity, 80% and 50% respectively. In the host communities and professional and working population subgroups, the majority of the participants identified no effect on identity and race perception in children, with 75% and 44% believing that respectively. Some of the reasons mentioned for children's perception of race and identity being affected included children possibly viewing Whites as superior to other races or the acknowledgement of a race demarcation, adoption of western culture and ways, and exposure to difference promoting better understanding of the world and others. Children being affected through seeing Whites as superior to other races or acknowledgment of racial demarcation was most predominant in the students from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup with 75% of participants stating this reason.

This exchange between myself and one of the students highlights the intricacies of how race perception could play out in children:

> *A: Well from a young age you are quite impressionable, so to see, or to have the exposure of all the different races and identities, although it is mainly white people that come down, that exposure helps. I think, it will go against racism because children will see that all kinds of races are helping. Although because it is majority white, there might be a stereotype that becomes embedded into the child's mind that it's only white people that are helping. And it could be that whole inferiority, superiority complex that could start forming.*

Researcher: So, you are saying it can be good because it introduces people to different races, different identities, different cultures, but it can also have a negative effect because of the majority of white volunteers.

A: Yes.

(Alex, Student from Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup)

Overall, the international volunteering organizations' participants and the students from Waterford Kamhlaba were more likely to perceive an effect on race and identity, whereas, the host community and professional and working population subgroups mostly did not see an effect taking place.

Through the analysis of the four questions on children within the interview, children emerge as a demographic that is heavily affected and influenced by international volunteering and international volunteers, with orphaned and vulnerable children being seen as more susceptible to the influence of international volunteers and international volunteering. (All names mentioned above are pseudo names to protect participants confidentiality)

Discussion

This study explored Swazi community members' perceptions of international volunteers and international volunteering in Swaziland. Overall, participants mainly noted this phenomenon as taking place all over Swaziland with impoverished communities being the main sites served by predominantly White volunteers. This finding replicates a trend found in the general literature on international volunteering (McBride & Lough, 2008).

The community participants' responses revealed five main themes; 1) international volunteering as an overwhelmingly positive phenomenon, 2) some help is better than none, 3) learning and cultural exchange as important to international volunteering and international volunteers, 4) Internalized White supremacy, and 5) children as the specific focus of international volunteering.

All participants in this study found international volunteering and international volunteers to be overwhelmingly positive. This is in contrast to much of the extant literature on international volunteering and its negative effects (e.g. Biddle, 2014). Among the groups surveyed, participants who belonged to the international volunteering organization subgroup were the most critical of international volunteering and its effects. This finding suggests that these respondents may be the most educated on current viewpoints that consider the phenomenon of international volunteering and the effects that it could have.

However, the host community subgroup, which is arguably the most directly affected by both the positive and negative effects of international volunteering, saw international volunteering as a solely positive experience with little mention of negatives. In fact, only one participant mentioned negatives. The host community was the most grateful out of all the subgroups as well and this is easily explained through their high need and underprivileged status in Swazi society. This strongly positive view towards international volunteering, especially within the host community members, demonstrates how important it is to give those directly affected a voice rather than hypothesizing the effect that international volunteering can have on them.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that even though responses were seemly genuine from participants, they may have felt that they needed to answer in a certain way, given my status as a white researcher. At the most fundamental level, it is possible that they may have feared that if they said something negative, the aid from international volunteers may disappear. This is one of the biggest methodological concerns of my study, my positionality as a white researcher. Being white in Swaziland already confers a sense of power and dominance and being a researcher on top of that adds another level to this hierarchy. Additionally, I was better educated than many of the participants and addressed them in their second language, English. However, I tried to mitigate the effects of this dynamic by

explaining my own background, encouraging participants to have agency in their responses, consistently asking for their opinions, and giving them a chance at the end of the interview to talk about anything I had not covered.

Considering further some of the views specific to subgroups of the participants, the professional and working population subgroup highlighted the issue of how international volunteering could engender dependency. This viewpoint could be attributed to the fact that all participants in the professional and working population had jobs that could support them; they thus saw international volunteering as a possible detriment to Swazis' pursuit of employment. Even in light of this, 45% of all participants noted that some help was better than none and that negatives like potential dependency did not outweigh the benefits that the volunteers offer. This preference for help is certainly a function of Swaziland's high need for financial and infrastructure support.

When considering the theme of learning and cultural exchange, international volunteer organization members were once again the most critical subgroup with international volunteers' motives being viewed as mostly a result of the personal gains these international volunteers could get. Other subgroups viewed international volunteering's primary reason as being to help and often saw a reciprocal relationship between what was gained by the volunteers and what community members received. This view of a reciprocal relationship helps many participants to see themselves as active agents in international volunteering rather than passive recipients. It also helps them to lessen the hierarchy that is created between the helped and the helper by positioning themselves as giving something back to the volunteers.

The international volunteering organization members viewed themselves as the most personally affected by international volunteering as compared to other subgroups. Host community members, interestingly, did not see themselves affected by international

volunteering, neither did they view the Swazi population as different from international

volunteers. This trend of seeing international volunteers as equals within the host community

group shows how important it is for host community members not to create an "us versus

them" dynamic. This could possibly be to protect their own egos and ways of thinking about

themselves so that they do not see themselves as impoverished people in need of help. This

way of thinking also helps to break down the power hierarchies that are inherent in

international volunteering in Swaziland.

In light of these findings, it should be noted that the word "affected," used in the

question regarding whether participants were personally affected by international

volunteering, was misinterpreted by a lot of participants, especially in the host community

subgroup. The word "affected" was seen as having negative connotations, so no one wanted

to agree to being "affected" by international volunteering as they saw international

volunteering as mainly positive. Word usage and meaning attributed to words, because of

most of the participants' second language being English, were additional methodological

concerns of this study.

A second example of wording confusions involved the question about the "impact"

that international volunteering had. Quite a few participants were unsure of how to make

sense of the word, "impact," or what was meant by it. The level of understanding in

participants throughout the interviews varied from fully understanding a question to having

questions being repeated multiple times and in a variety of ways to try and get the point

across. However, in all the interviews there was a basic understanding of what was talked

about, and this often came through in the last questions that asked participants to add their

own thoughts, if it had not already been demonstrated previously.

The theme of internalized White supremacy was most prevalent in the professional

and working population and the students at Waterford Kamhlaba. This theme was quite

entrenched in most participants, with three participants in particular stating that international volunteers that came to Swaziland were from mixed origins but later referring to them as White. The inconsistency between participants' responses to race specific questions and the race they referred to throughout the interview when talking about international volunteers demonstrates how internalized white supremacy and the "white savior" idea can become. This, then, leads to thinking of Whites as superior since they are the only ones that are seen as providing help. Nevertheless, it should be noted that when participants were asked what race of international volunteers predominantly came to Swaziland, they could have felt uncomfortable saying "White," even if that was their belief, because they may have felt that I would take offense. I tried to make it as clear as possible in my research that I would not, and often had to reassure participants that it was all right to say what they thought.

The story mentioned by a participant in the host community subgroup about the children he encountered who only wanted to play with the White doll he brought, was particularly fascinating in the research. It showed how children understood race and interpreted a doll differently based on its skin color. Furthermore, through the research, the international volunteering organizations' participants and the students from Waterford Kamhlaba were more likely to perceive race and identity's effects on children as a result of international volunteering. In contrast, the host community and professional and working population subgroups mostly did not see an effect taking place. Perhaps the more educated populations were more attuned to the potential for international volunteers' interactions with children to distort their self-perceptions of their race and identity.

In addition, participants tended to note the differences between volunteering with adults versus children and that international volunteering did have an impact and effect on children. Host community members and students from Waterford Kamhlaba saw the impact as mainly positive for children, while other groups had inconclusive answers around the

impact that international volunteering had on children. This again could be attributed to confusion around word use and meanings of words. Moreover, one participant aptly noted that Swazi family dynamics play a role in how international volunteers can volunteer with certain demographics. The participant noted how age is venerated in Swaziland and that there is a deep respect held for one's elders. Volunteering with adults may be harder in Swaziland if volunteers are younger than the population they are serving. This is important to highlight as international volunteering in one place is very different from another depending on cultural location. Swaziland's unique family structure (where age is venerated and extended family is viewed as paramount) as well as cultural history and past have allowed it to become the small, safe, respected country it is today, and this needs to be taken into account when assessing the interactions that international volunteers will have in Swaziland with host communities. Much of the literature on international volunteering assumes that the certain responses must happen everywhere, and that they are applicable in most situations. However, researchers should always take into account the very specific circumstances under which international volunteering occurs.

Lastly, host community members did not see a difference between orphaned children and non-orphaned children. Seventy-five percent of these participants said that all children were the same, therefore, eliminating any "us versus them" dynamic once again and breaking down hierarchies between different groups of children.

Overall, findings from this study demonstrated that perceptions of international volunteering are generally strongly positive within Swaziland and that respondents articulated a need to continue have international volunteering in the country. Compared to the host community members, the international volunteering organization members, students at Waterford Kamhlaba and the professional and working population subgroup all have more critical views on international volunteering, but it is possible that educational level may

account for these differences. Host community members, on the other hand, refused to make distinctions between international volunteers and their communities, allowing for a harmonious partnership between these two groups.

Finally, a methodological constraint that should be noted is that the international volunteering organization subgroup was the largest in the study with 10 participants, the professional and working population subgroup had 9 participants, and host community members and students at Waterford Kamhlaba subgroup each had 4 participants. This made each participant's answers in the host community members and the students at Waterford Kamhlaba subgroups carry more weight within their respective groups. In the future, more participants need to be sampled, and they need to be more evenly distributed across the subgroups to assess the strength of the current themes found.

In addition, because a convenience sampling method was used for the majority of participants in this study, bias in sampling may have skewed the results as many participants were already known to the researcher before the study began. For future studies, more randomized sampling techniques must be used to generate a more representative sample of the population to strengthen generalizability.

Study 2

Study 2: The Perceptions and Opinions Orphan and Vulnerable Children have towards International Volunteers and International Volunteering

Methods

Research Design

This study used participants' drawings and short semi-structured interviews to obtain data on orphaned and vulnerable children's perceptions and thoughts regarding international volunteers in Swaziland as well as the effects it may have on children.

Participants

A total of 22 participants, identified as orphan and vulnerable children, were pooled from two different orphanages in Swaziland. All of the participants were Black. Ten of the children (9 male, 1 female) were from Hope House in Mostshane, Swaziland. Hope House was set up by Pastor Lewis Chomba and his wife Maggie in 2001. Hope House is a three-fold ministry operating simultaneously as an orphanage, community church and soup kitchen and is currently home to 19 children. Hope House resides in Motshane, a small relatively rural community, which is 30 minutes away from the capital of Swaziland, Mbabane. It largely relies on donations and monetary gifts to keep the orphanage going, but funding often falls short and is inconsistent (Motshane Hope House Orphanage, n.d). Hope House roughly receives 150 international volunteers a year with these volunteers usually staying for very short amounts of time, varying from a couple of hours to a few days. Since there are no facilities for volunteers at Hope House, volunteers have to make trips to Hope House every time they wish to visit, returning back to their program sites.

In addition, twelve children (6 male, 6 female) were also interviewed from the Sandra Lee Centre in Mbabane. The Sandra Lee Centre was set up by Michael and Robin Pratt, two American born Swazi residents, in 2003 to provide a safe haven for orphaned and vulnerable children. The Sandra Lee Centre is a Christian affiliated NGO that is a home for orphaned and abandoned children (Sandra Lee Centre, n.d.). Currently, 31 children live at the Sandra Lee Centre. Sandra Lee is located in Mbabane and is well-resourced in comparison to Hope House. Sandra Lee is largely supported by overseas donations and funding through the connections and resources that its founders have with international communities. These two sites were chosen as the sites for my research as they represent two distinct types of orphanages in Swaziland, those that are well-resourced and within major cities and those that are not as well-resourced and are in rural communities. The Sandra Lee Centre roughly has

12-20 international volunteers a year, with international volunteers often staying for extended

periods of time and staying at the Sandra Lee Centre or very nearby. The volunteers at the

Sandra Lee Centre are much more integrated into the orphanage and children's way of life.

As a result, fewer international volunteers are selected to come for these extended periods of

time.

The children were between the ages of 6 and 13 (M = 10.6, SD = 15.71). The children

at Hope House were all interviewed in SiSwati with the help of a translator, except for one

child who wanted to be interviewed in English. All the children at the Sandra Lee Centre

were interviewed in English. Children at the Sandra Lee Centre had a higher level of

education than the children at Hope House and were often in the grade levels commensurate

with their age, whereas the children at Hope House were often not in the age-appropriate

grade.

Most, if not all the children, present in this study came from backgrounds that include

abandonment and neglect, and sometimes even abuse.

See pictures of each of the orphanage sites below:

Hope House:

The Sandra Lee Centre:

Measures

Children's drawings

The participants drew two drawings - one of themselves and the international volunteers who visit them in their communities, and then a second one of an adult with whom they live. The second drawing provided a comparison to the first drawing in order to see if the international volunteer prompt might produce specific kinds of renderings. For the drawings, participants were given a blank piece of A4 paper and an array of colored crayons and pencils from which to choose. An eraser was also present for children to use.

Short semi-structured interview

Participants' perceptions and opinions of international volunteers and international volunteering were also assessed through a short semi-structured interview that asked the children about what they had drawn, their experiences with international volunteers and what they thought of international volunteers. The short semi-structured interview was comprised of seven questions. All questions were open-ended and answered at the participants' discretion (see Appendix N).

Procedure

Participants were recruited through Hope House and the Sandra Lee Centre (see Appendix F1-2; for preliminary approval confirmation). An official informed consent for this research was obtained from the orphanages once IRB approval in the United States was

granted (see Appendix G). The official informed consent for this research involved obtaining

consent from the custodian of the children, which in both the case of Hope House and the

Sandra Lee Centre was the orphanage director. The custodian of the children provided

consent for each of the children in the study through signing the informed consent agreement,

which lists each child who participated in the study (see Appendix H). Meeting times for the

study were then set up with the respective orphanages. Once a time and date were set up, the

researcher, along with the SiSwati translator, travelled to the orphanage and conducted the

research.

        To start the study, the participants were informed that they were participating in a

study to assess the effects of international volunteering and international volunteers on

children in orphanages in Swaziland. Participants were then read an informed assent form

(see Appendix I) for which they were asked to provide agreement. The informed assent form

was also used to provide assent for the short semi-structured interview to be audio-recorded

via an electronic device. Thereafter, participants were told a definition of international

volunteering (see Appendix J). Participants were then asked a question about their last

experience with international volunteers (see Appendix K) to ensure they were aware of what

an international volunteer is. Thereafter, participants were asked to draw a picture of

themselves and their time with an international volunteer (see Appendix L) and then a picture

of an adult who lives with them (see Appendix M). After completing their drawings,

participants answered a series of questions in the form of a short semi-structured interview

asked by the researcher or translator (see Appendix N). These questions consisted of asking

the children about their experience with international volunteers, as well as what they had

drawn on the pieces of paper. After the interview, participants were thanked, debriefed (see

Appendix O) and given a fizzer (a type of candy). Custodians of the children were also

thanked and given a debriefing form (see Appendix P). If participants did not speak English or felt more comfortable conducting the study in SiSwati, a local translator was used.

It should be noted that the informed assent/consent and debriefing forms for the children and the custodians were written differently but contain the same information. Informed consent and debriefing forms for children were written in more accessible phrasing.

In addition, if at any point in the research process the researcher or translator became aware that a child had been put at risk, abused or neglected in the orphanage or elsewhere they would have followed the protocol listed in Appendix Q.

Lastly, with the director of each orphanage's permission, I asked them to provide information on the duration of time a participant had been at the orphanage and where the participants' place of residence was prior to the orphanage (see Appendix R).

The Sandra Lee Centre Procedure. At the Sandra Lee Centre, the director was present when the research was being conducted. The children were recruited by volunteering for the research when asked by the orphanage director before researchers were present. The research took place in the children's school room.

Hope House Procedure. When the study was conducted with the children, two house-mothers from Hope House were present. The executive director and his wife are the legal guardians of all the children at the orphanage. Therefore, the director asked and advised the children to participate in the research. This was done with the permission of the board of directors and the children. The interviews took place in the lounge at Hope House.

Ethical Issues

This study involved working with a vulnerable population and extra precautions were taken to ensure that this population was not harmed in any way. Orphanages gave official consent before any research was carried out at the orphanages. In addition, participants had a clear understanding that their responses would be kept confidential and that all audio

recordings would be destroyed at the conclusion of the study. Participants were reminded

that they could decline to answer any question and that they could withdraw from the study at

any time. Furthermore, as a researcher of a different race, class and gender to some of the

participants I was interviewing, I realized that I might be creating a similar hierarchical

structure of power to that which the international volunteers create, thus making some

participants uncomfortable. Being aware of this, I partnered with a translator who is a native

Swazi and who the children might feel more comfortable talking to in their native language. I

also made sure that the translator understood that all responses in the study needed to be kept

confidential. The translator was a Swazi male, 22 years of age with whom I attended high

school.

Strategies for Data Analysis

The short semi-structured interviews were first transcribed and then each participants'

answers to the questions were summarized into an excel spreadsheet to make the data easier

to analyse and judge themes. Unusual or memorable quotations were highlighted throughout

this process in the transcribed interviews. The drawings were assessed through coding

features in the excel spreadsheet. Categories such as color, race distinctions, size, objects,

gender markers, facial expressions, number of people in drawing, who they drew and

interesting features emerged as important categories to code for each drawing. Since

participants each did two drawings, drawings were also compared across the previously

mentioned categories as well as assessing physical proximity in the drawings between the

participants and the people they drew. Similarities and differences were noted between the

drawings. After recording the data in the excel spreadsheet, overall feelings of international

volunteers were assessed, and all the drawing data were compiled into a results section.

In addition and similar to study 1, a senior psychology student read and provided an

analysis of a subset of the interviews in order to insure reliability. This student was trained

through showing her examples of drawings and how to look for distinct features in them as well as how to look for themes in interviews that were not related to my project. The student was also given time to have all her questions about the process answered beforehand. This student was then given 6 interviews and drawing sets from the research and asked questions on what themes she discerned from the interviews and what features arose in the drawings.

The concurrence rate between the student's responses and the researcher's responses to the questions asked was 88%. Differences noted in the coding of answers/ features were mainly categorized as differential focus and prior information differences. The researcher chose to look at proximity between the two characters in the drawings and had an understanding that fatigue played a role in the second drawings. The student, however, did not focus on proximity in her analysis and was unaware of the role fatigue played in the drawings and thus, interpreted the more minimalistic second drawings of the adults slightly differently than the researcher did.

Results

The purpose of the present study was to examine orphan and vulnerable children's perceptions and opinions of international volunteers that come to visit them in Swaziland at two orphanage sites, Hope House and the Sandra Lee centre. The data from this study were divided into two different types of data, qualitative and quantitative interview data and quantitative drawing data. The quantitative interview data were graphed to highlight various trends in children's awareness of international volunteers as well as how many children completed the study tasks. The qualitative interview data were divided into categories of positive, negative and uncertain perceptions of international volunteers. The quantitative analyses of the drawings data highlighted various trends across the drawings, as well as examining a few unique features within some of the drawings to produce overall themes in how international volunteers are seen in Swaziland by OVC. Results for this study are split

up by orphanage because of the circumstances of each orphanage (see Methods section for orphanage differences).

Awareness of International Volunteers

Forty percent of participants, ranging in age from 9 to 13, at Hope House knew what an international volunteer was and could provide a definition for what an international volunteer was, after being given a very basic definition by the researcher or translator. Fifty-eight percent of the participants, ranging in age from 7 to 13, at the Sandra Lee centre knew what an international volunteer was and provided their own definition of what an international volunteer was without any basic definition from the researcher or translator. The children at the Sandra Lee centre were much more familiar with the concept of international volunteers than the Hope House children were. All children in the study were made fully aware of what an international volunteer was before the study began.

Participants in this study were each instructed to draw a picture of themselves and an international volunteer. Participants from the Sandra Lee Centre understood the concept of an international volunteer and were able to draw it, whereas only 50% of children at Hope House understood the concept of an international volunteer and were able to draw it. This discrepancy was attributed to lack of understanding of what an international volunteer was or possibly not having a concrete available schema of an international volunteer among the children at Hope House. Nevertheless, the fact that the participants at Hope House were still able to draw two people, even if they did not draw an international volunteer, shows that they understood the rest of the instructions given for the drawing. Figure 4 indicates how many children from each orphanage drew a picture of themselves with an international volunteer and how many children from each orphanage drew a different picture.
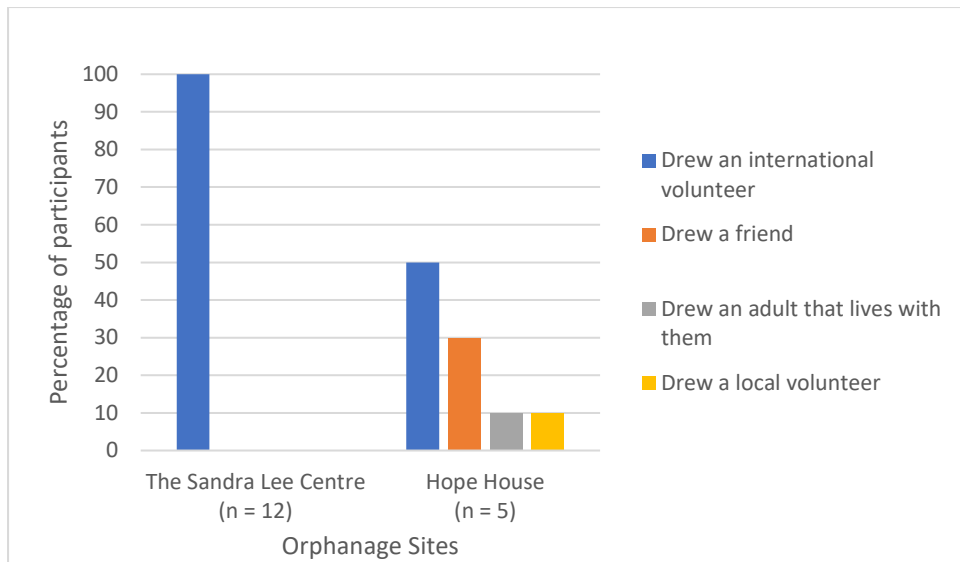
Figure 4. Picture drawn after instruction to draw an international volunteer

Finally, participants from the Sandra Lee Centre were mixed about how often they

saw international volunteers. Half thought they did not see international volunteers very often

and half thought they did see them often. The director of the Sandra Lee Centre confirmed

that the children sometimes see volunteers weekly, but can also go a few months without

contact, and that it really depends. At Hope House, only one participant thought that they

saw international volunteers often, 40% thought they did not see the international volunteers

very often and interestingly, 50% were able to state that certain types of volunteers came on

certain days. For example, one participant stated that they *see volunteers usually on*

Saturdays from All Out Africa (Thabiso, Hope House). The director of Hope House

confirmed that the children have at least one group that comes every week and one that

comes every month. Figure 5 demonstrates how often participants at each orphanage site

remember seeing international volunteers. The word 'often' was not defined for the children

and thus, it was based on their interpretation of whether they thought they saw international
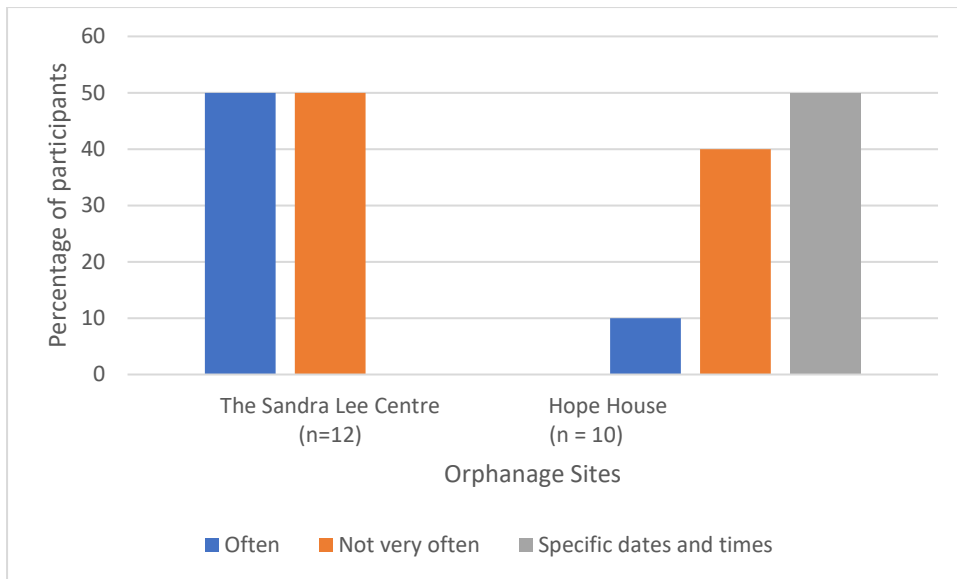
volunteers a lot or not.

