THE INFLUENCE OF VOLUNTEER TOURISM IN DECISION MAKING AND DAILY FUNCTIONING OF CHILD AND YOUTH CARE CENTRES IN PORT SHEPSTONE, KZN

By

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ABSTRACT

Volunteer tourism is the fastest growing segment of tourism in South Africa. It mainly comprises of travellers from first world countries seeking to do voluntary work in destination countries as part of their experience. Volunteering at child and youth care centres (CYCCs) where children are placed is a popular form of volunteer tourism. This study concerned itself with the power relations between volunteer tourists and the workers at CYCCs who must protect the rights and interests of children whilst negotiating the expectations of volunteers who are seen as benefactors. A qualitative research was conducted by means of in-depth interviews and group discussions with participants selected through purposive sampling. Findings confirmed that CYCCs are governed through governance practices, where their programmes and decisions are significantly influenced by volunteer tourists and their interests. Permanent workers' ability to protect the interests of children in their care is undermined by the presence of volunteers who must be treated with deference and given preference in decisions taken by management. As such, the contributions made by visitors at CYCCs rob locals of their agency in running their institutions for best outcomes for their children and creates dependency on outsiders thus perpetuating volunteer tourism in CYCCs. The study concludes that volunteer tourism practices at CYCCs erode the authority of workers and their ability to protect the children in their care. The study recommends that decision-making authority must be reserved only for permanent staff and none given to volunteer tourists and that rules governing the centres must be standardised across the CYCC sector; and all staff empowered to implement the rules. It is also recommended that government strengthen legislation to eliminate volunteer tourism at CYCCs and for the centres to open themselves up to collaboration with local communities where they require additional capacity.

DECLARATION

The Registrar Academic

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I, **Ayanda Phumla Tshazi** (Student number **991238675**), declare that the thesis titled: **The influence of volunteer tourism in decision making and daily functioning of Child and Youth Care Centres in Port Shepstone, KZN: an exploration of how tourist interests and children's interests are navigated at the centres** is my original research.

1) This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university
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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my children, who are all our children. We are all each other's responsibility in the African village. Therefore, may you never be orphaned, may you always find your village. You belong. You are worthy.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CYCC	Child and Youth Care Centres
DSD	Department of Social Development
GCF	Give a Child a Family CYCC
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPO	Non-profit organization
USA	United States of America

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Volunteer tourism is a sector within the tourism industry specialising in volunteer programmes for tourists as part of their tourism experience in destination countries. Volunteer tourism is a growing phenomenon in South Africa whereby visitors from first world countries volunteer in local non-governmental organizations with the view to offer their skills and financial resources in order to contribute to the NGOs and local communities in exchange for a 'rich and authentic tourism experience'. NGOs taking care of orphans and vulnerable children also participate in volunteer tourism activities in order to benefit from the resources on offer (Witepski, 2016). Concerns have been raised from within the tourism sector that some volunteer tourism practices may expose vulnerable children to exploitation.

Children's right to protection from exploitation is enshrined in the Constitution and is an obligation that government shares with South African society. As a generally accepted and shared responsibility, the protection of children requires all stakeholders; policymakers, NGOs and tourism industry players to ensure that the interests of children take precedence in all engagements involving the child, including their interface with volunteer tourists (Leatt, Rosa & Hall; 2005).

Tourism industry players led by Fairtrade have spearheaded the introduction of a code of conduct for participants in the volunteer tourism sector, with specific stipulations relating to children (Witepski, 2016). This study seeks to investigate the interface between volunteer tourism and NGOs offering residential care to vulnerable children; specifically, the power relations between workers at the NGOs and volunteer tourists, and how workers can be empowered to maintain authority in these interactions for the protection of the rights and interests of children in their care.

NGOs offering residential care to children in South Africa are officially referred to as child and youth care centres or CYCC for short. A CYCC is defined in the children's act as "a facility for the provision of residential care to more than six children outside of the family environment". On the ground, CYCC are also called "children's homes", "shelters" and "places of safety" (Jamieson, 2014).

Child and youth care centres differ from other facilities that may keep children in their care such as juvenile centres that rehabilitate children in contravention of the law, or

boarding facilities that keep children in the school environment during term. Child and youth care centres keep children in their care who are removed from their home environment for reasons of safety from abuse, neglect, maltreatment and abandonment; or who require special care for chronic illness or disability that their family cannot cope with (Jamieson, 2014). Orphaned children who cannot be placed with extended family are also accommodated at the CYCC. The centres must provide therapeutic services and development programmes for children in their care, including special facilities for children with disabilities and special needs. They also offer education programmes, including ensuring that the children continue with their schooling. In addition, the centres must monitor progress of each child, and continuously explore the possibility of reunifying the child with their family or finding alternative permanent placement for the child such as foster care (Jamieson, 2014).

The child and youth care centres are supposed to be a temporary arrangement for the accommodation of children in need. A South African court orders placement at a centre for a maximum of 2 years, with periodic review for reintegration to the family unit. Reunification of child with family is of paramount priority and must happen as soon as possible. Reunification can take place between the child and their family, extended family or through foster care; which is long-term or permanent placement with an unrelated family (Jamieson, 2014). The prioritization of reunification effectively means that CYCC are working towards their own eventual elimination, where in the ideal state all the children in their care would be placed back into family or foster care on a permanent basis. This priority contradicts the tourism interest that there should always be children at a child and youth care centre for volunteers to work with in order to fulfil a complete volunteer tourist experience.

Cambodia has in recent years experienced a significant increase in tourism interest and international donations to places offering residential care to orphaned and vulnerable children. This interest and financial assistance are directly linked to the substantial increase in the number of places offering residential care to children (Rosquist and Mancama, 2013). The influence of tourism and international funding to the Cambodian child residential care "industry" raises questions regarding the purpose of these establishments, their service priorities as well as the quality of care they provide to children in their care. These developments also raise questions regarding

the government and society of Cambodia in relation to their sense of responsibility towards their child population.

In South Africa children's rights are enshrined in the constitution, with section 38 of the Bill of Rights dealing specifically with social services for children.   A child in South Africa has the right to education, health services, care, clothing and shelter. Where the child's family is unable to provide for their needs (or rights), the state is obliged to provide them (Leatt, Rosa & Hall; 2005). The child and youth care centres are a vehicle through which the state provides directly for a child removed from the family environment, and whose family is not able to provide for them. 90% of child and youth care centres in the country are run by non-profit organizations (NPO) who get the bulk of their funding from the government (Jamieson, 2014). Government is obliged to fund these NPOs as they are effectively providing a service on behalf of the state and enabling the state to fulfil its obligation towards children. Government in turn regulates the child and youth care centres to ensure that the rights of children are observed.

In relation to children's services offered at CYCCs, the law is explicit in protecting the child's right to family or parental care, access social services and protection from maltreatment, abuse, neglect and degradation. The child is also protected from exploitative labour practices and has the right to have his / her best interests considered of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child. Further rights in the CYCC context include the right to participate in decisions impacting them, including processes at the CYCC. Children also have the right to privacy and confidentiality, and also right to information (Jamieson, 2014). It follows from these rights that children at the CYCC must have a say on whether the centre participates in a volunteer tourism programme, and the nature of their own involvement in such a programme. It goes without saying that child participation in a programme must foremost accrue benefit to the child, and volunteer interests be secondary.

Further to the country's constitution, South Africa subscribes to the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990) (ACRWC) which both ensure the child's rights to be protected from sexual and economic exploitation. Regarding child and youth care centres, they define children's right as the right to alternative care and to maintain family contact (UNICEF, 2015). It is emphasised that separation from the parent(s)

should be as temporary as possible, and only to the child's best interests. Again, the state is duty bound to provide physical and psychological recovery, and social reintegration of the child.

The South African government, through Department of Social Development (DSD) funds between 80% - 90% of all the children in the care of the centres. However, these funds are not enough to cover all costs at the centres; and CYCCs have to fundraise for the shortfall. (Jamieson, 2014). In a bid to raise funds for their operations, some centres participate in volunteer tourism programmes. Funds are raised by asking for a hosting fee from the volunteers, and many times, the volunteer tourist provides additional funding through donations in money, groceries, gifts for the children and the like.

Beside the monetary contribution made by volunteers, they also bring with them a willingness to provide much needed assistance and have the education qualifications that many of the staff at the centres could use. According to a local CYCC Rehoboth Children's Village's website, volunteers "bring in a wealth of knowledge, passion, and time to pour into children and into the organization" (Rehoboth, 2017). For another local CYCC, Give a Child a Family (GCF), volunteers "provide individual attention, play, love and hope to children". More importantly, when they leave, volunteers become "goodwill ambassadors for GCF", certified to speak about the centre and assist with raising funds for the organization in their respective home countries (GCF, 2017). So according to the Centres themselves, volunteers are an important resource towards the sustainability of the centres and help bridge the gap left by inadequate funding from government.

How CYCCs benefit from hosting volunteers seems obvious however, hosting volunteer tourists at a cost and using their labour towards the running of the Centre is not the only way in which the centres try to meet the shortfall from government funding. They engage in an array of fundraising programmes including soliciting donations from local businesses and individuals, selling art and craft made by the children from the centres, and hosting fundraising events (Jamieson, 2014). There is a need to interrogate the significance of the contribution made by volunteer tourists in comparison to the other fundraising initiatives, especially considering the risks involved in hosting volunteers in close proximity to vulnerable children.

A major risk that is widely emphasised by the centres themselves is that of putting children who are emotionally vulnerable into close contact with volunteers over short periods of time. Friends International has conducted research about the negative psychological impact to vulnerable children caused by affectionate but short-term contact with volunteers. According to research, vulnerable and traumatized children at the care centres are especially susceptible to emotional disorders (Rasquist, 2013). Accordingly, many centres encourage volunteers to commit to the programme for six months to a year as shorter periods affect children negatively since many of them "struggle to form healthy bonds and attachments to people" (Rehoboth, 2017). Although many centres have short-term programmes to cater for volunteer tourists on short stays, responsible ones structure these to focus on work other than direct care for children, such as maintenance work (Rehoboth, 2017). For those seeking direct contact with children, longer stays are a requirement; and for them, responsible CYCCs provide training to prepare them for working with vulnerable children (http://www.aviva-sa.com/our-projects.php). Offering structured orientation or training for volunteers is important considering many of them come inexperienced and therefore ill prepared for the work and environment they are to engage in.

A typical volunteer tourist is a youth aged between 18 - 24 years and has recently finished high school or college. They come from affluent countries in the North; typically, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Britain and America (Erasmus, 2009). Most are white women, although couples and even families also take time off their holidays to volunteer for short spells (Rehoboth, 2017). Although they have an education, many of the volunteer tourists have little to no professional work experience. Child and youth care centres that advertise vacancies for volunteer tourists often emphasise that the experience or education qualification of the volunteer are not important, but rather that they are able to make a commitment to the programme for a minimum time period, normally starting from three months up to a year - depending on the type of work they would be doing at the centre (Rehoboth, 2017).

Using the Rehoboth Children's Village volunteer programme as a typical example, volunteers have a choice of projects to participate in or apply for depending on the time they can allocate to their visit. A similar approach is used in Cape Town by AVIVA and the TLC Outreach Project who suggest projects based on the amount of time a

tourist can stay. At Rehoboth, "jobs" such as teacher's assistant require a longer-term commitment of between six to twelve months; whilst a general volunteer, whose tasks would include running a school holiday camp and teaching sports can last for 3 months. Shorter term volunteers are also accommodated with fixed term projects that can take a few days to a week; such as gardening, painting and other maintenance projects. Give a Child a Home CYCC only offers longer term programmes for international volunteers. This is because international volunteers are mainly given the task of providing "individual attention, play, love and hope to the children" (GCF, 2017). It is common practice in Child and Youth Care Centres to restrict intimate interactions with children to workers and volunteers who are committed to a longer stay in the project, in order to provide children with stability and an opportunity to form healthy bonds.