Figure 5. How often participants see international volunteers

Feelings Towards International Volunteers

All the participants in the study were asked about what activities they did with the international volunteers that came. Ninety-two percent of the participants from the Sandra Lee Centre stated that volunteers came to play with them and engage them in fun activities, like playing on the see saws and swings, soccer, swimming and crafts. In addition, 58% of the participants from the Sandra Lee Centre mentioned that volunteers helped them with homework, such as math. Finally, 17% of the participants from the Sandra Lee Centre mentioned that volunteers came to teach them about God or helped them with their devotions.

Similarly, 70% of the participants from Hope House stated that international volunteers came to play with them. Participants mentioned playing touch, hula hoops, soccer and puzzles as activities they did with the volunteer. Thirty percent of participants from Hope House agreed that volunteers also came to teach the children or that they had learned things from them.

Participants were also asked about their feelings towards international volunteers. All participants in the study thought of the international volunteers positively. Below is a sample of some Sandra Lee Centre children's thoughts on international volunteers:

Umm, I think they are so special to us (Nosipho, The Sandra Lee Centre)

I love them (Banele, The Sandra Lee Centre)

They are good (Sabie, The Sandra Lee Centre)

*I like them (*Tina, The Sandra Lee Centre)

I feel happy (Zee, The Sandra Lee Centre)

From participants at the Sandra Lee Centre there was an overall sense of enjoyment that was noted from having the volunteers around.

Participants from Hope House had similar thoughts on international volunteers. Many of the participants noted that they felt good about international volunteers. Here are a few excerpts of what the participants said:

I feel good about them [because] ...they play well with us. (Nelly, Hope House)

I think they are good [because] ... I didn't understand English before, but now I understand it. (Sandi, Hope House)

[I feel] happy [about the international volunteers who come here] (Mike, Hope House)

One participant from Hope House noted that they felt so positively about international volunteers because of the material things that the international volunteers bring to Hope House:

P: I feel good [about international volunteers who come here].

Translator: Why good?

P: They give us toys.

Translator: Pardon?

P They give us toy cars.

Translator: Oh okay.

P: They give us dolls, and toothbrushes, and vaseline and soaps, and pens.

Translator: Okay.

P: That's it.

Translator: Okay, so they give you things that will help you?

P: Yes.

Translator: Okay, is there anything else that they do?

P: There are those that give us clothes too.

(Peter, Hope House)

Although responses about international volunteers were overwhelmingly positive, two participants from the Sandra Lee Centre did note two negative aspects of international volunteers coming to interact with them. One participant noted that the amount of time the volunteer spends with them matters, as well as how they interact with the children when they first arrive. He describes himself as being skeptical of volunteers when they first arrive and not trusting them.

J: They come for the first time. I kinda feel like who's this, like what do they want, why are they here, can they leave already or something. And if they are staying for longer or if they are friendly at first sight then I will talk to them and get to know them. And then I feel more relieved than before.

Researcher: Okay, it's like if they are only coming for a day or something then it is not as nice?

J: Ya.

[...]

J: I prefer the people who are nice and welcoming. Not the ones that are you know coming because their parents sent them off to a military base or something. I just want the ones that are coming because they wanted to be in Swaziland.

(Jack, The Sandra Lee Centre)

Jack also shared another story later in the interview of the international volunteer he drew and at first did not like but then started to love:

They started speaking Portuguese, so I thought this was not going to work out [when they came] and then I was like maybe we can teach them some English. And [then I realized that] they knew English. Another thing that I didn't like about them was that they smoked and they drink. So, I was like I don't think mom is going to allow these people in here. Then actually they were like the best people I have ever had around

here before because we played football. We will play football and somewhere in

between that playing we were laughing. It is just so fun and even in basketball. I mean

she is a bit hilarious in playing basketball.

(Jack, The Sandra Lee Centre)

These first few instances of uncertainty as well as cultural differences, like drinking and

smoking, that Jack mentioned, demonstrates how children may at first be skeptical and

unsure of the people they are meeting. However, if the international volunteers are friendly

and stay for a long enough period of time the children can really start to warm to them.

Another participant from the Sandra Lee Centre noted, similarly, that international

volunteers had impacted her learning negatively as they tended to have a different way of

doing things and would often teach the children things that were contrary to what they were

learning in Swaziland.

T: ...They are great like at helping us, bringing us homework. But sometimes, they are

taking things that are not from our books.

Researcher: Oh really? Like what? Like they are taking material that is not from your

books or ...?

T: Yes.

Researcher: So sometimes it is a bit confusing?

T: [non-verbal yes]

Translator: When you say that they bring in information that is different from your

books, can you give like a small example?

T: Like, it is different from the book. The way our teacher told us, they will tell us

something else.

Translator: So, you mean they would teach it in a different way or would you mean

that the information that they give is completely different?

T: Completely different.

Translator: And that for you guys is confusing when you are learning it?

T: [non-verbal yes]

(Teresa, The Sandra Lee Centre)

Even though the responses from all the children were strongly positive towards international volunteers, it is important to note that these negatives do exist and that the children felt confident enough to mention them.

Children's Drawings of International Volunteers

All participants were instructed to draw a picture of themselves and an international volunteer as well as a picture of themselves and someone with whom they live. All participants from the Sandra Lee Centre did this and 50% of the participants from Hope House did this.

Hope House orphanage.

Four out of the five participants from Hope House that completed the correct drawings used color in their drawings (see Appendix S-2a, S-3, S-4, S-5). The race of characters drawn was not made apparent in these drawings through color or dialogue with the participants. Only one participant drew an international volunteer with orange hair, however, this cannot be concretely proved to be a race marker (see Appendix S-2a). In addition, only one participant drew an object in her drawings (a hula hoop that the international volunteer and she were sharing in play) (see Appendix S-3a).

International volunteer drawings.

International volunteers were drawn as bigger than the participant in 60% of the drawings, while in the remainder they were drawn the same size. Three participants also drew themselves and the international volunteer as smiling in their drawings (see Appendix S-1a, S-3a, S-4a). One participant drew himself and the international volunteer with an open mouth

to indicate that they were talking (see Appendix S-2a). The last participant drew himself and

the international volunteer laughing and described himself as standing, laughing and taking

pictures with a volunteer from Waterford Kamhlaba (see Appendix S-5a). The majority of the

participants, 80%, drew distinctly positive facial expressions in their drawings with the

international volunteers.

Three out of the five participants also were able to pinpoint where the volunteers they

drew came from (see Appendix S-1a, S-3a, S-5a). In the case of these three participants, all

the volunteers that the participants drew came from Waterford Kamhlaba. However, only one

participant was able to remember the specific name of the volunteer that they interacted with

(see Appendix S-1a).

Finally, 80% of the drawings had distinct gender markers, including short hair for

boys paired with shorts or trousers and a shirt or hoodie, and skirts, earrings and long hair for

girls. One participant's drawings were gender ambiguous with no distinct gender markers

(see Appendix S-4a).

All drawings of the international volunteer and the participant were done in the same

style of drawing, making international volunteers look very similar to how the participant had

drawn themselves. The only major difference noted between the participant and the

volunteer was the larger size of some volunteers.

Comparison drawing.

 Eighty percent of participants drew their 'mother' that lived with them at the

orphanage as the adult they lived with (see Appendix S-2b, S-3b, S-4b, S-5b) and 20% of

participants drew an "uncle" that lived with them at the orphanage (see Appendix S-1b). The

mothers that lived with the children at the orphanage were their care takers and were seen as

their 'adopted' mothers while they were at the orphanage. The uncle drawn was a man who

worked at Hope House tending to the jobs that had to be done around the orphanage. In all

drawings, the adult they lived with was drawn visibly bigger than they were. Only one participant neglected to draw himself with the uncle he drew and thus, a size comparison could not be deciphered. However, the uncle was drawn bigger than the international volunteer and the child in the previous drawing (see Appendix S-1).

Forty percent of the participants drew themselves and the adult they lived with as smiling in the drawing (see Appendix S-3b, S-4b). The same percentage of the participants drew themselves and the adult they lived with having an open mouth. One participant described this open mouth as talking with the adult (see Appendix S-2b), while the other one just described themselves as walking along with the adult (see Appendix S-5b). For one participant, the facial expression of the adult drawn was not discernible due its orientation being from the side (see Appendix S-1b).

In addition, 60% of the participants had distinct gender markers in their drawings. One participant, in particular, drew hips on a drawing of his 'mother' (see Appendix S-5b).

Four out of five participants also completed both drawings in the same drawing style as the previous illustration, with only one participant using a different drawing style for the picture of his uncle (see Appendix S-1b). He used a side profile for his uncle instead of a front facing profile which he had used for his previous drawing (see Table 8 for a breakdown of features present in both drawings at Hope House orphanage).

Table 8

Features of Hope House Orphanage Drawings

	Features drawn					
Drawing	Adult in drawing bigger	Distinctly positive facial expression	Gender markers	Similar Drawing style	Activities drawn	Overall similarity between figures
International volunteer drawing (n = 5)	60%	80%	80%	100%	20%	100%
Comparison drawing (n = 5)	80%	40%	60%	80%	-	100%

Looking at comparisons between the two drawings each participant did, in the four drawings where proximity to the adult and the volunteer could be compared, three of the drawings showed roughly the same proximity between the international volunteer and the participant and the adult and the participant (see Appendix S-2, S-3, S-5). However, one participant drew their mother as closer to them than the international volunteer (see Appendix S-4).

Furthermore, one participant drew a more animated face for him and his mother than for him and the international volunteer (see Appendix S-2). The eyes were bigger and more life-like; the mother's nose was also more realistic. The mother was also proportionately much bigger compared to the child than the size ratio of the international volunteer to the child in the previous drawing. Eighty percent of participants' drawings of themselves and the adult they lived with were overall bigger than that of their first drawing with the international volunteers. Only one participant had the picture of him and his mother as slightly smaller than that of the international volunteer and himself. Nevertheless, the colors between the mother and himself were more similar than the volunteer and the child (see Appendix S-5). In addition, this participant also drew their mother without hair or ears but drew these features on the international volunteer as well as themselves.

Overall, gender and size distinctions were the biggest differences noted between participants and the people they drew. There were no striking differences between their drawings of the international volunteers or the adults they drew, apart from the size and the addition of an extra feature here and there, like orange hair for the volunteer or hips for the mother.

The Sandra Lee Centre.

All participants from the Sandra Lee Centre (n = 12) completed drawings with an international volunteer and themselves. Only two participants overall did not complete the

second comparison drawing of an adult with whom they lived (see Appendix S-11 and S-15).

One participant was too tired from the first drawing, and another participant simply did not

want to do another drawing. Ninety-two percent of the participants used color in their

drawings. Fifty percent of participants drew objects or activity representations in one or both

of their drawings (see Appendix S-6, S-7, S-8, S-9, S-12, and S-13). For example, they drew

seesaws, swings, soccer balls, sand mounds and rocks. The race of the characters drawn was

apparent in 33% of the participants' drawings, indicated by coloring of the characters' skin

tone.

International volunteer drawings.

International Volunteers were drawn as bigger than the participants in 58% of the

drawings (see Appendix S-6a, S-9a, S-12a, S-13a, S-15a, S-16a, and S-17a). In 33% of the

drawings participants were drawn as roughly the same size as the international volunteer.

Furthermore, in 17% of the drawings participants drew the volunteers higher up in the

picture, making them seem taller. In one case, the participant and the volunteer were the same

size, even though the volunteer was positioned higher up (see Appendix S-8a), and in the

other case, the participant was slightly bigger than the volunteer, even though the volunteer

was positioned higher up (see Appendix S-7a).

Looking at the drawn figures' facial expressions, 83% of the participants drew one or

both of their figures as smiling. The remaining participants drew blank expressions on the

faces. Fifty percent of participants also drew a variety of activities and objects in their

drawings with the international volunteer (see Appendix S-6a, S-8a, S-9a, S-10a, S-13a, and

S-14a). One participant drew a detailed drawing of the international volunteer and herself

playing on the swings and seesaw (see Appendix S-6a). Another participant drew an

international volunteer and himself playing hangman (see Appendix S-13a). Another

participant simply drew a rock and a river; he could not tell us why but indicated that he had

just wanted to draw those objects (see Appendix S-10a). Two participants drew

representations of playing soccer in their drawings with the international volunteer; one

drawing was much more detailed and also included them playing basketball (see Appendix S-

8a), and the other simply had a ball drawn (see Appendix S-14a). The last participant drew

himself on a mound of sand, saying that he was trying to make himself taller than the

international volunteer (see Appendix S-9a).

Ninety-two percent of participants from the Sandra Lee Centre were able to recall the

place the volunteer was from and/or the name of the volunteer they drew. One participant, the

youngest one from the Sandra Lee Centre, could recall very specific details of the volunteer

he drew.

Researcher: And do you know who the volunteer was and where they were from?

B: They were from California and her name was Tessa.

(Banele, The Sandra Lee Centre)

In 33% of the drawings, participants even wrote the names of the international

volunteers on the drawings they had created. In addition, every participant drew a different

volunteer except for two participants who referred to the same volunteer. One participant

even expressed that she did not know who to draw because there had been a lot of volunteers

that she remembered.

Z: But there was a lot of volunteers who came here.

Researcher: So just choose one that you want [to draw].

Z: There's Romin, Alberto, Amanda, a lot! Alison.

(Zee, The Sandra Lee Centre)

All of the drawings also had distinct gender markers, including short hair with shorts

or trousers and shirts for boys, and skirt, dresses, high heels, earrings and long hair for girls.

Furthermore, in 75% of the drawings participants drew themselves as very similar to the international volunteers, with only gender distinctions being made apparent if they were needed. However, in 25% of the drawings there were clear differences and distinctions between the volunteer and the participant. One participant, for example, drew the international volunteer with big red lips and long flowing hair. The international volunteer was also in high heels and wearing a dress, as compared to the participant who was drawn to be wearing a skirt and top as well as flats. The participant also had thin lips with no lipstick on them (see Appendix S-6a). Another participant similarly drew the international volunteer with big lips, as compared to her own. She also drew the international volunteer in a short skirt and a top that showed her belly. The participant's skirt was not as short, and her top did not show her belly (see Appendix S-15). When asked about the volunteer showing her belly, the participant said that the volunteer sometimes did that. The last participant drew the international volunteer in distinctly different clothes to him; he was wearing an Adidas shirt and pants, and she was wearing short shorts and a long sleeve top. This drawing shows the international volunteer and him as distinctly different because of the life-like portrayal that this participant achieved in his drawings (see Appendix S-8a).

Lastly, race of the international volunteers was apparent in 33% of the drawings through the coloring of skin tone. Two participants colored themselves in brown and left the international volunteers blank to represent their white skin (see Appendix S-6a and S-12a). Another participant colored himself in brown and the international volunteer in peach to represent white (see Appendix S-9a). Finally, another participant, the youngest from the Sandra Lee Centre, colored both the international volunteer and himself in peach to represent white (see Appendix S-17a). When asked about this, he said he did not know why he had colored himself in white, he just wanted to. Furthermore, one participant, although not coloring skin color, drew curly hair like his own for the international volunteer, but later went

back and erased it and re-drew wavy hair, more representative of the hair texture for a White

person, for the international volunteer (see Appendix S-13a).

All drawings of the international volunteer and the participants were in the same

drawing style; the major differences between the two characters in the drawings included race

markers, gender distinctions, and in some cases clothing and size differences.

Comparison drawings.

Only 10 participants had comparison drawings, as two participants were unable to

complete the comparison drawing. Out of those 10, 50% drew their 'Mother' as the adult that

lived with them and 50% drew their 'Aunty.' 'Aunty' and 'Mother' at the Sandra Lee Centre

referred to the children's care takers. Their 'Mother' is the head of the house they live in at

the centre. She permanently lives with them and raises them. Their 'Aunty' is another helper

in the house who helps the 'Mother' cook, clean and look after the children (Sandra Lee

Centre, n.d).

In 60% of the drawings the adult they lived with was drawn bigger than they were

(see Appendix S-6b, S-7b, S-9b, S-14b, S-16b, and S-17b). In the other 40% of drawings,

participants were drawn the same size as the adult they lived with (see Appendix S-8b, S-10b,

S-12b, and S-13b). In addition, in 90% of the drawings, participants drew themselves and/or

the adult they lived with as smiling. One participant drew himself with a grumpy face and his

Aunty with a blank face (see Appendix S-8b). He explained his grumpy face by stating that

his Aunty was making him do homework that he did not want to do. This drawing was also

one of four drawings where participants included activities or objects in their drawings (see

Appendix S-8b, S-10b, S-12b, and S-13b). The participant who did not want to do his

homework drew a picture of himself and his Aunty at the table doing homework. Two other

participants drew objects in their drawings; one drew a flower (see Appendix S-12b) and the

other drew a rock and a river (see Appendix S-10b). Neither participant could specify what

these objects meant in relation to the picture drawn. Finally, the last participant drew a picture of his Aunty and himself watching TV (see Appendix S-13b).

The race of the characters in the drawings of the adult and the children was apparent in 20% of the drawings. One participant colored both him and his mother brown (see Appendix S-9b). The other participant, similar to his international volunteering picture, colored both his Aunty and himself peach to represent white (see Appendix S-17b). However, he stated he knew that his Aunt and he were Black, but he wanted to color them in White.

All 100% of participants had distinct gender markers in their drawings. In particular, one participant drew their Aunty with a head scarf, which is only worn by women in Swazi culture (see Appendix S-8b).

All drawings from each participant were drawn in the same drawing style across the two conditions (see Table 9 for a breakdown of features present in both drawings at the Sandra Lee Centre).

Table 9

Features of the Sandra Lee Centre Drawings

| Drawing | Size | | | Distinctly positive facial expressions | Features drawn | | | | |
	Participant bigger	Same Size	Adult bigger		Gender markers	Similar drawing style	Overall similarity between figures	Activities drawn	Race distinction
International volunteer drawing (n = 12)	17%	33%	58%	83%	100%	100%	75%	50%	33%
Comparison drawing (n =10)	-	40%	60%	90%	100%	100%	100%	40%	20%

Looking at the comparison between the two drawings that participants did, in 30% of the drawings the volunteer and the adult drawn were in relatively the same proximity to the character of the participant (see Appendix S-6, S-7 and S-14). In 40% of the drawings the participant was closer to the international volunteer than the adult they drew, but only by around one or two centimetres (see Appendix S-8, S-12, S-16, and S-17). In one instance the participant was holding hands with the international volunteer as opposed to sitting across the table from the adult he drew (see Appendix S-8). In the remaining 30%, participants were closer in proximity to the adult they drew than the international volunteer (see Appendix S-9, S-10, S-13).

Furthermore, 50% of participants drew the adult they lived with as bigger than the international volunteer they drew (see Appendix S-6, S-7, S-14, S-16, and S-17); 30% of participants drew the international volunteer as slightly bigger than the adult they lived with (see Appendix S-8, S-12 and S-13); 20% of participants drew the international volunteers and adults around the same size (see Appendix S-9 and S-10).

Other distinctions between the two drawings participants did included a participant drawing the international volunteer with lipstick, a nice dress and heels and their mother with a plain dress, no lipstick and no heels (see Appendix S-6). Similarly, one participant drew a similar drawing for the international volunteer and the mother who lived with him, but added fancy earrings to the international volunteer's drawing (see Appendix S-10). One participant also drew her Aunt and her in more similar clothes, in style and in color, than that of the international volunteer. She drew her Aunt and herself in fancy dresses, while in the volunteer drawing the volunteer and she were in nice skirts and tops (see Appendix S-16).

There were also images of the sun in two drawings of the international volunteers and none in the drawings of the adult that lived with the children (see Appendix S-6 and S-13). Furthermore, one participant also did not put any color in the picture of the adult and himself,

but did so in the international volunteering drawing (see Appendix S-7). However, it is possible in these instances mentioned above that the children could have been rushing through the second drawing after spending a longer period of time on the first drawing. For example, 80% of children from the Sandra Lee Centre spent a longer time on the drawing with the international volunteer than the adult they lived with ranging from approximately 2 minutes more to 10 minutes more. The other 20% took roughly the same amount of time for each drawing. The quickest drawing was drawn in roughly 2 minutes for both the international volunteer and the adult drawn while the longest drawing took roughly 20 minutes, and only an international volunteer was drawn. In Hope House, 60% of participants spent a longer time on the drawing of the international volunteer ranging from approximately 1 minute more to 7 minutes more. One participant took longer to draw the adult they drew by around 1 minute and for the other participant drawing time could not be deciphered. The quickest drawing of the international volunteer was drawn in roughly 3 minutes while the longest drawing for the international volunteer took roughly 16 minutes.

Finally, one of the participants who differentiated race in her international volunteer drawing by coloring her face brown neglected to do so in the drawing of the adult she lived with. She left the faces of the adult and herself blank from color and seemingly white (see Appendix S-12).

Another feature that was noticed was that one participant drew the volunteer's head substantially bigger than his own, as well as the two heads in the second drawing he did (see Appendix S-17).

Overall, international volunteers were viewed positively in the drawings from the Sandra Lee Centre through mainly positive facial expressions, recollection of the actual volunteers and specific stories to go along with the drawings as well as a wide variety of fun activities that were drawn. The biggest difference between the international volunteers and

the participants in the drawings were due to gender distinctions, size differences, sometimes clothing differences and sometimes race differences. There were no conclusive differences between adults that lived with the children as compared to the international volunteers, apart from the size in some cases. However, it should be noted that more time and effort was spent on the drawing of the international volunteers because of it being the first drawing. Furthermore, the effort put into drawing the more exotic clothing of the international volunteers may suggest that the children did experience these volunteers as both culturally different and memorable. The details of their drawings suggest a deeper impact than they might be able to put into words.

(All names mentioned above are pseudo names to protect participants confidentiality)

Discussion

This study explored the perceptions and opinions that orphaned and vulnerable children have about international volunteers that come to Swaziland at two orphanage sites; Hope House and the Sandra Lee Centre. Overall, participants from the Sandra Lee Centre were much more aware of international volunteers coming to their orphanage than the participants from Hope House. However, participants from both orphanages presented mixed results on how often they saw international volunteers. All participants in the study viewed international volunteers in a positive light, even though a few negatives, like negative first impressions, short periods of stay, cultural differences and different material being taught, were noted.

Jack, one of the participants that noted some of these negatives, was much more confident than many of the other children. This could have been due to his age as a 13-year-old. He particularly noted how he first felt uncertainty about the international volunteers and did not like the cultural differences of the volunteers partaking in smoking and drinking. However, the volunteers created a friendly, loving environment and he soon warmed to them.

The negatives that he noted were likely to be experienced by other children, but they may not have been confident enough to verbalize them. It is also important to note that since children are impressionable, the international volunteers may be modelling negative behaviors, such as the smoking and drinking habits which were mentioned by Jack. Even though this was not mentioned by the participants, it could be a potential long-term side effect. International volunteers must have continual awareness of these cultural differences, as well as the direct and indirect effects their presence may have on the children. Additionally, it is the responsibility of these volunteers to enhance to the children's experience rather than make it the children's responsibility to decipher the information that they are given. For example, one participant from the Sandra Lee Centre mentioned that volunteers teach her different material than what is in her textbooks and that it is very confusing for her.

Interestingly, a participant from Hope House mentioned that he likes international volunteers because they bring him material things. Bringing material things to different aid sites is very prominent within international volunteering because of the class and lifestyle gap between community members, like the OVC, and the international volunteers. The constant bringing of material things to the OVC creates a reliance on international volunteers to provide resources and further serves to reinforce the stereotype of the White person as having money and wealth. This in turn helps perpetuate the idea that Whites are superior within Swazi society. Even the simple act of taking photos with the children on one's cell phone, as one participant from Hope House mentions doing with an international volunteer, reinforces this idea of international volunteers as synonymous with wealth, since having a cell phone that takes pictures in Swaziland is a luxury.