The time and labour of volunteer tourists seem to be the most crucial benefit derived by child and youth care centres out of volunteer tourist programmes. It seems the Centres need the extra hands to contribute to the efficient functioning of the centre much more than they need the tourists' financial donations. A typical financial arrangement between a CYCC and a volunteer is that the centre provides accommodation for volunteers, usually including limited catering services. In 2017, volunteers at Rehoboth Children's Village could stay in a house on the premises at the cost of R1500 per month including breakfast and a self-catering facility. In the same year, AVIVA offered package deals including airport transfers, accommodation, meals and transport to projects for between R4000 - R5000 per week. This cost can sometimes include a donation to the project in which the volunteer tourist volunteers at. In 2017, the TLC Outreach Project partnered with AVIVA to offer volunteers a number of development projects that they could participate in at a cost of R7300 for a minimum of 2 weeks (Aviva, 2017). The package included airport transfers, food and accommodation at the AVIVA house, an orientation programme which introduces the volunteer to the many projects that TLC runs, and transportation into the projects for the duration of the volunteer's stay. Any monies remaining after all costs have been covered are donated to the project the volunteer was involved with. TLC Outreach projects include teaching and sports coaching to young children and teenagers, as well as a "street ministry" which is an outreach programme for people and children living on the street.

Volunteers ideally stay and work on the premises of their chosen project, performing tasks they have been allocated. Typical volunteer work includes teaching or being a teacher's assistant, helping children with homework, maintenance work around the premises, gardening and renovations, driving the children to school or doctor's appointments; and offering care and assistance to children with special needs (Rehoboth, 2017). It can be deduced from the conservative prices for hosting volunteers that CYCCs gain more value from the labour of volunteers rather than from income gained in hosting them at centre premises. The volunteer tourist in return is afforded an opportunity to use their time, labour and skills to contribute to the centre and the lives of vulnerable children who need the help. As testimonials from volunteer tourists attest, there is a great deal of fulfilment in participating in a volunteer programme. Another great benefit to those who have recently finished school or university is an opportunity to gain work experience and explore possible career options without making a long-term commitment. Many testimonials also mention academic benefits, such as students using the experience towards research projects (Erasmus, 2009). From a tourism experience point of view, the volunteers are given time off to explore the destination country, often assisted by their host with suggestions and guidance or even a tourism package. A typical tourism package comprises lodgings, transport and an itinerary of tourist attractions that the host can take the visitors to or organise for them to visit. AVIVA, which offers hosting services to volunteer tourists not only finds projects for them to volunteer in; but also guided tours of famous attractions, a sightseeing tour and a full day Cape Winelands tour. A dedicated Volunteer Coordinator assists with additional services such as making bookings and referrals (Aviva, 2017).

The mutual benefit of a volunteer tourist at youth and child care centres is evident from what the CYCC websites have to say. The centres gain access to passionate and dedicated resources to help share the work load, while volunteers gain an authentic and career boosting work experience whilst still being afforded the opportunity to tour and explore their destination. However, an understanding of how a volunteer programme works does not reveal anything about the nature of the interaction between the visitors and the workers permanently placed at the centres. Child and youth care centre web pages speak of benefits to the centre, and the personal and material benefits the experience offers to the visitor. The perspective of the worker

who is personally and professionally affected by the temporary involvements of international visitors is completely muted. Many CYCC websites have testimonials from visitors who detail their experiences and the benefits they have enjoyed by taking part in a volunteer programme. Not one has a testimonial from a permanent CYCC worker who has come into contact with volunteers and whose work has been impacted by the interaction. Surprisingly, the children's perspective is also silent; which is noteworthy even though the study concerns itself with the experiences of the worker.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Voluntourism presents many apparent socio-economic benefits as a contributor to the tourism industry, and also as a much-needed resource to the projects in which the volunteers donate their skills, time and monies. However, critics fear that volunteer tourists, lacking in experience and proper training, but leveraging their financial resources may replace local workers or interrupt and interfere in the consistent and systematic work of permanent staff. Disruptions compromise quality of work, and may lead to dependency on external volunteers, and unsustainable programmes owing to the temporary nature of volunteering (Rosquist et al; 2013). The problem of interference and disruption of regular work of permanent staff at the CYCCs is central to this enquiry; as well as the nature of interactions between worker and volunteer, and how workers navigate these interactions in ways that secure the interests and rights of the children they are responsible for.

As observed by the centres themselves, many volunteers lack relevant skills and experience required to work with vulnerable and often traumatized children in the CYCC environment. This raises questions about the suitability of a temporary volunteer in such an environment, where the protection of rights and interests of children is paramount and takes a level of commitment to the child before all (Rosquist et al; 2013).

Additionally, children in residential care are at a high risk for personality disorders, and easily become emotionally attached and dependent at the slightest show of affection (Richter and Norman, 2010). Research has revealed undesirable psychological consequences that loving but short-term interactions with volunteers can have on traumatised and vulnerable children who often already have attachment disorders (Rosquist et al; 2013). So delicate is the issue of interacting with vulnerable children, and so morally dubious is temporary contact with them that European countries do not

allow temporary volunteers into orphanages or into residential care centres for children (Rosquist et al; 2013). Ironically, Europe is the main exporter of these volunteers into the CYCC environment in South Africa and elsewhere.

Efficient regulation of volunteer tourism for optimal protection of children's rights and interest cannot be guaranteed where government already fails to fund the full operation costs of CYC Centres. In fact, the gaps in regulation and enforcement motivated industry stakeholders to independently initiate a code of conduct for the protection of children in volunteer tourism programmes. However, the code is voluntary and not legally binding (Fairtrade, 2016). By June 2016, only three projects in South Africa had ratified the code of conduct, indicating an unwillingness for projects to bind themselves to a code of conduct that may pose restrictions or revisions to what the CYCC and others have grown accustomed to (Fairtrade, 2016). An obvious suspicion is raised at this point, because ideally, child and youth care centres who prioritise the interests of children should be clamouring to sign up for a process that will further fortify their checks and balances in recruiting volunteers and structuring programmes in ways that seek to ensure the protection of children.

The risks attached to volunteer tourism that is not properly regulated are far reaching, including the negative psychological impact on children, economic and sexual exploitation, and the risk to children's rights and interests. This study limits itself to the problem of possible interference and extent of disruption of the day-to-day general work of permanent staff at CYCC caused by volunteer tourism. This focus is important in that it is the workers who mediate between the children and their environment, and who are mandated with protecting the children in their care. By extension, the stresses, disruptions and contributions of volunteers at centres have bearing on the work of permanent workers and the extent to which they are able to achieve their mandate regarding the children in their care. It thus becomes worthwhile to explore the volunteer-and-worker interaction in order to understand how it influences the ability of the workers and the centre to fulfil the task of providing care and protection to vulnerable children they have been entrusted with.

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY
The study intends to explore the nature of influence volunteer tourists have on the day-to-day work of permanent workers at the child and youth care centres, including

how they affect regular programmes that ensure stability, sustainability and quality work at the centres.

Specifically, the study aims to investigate if and how the rights and interests of children may be compromised in the process of accommodating volunteer tourists into its programmes.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY
The objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To describe the process and practices of volunteer tourism in Port Shepstone, KZN

The purpose of this objective is to deepen the understanding of how volunteer tourists come to spend time at the child and youth care centres. This includes understanding the "official" recruitment process, and also exploring the actual processes as they happen on the ground. Any omissions to the official processes will be noted, as well as the risks posed by such if and when they do occur.

2. Reflect on how Child and Youth Care Centres negotiate between the interests of vulnerable children and expectations of volunteer tourists who provide financial and human resources to the Centres

The problem statement has already alluded to concerns raised by critics regarding disruptions that volunteer tourists can cause to the regular work of permanent staff at CYCCs, and the negative consequences these have on the sustainability and quality of work at the centres. Assuming leadership at the centres is committed to securing the rights and interests of their children at all times, there must be ways in which they manage the expectations of volunteer tourists, while providing them with a worthwhile experience in exchange for their time, skills and financial donations. These ways of negotiating between expectations and protecting children will be explored and reflected upon.

3. Provide an analysis of the power relations between volunteer tourists and staff at Child and Youth Care Centres

Part of the research process will be to interrogate the nature of interactions between the volunteer tourists and permanent CYCC staff, and to analyse how power is distributed between the two groups. Understanding how power is organized in interactions between the two is important to making sense of how staff and

management navigate the balance between the interests of the children and those of volunteers.

4. Explore possible gaps between the imperative to protect the interests of vulnerable children and the actual practices at child care centres as informed by actors in the volunteer tourism industry

The CYCC is governed by a number of regulations, in particular the Children's Act whose paramount priority is to protect the interests and rights of the child. Further, each institution has guidelines for their operations and how work is organized to achieve the protection and interests of children. A comparison between the established institutional framework and the actual practices which may be influenced by volunteer tourists will be conducted in exploring the extent to which external tourist interests come to bear on how these organizations actually function.

5. Contribute to a deeper understanding of the dynamic of volunteer tourism in shaping practices in Child and Youth Care Centres

The ultimate objective of the study is to come to a deeper understanding of volunteer tourism and how it influences the day-to-day functioning of a CYCC; including how that influence affects the work of permanent staff, and the overall ability of the Centre to protect and care for the children they have been entrusted with.

1.5 MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS
The main question in this study is;

What is the influence of volunteer tourism in decision making and daily functioning of Child and Youth Care Centres in Port Shepstone, KZN?

The key emergent questions are:

1. How do relations with the tourism industry and volunteer tourists influence the daily decisions and functioning of the CYCC?
2. How do staff at CYCCs negotiate between the interests of the children in their care and demands of volunteer tourists who provide resources to the centres, especially where these may conflict with the best interests of the children?
3. In what ways, if any, are formal established processes and protocols suspended, bypassed or reviewed in order to accommodate requests, suggestions or

preferences of external stakeholders such as volunteer tourists, their agencies or donors?

4. What factors, if any, could contribute to a situation where an institution adjusts its operations, processes or protocols in consideration or requests, suggestions or preferences of external stakeholders such as volunteer tourists, their agencies or donors?

5. How influential are volunteer tourists and their agencies to the decisions and operation of the CYCC, and what is their claim to this influence?

6. How have institutions responded in the past to instances that call on them to accommodate requests, suggestions or preferences of external stakeholders where these would directly or indirectly affect children in their care?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The research will contribute to a deeper understanding of the power dynamics between permanent workers in the Child and Youth Care Centres and volunteer tourists who come to work temporarily at the centres. It will provide insight into how permanent staff and visiting tourists navigate the power relations between them. Having insight into power relations can serve to empower Care Centres, but especially the permanent workers in enforcing the rights and interests of the child in all interactions and decisions.

The study will therefore contribute to ensuring that child and youth care centres consistently remain safe spaces for vulnerable children.

1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Child and Youth Care Centre (CYCC) - is a facility that provides alternative residential care to more than six children outside of the family environment". Children removed from family environments for safety reasons or who suffer from illnesses or disability that the family cannot cope with can be placed in a CYCC by an order of the court. On the ground, CYCC are also called "children's homes", "shelters" and "places of safety" (Jamieson, 2014).

Orphanage - a facility that provides residential care for children who have been orphaned and cannot (permanently or temporarily) be placed in the care of their next of kin (Jamieson, 2014).

Permanent / local staff - workers from the host country, often sourced from the communities in which the organization is based (Rehoboth, GCF). Unlike volunteers, their involvement in the organization is long-term.

Project - the programme in which the volunteer donates their time and labour.

Volunteer tourist - an international traveller who volunteers at an organization in the host country for a specified time. Volunteers pay the host a fee to cover food and accommodation costs and may also make additional donations. Volunteers often teach or spend time with children in places of safety, or do conservation work, working with wildlife (Rosquist et al; 2013).

1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 presents the introduction and background, problem statement, aim, objectives and main research question of the study; as well as the significance of the study and definition of key terms. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework and literature review. Chapter 3 presents the research methodology to be applied in the study. Subsections include the study design, population and sampling, data collection and analysis, validity and reliability, delimitations and limitations, as well as ethical considerations. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the research and chapter 5 discussed the findings and presents recommendations.