Participants from the Sandra Lee Centre also alluded to this idea of wealthy international volunteers with two participants drawing international volunteers in visibly more expensive or fancy outfits, as compared to the other adults they drew. The

reinforcement of White wealth through the international volunteering industry may further serve to disenfranchise and discriminate against Black Swazis, who bear the burden of having been perpetually viewed as inferior to Whites. This perception might become entrenched from a young age through international volunteers visiting OVC. In addition, since the Swazi population is 3% White, when international volunteers come to Swaziland and visit the OVC, this is often the first time that many of the children are seeing and interacting with a White person. Therefore, international volunteers would benefit from a thorough orientation to the cultural and racial context within Swaziland, so they do not further these stereotypes of White people which are laden with power and privilege.

The positive view of international volunteers was also noted in the drawings of international volunteers with happy facial expressions being drawn in majority of the drawings. In general, size and gender distinctions were the biggest differentiating factors between participants and the international volunteers and the adults they drew. Participants drew stereotypical gender representations of males and females, with males having short hair, shorts, trousers, hoodies, and females having earrings, dresses, high heels, skirts, long hair and lipstick. These gender distinctions show how the children have been socialized into thinking about gender and how it is portrayed in society. Furthermore, the size differences between the participants and the people they drew can be a result of the actual physical difference in height between the participants and the people they drew; yet at the same they may represent metaphorical difference in authority and power. For example, in Hope House, all the adults were drawn bigger than the participants, and 80% of the time were drawn bigger than the international volunteers, possibly alluding to the authority they possess in the children's lives or how important they are in the children's lives. Whereas, for the Sandra Lee Centre, size differences were varied with some drawings showing the adult drawn as bigger or the same size as the participant.

The Sandra Lee Centre participants also made quite a few distinctions with race. The directors of the Sandra Lee Centre are White and thus, the children at the Sandra Lee Centre may be more aware of race and more informed about differences associated with it. This awareness may have informed their drawings. One participant, in particular, colored himself and his aunt, White; however, both are Black in real life (see Appendix S-17). This participant stated that he just wanted to draw himself as White. This child may be projecting onto the drawing what he wants to be because of what he has learned about Whites or how he has seen Whites represented. This drawing suggests potential features of internalized white supremacy and idealization. Another participant also felt the need to color herself in brown when drawing the international volunteer as opposed to the drawing with her aunt. This choice to vary the skin color of the volunteer and herself in her drawings demonstrates how strongly this child felt about differentiating race between the volunteer and herself. Furthermore, another participant also erased the type of hair he was drawing on the international volunteer to include a more typical hair texture of a White person (see Appendix S-13a). This could possibly show an indication of racializing features within the Sandra Lee Centre drawings.

Participants from the Sandra Lee Centre also described a lot more personal stories and experiences with the international volunteers, often mentioning the volunteers' names as well as their countries of origin. This knowledge and recollection of specific volunteers shows how the children have had meaningful experiences with the volunteers and have formed a relationship with them. The Hope House participants, on the other hand, had a hard time recalling international volunteers and often had to be prompted with examples. Furthermore, only 50% of the participants from Hope House were able to draw an international volunteer, whereas all the participants in the Sandra Lee centre drew international volunteers.

This difference in the understanding of an international volunteer at these two sites can be attributed to a few factors. To start with, the orphanage sites are very different and international volunteers at these sites have different roles. International volunteers at the Sandra Lee Centre typically tend to stay for long periods of time ranging from a few weeks to a few months. These volunteers also stay at the Sandra Lee Centre or very near-by and are constantly interacting with the children and getting to know them one-on-one. International volunteers at the Sandra Lee Centre also come in small groups averaging 2-3 people. Whereas at Hope House, international volunteers come in relatively large groups ranging from 5 – 20 people and typically stay for a couple of hours or come a few days in a row at most. The international volunteers also do not stay near Hope House, and thus, the time which they have to interact with the children is limited. As a result of the different exposure that these children get to the international volunteers, the ability of the children to draw these individuals is varied.

Participants at Hope House do not seem to have a specific schema for an international volunteer, and this can be noted in 50% of participants not drawing an international volunteer in their drawings, but answering questions about international volunteers. Children at Hope House have not had enough meaningful exposure to international volunteers to develop a concrete schema through which to draw these individuals. The children from the Sandra Lee Centre, however, have had meaningful exposure that allows them to draw very specific details about the particular international volunteers to whom they are referring. For example, one participant drew the international volunteer with her stomach showing because she remembered that the international volunteer used to do this (see Appendix S-15). Furthermore, different children at the Sandra Lee Centre remembered different volunteers for specific instances and what they meant to them, showing that there has been a variety of meaningful encounters with volunteers.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that these interviews with all the children took place right after the Christmas holidays, and thus, the participants from both orphanages had not had any international volunteers for a month or longer. This played a factor in those children from Hope House who were not able to draw a concrete picture of the international volunteers. However, the biggest factor in drawing international volunteers remains the situational aspects of both orphanages and the types of volunteers they receive.

Participants from both orphanages, 100% from Hope House and 75% from the Sandra Lee Centre, also drew themselves as very similar to the international volunteers and adults they drew. This demonstrates a possible connection that the participants felt to the international volunteers and the adults they drew. Alternatively, they may fundamentally not have seen themselves as different from the international volunteers or the adults they drew. However, then again, it could also represent the participants' particular drawing style. Additionally, twenty-five percent of the Sandra Lee Centre participants drew the international volunteers as different to themselves therefore demonstrating their ability to provide distinction when they wanted to, making the similarity between figures seem like a choice rather than a result of drawing style. On the other hand, all participants from Hope House drew themselves as similar to the international volunteers. This could show that the formation of a concrete schema for their visitors had not developed yet.

When comparing the two volunteer and adult caretaker drawings that the participants drew, there were no conclusive results. However, it was noted that there was a lot less detail in the second drawings. This may be a result of the children often being tired from the first drawing and not wanting to spend as much time on the second drawing. For future studies, the drawings should be spaced out and done at different times on different days, so the children are able to put the same amount of effort into both drawings. The order of the drawings should also be randomized in order to avoid the fatigue/attention factor.

Another methodological constraint to consider is that participants, from Hope House especially, may have suffered from the effects of social desirability and a need to please authority. This would explain why some participants had a hard time drawing or answering questions on international volunteers. They may have feigned understanding of the inquiries in order to be respectful to the adult authority figures that were making requests of them. Especially at Hope House, the need to do well and please authority would have been compounded by the fact that I, the researcher, am a White woman and with that, bring a hierarchical power relationship into the interview. To curb this potential bias, a Black SiSwati translator participated in the interviews with the children. However, because children at Hope House do not have any White people living with them, and only see White people when international volunteers are around, they may have felt more uncomfortable within the interview and may not have alluded to race, (as the children at Sandra Lee did), in order not to offend me. Children at Sandra Lee, on the other hand, live with two White directors and are used to having White people around and would be much less likely to be affected by my presence as a White researcher. Support for this idea draws on the fact that the participants at the Sandra Lee Centre felt comfortable enough to note negatives associated with international volunteering.

Moreover, children at the Sandra Lee Centre attended public school and received much more education than the children at Hope House. This advantage affected how confident the children were in the interviews, as well as how they answered questions. Many of the Sandra Lee Centre children would provide details in their answers without much prompting. However, the children from Hope House needed a lot more prompting to provide information. Lastly, the drawings from the Sandra Lee Centre were a lot more detailed than that of Hope House and this could be a result of two things. One, that the children at the Sandra Lee Centre were a lot more comfortable drawing the concepts I asked them to draw

and two, that the children from the Sandra Lee Centre have had a lot more practice and

education in drawing as opposed to that of the children from Hope House.

In general, the drawings from Hope House were less detailed than those at the Sandra

Lee Centre. Also, the Sandra Lee Centre used a lot more color in their drawings, included

more activities and made more race distinction than the children at Hope House did. The

children at the Sandra Lee Centre also could remember specific instances of volunteers

coming to the orphanage, whereas children at Hope House made more generalized statements

and drawings.

Overall, a positive view of the international volunteers was found, showing that this is

a good experience for OVC in Swaziland at these two orphanage sites. However, this

experience is a very different one due to the differing circumstances of the orphanages and

types of volunteers each site receives. Regardless of this, international volunteers still need to

be aware of cultural differences and their own positionality and presence to make sure that

they are not reconstructing stereotypes about white racial superiority or being culturally

insensitive and imparting bad habits to the children.

General Discussion and Conclusion

The goal of the two studies presented in this thesis has been to understand how

international volunteering is seen through the lens of the communities it serves in Swaziland.

Overwhelmingly, the results from these studies indicate a positive view of and experience

with international volunteering. This is contradictory to much of the current literature on

international volunteering, which has tended to focus on the negative aspects of this

phenomenon (Biddle, 2014; Ngo, 2014; Wright 2013). Nevertheless, negative aspects of

international volunteering, such as perpetuation of White supremacy, dependency, limited

stays of volunteers, whether sustainability can be achieved, and how volunteers can be

unaware of Swazi cultural differences, were also noted throughout the research. These

negatives were never mentioned with enough frequency or intensity to disrupt the overall impression of participants that international volunteering was positive for their communities. However, it should be noted that these negatives may be more insidious and thus, people may be less consciously aware of them and less able to report them directly.

Participants could be viewed as engaging in an analysis of international volunteering through social exchange (Andereck et al. 2005), as participants saw the benefits gained from international volunteering as greater, possibly because of their overt nature, than the costs/negatives they received, which were more covert in nature. Thus, they viewed international volunteering as a net gain. Some of the overt positives that were noted about international volunteering were cultural exchange and direct aid and resources to communities, which were a lot easier to notice than more covert negatives, such as dependency and the perpetuation of white supremacy.

Furthermore, host community members from the first study, as well as the children at the Sandra Lee Centre from the second study, were more likely to describe more positive and detailed accounts of interactions they had had with international volunteers. This supports the original suggestion that host community members, OVC included, might have more intercultural sensitivity to international volunteers, as explained through the developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1986). Host community members, including the OVC, particularly at the Sandra Lee Centre, had better quality of volunteer and host interactions and engaged with volunteers for longer times. Therefore, this enhanced contact might contribute to making them more interculturally sensitive, allowing for a more integrated world view.

On the other hand, participants from the international volunteer organizations, students from Waterford Kamhlaba, and the professional and working population did not receive as much quality contact with international volunteers as they were not the directly

affected population. This resulted in less intercultural sensitivity which can be demonstrated through a majority of the participants in these groups viewing the international volunteers as different to that of the Swazi population.

In addition, because children at Hope House did not have the same level of quality or long interactions with international volunteers as the Sandra Lee Centre children did, they similarly would be positioned at a lower stage of the developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. The lack of specific distinctions between the volunteers and themselves drawn, as well as the low level of understanding around the concept of an international volunteer and who is an international volunteer, serves to demonstrate a lack of intercultural sensitivity as compared to the Sandra Lee participants' drawings.

Quality interactions and length of time volunteers spend with communities is critically important in creating lasting meaningful relationships that contribute productively to community members' lives. Volunteering programs that are short are often ineffective due to sustainability issues and do not create a lasting impact on the community with whom they work. This can be seen in the case of the volunteers that go to Hope House, as compared to those that frequent the Sandra Lee Centre. International volunteers should be aware and take into consideration what kinds of programs will better benefit host communities and create a more meaningful experience for both the communities and the international volunteers.

International volunteers are also seen as highly competent by host community members, as well as by the OVC and their orphanage directors. These participants describe international volunteers as teaching and bringing resources that the communities need. This perception of high competence results from volunteers being viewed as having a higher status to that of the participants, as would be predicted through the stereotype content model (Fiske et al, 2002). The stereotype content model argues that individuals are perceived as high on competence if they have a higher status. With international volunteers often having a higher

class, cultural, racial and socio-economic status to the communities that they serve, it is easy to see why these communities would be perceived as more competent.

In contrast, participants in the other groups, such as the students from Waterford Kamhlaba, some international volunteer organization members and some of the working and professional population viewed the international volunteers as less competent because they see themselves at the same level or at a higher status than the international volunteers. This view of less competence emerges through mentions of issues of sustainability, volunteers coming for egoistic motives, such as their resume or travel, and the idea that they are often unaware of important cultural differences and distinctions.

The higher competence viewed by certain participants is inextricably linked to the higher status international volunteers have based on being White in Swaziland. Whiteness in Swaziland is synonymous with wealth, and now, aid, due to the international volunteering industry. The reproduction of internalized White supremacy not only influences volunteers, but the communities which are served. The idea of white supremacy and white aid was noted throughout both studies conducted in Swaziland. For example, one participant noted a preference for children to play with white dolls, while another participant actively drew himself as white. The historical and cultural context of Swaziland helps breed this preference in children through children emulating and looking up to higher status groups within society (Shutts et al., 2011).

In addition, viewing Whites as superior places Blacks as inferior and can work to diminish the agency of local community members in providing for their communities. Two participants from the first study noted how it is the Whites that give back to their communities, and 22% of the participants in Study 1 also noted that the government does not provide resources for the communities that need it. These two statistics demonstrate how there is low within country aid and thus, local Swazi's are often not seen as doing enough for

their fellow Swazi's. This helps to reinforce that Blacks are inferior to Whites.   The perspective that Whites do a better job than any locals may be able to do reinforces white supremacy along with the dependency that the country has on these volunteers. This supremacy takes away locals' agency, as they may feel that they will never match the capacities of the White population so there is no point in even trying.

On the other hand, international volunteering has created a tremendous opportunity for people all around the world to interact with one another and learn from one another. This not only benefits the volunteers, but also the host communities who may be relatively sheltered from the outside world. Cultural exchange and learning was another key factor that emerged in the research throughout the studies. Cultural exchange and learning demonstrated the potential for having positive as well as negative effects in Swaziland. Forty-one percent of participants in the first study noted cultural exchange, while a few participants from the second study mentioned that they gained knowledge from international volunteers. However, with cultural exchange also comes the prospect of cultural minimization, cultural insensitivity and/or conflicting cultural practices. Two participants in the second study noted cultural differences between the volunteers and themselves and how that made them feel uncomfortable and confused. One participant in the first study also aptly noted the importance of understanding cultural difference in volunteering with older adults. International volunteers need to be well informed and educated on the culture of the communities they find themselves in so that cultural insensitivity, cultural minimization or cultural confusion does not occur, especially in younger, more impressionable populations.

Similarly, cultural context and understanding were also important for conducting this research as participants did not explicitly state a point, but often alluded to it within their own answer as a result of their membership in a high context culture (Hall 1976). High context

cultures typically emphasize indirect and non-verbal communication. Understanding this difference in communication was important for conducting and analyzing my research.

Looking at the second study, it was paramount to gain insight into the children's drawings via the interviews. The drawings and the interviews together gave a more holistic view of children's perceptions as the drawings often had very stereotypical representations, especially in regards to gender. This is similar to what Samaras, Bonoti and Christidou (2012) found on having both interviews and drawings present to encompass and fully represent a child's perception. Many times, the interviews clarified subtleties of meaning that were not apparent in the drawings alone.

Another strength of this thesis was that it was able to access and explore people's opinions who have not been researched before. However, the convenience sampling method used in the first study is a limitation because many of the participants were known to the researcher before research began. For future studies a more randomized sample should be used.

Furthermore, the use of a SiSwati translator in the second study helped gain valuable information, as well as make participants feel more comfortable. This assistance was not used in the first study and definitely would have helped with data collection, as well as language barriers. If the research is conducted again, a SiSwati translator should be used for all studies. In addition, for the second study in the future, each drawing should be done in a different time frame to allow the effects of fatigue not to impact the results.

Moreover, participants in the first study were all given a chance to actively participate in the research process through questions asked at the end of each interview. These questions asked participants for extra thoughts and directions they wished to see the research go. This helped give the participants' agency in their answers and also minimize the hierarchy that was created as a result of my being a White researcher. Nevertheless, my role as a White

researcher is still a major limitation to this study. Even though I have lived in Swaziland my entire life, the power and privilege which I am viewed to have in Swazi society certainly impacted how comfortable participants felt in talking to me and conveying their true feelings. I attempted to curtail this effect as much as possible, through description of my own background within Swaziland and giving participants as much of a chance as possible to convey their own thoughts and feelings, free of my guidance. For future research, it would be interesting to see the differences in issues talked about if a Black researcher were present as participants might feel more comfortable and candid.

The findings presented also have limited generalizability, especially with regard to the host community members group in the first study and the students from Waterford Kamhlaba in the first study. This is a result of the small sample sizes for these groups. Future studies should encompass a wider range of participants to make the findings more reliable.

Finally, looking at the research as a whole, it is important to understand this research from the position and experience of the participants engaged in it. In stating this, it should be mentioned that it is very easy for scholars and researchers of this type of work to sit back and critique international volunteering. As mentioned by Willingham (2008), schooling is the place where critical thinking is predominantly taught and depends mostly on domain knowledge and practice. However, for participants in this study, who are directly affected by international volunteering, such as host community members and the OVC, they do not have this privilege. They have a much more concrete view of the picture that is painted in front of them. People have arrived to help them where no one else would.

Participants throughout my study did note negatives and did engage in critical observations; however, the overwhelmingly positive views show how grateful and appreciative they are of this type of work and that is paramount to note. Even with the creation of White supremacy, dependency and sustainability issues, it is important that the

positives and good feelings that the participants in this study have towards international

volunteering are not overshadowed, as they are the ones that are affected, and this is what

they wanted to be known.

Overall, this research has provided a unique insight into community members'

perceptions in Swaziland of international volunteering and international volunteers.

Understanding the nuances of this industry within Swaziland as well as how people perceive

these volunteers is important for improving international volunteering in Swaziland. Future

volunteers should focus on constructive ways that they can aid communities by building

meaningful relationships that allow the education of both the volunteer and the host

communities without the cultural insensitivity that can often occur. International volunteers

need to ask themselves this question - whether they want to be viewed positively because

they are the only ones helping or because they made a reciprocal connection that meant

something to each person and impacted both lives for the better.

In conclusion, I will let the participants speak for themselves:

> *I hope that this research will help other people. It will bring some illumination.*
>
> *People who are in the dark, who don't understand the importance of international*
>
> *volunteers. I think they would love an understanding of the importance of the*
>
> *international volunteers. Just like how they are saying that this world is becoming a*
>
> *global village, we have to interact, we have to partner, we have to work together.*
>
> (Pastor Lewis Chomba, Director of Hope House)

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Appendix A

Recruiting script

Hello …..

My name is Laura Henderson and I am doing research on the perceptions of international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland. I am undertaking this research under the guidance of Jefferson Singer, Faulk Foundation Professor of Psychology, and Dean of the College at Connecticut College in the United States where I am currently studying. For my research I would like to interview you about your thoughts on international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland. This interview will be a series of questions which will take about an hour to complete and no previous knowledge on international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland is required. Please let me know if you would be willing to partake in my research. If so, could we please set up a time and place to meet that would be most convenient for you?

Thank you.

Appendix B

Informed Consent

Study Title: Perceptions of International Volunteering and Volunteers in Swaziland

Principal Investigator: L. A. Henderson
Connecticut College 3830
270 Mohegan Avenue
New London, CT 06320
lhenders@conncoll.edu

•You are being invited to participate in Laura Henderson's research about international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland as part of an independent study project in the department of psychology, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut, USA under the supervision of Jefferson Singer, Faulk Foundation Professor of Psychology, and Dean of the College.

•The researcher, Laura Henderson, is from Swaziland herself and went to school at Waterford Kamhlaba UWCSA from 2008-2013.

•This research will involve answering a series of questions in the form of a semi-structured interview.

•With your permission this interview will be recorded via an electronic device and audio recordings will be destroyed at the completion of the study.

•While the direct benefits of this research to society are not known, you may learn more about your perceptions of international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland.

•This interview will take about an hour.

•There are no known risks or discomforts related to participating in this research.

•Laura Henderson can be contacted at lhenders@conncoll.edu.

•Your participation is voluntary, and you may decline to answer any questions as you see fit.

•You may withdraw from the study without penalty at any time.

•Information you provide will be identified with a code number and NOT your name.

•You may contact the researcher who will answer any questions that you may have about the purposes and procedures of this study.

•This study is not meant to gather information about specific individuals and your responses will be combined with other participants' data for the purpose of statistical analyses.

•You are being asked to consent to publication of the study results as long as the identity of all participants is protected.

•This research has been approved by the Connecticut College Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB). Concerns about any aspect of this study may be addressed to Professor Zakriski (IRB Chairperson) at alzak@conncoll.edu.

A copy of this informed consent will be given to you.

I am at least 18 years of age, have read these explanations and assurances, and voluntarily consent to participate in this research on perceptions of international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland.

_____   _____   _____
Name of participant (please print)   Signature of participant   Date

_____   _____   _____
Name of person obtaining consent   Signature   Date
(please print)

I also acknowledge and agree to this interview being recorded on an electronic device for data collection. I also understand that these audio records will be destroyed at the completion of the study.

_____   _____   _____
Name of participant (please print)   Signature of participant   Date
to authorize audio recording   to authorize audio recording

Appendix C

Instructions and Definitions

You will now be asked a set of interview questions about international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland.

 International volunteering is volunteering in a country that is not your own. International volunteering is a growing industry with many people volunteering abroad each year. These volunteer trips are mainly comprised of a service component, however, they can often be combined with tourism which allows for exploring and traveling of the country they are volunteering in.

Appendix D-1

Semi-Structured Interview Questions for International Volunteer Organisations

Section 1: Demographic Questions
1) How old are you?
2) Where are you from?
3) How long have you lived in Swaziland for?
4) What is the highest level of education you reached so far?

Section 2: Awareness
5) Are you aware of international volunteering in Swaziland?
6) Where do you think it takes place? Or where do you think it happens?
7) In what ways does it happen? What function does international volunteering serve?
8) What kinds of individuals are being served by these international volunteers? Who is being affected?
9) Could you give me a description/ profile of the average international volunteer that comes to Swaziland?
10) On average how many international volunteers do you get in a year and where do most of the international volunteers come from?

Section 3: Feeling and Impact
11) What are your feelings on international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland?
12) What do you think the motives are of international volunteers in Swaziland?
13) How much would you say you are affected by international volunteering?
14) What impact does receiving help from international volunteers have on the people being helped, in your opinion?
15) Do you think that the majority of international volunteers in Swaziland are similar to the population of Swaziland in any way?

Section 4: Children
16) Do you think there is a difference between volunteering with children and adults? If so, why?
17) What do you think the impact of international volunteering is for children? How do you think children's interactions with international volunteers affect their daily lives?
18) Does the impact differ for those children who are orphaned as oppose to those who are not?
19) How do you think children's perceptions of identity and race are affected as a result of international volunteering?

Section 5: Round up Question
20) Do you have anything you would like to add that I have not covered or asked you in this interview? Or do you have any questions you would like to ask me about my research?
21) As I go forward with this research are there any questions you would like me to add to my project? Do you have any suggestions for this research and what you would like to see done with it?

Appendix D-2

Semi-Structured Interview Questions for the Local Working Swazi Population

Section 1: Demographic Questions
1) How old are you?
2) Where are you from?
3) How long have you lived in Swaziland for?
4) What is the highest level of education you reached so far?

Section 2: Awareness
5) Are you aware of international volunteering in Swaziland?
6) Where do you think it takes place? Or where do you think it happens?
7) In what ways does it happen? What function does international volunteering serve?
8) What kinds of individuals are being served by these international volunteers? Who is being affected?
9) Could you give me a description/ profile of the average international volunteer that comes to Swaziland?

Section 3: Feeling and Impact
10) What are your feelings on international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland?
11) What do you think the motives are of international volunteers in Swaziland?
12) How much would you say you are affected by international volunteering?
13) What impact does receiving help from international volunteers have on the people being helped, in your opinion?
14) Do you think that the majority of international volunteers in Swaziland are similar to the population of Swaziland in any way?

Section 4: Children
15) Do you think there is a difference between volunteering with children and adults? If so, why?
16) What do you think the impact of international volunteering is for children? How do you think children's interactions with international volunteers affect their daily lives?
17) Does the impact differ for those children who are orphaned as oppose to those who are not?
18) How do you think children's perceptions of identity and race are affected as a result of international volunteering?

Section 5: Round up Question
19) Do you have anything you would like to add that I have not covered or asked you in this interview? Or do you have any questions you would like to ask me about my research?
20) As I go forward with this research are there any questions you would like me to add to my project? Do you have any suggestions for this research and what you would like to see done with it?

Appendix D-3

Semi-Structured Interview Questions for the Rural Population/ Helped Population

Section 1: Demographic Questions
1) How old are you?
2) Where are you from?
3) How long have you lived in Swaziland for?
4) What is the highest level of education you reached so far?