1.9 CONCLUSION

Whilst volunteer tourism is a booming sub-sector, there is a case for taking a closer look at its assumed benefits to the CYCC environment. The apparent lack of skills and experience of the volunteers and the temporary nature of their intervention call into question their relevance and material contribution to the child and youth care centres. The psychological and emotional risks linked to hosting temporary volunteers in close proximity to vulnerable, traumatised and emotionally needy children also validates a study into volunteer tourism in the CYCC environment. Since children are in the care of permanent workers, who have a professional, legal and moral obligation to protect them, the extent to which the workers are empowered to make and enforce decisions in the interest of children becomes paramount. It becomes crucial therefore to interrogate the distribution of power between the volunteer and the worker, who is burdened with navigating this relationship in a way that serves the child at all times.

Existing research on volunteer tourism and vulnerable children, as well as on power relations between international stakeholders and local communities is unpacked in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In examining the influence of volunteer tourists on the work of child and youth care centres, the theories of governance and governmentality are used to understand how international visitors come to be accommodated in the centres and work closely with vulnerable children who often have fragile psychological and emotional constitutions. Child and youth care centres are operated by non-profit organizations on behalf of government whose legal responsibility is to provide and care for children who cannot be cared for by their families. The fact that many of these children are traumatised and vulnerable makes child care centres delicate spaces wherein due care and consideration should be taken on the suitability of those who gain access to them and interact with the children.

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theories of Governance and Governmentality have been selected to analyse the dynamics between volunteer tourism and CYC Centres. Governmentality locates the power and responsibility to deliver services to citizens on the state (Murray Li, 2007). The governance theory on the other hand focuses on the emerging role of private actors including private individuals, business and international organizations or persons in matters traditionally the ambit of government (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003; Joshi and Houtzager; 2012: Swyngedouw, 2005).

Foucault (1978) explains the reason for government as its responsibility towards its population and territory. Taking responsibility for the population rewards government with obedient citizens who accept its exercise of power over them. However, stability is not guaranteed as government power is challenged from within by citizens who do not accept the authority of government, and by external deterrers who seek to usurp power through conquest. The art of government therefore aims to "reinforce, strengthen and protect its principality" (1991: 90) by acting in the interest of the population, and in turn, have citizens accept the government as legitimate and remain obedient to its laws thereby keeping it in power.

According to Foucault (1978), governance occurs in the private sphere wherein the head of the household governs over the family. It then translates to the public sphere wherein for example a teacher governs over the pupil and so on. Ultimately, the state governs over the whole population in all spheres, whether private or public. In this

way, government exercises power over all its population and institutions. An understanding of government as the superstructure on which all relationships are embedded means legitimately, the relationships and interactions that occur within the CYCC are the ambit of government; and all those who participate in them are obliged to adhere to the laws through which the state governs the institution and interactions concerning the child. The question then becomes whether the state has legislated sufficiently for the best interest of the child population within CYC centres; and whether it can adequately reinforce adherence to such laws so that order is maintained, and its authority not undermined by locals or individuals from outside the territory. In South Africa, the children's act captures legislation through which the state governs all relationships and interactions with children including interactions within the family and other institutions that care for children such as child and youth care centres (Leatt, et al; 2005).

Governmentality theory is important in looking at the regulations set by government to control spaces such as CYCCs and how actors on the ground (including workers and volunteer tourists) either adhere to or challenge these regulations in their daily interactions. The ways in which actors in the CYCC space have contested and influenced regulations and codes of conduct that govern care centres talk to the challenge posed by citizens and outsiders to government authority. An example of this challenge is the tourism code of conduct for the protection of children which will be delved into shortly.

Whilst Foucault (1978) emphasises the top-down nature of governmentality, whereby the government exercises control over citizens, Murray Li (2007) presents the bottom-up interventions made by citizens in response to government. Citizens find ways to challenge government and to mobilise against its actions or regulations. Since government legitimacy relies on citizen obedience, government makes concessions to citizens in order to maintain its position of authority. This tug of war between the population and government can be used to explain the tourism child protection code of conduct wherein citizens, business institutions and international actors initiated a process to self-regulate in the CYCC environment. Government's acceptance of this code, and apparent abstinence from interfering with volunteer tourism practices can be seen as a strategy to maintain the power balance. This interpretation is true to the

nature of governmentality, which is to keep government in power even if ironically in this instance it acts in favour of foreign interests.

The contradiction of accepting outside interference in the internal affairs of a CYCC by government requires further exploration and an assessment of whether it is a sustainable strategy for maintaining government authority in the long run. Sovereignty is fundamental to the integrity of government authority over its territory (Elden, 2007). The phenomenon of intervention by outsiders such as international funders and volunteer tourists in the provision of services to vulnerable children can be construed as interference, and ultimately a challenge to a government's sovereignty and legitimacy (Elden, 2007). It is in the interest of government's own legitimacy and authority to provide security to the territory and to population within the territory, which in this case means to protect its institutions and vulnerable population from outside interferences even when they seem well-meaning and beneficial.

To reiterate, whilst volunteer tourists may have good intentions, research has shown that their short-term interactions with abandoned and traumatized children has negative long-term effects on the emotional development of the children (Richter et al; 2010); it therefore becomes a government imperative to provide protection and be in better control of spaces caring for vulnerable children.

Governmentality represents the traditional arrangement of power, authority and responsibility allocated to the state within a territory and over its population. Government's claim to legitimacy is located in its provision of security to the territory and to population within the territory (Elden, 2007). The continued and growing participation of outsiders in institutions within the country in the form of volunteer tourists suggests a corrosion of government authority and ultimately its legitimacy at least in the CYCC environment. This phenomenon requires further interrogation and the theory of governance offers tools to examine how such interference occurs within government territory and seems to thrive unabated.

The theory of governance identifies players other than government officials and their influence on policy-making and politics, locating significant power in a network of actors that may include government officials, international and local non-governmental organizations, experts and community members (Hajer, Wagenaar; 2003). Governance is an expression of "expansive democracy", which advocates for

increased participation of non-government actors in service delivery, and challenges traditional representative democracy as inefficient and lacking adequate capacity (Hajer, Wagenaar; 2003). There are parallels in this view of government as lacking in capacity and therefore in need of contributions from outside actors such as international NGO's and experts; to the widespread idea that capacity in the child and youth care centres is lacking and requires input from international volunteers in order for them to function optimally.

Governance networks are made up of multiple actors that bring their capacity and inevitably interests to the decision making and policy making processes. Through macro-sociological processes such as globalization and technological advancement, there is an increased participation and influence from multinational organizations in local regulations and policies (Hajer, Wagenaar; 2003). The effect is dilution of government power by insertion of private and even individual interests in policy making, policy decisions and practice. And although governance processes are meant to increase community participation in decision making, in reality local communities remain marginalized as access to these networks is largely determined by access to resources (Swyngedouw; 2005).

An important aspect in a traditional government and citizen relationship is the issue of accountability. Government is responsible for policy implementation and service delivery, and in turn, citizens can hold a government accountable through the vote (Joshi and Houtzager; 2012). In contrast, membership to governance networks is fluid, with players coming in and out of the structures as and when they see fit, leading to unstable structures that cannot be publicly held accountable in ways facilitated by representative democracy (Hajer, Wagenaar; 2003).

A government is given their mandate and legitimacy through elections, which reflect the will of the citizens, and in this way the government is answerable to the people who have placed it in power (Joshi and Houtzager; 2012). Governance undermines this system and inserts players who have not been mandated by the people into matters affecting the state and citizens. At the same time, the fluid and impermanent nature of this insertion means that those players cannot be held to account for the actions and consequences of governance structures they form part of.

Again, a parallel can be drawn between the impermanent and unaccountable nature of multi-player governance structures to the temporary nature of volunteers in CYC Centres. Whilst permanent staff is answerable to the government and community, volunteers come and go - and whatever the consequences of their actions will be left with the centre, the affected children, local community and ultimately the state. Volunteers are not answerable to the South African public, but like private actors and international NGOs, their influence may have long-term consequences.

The capacity argument justifies outside interference and the surrender of government and its responsibilities to outside players, leading to the hijack of government functions to serve interests of actors other than the country's citizens. In addition, the same openness to volunteers in CYC centres may compromise the interests of children in the name of accepting "expertise" or "capacity". A look at CYCC websites debunks the myth of "expertise and capacity" that international volunteers apparently contribute to centre operations. Firstly, the volunteers are most often young graduates without any if relevant work experience or qualifications. The centres themselves provide capacity building programmes to the volunteers wherein they are trained for up to three months in order that they are adequately equipped to function in the CYC environment (Rehoboth Children's Village, 2018).

Furthermore, a case has been made for how child care centres can bridge the capacity gap using community members and at the same time contributing to skills development and youth employability within the locality (Ritcher, et al, 2010). But governance organizes citizens' claim to access to services and governance based on their access to networks and resources (Joshi and Houtzager; 2012). Opportunities and benefits presented by working in a CYCC thus accrue to those who can afford to pay for access, thus marginalizing local citizens in favour of international tourists. In this way governance introduces a commercialization of access to opportunities that could otherwise be available to community members by virtue of their status as citizens (Joshi and Houtzager; 2012).

Swyngedouw (2005) also demonstrates how the take-over by non-governmental organizations and private actors of the ambit of government, posited as decentralization leads to the externalization and privatization of state functions to elite economic actors to the exclusion and marginalization of local citizens. Bracking (2015)

has called this process neo-liberal governance; underlining the commercial nature of interference by donors into the governance affairs of poorer governments of the global South by the richer governments, NGO's and private individuals from the richer North.

In the CYCC context, privatization happens by means of tourists who can afford to pay their way into a centre for purposes of self-actualization through an "authentic tourism experience" rather than access being determined by a rigorous process of suitability considering that these centres are sensitive environments hosting vulnerable children. As previously argued, local youth could benefit from a skills and work experience by being hosted at the centres (Ritcher, et al; 2010), but this opportunity is passed on to international graduates who can afford to pay for a stay at the Centres. In this way, externalization also leads to the imposition of market forces and weakens the democracy and the agency of the economically weak locals (Swyngedouw, 2005; Bracking, 2015).

It can be proven that governance has played a role in how the CYCC space is regulated. A clear example of private sector and international players taking over policy making is the process of the Tourism Child Protection Code of Conduct, which saw a number of diverse industry stakeholders holding consultations to come up with a mutually agreed self-regulation tool for tourists, agencies and industry players in how they can interact ethically with community-based projects such as child and youth care centres in the course of volunteer tourism.   The code of conduct remains a voluntary code that is not enforceable by law (Witepski, 2016). It is only a "reputational" tool that encourages ethical behaviour amongst its endorsers, who in turn enjoy a "positive image" as principled tourists and tour operators; a positive image that no doubt translates to profitability and sustains the practice.

Looking at the above example, one can conclude that a country's government provides a blueprint in terms of the policy and governance practices. How a government interacts with governance networks will inform how institutions in society also respond to outside influences. A government that is in control of its politics and policy decisions will likely influence its country's institutions to exercise similar control in their affairs. However, a government that allows its decision and policy making to be conducted through governance that is, through loosely structured multi-stakeholder interest

groups, including groups and individuals from outside; fosters a society in which institutions' practices will also be permeable to foreign influences and interests.

A question must be asked about whose interest it serves to have international volunteers on a Child and Youth Care site, especially when there is evidence of harm to a child's development in temporary contact with friendly volunteers (Ritcher, et al, 2010). And why has the government not endeavoured to end volunteer tourism in child care centres if the benefits are outweighed by their negative impact on the psychological integrity of children? The answers may lie in a critique of governance; wherein government is limited in its ability to determine policy and practice in CYCCs, and where interests of outside players take precedence over the interests of the children.

In South Africa the CYCC environment provides a classic case of the collision between governmentality and governance. Governmentality is expressed by constitutional rights of children to protection and provision by government, and governance which accommodates the participation and inclusion of international interests is represented by the continued and growing presence of volunteer tourists in the CYC space.