Section 2: Awareness
5) Are you aware of international volunteering in Swaziland?
6) Where do you think it takes place? Or where do you think it happens?
7) In what ways does it happen? What function does international volunteering serve?
8) What kinds of individuals are being served by these international volunteers? Who is being affected?
9) Could you give me a description/ profile of the average international volunteer that comes to Swaziland?
10) How often do international volunteers come into your community?

Section 3: Feeling and Impact
11) What are your feelings on international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland?
12) What do you think the motives are of international volunteers in Swaziland?
13) How much would you say you are affected by international volunteering?
14) What impact does receiving help from international volunteers have on the people being helped, in your opinion?
15) Do you think that the majority of international volunteers in Swaziland are similar to the population of Swaziland in any way?

Section 4: Children
16) Do you think there is a difference between volunteering with children and adults? If so, why?
17) What do you think the impact of international volunteering is for children? How do you think children's interactions with international volunteers affect their daily lives?
18) Does the impact differ for those children who are orphaned as oppose to those who are not?
19) How do you think children's perceptions of identity and race are affected as a result of international volunteering?

Section 5: Round up Question
20) Do you have anything you would like to add that I have not covered or asked you in this interview? Or do you have any questions you would like to ask me about my research?
21) As I go forward with this research are there any questions you would like me to add to my project? Do you have any suggestions for this research and what you would like to see done with it?

Appendix D-4

Semi-Structured Interview Questions for Students at Waterford Kamhlaba UWCSA

Section 1: Demographic Questions
1) How old are you?
2) Where are you from?
3) How long have you lived in Swaziland for?
4) What is the highest level of education you reached so far?

Section 2: Awareness
5) Are you aware of international volunteering in Swaziland?
6) Where do you think it takes place? Or where do you think it happens?
7) In what ways does it happen? What function does international volunteering serve?
8) What kinds of individuals are being served by these international volunteers? Who is being affected?
9) Could you give me a description/ profile of the average international volunteer that comes to Swaziland?

Section 3: Feeling and Impact
10) What are your feelings on international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland?
11) What do you think the motives are of international volunteers in Swaziland?
12) How much would you say you are affected by international volunteering?
13) What impact does receiving help from international volunteers have on the people being helped, in your opinion?
14) Do you think that the majority of international volunteers in Swaziland are similar to the population of Swaziland in any way?

Section 4: Children
15) Do you think there is a difference between volunteering with children and adults? If so, why?
16) What do you think the impact of international volunteering is for children? How do you think children's interactions with international volunteers affect their daily lives?
17) Does the impact differ for those children who are orphaned as oppose to those who are not?
18) How do you think children's perceptions of identity and race are affected as a result of international volunteering?

Section 5: Round up Question
19) Do you have anything you would like to add that I have not covered or asked you in this interview? Or do you have any questions you would like to ask me about my research?
20) As I go forward with this research are there any questions you would like me to add to my project? Do you have any suggestions for this research and what you would like to see done with it?

Appendix E

Debriefing Form

First of all, thank you for participating in this research examining international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland. In this research, I am exploring the impression that people from the Swazi population have of international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland. The purpose of my research is to assess whether international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland are seen as a useful asset to the country as well as the communities in which they work. Furthermore, I hope to gain insight into the effects international volunteering has on children especially. Participants in this study are pooled from four different areas of the Swazi population; the local working Swazi population, students from Waterford Kamhlaba UWCSA, international volunteering organisations in Swaziland and the rural population of Swaziland which receives aid from international volunteers.

Participants were all asked a set of questions through a semi-structured interview. Only a few questions were changed between the groups depending on which area of the population you came from. Similar research has been done on the impact of international volunteering for the international volunteers who volunteer abroad but, to my knowledge, hardly any research has been done on the impact that international volunteering has on community members, especially in Swaziland.

If you have any questions or concerns about the manner in which this study was conducted, please contact the IRB Chairperson, Professor Zakriski at alzak@conncoll.edu

If you are interested in this topic and want to read the literature in this area, you might find the following articles informative:

Barkham, P. (2006, Aug 18). Are these the new colonialists?. *The Guardian.* Retrieved

from:http://www.theguardian.com/society/2006/aug/18/internationalaidanddevelo

pment.eeducation

Volunteering Opportunities (2013). In *The Kingdom of Swaziland Travel Guide*. Retrieved

from: http://www.thekingdomofswaziland.com/pages/content/index.asp?PageID=52

You may also contact me (Laura Henderson) at lhenders@conncoll.edu for additional resources.

Appendix F-1

Preliminary Approval Forms:
The Sandra Lee Centre Preliminary Approval Form

Preliminary Approval Form to Carry Out Research in Swaziland

This form will be used as a preliminary approval form for Laura Henderson's research on "The Impact of International Volunteering and Volunteers on Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) in Swaziland." Further consent will be asked for once this study is approved by the Connecticut College Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB).

Study Title: The Impact of International Volunteering and Volunteers on Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) in Swaziland

Principal Investigator   Laura A. Henderson
                                   Connecticut College 3830
                                   270 Mohegan Avenue
                                   New London, CT 06320
                                   lhenders@conncoll.edu

•You are being asked to give your consent for Laura Henderson to conduct research at the Sandra Lee Centre on 10 orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC). This research is part of an independent study project in the department of psychology, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut, USA under the supervision of Jefferson Singer, Faulk Foundation Professor of Psychology, and Dean of the College. Below is a detailed account of the research to be undertaken.

About Researcher:
My name is Laura Anne Henderson. I was born and raised in Swaziland. I was educated at Usutu Forest Primary School and then, Waterford Kamhlaba UWCSA. Now, I am currently studying at Connecticut College in the United States. I am majoring in psychology and sociology with a minor in African Studies. This past Winter (June- August 2016), I conducted research in Swaziland on the adult perceptions of international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland. I interviewed a member of your organisation for this research. I am now hoping to carry out the second stage of my research this Christmas break (January – February 2017).

The Research:
The research I hope to undertake with your help is to study the effects that international volunteering and international volunteers have on OVCs. I hope this research will provide insight into the effects international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland have on OVCs perceptions of race and identity.

Method/Procedure:
To conduct this research, I will be using a drawing technique commonly used in research with children. This technique will ask participants to draw a picture of themselves with an international volunteer with the crayons and coloring materials provided. Participants will then be asked to give a short explanation of what they have drawn and asked about their experiences with international volunteers. This method will be presented to the children in English or SiSwati, whichever one they feel more comfortable with. If SiSwati is the chosen language, I will have a

translator who is working with me interview the children with the questions and explain the research to them.

In addition, I will be requesting to know how long each participant has been at the orphanage and what caused them to enter the orphanage (if that information can be made available to the researcher). All information gathered about participants will be kept confidential.

Questions the participants will be asked:
1) How old are you?
2) What grade are you in?
3) How do you feel about international volunteers*?
4) How often do you see international volunteers*?
5) Could you describe what your time with international volunteers* was like?
6) Can you tell me about the picture you drew? What did you draw in your picture?

*International Volunteer defined for a participant of the study: an international volunteer is someone who comes from a different place than Swaziland to spend time with children like you.

Participants:
10 OVCs will be recruited in this study from the Sandra Lee Centre. Another 20 OVCs will be recruited in this study from a different orphanage in Swaziland. Participants can be between the ages of 7 and 12 years. Gender of these participants will be recorded and ideally an equal number of male and female OVCs will be recruited.

Ethical issues:
Participants will have a clear understanding that their responses will be kept confidential. Participants will be reminded that they can withdraw from the study at any time.
There may be some emotional risk involved in answering these questions as they may trigger memories the children have.
While the direct benefits of this research to society are not known, participants may learn more about their opinions/ perceptions of international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland.
This research will be approved by the Connecticut College Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB) before it is conducted in Swaziland.

Other requirements:
Are there any conditions or requirements you wish for this research or for me as a researcher to know before conducting this research at the Sandra Lee Centre. Please detail below if applicable.
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
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…………………………………………………………………………………………………….

If you agree to the conditions of this research and for it to be undertaken, please sign below granting permission for this research to take place in January – February 2017 with the understanding that you shall receive one last consent form after the study is approved by the Connecticut College Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB).

………………………...
Name of Organisation

……………………………………………………… ……………………….
Name of Organisation Member Granting Permission Position in Organisation

……………………………… …………………..
Signature Date

Researcher Note: This form could not be signed by the director due to technical difficulties and inaccessibility to a scanner. Thus, Robin Pratt, Director of The Sandra Lee Centre requested for the below email to serve as verification of her agreement and acceptance of the preliminary approval form.

Robin's Gmail   Oct 28 (4 days ago)
to me

Laura, I cannot figure out how to sign your thing and send it back to you.
So please use this email as an authorization and OK to your proposal.
Signed - Robin Pratt, director of The Sandra Lee Centre, Mbabane, Swaziland
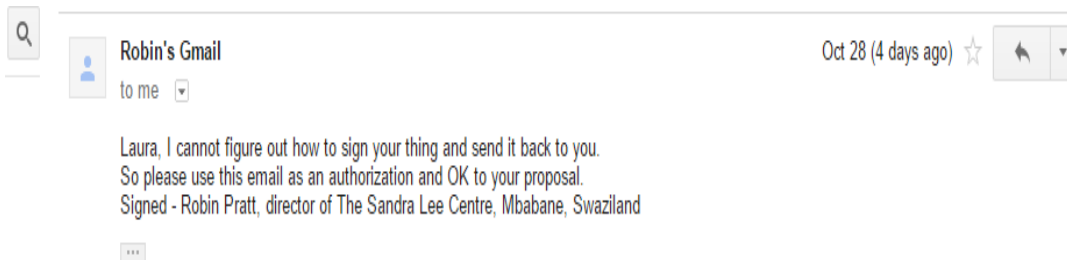
Appendix F-2

Preliminary Approval Forms:

Hope House Preliminary Approval

Researcher Note: Preliminary Approval was obtained through email communication with Hope House Director. The preliminary approval form was not sent to this orphanage since they already agreed to this research being conducted with the information that was provided in email communication. They will be receiving the official informed consent form shortly which will allow them to officially agree to the research being carried out. (See below for email confirmation from Hope House)

Lewis chomba   Dec 2 (5 days ago)
to me

On Friday, December 2, 2016 8:47 AM, Lewis chomba <lchomba@yahoo.com> wrote:

Greetings!
Thank you so much for having interest in researching about Motshane Hope House. On behalf of the Hope House management, i would like to confirm that we have accepted your request to come and do your research in January, 2017. We receive a lot of volunteers who often come and serve at Hope House, on an average of about 120 volunteers per year. Bye for now and God bless you abundantly.

Appendix G

Official Informed Consent

Study Title: The Impact of International Volunteering and Volunteers on Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) in Swaziland.

Principal Investigator: L. A. Henderson
                                 Connecticut College 3830
                                 270 Mohegan Avenue
                                 New London, CT 06320
                                 lhenders@conncoll.edu

• You are being asked to give your consent for Laura Henderson to conduct research at ………(place) on orphaned and vulnerable children (OVC) between the ages of 7 and 12 years. This research is part of an independent study project in the department of psychology, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut, USA under the supervision of Jefferson Singer, Faulk Foundation Professor of Psychology, and Dean of the College. Below is a detailed account of the research to be undertaken.

•The researcher, Laura Henderson, is from Swaziland herself and went to school at Waterford Kamhlaba UWCSA from 2008-2013.

•This research will involve participants drawing pictures and then being asked a series of questions in the form of a semi-structured interview.

•With your permission and the participant's permission this interview will be recorded via an electronic device so that the researcher can document what the children say in their interviews correctly. Audio recordings will be destroyed at the completion of the study and will be kept safely on the researcher's password locked laptop until then.

•While the direct benefits of this research to society are not known, participants may learn more about their experiences with international volunteers and their opinions and perceptions of international volunteering and international volunteers in Swaziland.

•This study will take about 30 minutes complete.

• Each child that completes this study will receive a lollipop.

• There may be some emotional risk involved in answering these questions as they may trigger memories the children have.

•Laura Henderson can be contacted at lhenders@conncoll.edu.

•Participation is voluntary, and participants may decline to answer any questions as they see fit.

•Participants may withdraw from the study without penalty at any time.

•Information participants provide will be identified with a code number and NOT their name.

•You may contact the researcher who will answer any questions that you may have about the purposes and procedures of this study.

•This study is not meant to gather information about specific individuals and participants' responses will be combined with other participants' data for the purpose of statistical analyses.

•You are being asked to consent to publication of the study results as long as the identity of all participants is protected and kept confidential.

•If a child reports having experienced any significant harm, I will report this to the head of the orphanage (or the individual to whom such issues are reported).

•There is no funding that is being received to conduct this research.

•There are no payments or costs to the child for participating in this research.

•The translator used in this research, who is trained in conducting ethical research with vulnerable children, will also have direct contact with the children.

•This research has been approved by the Connecticut College Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB). Concerns about any aspect of this study may be addressed to Professor Audrey Zakriski (IRB Chairperson) at alzak@conncoll.edu.

The procedure for this research is as follows:

Meeting times for the study will be set up with the respective orphanages. Once a time and date is set up, the researcher along with a SiSwati translator will travel to the orphanage and conduct the research. To start the study, the participant will be informed that they are participating in a study to assess the effects of international volunteering and international volunteers on children in orphanages in Swaziland. Participants will then be read an informed assent form which they will be asked to agree to. The informed assent form will also be used to provide assent for the short semi-structured interview to be recorded via an electronic device. Thereafter, participants will be told a definition of international volunteering. Participants will then be asked a question on their last experience with international volunteers to ensure they are aware what an international volunteer is. Thereafter, participants will be asked to draw a picture of themselves and their time with an international volunteer as well as a picture of an adult they live within the orphanage. After completing their drawing participants will answer a series of questions in the form of a short semi-structured interview asked by the researcher. These questions will consist of asking the children about their experience with international volunteers as well as what they have drawn on the pieces of paper. After the interview, participants will be thanked and debriefed. Custodians of the children will also be thanked and given a debriefing form. If participants do not speak English or feel more comfortable conducting the study in SiSwati a local translator will be used.

It should be noted that the informed assent/consent and debriefing forms for the children and the custodians are written differently but contain the same information. Informed assent and debriefing forms for children are written in a more understandable and basic way.

In addition, if at any point in the research process the researcher or translator is aware that a child has been put at risk, abused or neglected in the orphanage or else where they will report this to the director of the orphanage.

Lastly, with the director of the orphanage's permission, I would like to ask them to provide information of the duration of time a participant has been at the orphanage and where the participant's place of residence was prior to the orphanage.

Please check the below boxes and sign at the bottom of the page if you agree to all the information that has been presented and put forward for this research in this form.

I have read these explanations and assurances, and voluntarily consent to allow participation in this research on the impact of international volunteering and volunteers on orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Swaziland.　☐

Lastly, I, the undersigned, can make medical and educational decisions on behalf of the children who will be participating in the study stipulated above. I am their legal custodian and therefore, give my permission for Laura Henderson to do her research as described above.　☐

I also acknowledge and agree to interviews conducted being recorded on an electronic device for data collection. I also understand that these audio records will be destroyed at the completion of the study.　☐

_____　_____
Name of Organisation　Position in Organisation

_____　_____　_____
Name of custodian (please print)　Signature of custodian　Date

_____　_____　_____
Name of person obtaining consent
(please print)　Signature　Date

Appendix H

Informed consent agreement for children participating in Laura Henderson's research

I, the undersigned, agree to allowing the children listed below to participate in Laura Henderson's research as stipulated in the official informed consent which I have already understood and signed. By signing this document, I acknowledge that the official informed consent applies to all children listed below.

1) ……………………………..

2) ……………………………..

3) ……………………………..

4) ……………………………..

5) ……………………………..

6) ……………………………..

7) ……………………………..

8) ……………………………..

9) ……………………………..

10) ...…………………………..

11) …………………………….

12) …………………………….

13) …………………………….

14) …………………………….

15) …………………………….

Name: ………………........   Name of Organisation: …………….……

Signature: …………………   Position in Organisation: …………………

Date: ……………………

Appendix I

Informed Assent Form for Participants

•I am interested in talking to you about your experience with people who come and help out here at …….. who are not from Swaziland.

•My name is Laura Henderson, I live in Mbabane, Swaziland. I go to school in America. I know that I am an adult but I have come here to learn from you. I will not be offended by anything that you say. I want to know what you think.

•I am going to ask you to draw two pictures for me if that is alright? And ask you a few questions. It is okay if you do not want to, just let me know.

•It is possible that answering some of these questions may make you feel uncomfortable and if you do not want to answer something, then just tell me and you won't have to answer it.

• Do you have any questions for me?

• Would you like to help me with my project?*

•I am going to be recording what you say on this (show the device). I need to record you so I can remember what you have told me. Is that alright?

Researcher note: the researcher will make a note of what participants respond to the questions in this informed consent form and whether participants agree to participate.

Protocol if child declines to participate:
If child declines to participate in the study I will thank them for coming in and ask them if they would like to do a fun drawing instead.

SiSwati Translation:

- Bengifuna kuve kuwe kutsi uhambe njani nebantfu labaphume ngaphandle kweSwatini.
- Ligama lami nguLaura Henderson. Ngihlala eMbabane, eSwatini. Ngiyafundza eMelika. Ngiyabona kutsi ngimdzala ngawe kodvwa akhona tintfo longangifundzisa. Ngifuna kuve kuwe, kutsi uchabangani?
- Ungangidvwebela titfombe lamabili? Bese ungaphendvula imibuto ami. Kulungile noma uma ungafuni, kumele nje kutsi ungitjele.
- Nangabe awufuni kuphendvula lombuto, ungangitjela. Ngeke udzinge kuyiphendvula.
- Unayo ini umbuto?
- Ungangisita ne-project yami?
- Sengitowenta i-recording nalokhu (show the device). Ngitoku-recorda ngitokhumbula kutsi sitsiteni nasesigcedzile. Kulungile yini?

Appendix J

Basic Definition of an International Volunteer

An international volunteer is someone who comes from a different place than Swaziland to spend time with children like you.

SiSwati Translation:

- I-volunteeya ngumuntfu lophume ngephandla kweSwatini lofuna kukusita.

Appendix K

Question relating to experience with International Volunteers

Do you remember when someone who was not from Swaziland was here at …… and played with you? (Y/N) Could you tell me what activities you did?

SiSwati Translation:

- Ungangitjela kutsi neniteni nalamanye lama-volunteeya? Benentani?

Appendix L

Drawing Stimulus 1

Please can you draw a picture of yourself and one of the volunteers that is not from Swaziland and what it was like when they came here and what you did together.

SiSwati Translation:

- Ungangidvwebela sitfombe sakho ne-volunteeya?

Appendix M

Drawing Stimulus 2

Which adult lives with you here at ….(name of orphanage)? Can you please draw a picture of them for me?

SiSwati Translation:

- Ngubani lomuntfu lomdzala lohlala nani ekhaya? Ungakhona kumdvweba ngitombona?

Appendix N

Semi Structured Interview Questions

1) How old are you?

2) What grade are you in?

3) How do you feel about international volunteers*?

4) How often do you see international volunteers*?

5) Could you describe what your time with international volunteers* was like?

6) Can you tell me about the picture you drew with international volunteers? What did you draw in this picture?

7) Could you tell me about the picture you drew of ……(name of adult who lives with them)? What did you draw in this picture?

*Explain international volunteers through definition provided (see Appendix D) if they still do not understand the concept of an international volunteer.

SiSwati Translation:

1. Unemangaki iminyaka?
2. Ufundza bani esikolweni?
3. Uyabatsandza yini lama-volunteeya?
4. Uyababona nini lama-volunteeya?
5. Ungangichazele kutsi ihambe njani lesikhatsi nalama-volunteeya?
6. Ungangichazele kulesitfombe yalama-volunteeya? Nguwe lodvwebe lesitfombe lesi?
7. Ungangichazele kulesitfombe yalomuntfu lomdzala lenihlala naye? Nguwe lodvwebe lesitfombe lesi?

Appendix O

Debriefing Form for Participants

Thank you very much for helping me by answering all my questions and for the lovely drawings you drew for me.

I did all this because I wanted to know about experiences children, just like you have, with people who come and help out who are not from Swaziland.

Do you have any last questions?

SiSwati Translation:

Ngiyabonga kakhulu kutsi bongakhona kungisita nemibuto ami, bese ngiyabonga kulesitfombe lenhle.

Ngente konkhe lomsebenti lokhu ngoba ngifuna kuva kutsi anjani lamalive kwebantwana, njengawe, kulesikhatsi nema-volunteeya.

Appendix P

Debriefing Form for Custodians

First of all, thank you for allowing the children to participate in this research examining the impact that international volunteers have on orphaned and vulnerable children in Swaziland. In this research, I am exploring the implicit and explicit attitudes children have to international volunteers in Swaziland. The purpose of my research is to assess the effects international volunteering and volunteers in Swaziland may have on OVC's perceptions of their race and identity. Participants in this study are pooled from two different orphanages in Swaziland.

Participants were all asked to draw a picture of themselves and an international volunteer and then asked a series of questions about their experiences with international volunteers and what they had drawn. Similar research has been done on the impact of international volunteering for the international volunteers who volunteer abroad but, to my knowledge, hardly any research has been done on the impact that international volunteering has on community members especially OVC in Swaziland.

If you have any questions or concerns about the manner in which this study was conducted, please contact the IRB Chairperson, Professor Audrey Zakriski at alzak@conncoll.edu

If a child becomes upset as a result of this study please reach out to the director of the orphanage.

If you are interested in this topic and want to read the literature in this area, you might find the following articles informative:

Barkham, P. (2006, Aug 18). Are these the new colonialists?. *The Guardian.* Retrieved

from:http://www.theguardian.com/society/2006/aug/18/internationalaidanddevelo

pment.eeducation

Volunteering Opportunities (2013). In *The Kingdom of Swaziland Travel Guide*. Retrieved

from: http://www.thekingdomofswaziland.com/pages/content/index.asp?PageID=52

You may also contact me (Laura Henderson) at lhenders@conncoll.edu for additional resources.

Appendix Q

Protocol followed if child reports having been put at risk, abused or neglected

If the research or translator have any reason or suspicion to suspect that the child has been put at risk, abused or neglected, they will make note of what has been said by the child or why they are suspicious of this behaviour and report this straight to the director of the orphanage.

Appendix R

Questions for the Orphanage Director

1) How long has ….. (participant's name) been at the orphanage for?
2) Where did they reside before coming to the orphanage? In what part of Swaziland?

*Questions will only be asked if the Orphanage Director gives verbal consent to these questions being asked about the OVC.