Government is legally responsible for children under the age of 18 and for providing resources to care centres caring for vulnerable children separated from their families (Jamieson, et al; 2014). Accordingly, government provides the budget for centre operations along with regulations and policies to govern that environment and how interactions with children should be managed. Even though government is responsible for these centres, in reality, both budget and practices are influenced by outside actors who have no legal relationship with the children. Government's budget often falls short of meeting all operating needs of CYCCs (Jamieson et al; 2014); necessitating fund-raising initiatives by CYCC staff, including participating in volunteer programmes. A volunteer programme opens the CYCC up to foreign visitors who come in temporarily to work at the centres and interact with the children.

As discussed, the process of how private actors have influenced policy and practice at CYCCs through the drafting and adoption of a Tourism Child Protection Code of Conduct is an example of governance at work. Private actors involved were the originator, international NGO Fair Trade and tourism agencies who facilitate volunteer tourism in Child and Youth Care Centres, as well as tour operators and travel agencies

(Fairtrade, 2017). The Code of Conduct was a response to concerns by industry players of the exploitative and harmful practices that were manifesting in the volunteer tourism sector; geared towards ensuring the ethical conduct of volunteer tourists and protection of vulnerable children who come into contact with the volunteers (Fairtrade, 2017). Of significance is that the code was initiated and spearheaded not by government, but by external stakeholders which means that ultimately it serves interests outside of government or citizens.

Although the code promotes principled behaviour, the code ultimately serves to legitimise volunteer tourism and sustains the presence of volunteer tourists in child care centres in spite of the evidently harmful nature of the practice on vulnerable and traumatised children. The Code serves to secure the interests of tourists and the volunteer tourism industry. Not surprisingly, the fact that the code is voluntary and not legally enforceable creates a pseudo control mechanism that has no real teeth to bite when it matters. Many child and youth care centres continue to "do business" with tour operators and agencies who have not rectified the code. The CYCC themselves have not adopted the Code, indicating a vacuum in the regulation of volunteer tourism at child and youth care centres.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Volunteer tourism is the fastest growing niche within the tourism industry in developing countries including South Africa (Rosquist et al; 2013). Volunteer tourism, also known as voluntourism, refers to the practice by travellers who work at organizations in the destination country for a set time as part of their visiting experience. Volunteer tourists generally pay a fee to the host organization, and often stay within its premises or surrounding community. The typical volunteer tourist is a young graduate aged between 20 - 25, from Europe or the United States of America. They are looking for an authentic experience, and to supplement their CV. They also mostly seek interaction with children, with orphanages being the most popular choice for a volunteer tourist (Rosquist et al, 2013; Witepski, 2016).

Voluntourism is a controversial practice, with critics pointing to its disruptive nature on the regular work of permanent staff, and thus interfering with the quality and continuity of work at places where they volunteer. A lack of proper controls to regulate and monitor the recruitment and placement of volunteers puts at risk the children they come into contact with at destination countries (Rosquist et al, 2013). Negative

psychological effects of short-term affectionate contact that children have with volunteer tourists have also been highlighted as potentially traumatic to vulnerable children, who are prone to attachment disorders (Rosquist et al, 2013; Witepski, 2016). Although all these criticisms are important and valid, the first is the main concern of this study; namely, the nature of influence volunteer tourists have on the work of permanent staff at Child and Youth Care Centres where they volunteer.

2.2.1 International Practice

Americans and Europeans make up the overwhelming majority of volunteer tourists that create the growing demand for volunteer opportunities in developing countries (Rosquist et al, 2013). And as stated previously, their greatest demand is to volunteer with children, often at orphanages, and Child and Youth Care Centres in South Africa and the global south. Child and youth care centres are government funded institutions and non-profit organizations where vulnerable children including orphans, abused, neglected and abandoned children are placed pending investigations or reintegration into the family, extended family or alternative family care which can be adoption or foster care (Jamieson, Wakefield and Briede; 2014).

An interesting irony is that although young European graduates make up the bulk of visitors to South African and African child and youth care centres, volunteering with children for non-expert volunteers who do not have an appropriate qualification and experience is forbidden in Europe as the practice is widely considered morally compromised (Rosquist et al; 2013). European countries who have banned volunteering with children in their own countries run or sponsor programmes to facilitate travel for their young graduates, regardless of qualification and often with no work experience, to travel to other countries to volunteer at organizations working with children.

Even as they facilitate overseas voluntourism, European countries cannot ignore the potential harm posed by this practice and have established procedures to mitigate the risks of allowing predators to travel and cause harm to children in developing countries. Sweden for example campaigns for its businesses to adopt a charter called the Children's Rights and Business Principles which is a guide for appropriate business conduct in relation to children and to ensure that businesses protect the rights of children in all their transactions. For the tourism industry specifically, Sweden established a Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation

in Travel and Tourism in 1988. Furthermore, Swedish travellers are encouraged to purchase volunteer packages from destination providers who adhere to a Child Protection Code of Conduct, such as the Fair-Trade Tourism Child Protection Code of Conduct used in South Africa (Rosquist et al, 2013). Although useful in providing guidelines for ethical conduct and promoting the protection of children's rights, codes of conduct remain voluntary and not enforceable by law; which means their effectiveness in curbing harmful behaviours is limited.

2.2.2 African Practice

Africa is a popular volunteer tourism destination and the sector is growing (Meidema, 2015). Church groups and students in Europe are the main organizers and participants in volunteering abroad in third world countries (Mohshausen, 2015).

A 2016 Sub-Saharan study on the sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism in Kenya, Ghana, Ethiopia, Zambia and South Africa identified child care centres as non-traditional tourism destinations that opened up children to risk for sexual and other forms of exploitation by tourists from first world countries (Crispin and Mann; 2016). They also confirmed that sexual exploitation of children in the context of tourism is a growing problem in the whole region. Although the majority of African countries have ratified international accords committing them to the protection of children, enforcement and institutional capacity to implement coordinated efforts towards the protection of children generally remain weak throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. This creates an enabling environment for predators. Structural inequalities between first world visitors and locals (both children and adults) are key in fostering exploitative interactions. Wealth, class, social and cultural norms all contribute to enforcing unequal power relations that give international visitors an advantage which can be exploitative to children and locals (Crispin and Mann; 2016). Manshausen (2015) identifies other forms of exploitation of children by international visitors at child and youth care centres including inappropriate interaction, abuse or bonding and attachment; which have been proven to be harmful to institutionalized children in the long term (Manshausen, 2015; Ritcher et al, 2010). By virtue of hosting volunteer tourists and offering volunteering as a tourist experience, Child and Youth Care Centres have become service providers in the tourism industry. They provide volunteering packages, resulting in the commercialization of the CYCCs as a tourism

product (Manshausen, 2015).   This also inadvertently commodifies the children at the centres as a tourist attraction.