Appendix S-1a

Participants' Drawings
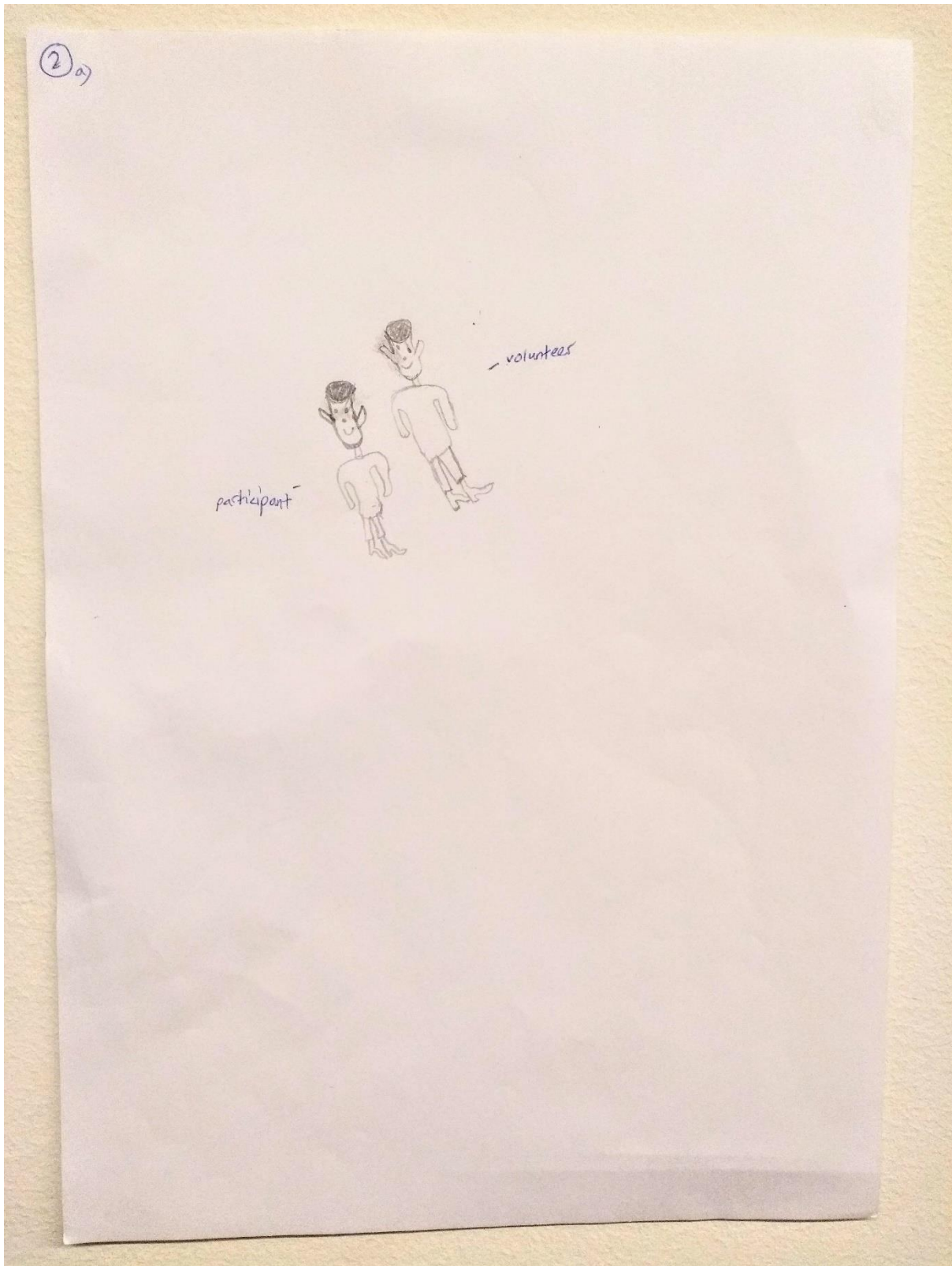
Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-1b
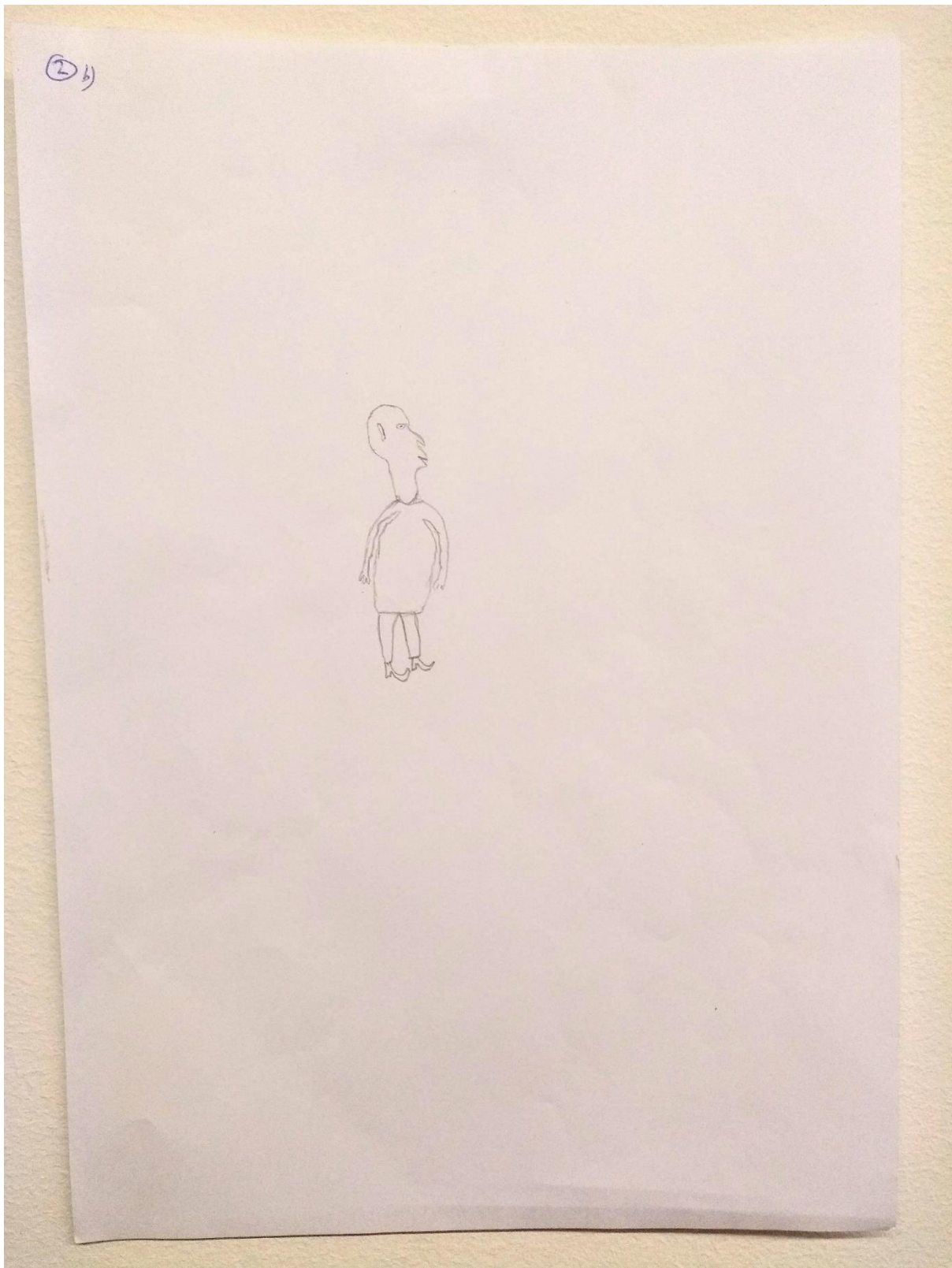
Participant's 'uncle'

Appendix S-2a
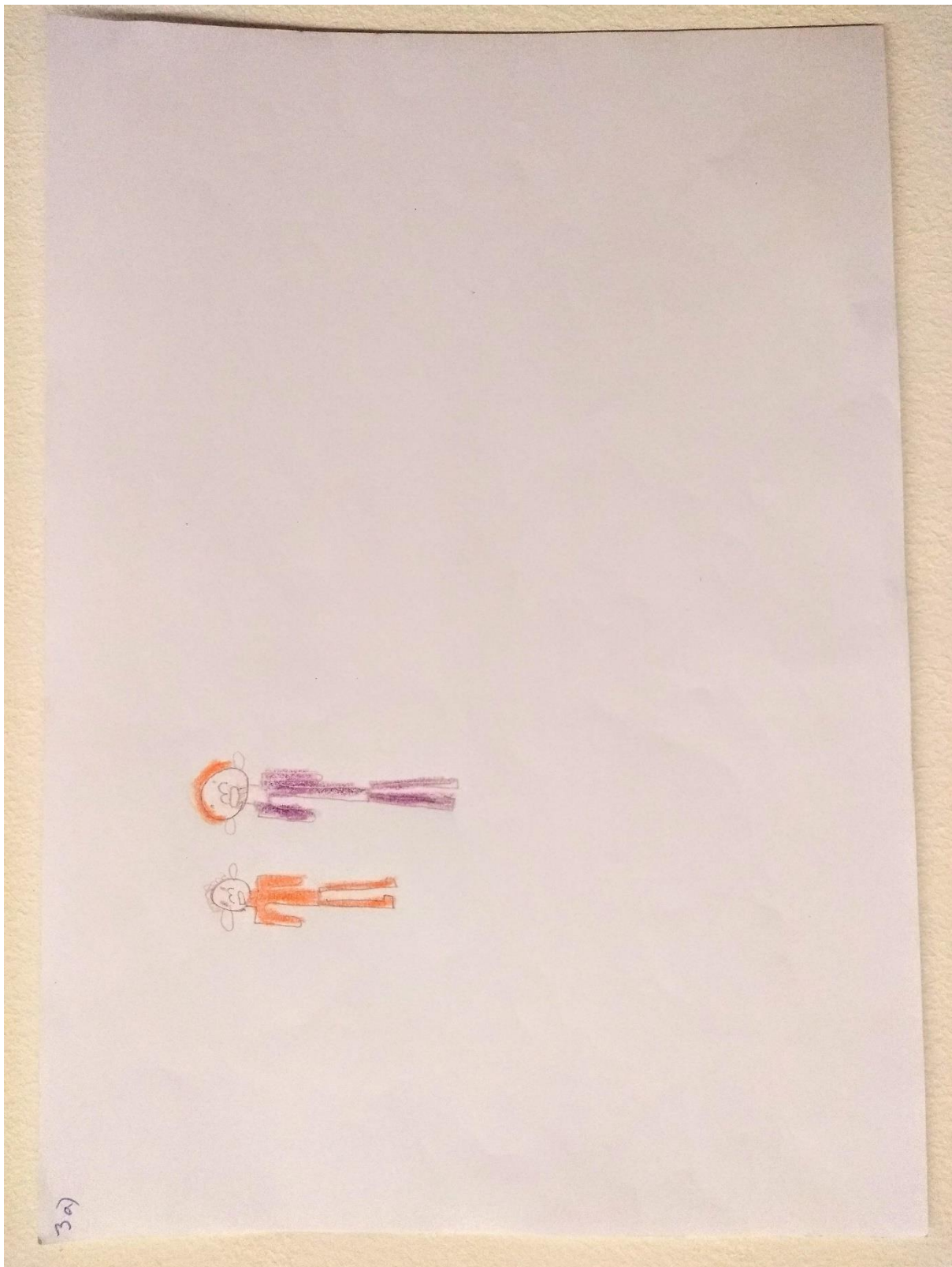
Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-2b
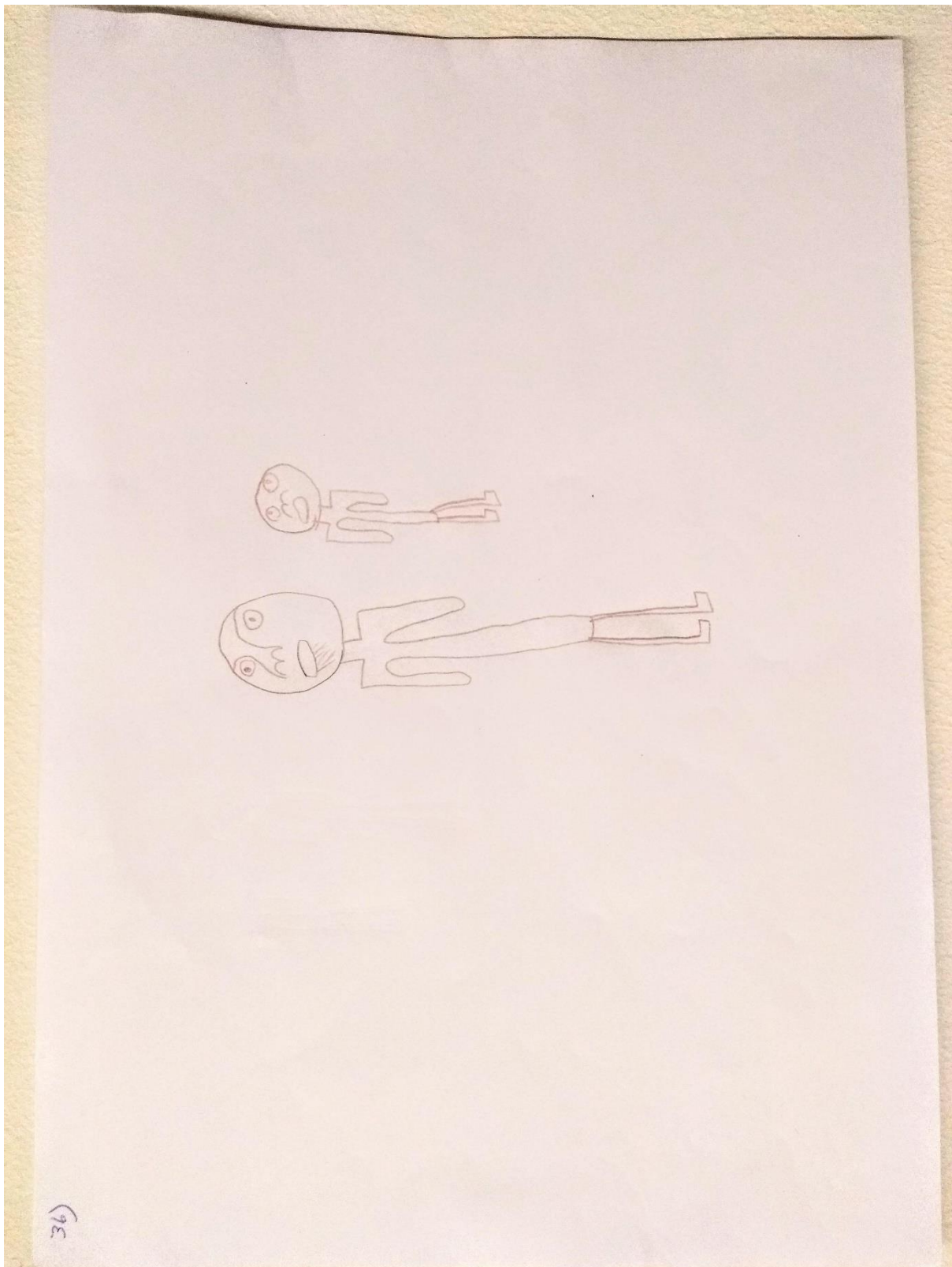
'Mother' on the left and participant on the right

Appendix S-3a
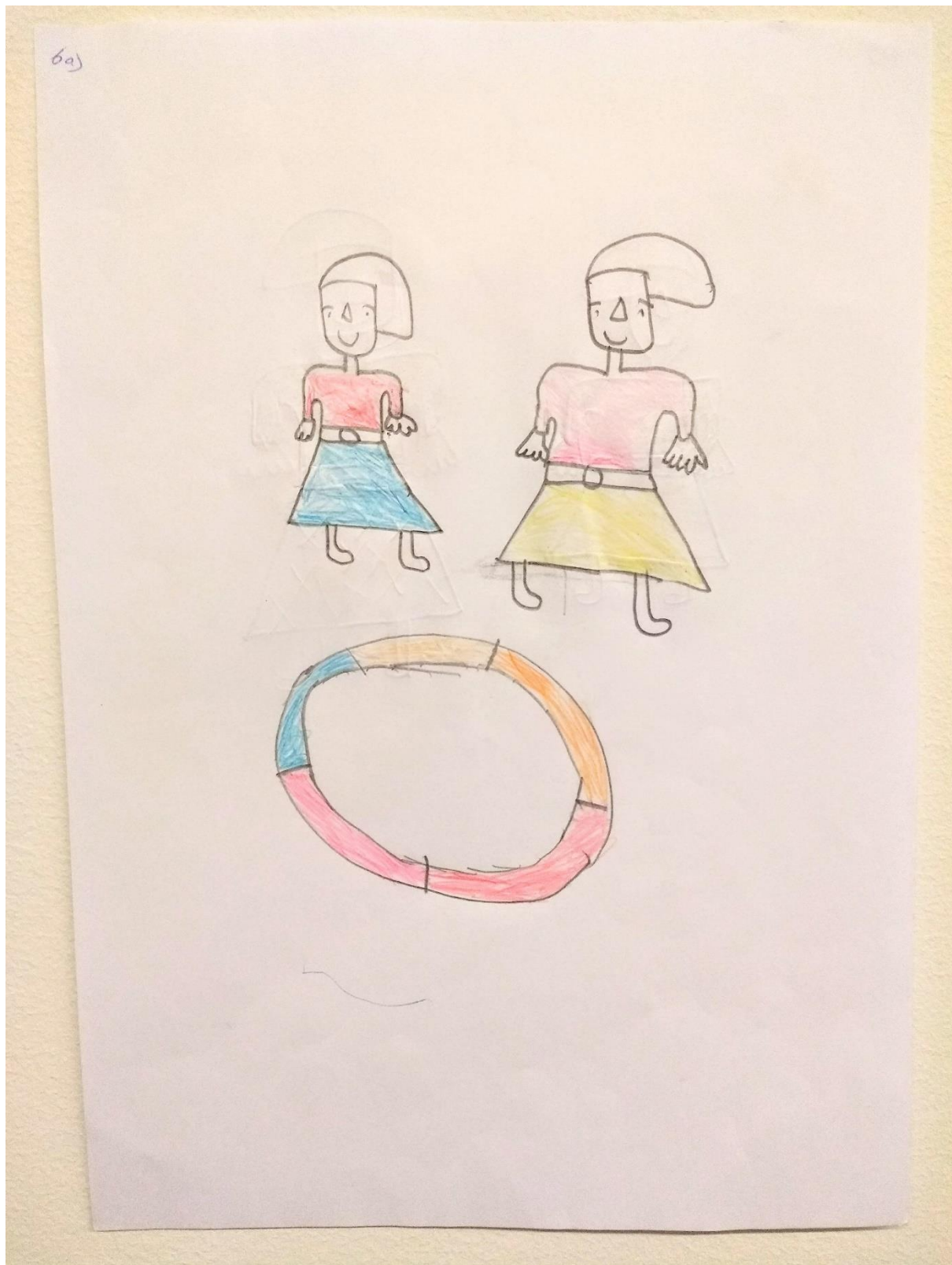
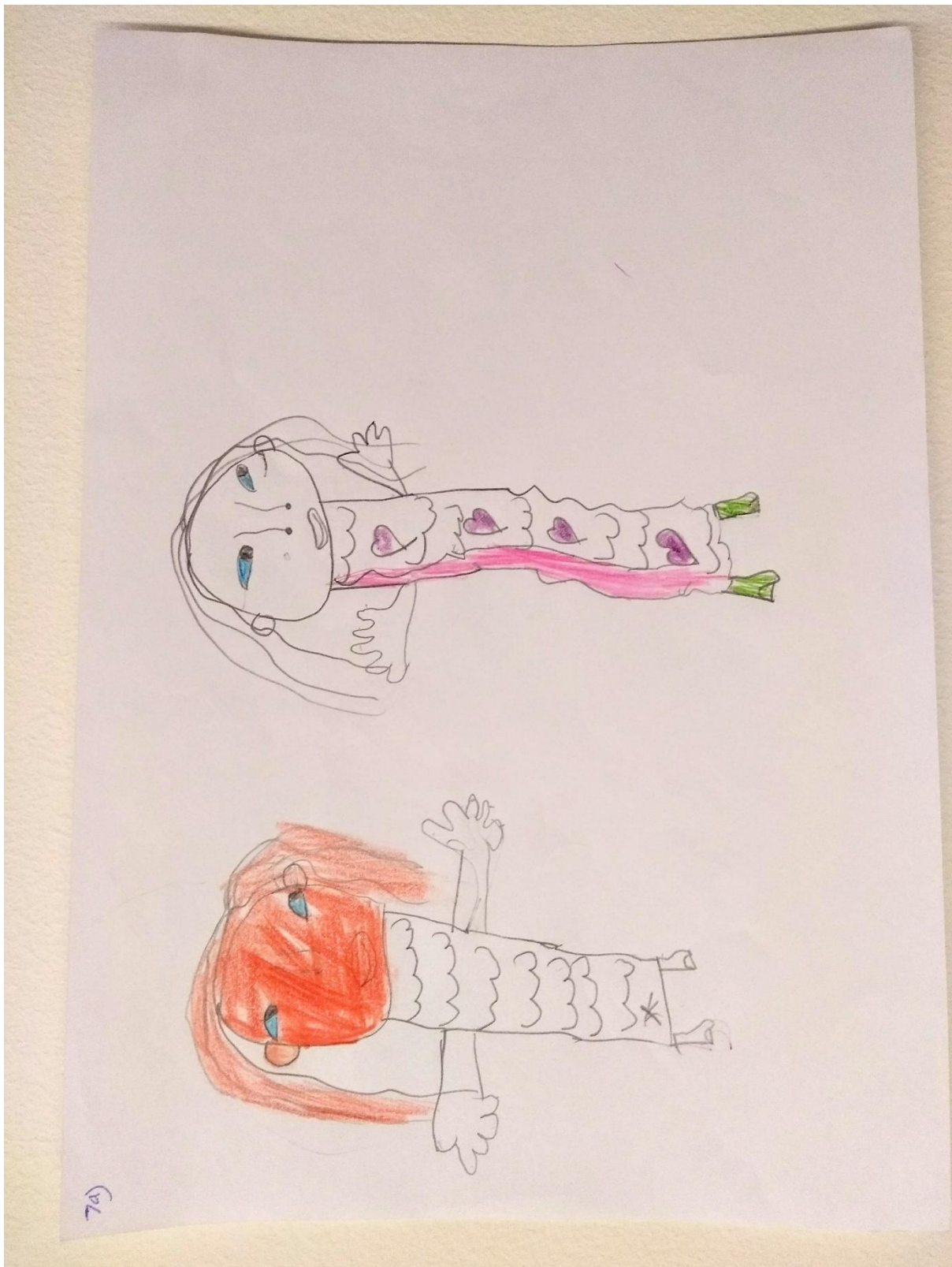Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-3b

Participant on the left and 'mother' on the right
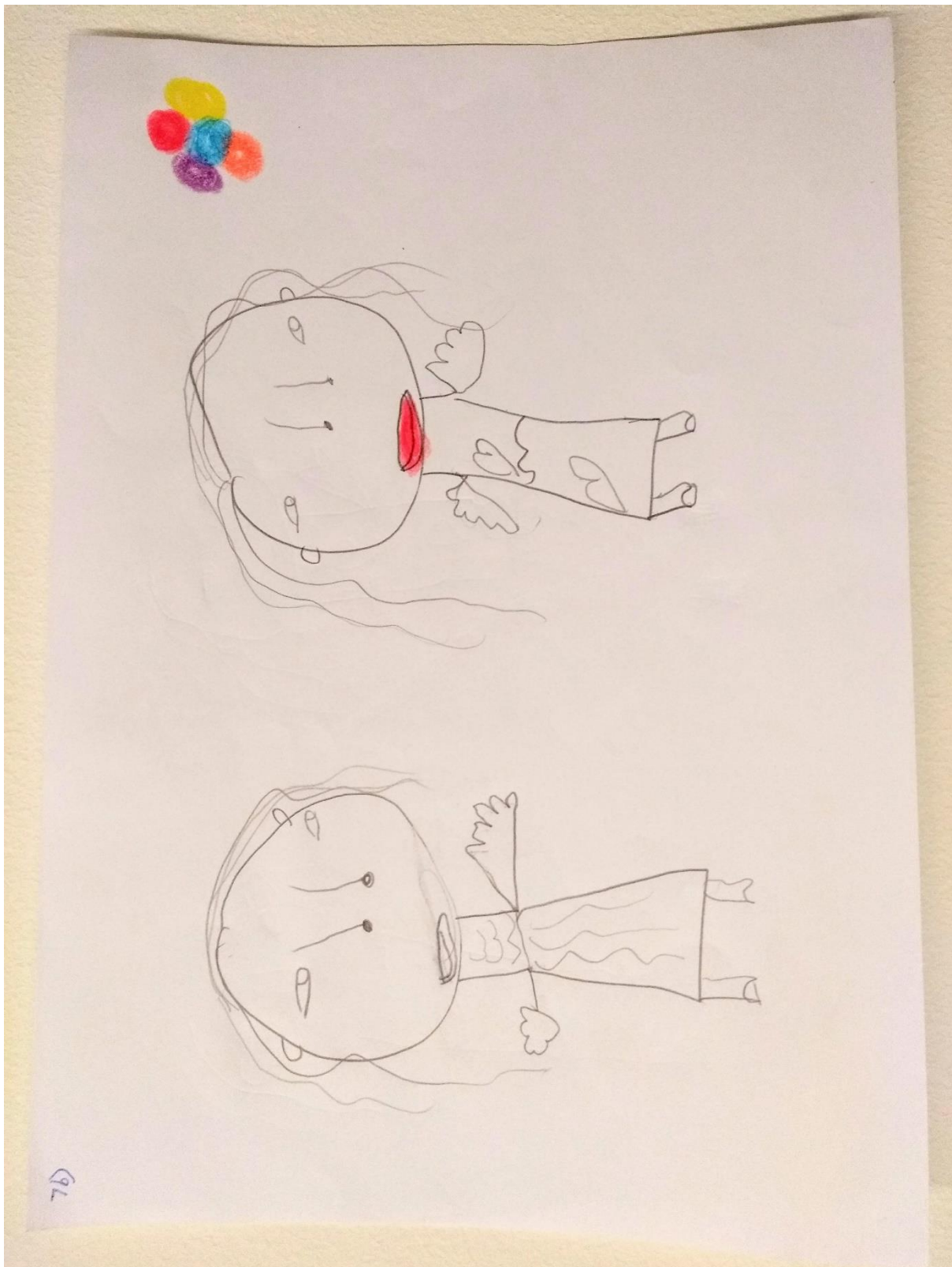
Appendix S-4a

Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-4b
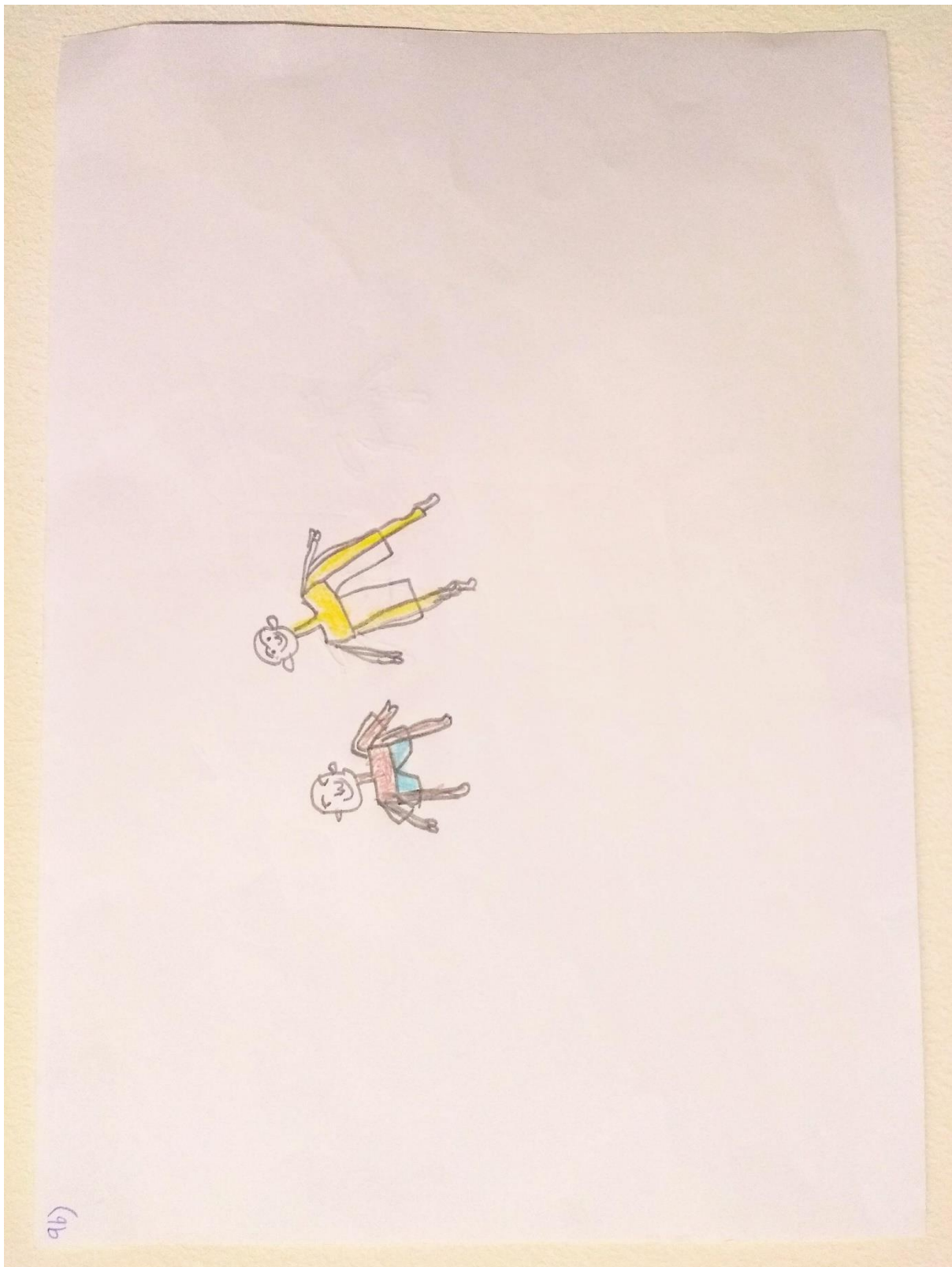
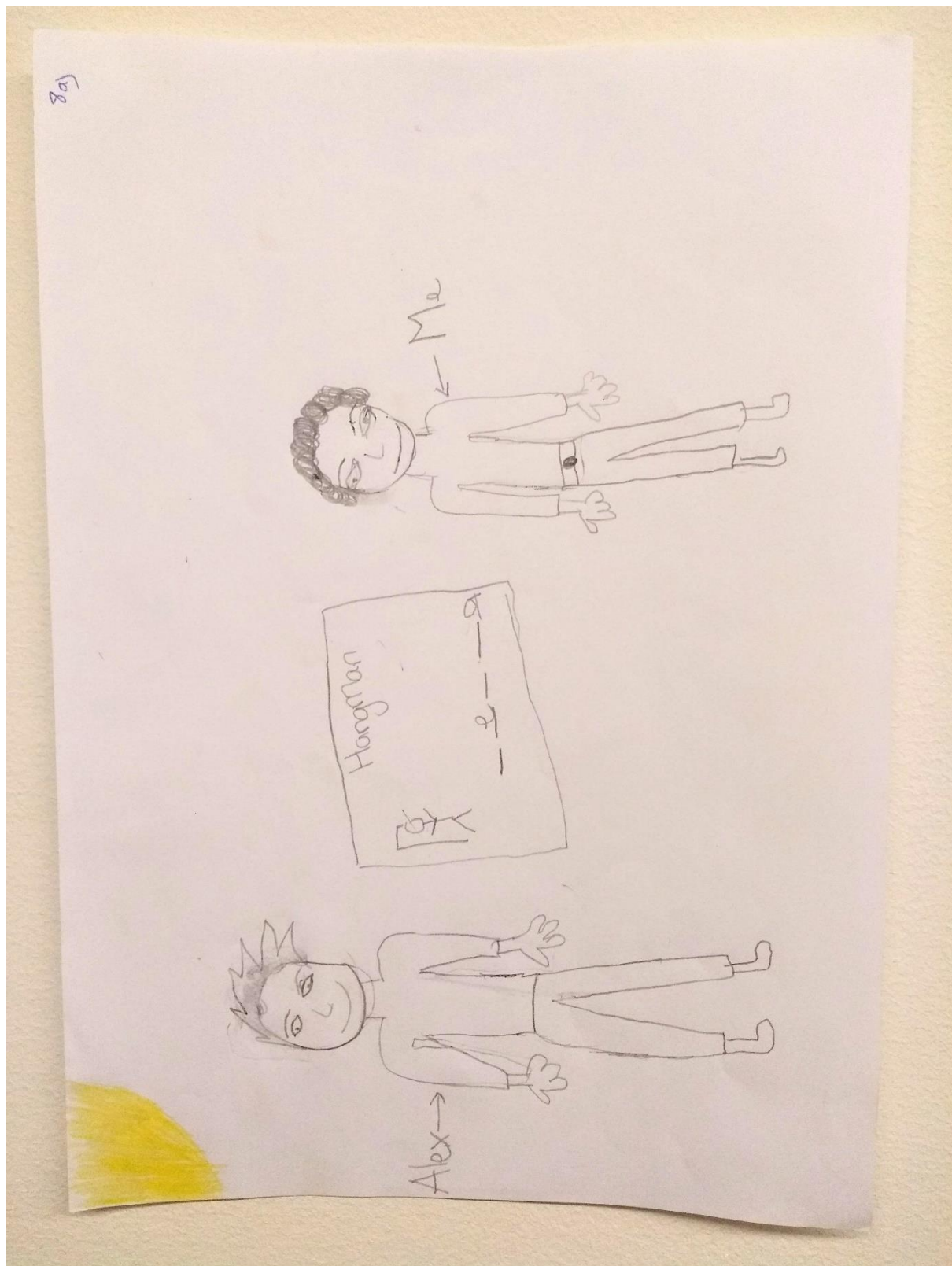Participant on the left and 'mother' on the right

Appendix S-5a
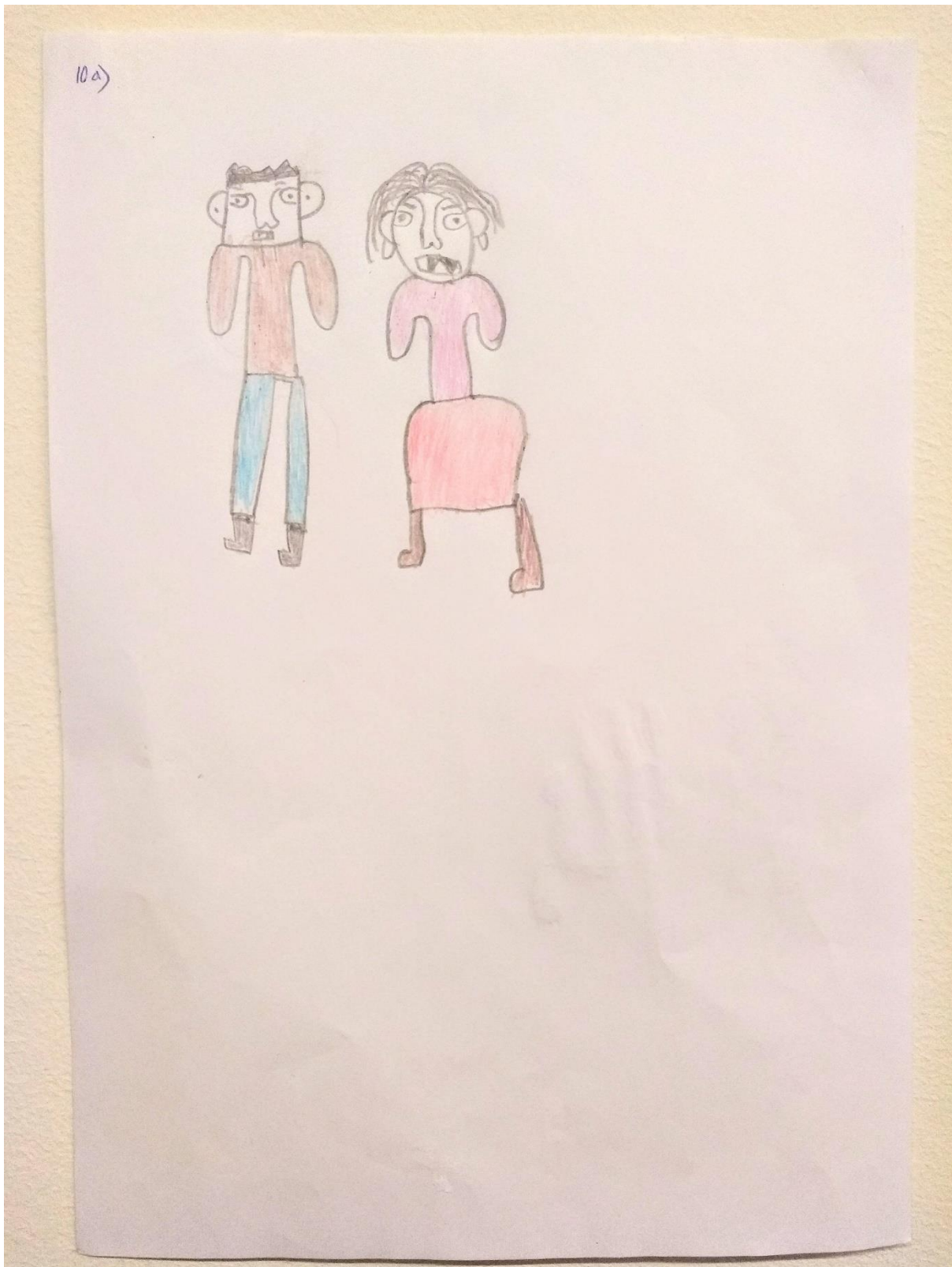
Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-5b
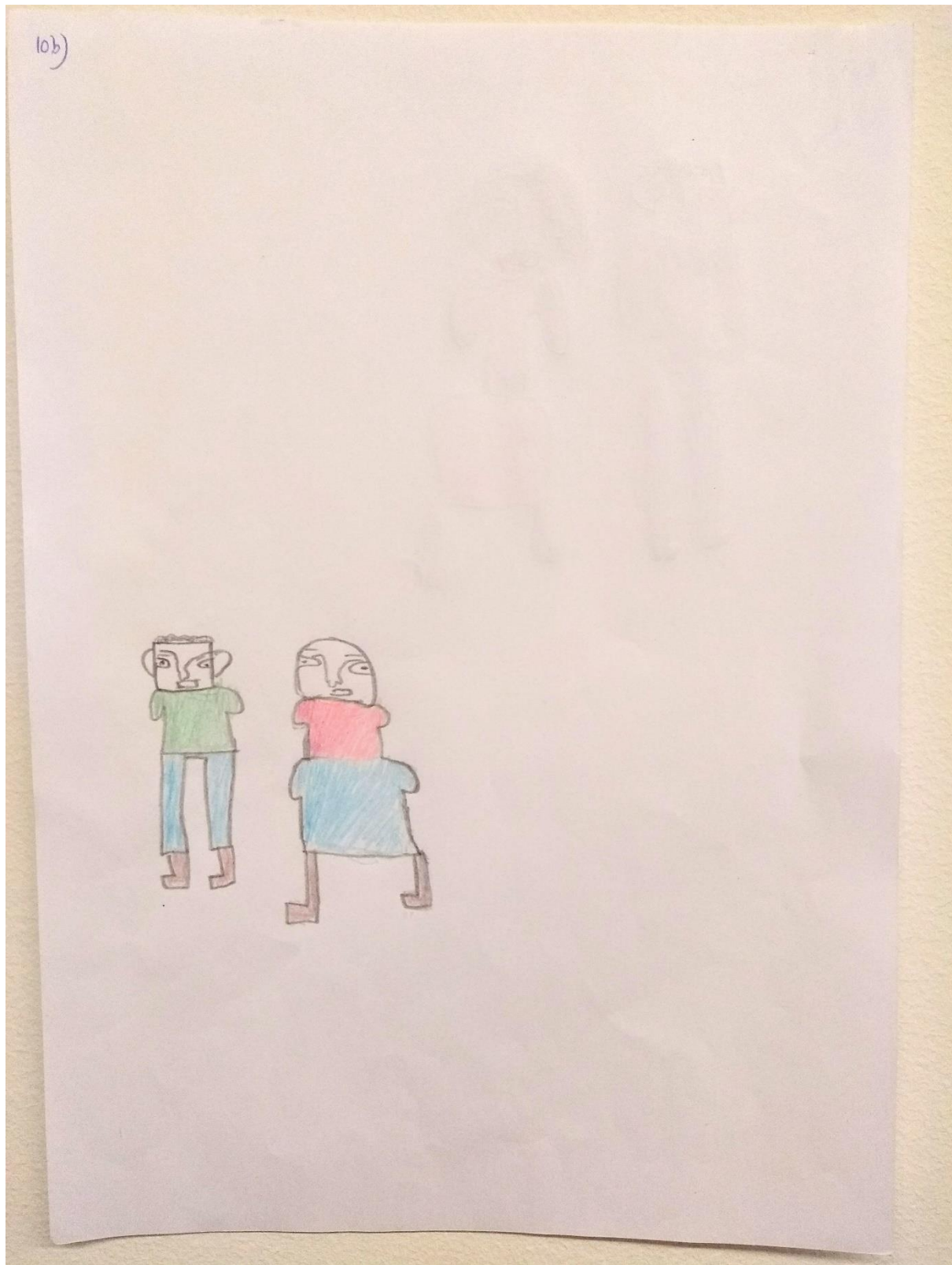
Participant on the left and 'mother' on the right

Appendix S-6a

Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-6b
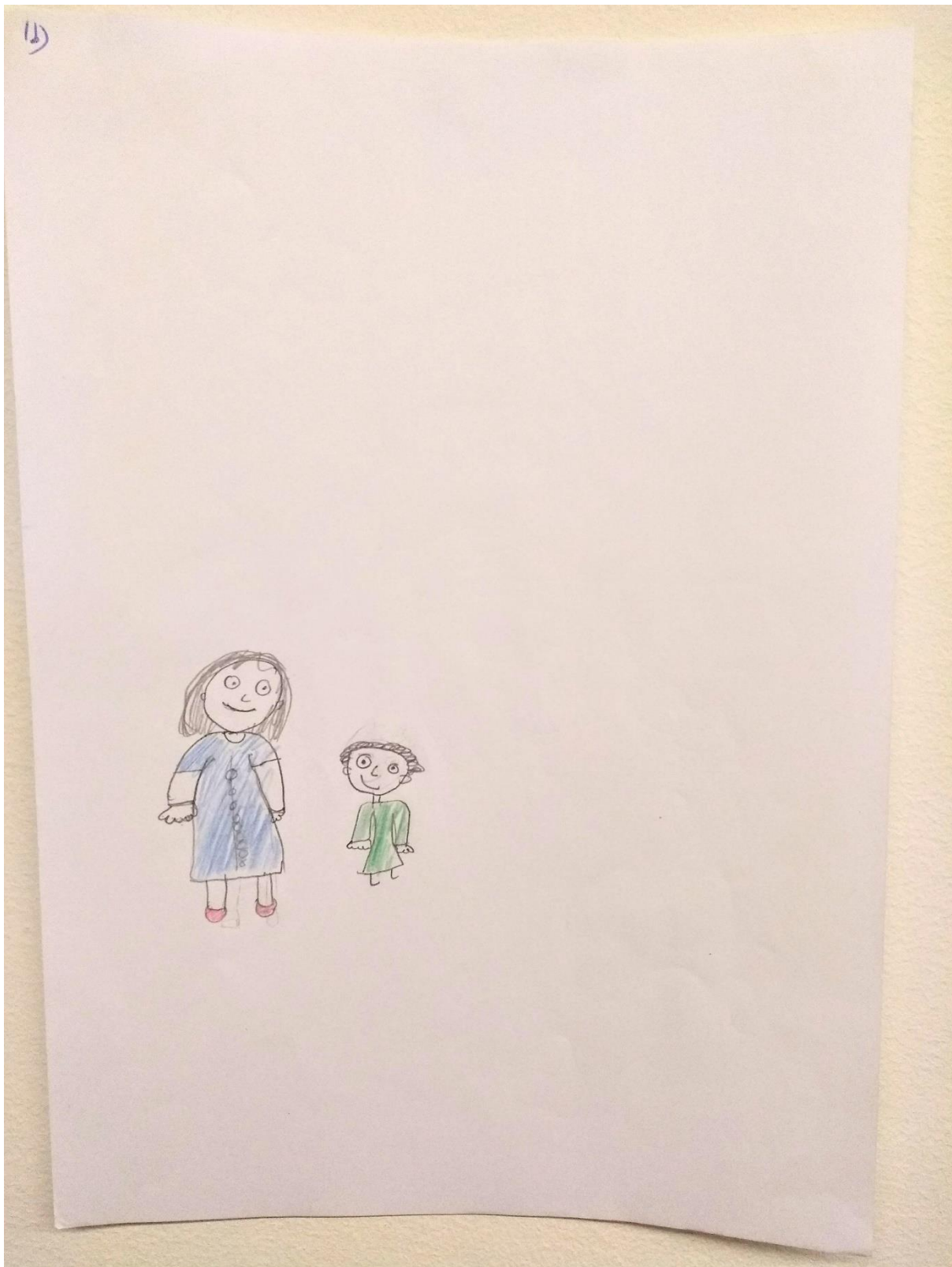
'Mother' on the left and participant on the right

Appendix S-7a
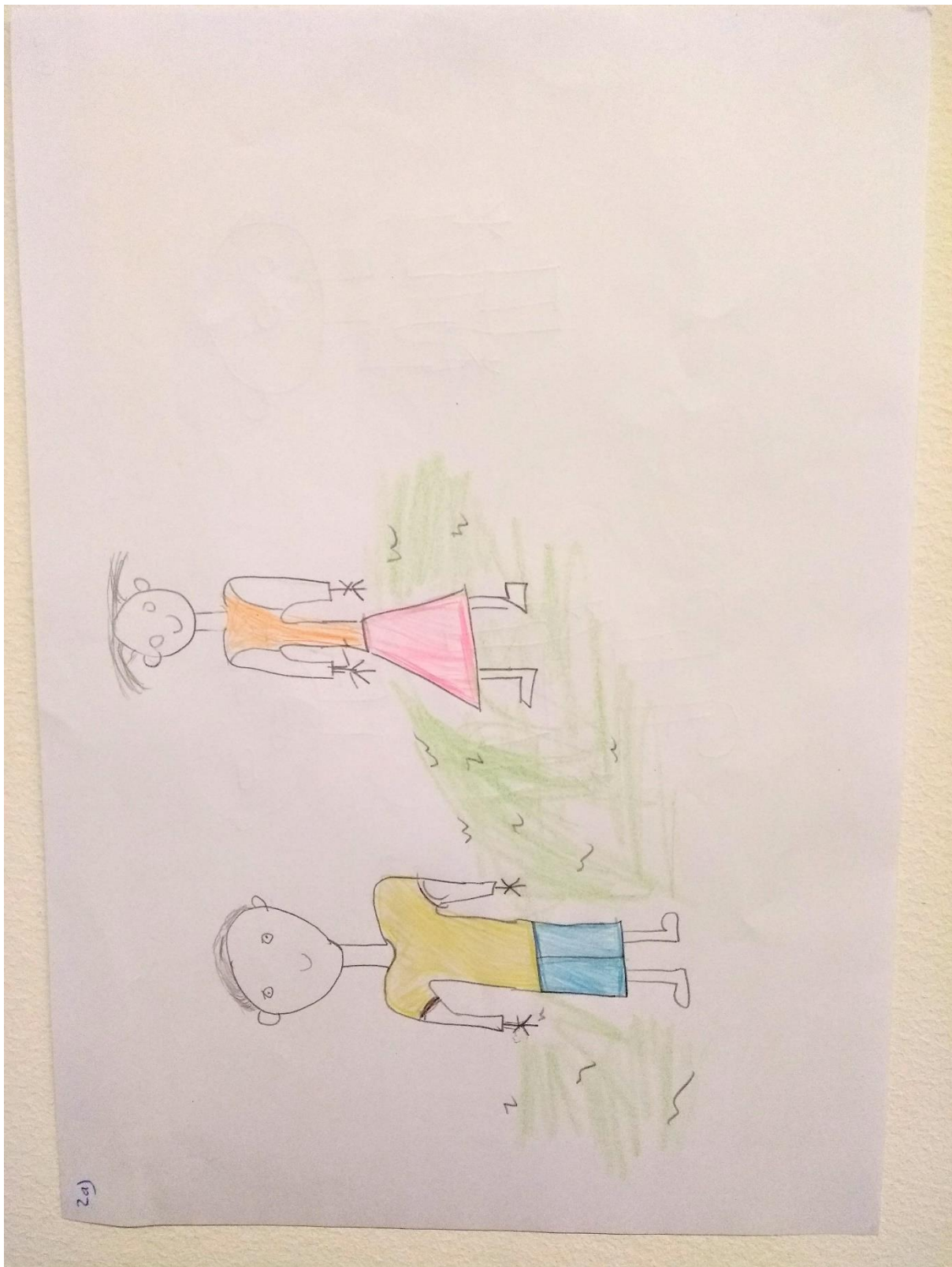
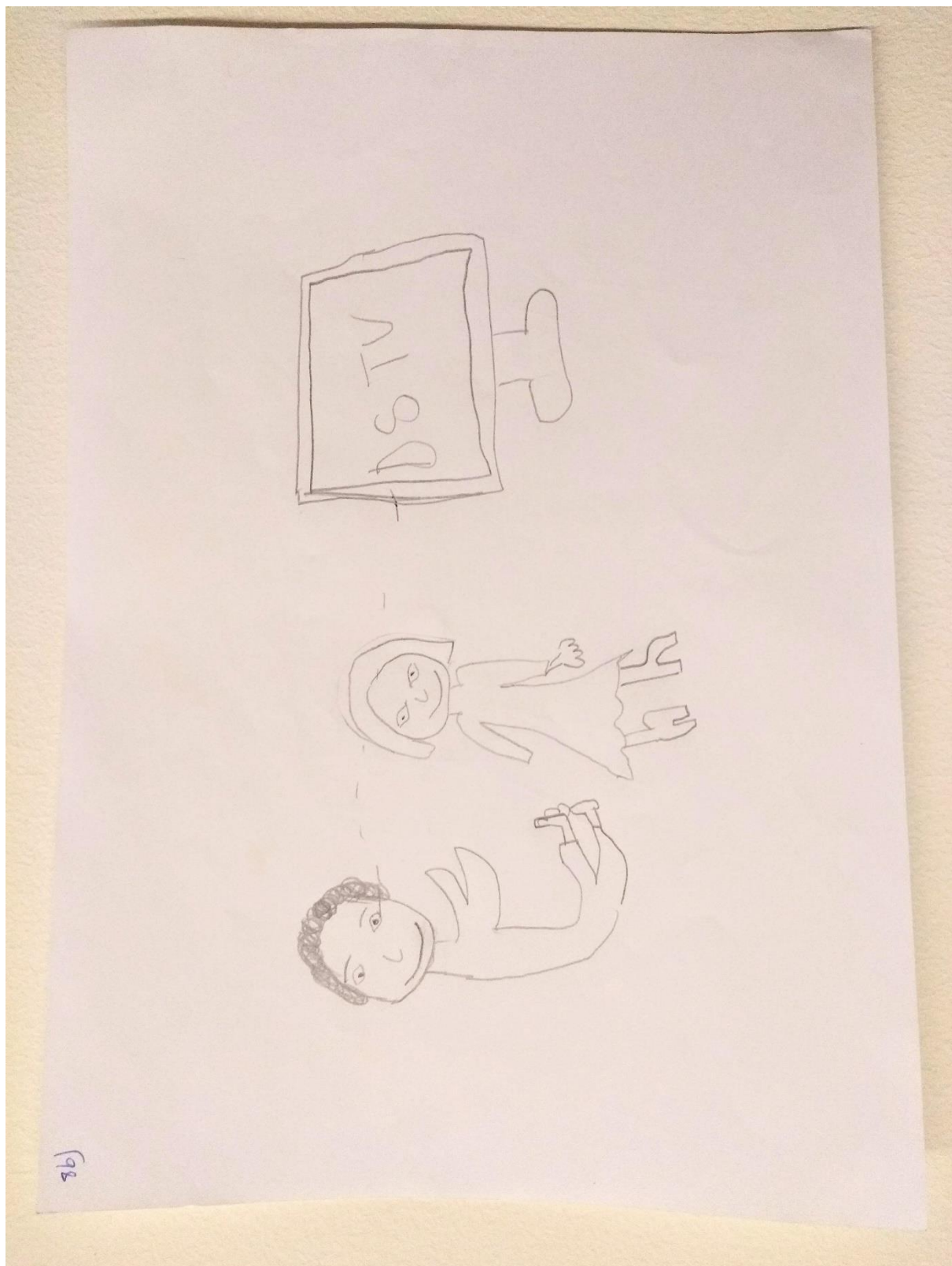Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-7b
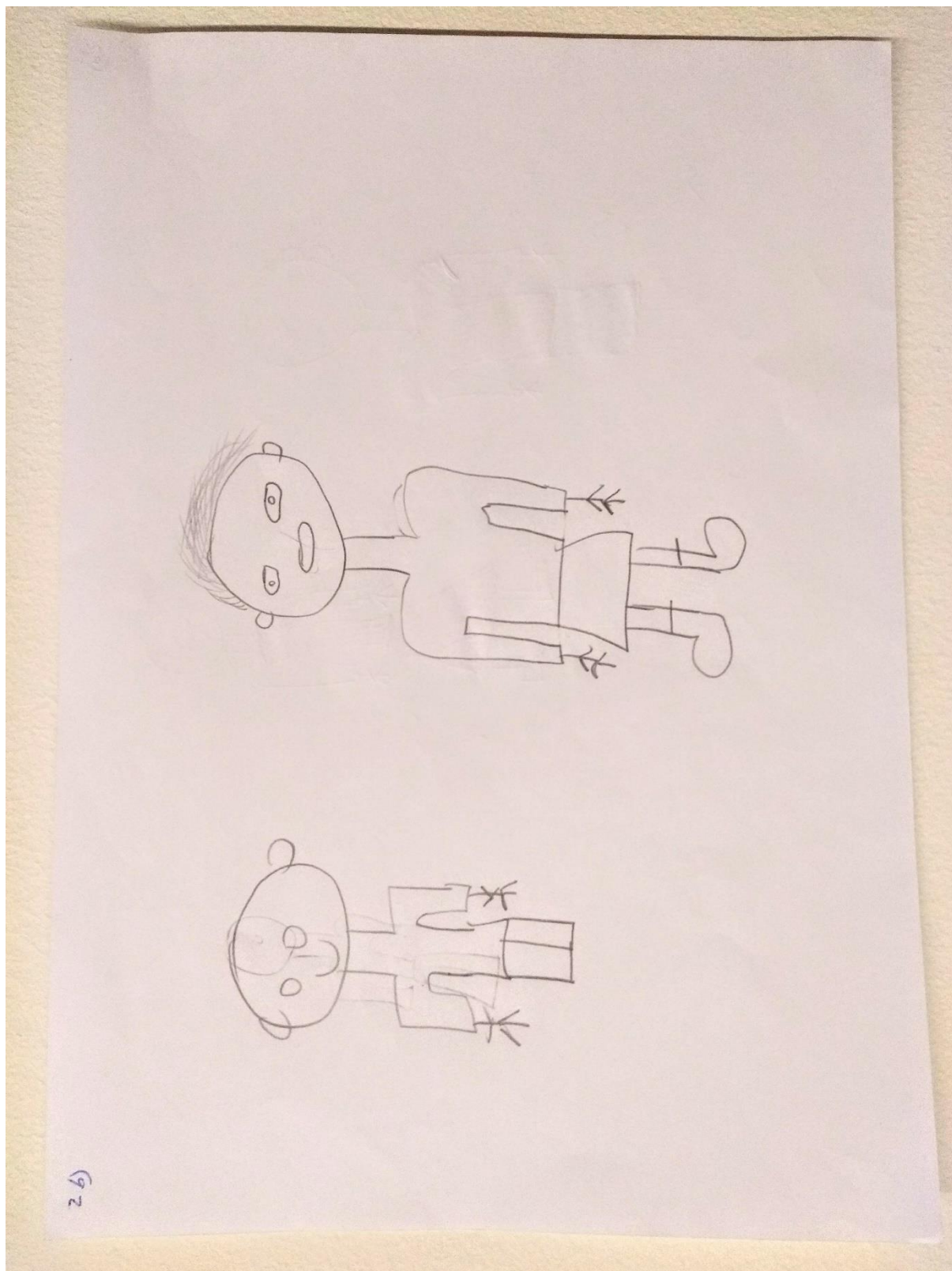
Participant on the left and 'mother' on the right

Appendix S-8a
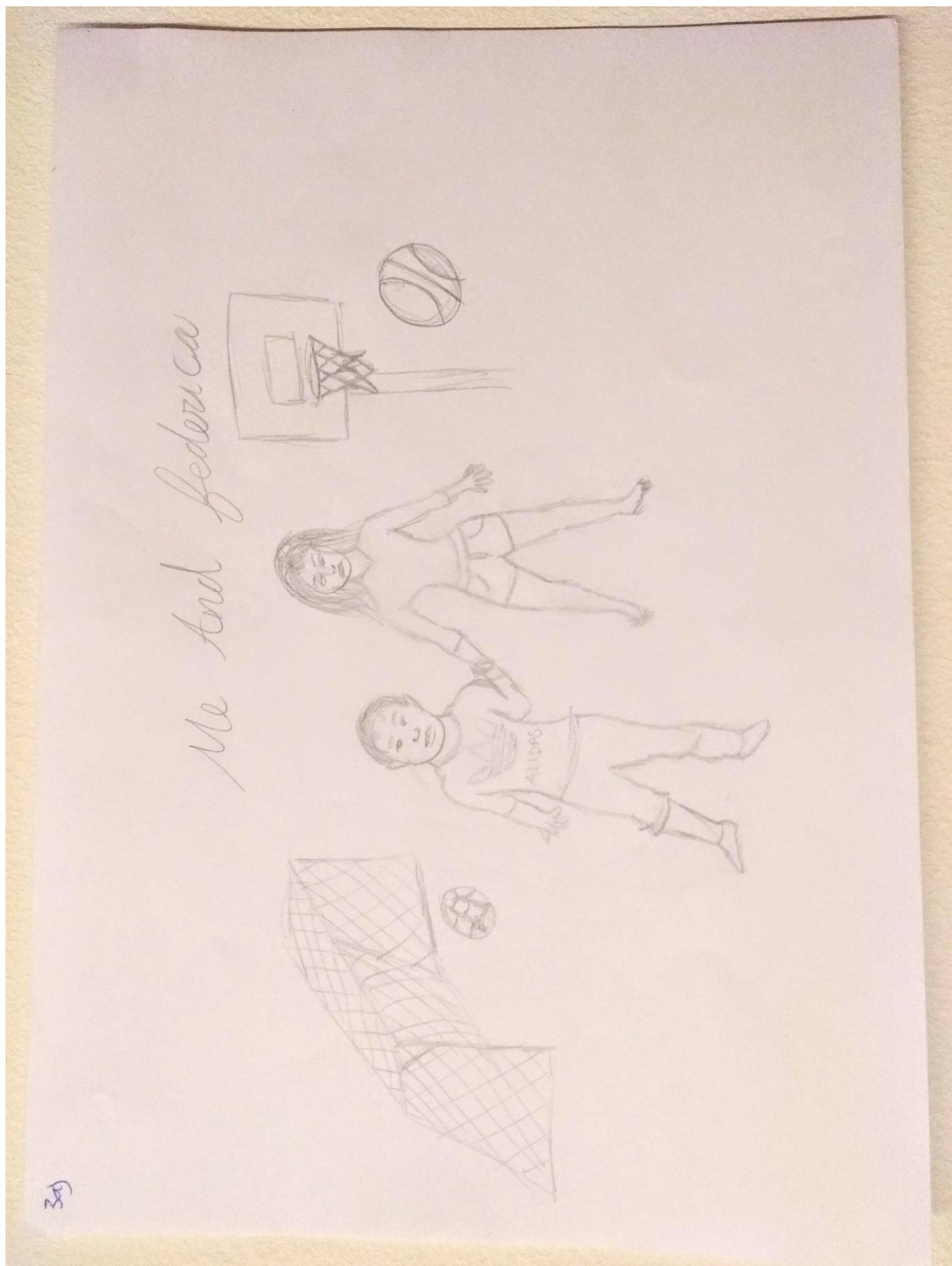
Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-8b
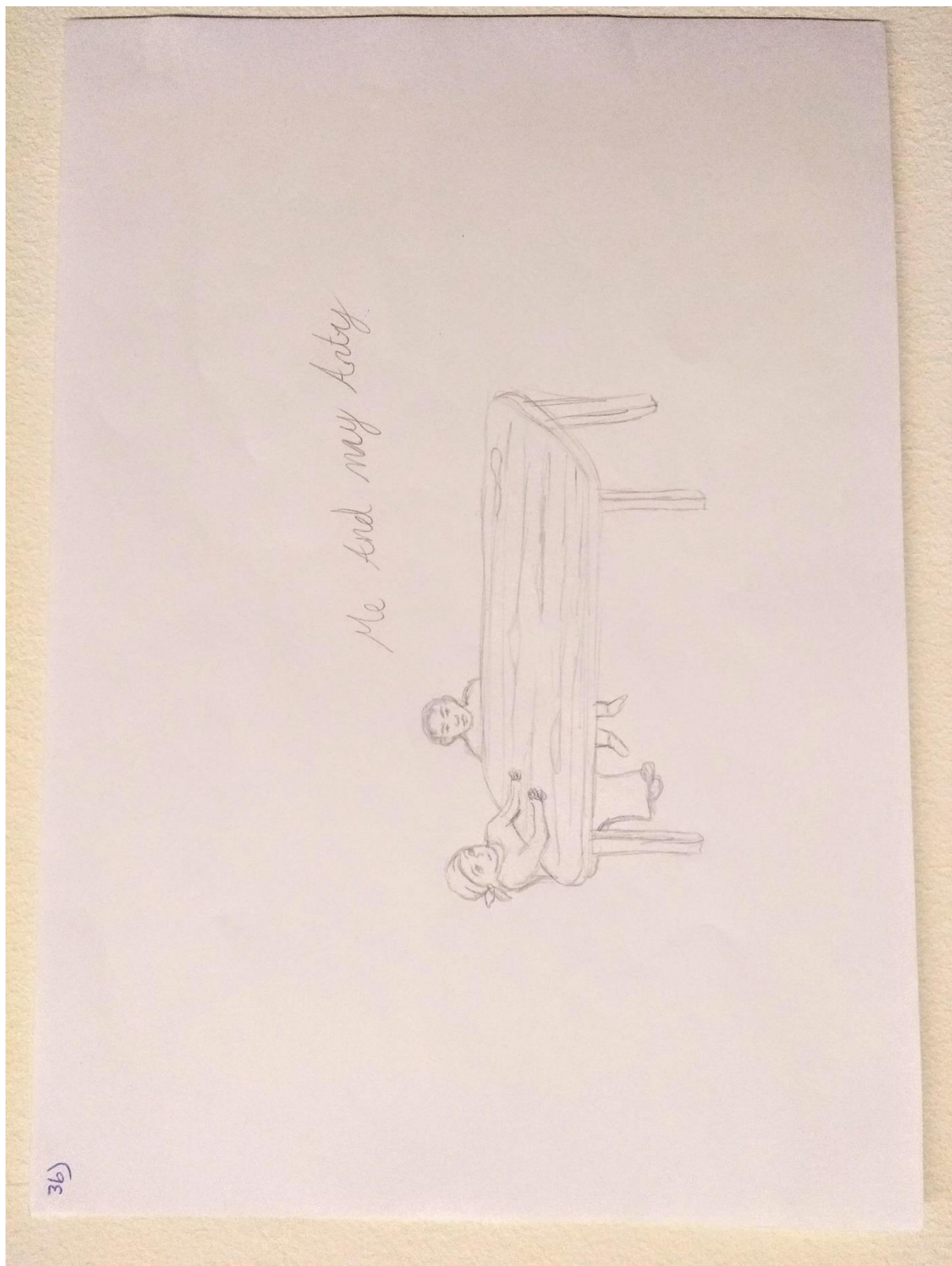
'Aunty' on the left and participant on the right

Appendix S-9a
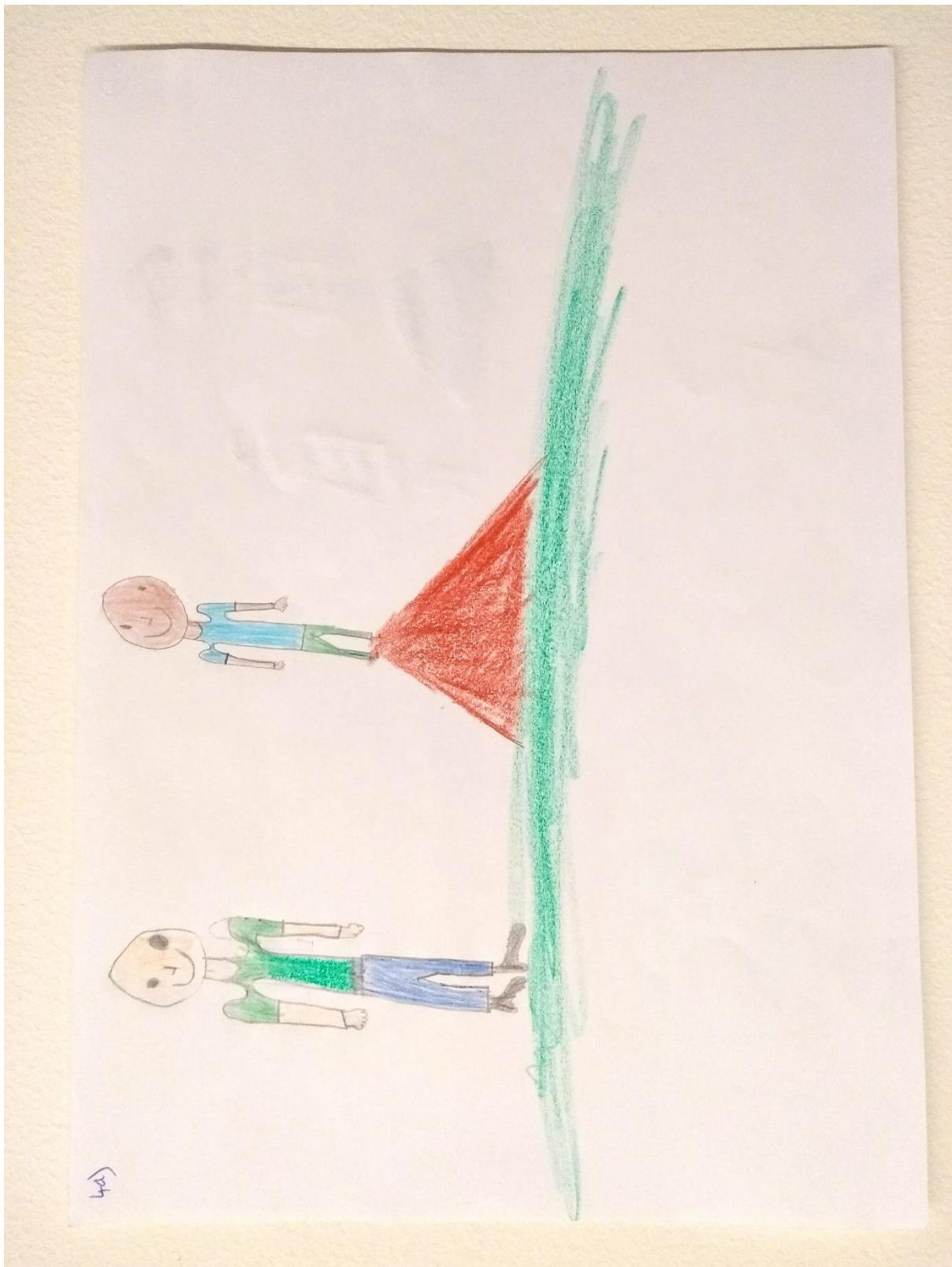
International volunteer on the left and participant on the right

Appendix S-9b
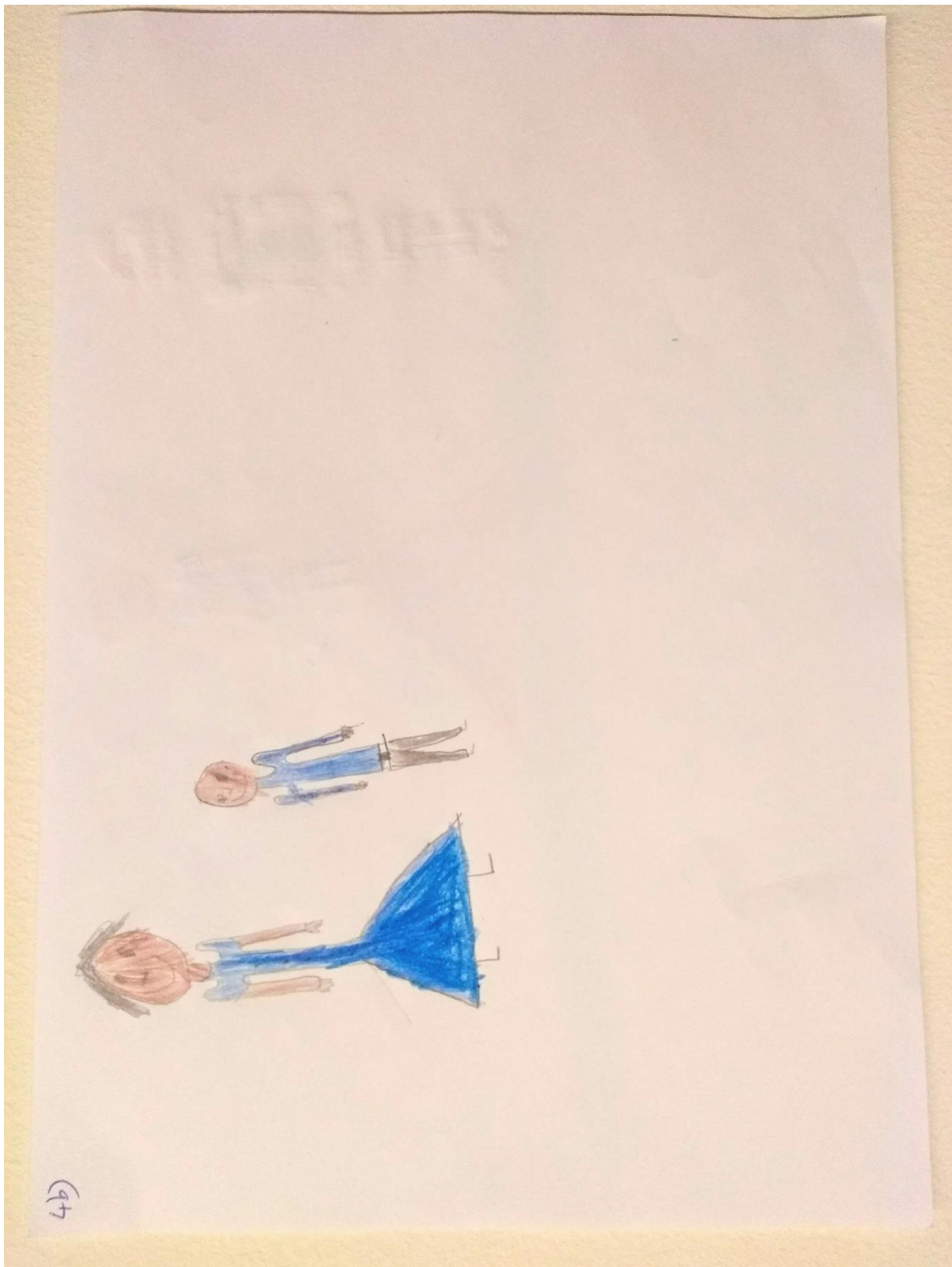
'Mother' on the left and participant on the right

Appendix S-10a
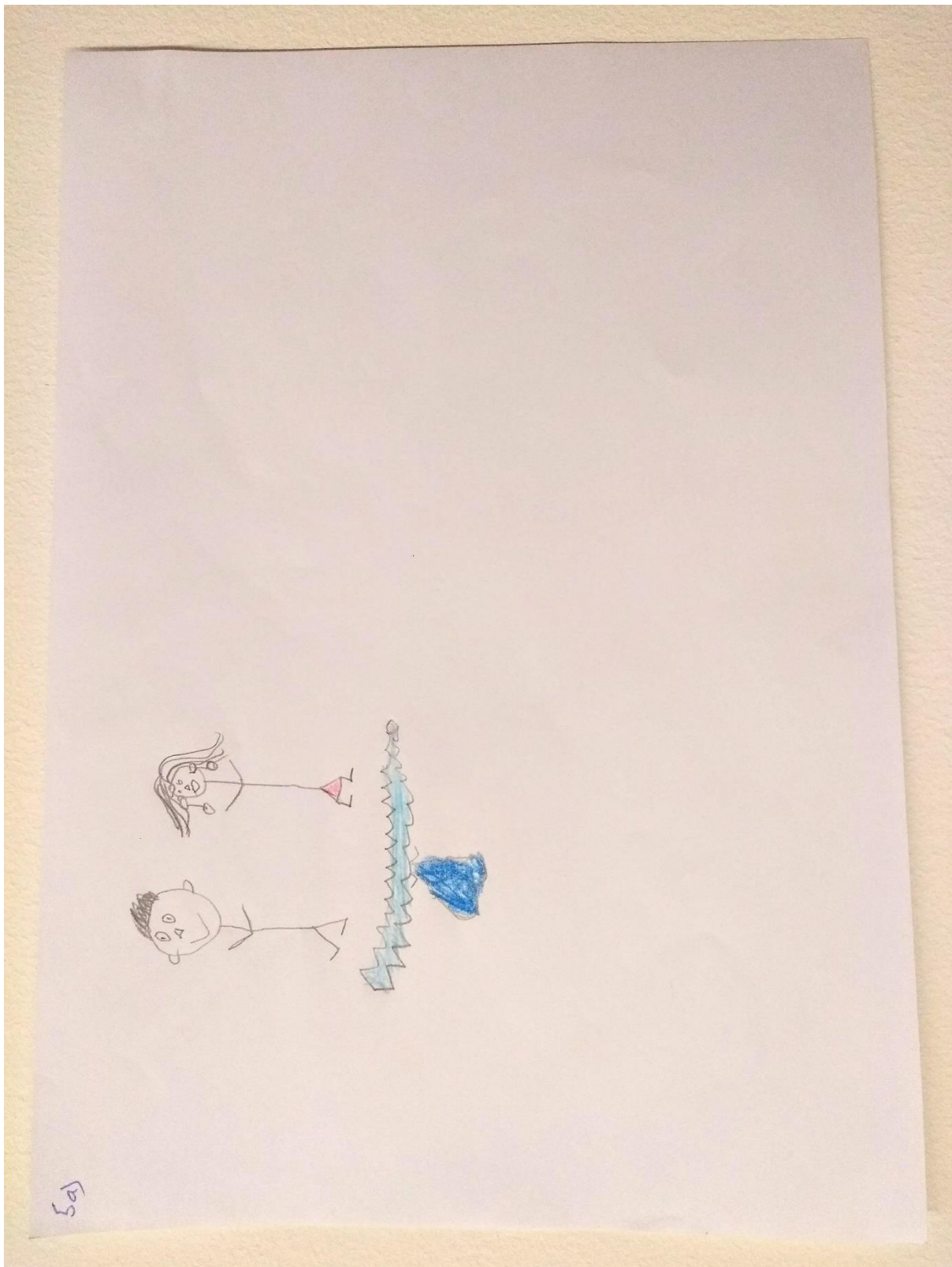
Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-10b
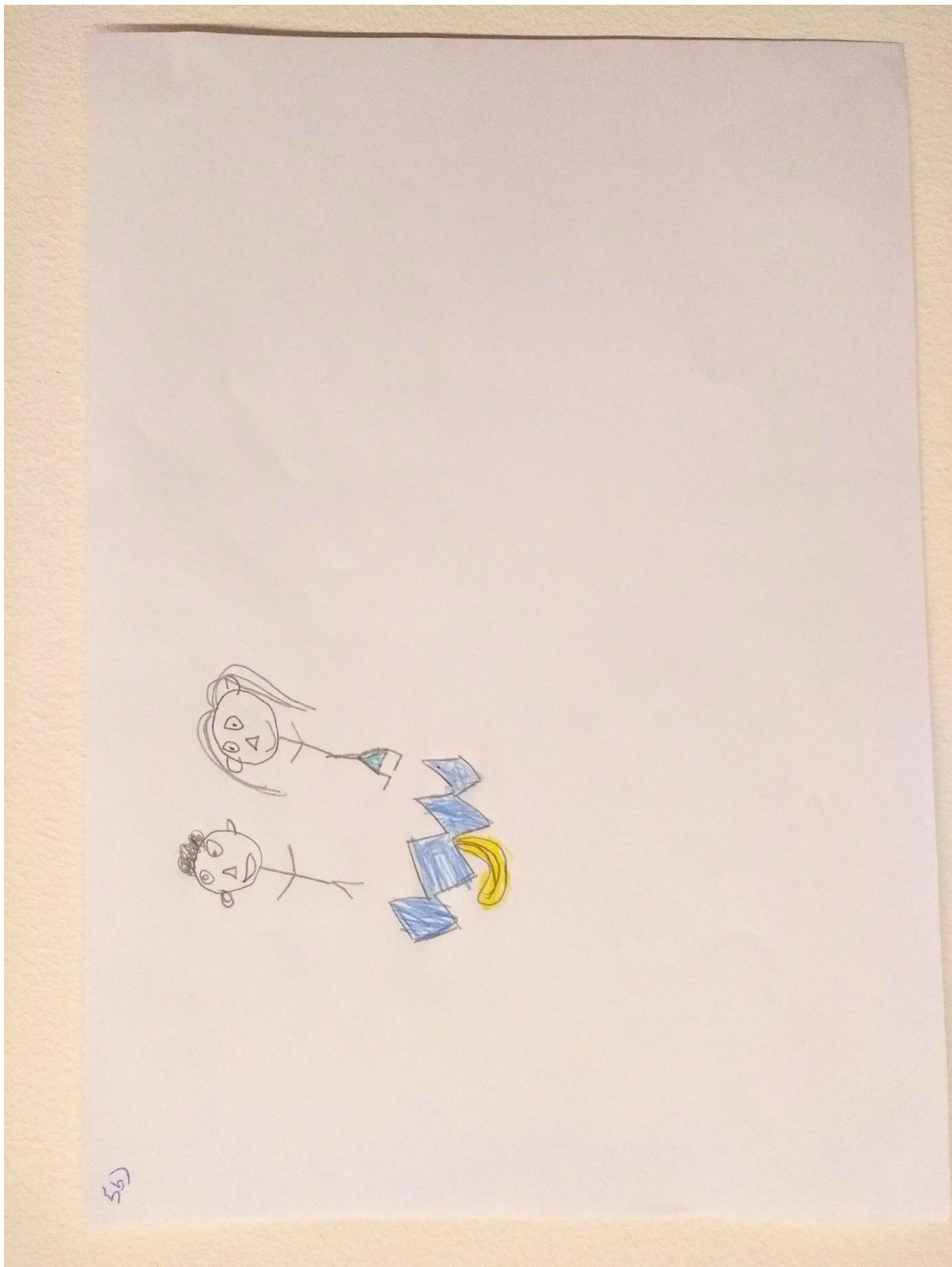
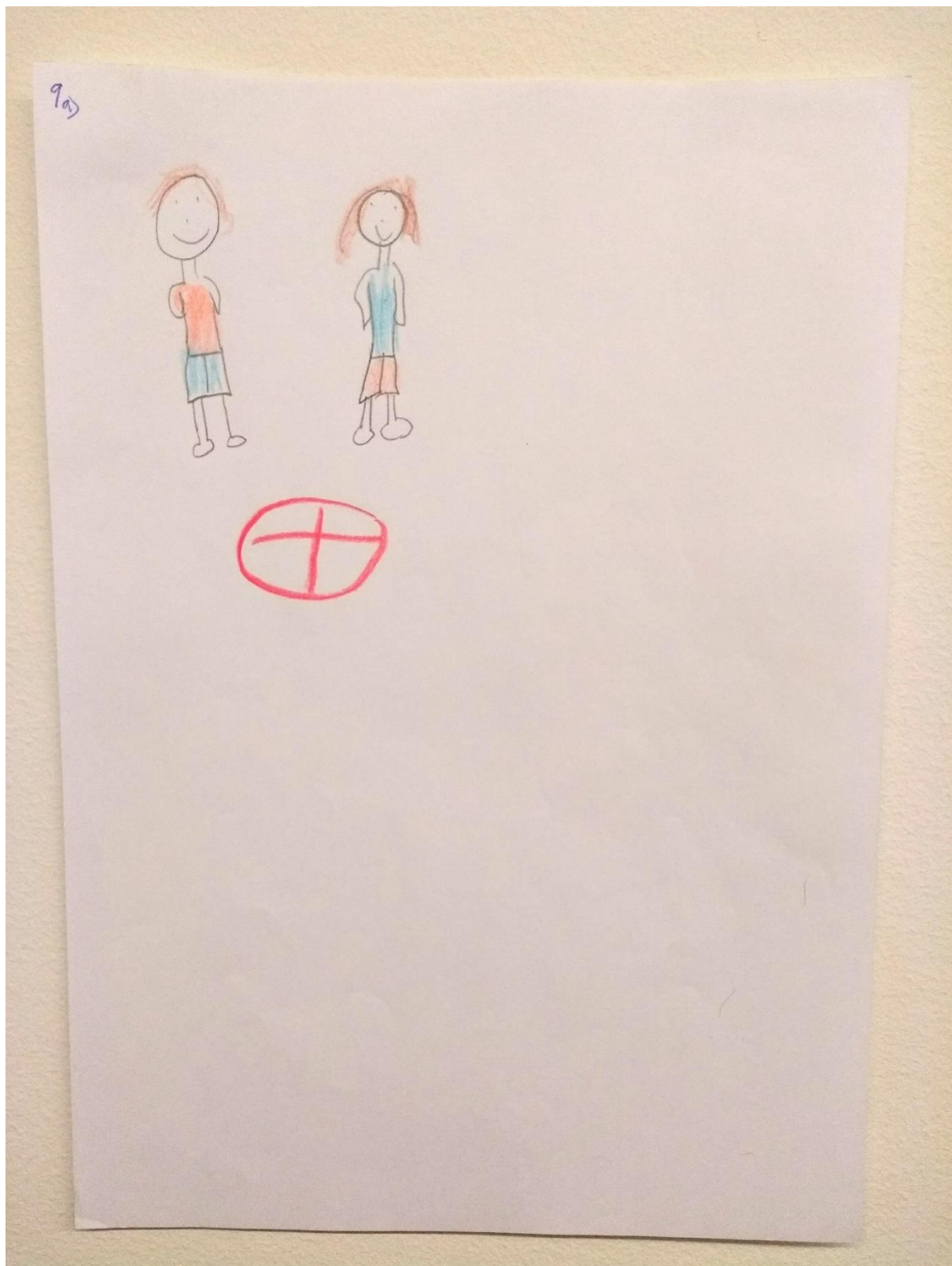Participant on the left and 'mother' on the right

Appendix S-11
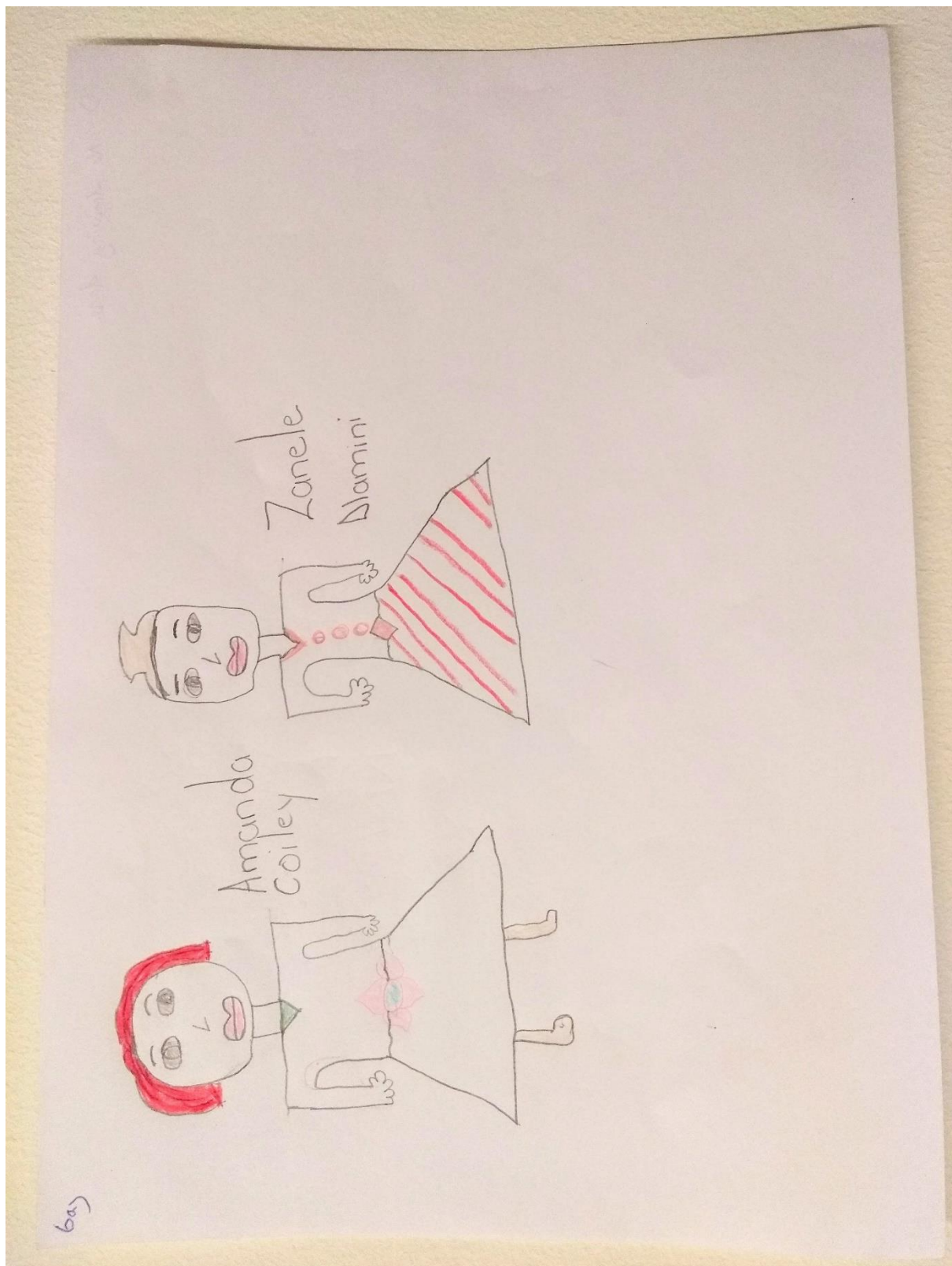
International volunteer on the left and participant on the right

Appendix S-12a

Participant on the left and international volunteer on the right

Appendix S-12b

Participant is on the left and 'Aunty' is on the right

Appendix S-13a

International volunteer is on the left and participant is on the right
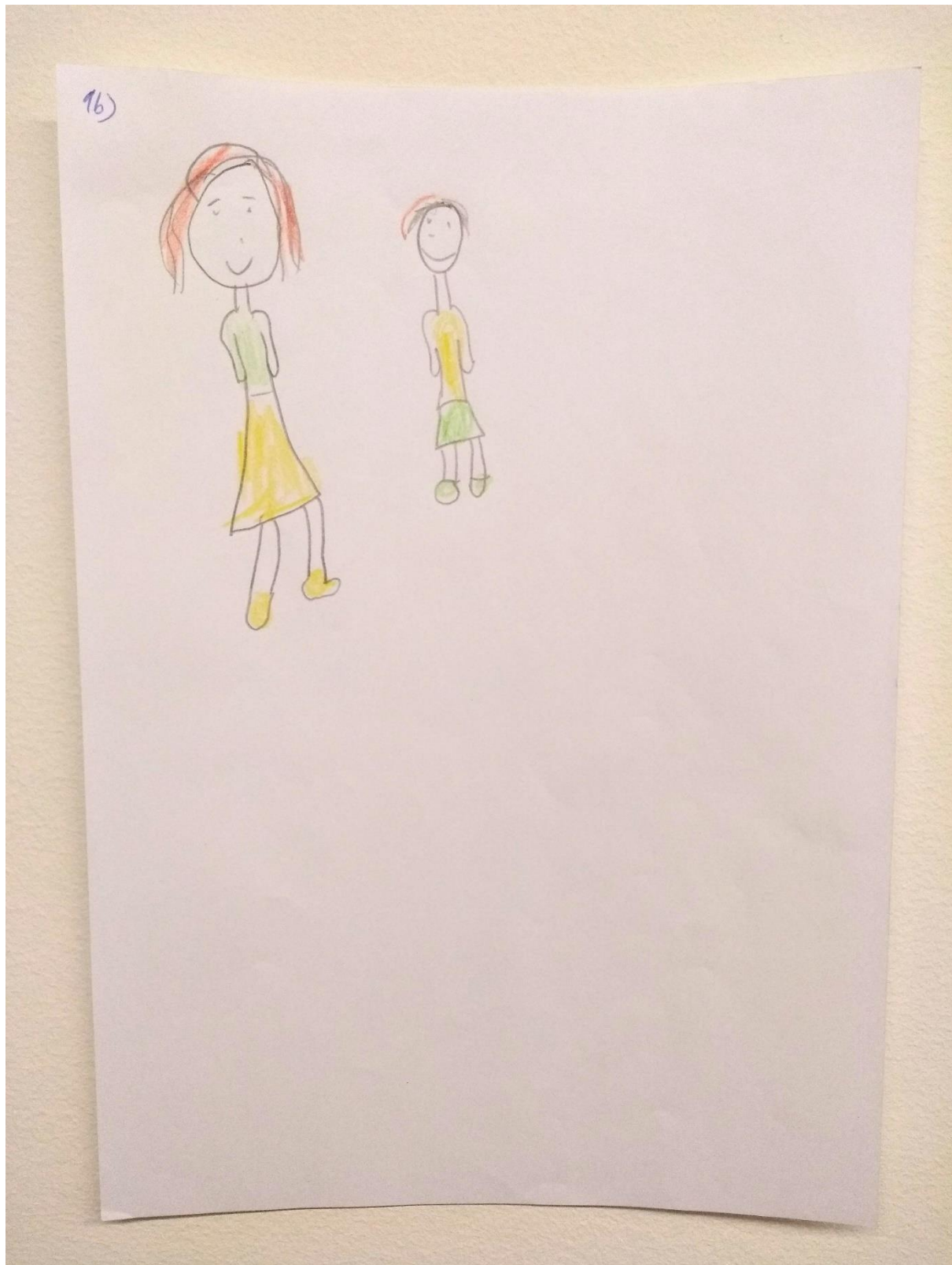
Appendix S-13b

Participant is on the left and 'Aunty' is on the right

Appendix S-14a

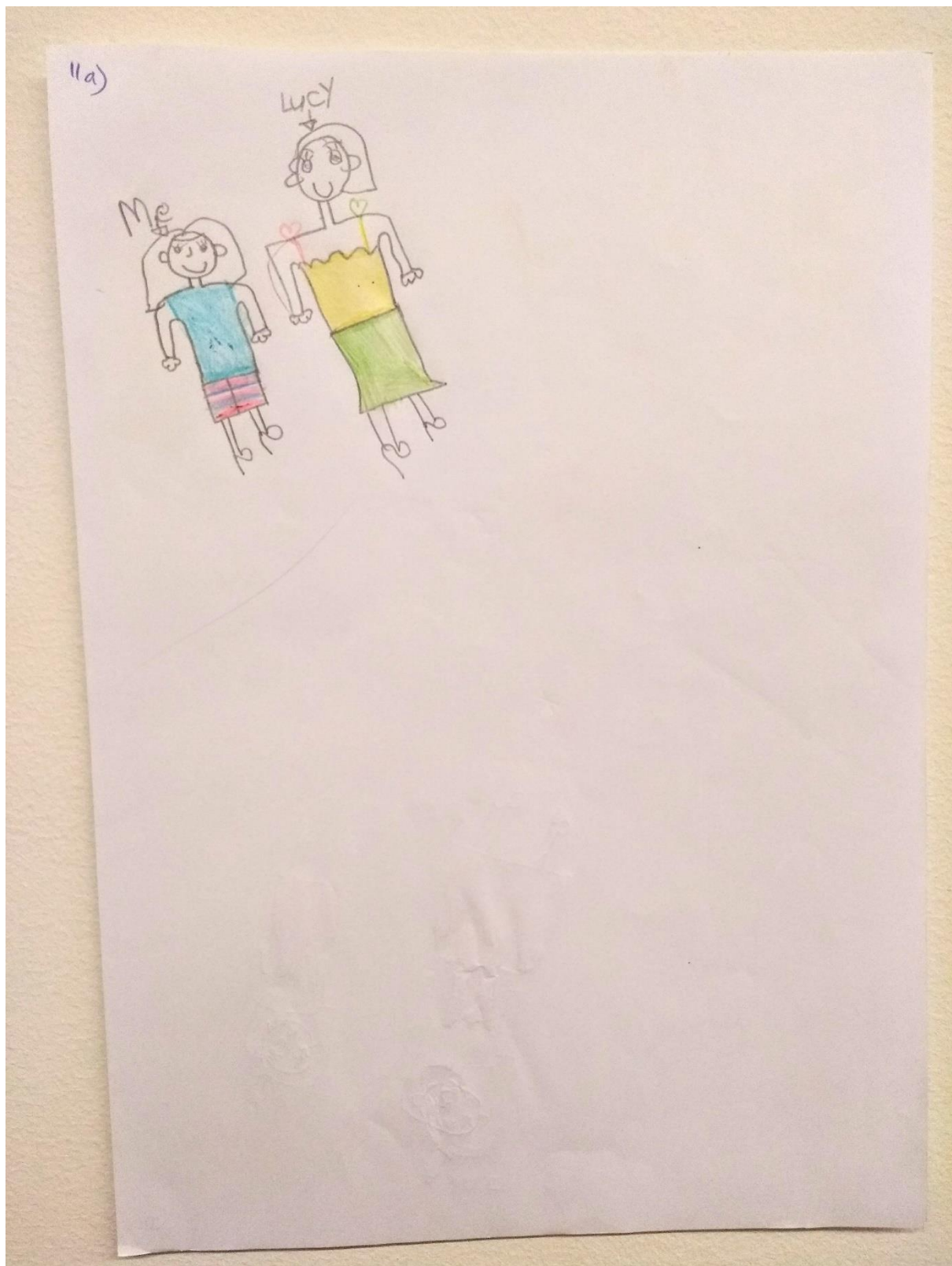International volunteer is on the left and participant is on the right

Appendix S-14b

'Mother' is on the left and participant is on the right
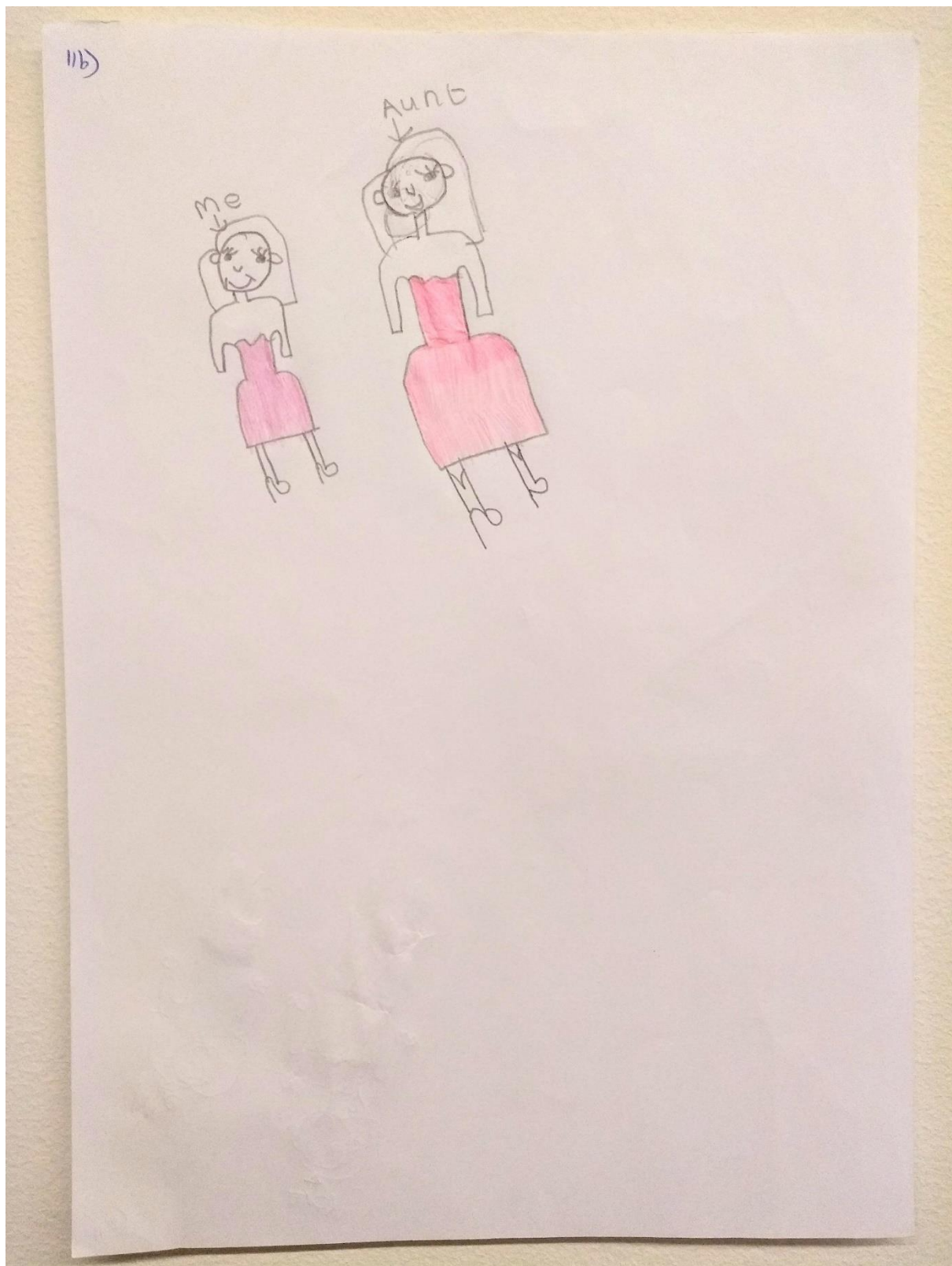
Appendix S-15

International volunteer is on the left and participant is on the right

Appendix S-16a

Participant is on the left and international volunteer is on the right

Appendix S-16b

Participant is on the left and 'Aunty' is on the right

Appendix S-17a

International volunteer is on the left and participant is on the right

Appendix S-17b

Participant is on the left and 'Aunty' is on the right