As mentioned, enforcement of child protection laws and policies lacks efficient coordination and capacity within the responsible government departments and institutions. Some private sector led initiatives such as the Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism offer promise by involving multiple stakeholders from a network of businesses across sectors, including non-traditional tourism entities (Crispin and Mann, 2016). However, participation in the Code remains optional and in the case of South Africa for example, uptake from volunteer tourism and community development programmes that accept international volunteers remains low. In all of Sub-Saharan Africa, services for abused children remain inadequate, inaccessible and even non-existent in some places (Crispin and Mann; 2016).

Recommendations on how to mitigate the exploitation of children in travel and tourism tend to lean towards strengthening families and communities in protecting children. Crispin and Mann (2016) emphasise that such interventions must be government led and country-specific in order to respond to each unique context and its challenges. The general consensus on the undesirability of institutionalization of children is so hegemonic that child and youth care centres are not even considered as an option in exploring solutions for the protection of children. Instead, they seen as part of the problem as they open children up to risk by exposing them to international volunteers and tourists in environments that usually lack adequate control and protection for children.

2.2.3 South African Practice
South Africa like the rest of Africa and the developing world, has experienced a significant increase in demand for volunteer programmes for tourists, in particular programmes involving interaction with children such as orphanage programmes. Citing concerns about a lack of controls within the growing volunteer tourism segment, Fair Trade acknowledged that an uncontrolled environment exposes vulnerable children to exploitation and psychologically damaging practices (Witepski, 2016). To intervene, Fair Trade Tourism embarked on a new certification process for all its affiliated businesses including non-tourism businesses such as child and youth care centres offering volunteer programmes to tourists. The new certification, effective

June 2016 requires businesses to adopt the Code of Conduct for responsible tourism, which prohibits tourists from volunteering directly with children in orphanages; or to interact with children without continuous, qualified adult supervision (Witepski, 2016). Fair Trade's code reinforces South Africa's White Paper on Social Welfare which prioritises prevention of abuse, risk reduction and improved response to early warning signs (Jamieson et al, 2014). The White Paper gives expression to the country's Children's Act, which secures the rights of children to protection from harmful practices, secures children's socio-economic rights and obligates all stakeholders to act foremost in the interest of the child in all matters and decisions concerning the child (Leatt, Rosa & Hall; 2005). Socio-economic rights for children include the rights to housing, adequate food and water, access to social security and health services. Where parents are not able to provide for children, the state is mandated to take over the provision of children's rights; which mandate is allocated to the Department of Social Development (DSD) (Leatt, Rosa & Hall; 2005).

The Department of Social Development partners with non-profit organizations (NPOs) in implementing the child protection system and provides financial support to them. Child and Youth Care Centres that accommodate orphans and children legally separated from their families fall under this network of non-profit organizations. However, financial allocations made by government to NPOs fall short of their operational needs (Jamieson et al; 2014). Non-profit organizations have to make up the shortfall in order to operate optimally and offer adequate services to children in their care. This makes the case for NPOs participating in fundraising activities, including participating in volunteer tourism schemes. To demonstrate the gap between the needs and budget allocation for child protection services; the 2014/15 budget was only 45% of the minimum requirement of R15.9 billion (Jamieson et al; 2014). Taking part in volunteer tourism programmes is done to supplement government funding and bring in additional human capacity to the centres. Is also unavoidably expands the scope of a child and youth care centre, as they take on a dual role of being a child protection institution, as well as a tourist destination and tourism service provider.

In terms of the South African legal framework government is responsible for children in CYCCs. This responsibility is shared with the designated operators of the CYCC looking after the children on the state's behalf. Volunteer tourism introduces a new

network of role players who do not have a legal relationship neither with government nor the children but gain influence over the running the CYCC through resources and associated demands for volunteer work and interaction with children. Volunteer tourists themselves belong to a wider industry network which includes tour operators, travel agencies and even organizations from their native countries. The CYCCs themselves take on a role of being a destination and host organization to tourists thereby transforming the non-profit CYCC somewhat into a service provider in the volunteer tourism industry.

Volunteer tourists travel to poorer countries with the purpose of doing volunteer work as part of their holiday itinerary (Rosquist et al, 2013). They are often assisted by a tour operator in their holiday planning and in finding an organization to host them. AVIVA for example is a tour operator and accommodation facility that specialises in housing volunteer tourists and assists them in planning and coordinating holiday activities for them (AVIVA, 2018). AVIVA has partnered with local organizations and refers volunteers to them as part of their services to both tourists and the organizations. Organizations that run community development projects that host volunteer tourists, make use of their time, labour and donations are thus transformed into key actors in the volunteer tourism industry.

The growth in volunteer tourism, especially the interest in making contact with orphaned children can in part be attributed to messages communicated by international NGOs and international media about conditions in the global South which encourage funding and intervention in local projects, thus promoting volunteer work as a legitimate course of action for first world holiday makers looking to 'make a difference' in destination countries (Ritcher et al, 2010).

A dominant and widespread message in volunteer tourism is that countries in Sub Saharan Africa have been ravaged by the HIV and AIDS pandemic, which in its wake has left more than 20 million orphans. This desperate situation of abandoned and vulnerable children solicits desires for immediate action from tourists who can, even over a short period of time offer the children hope and love by way of intimate interaction (Ritcher, et al; 2010). This discourse is also responsible for the increased interest in residential care for children from international funders, despite research showing the long-term developmental problems created by the institutionalization of

children (Ritcher, et al; 2010); and also, despite countries in the North leaving the institutionalization model behind and seeking family-oriented solutions to child care (Roberts, 2014).

Another popular discourse in volunteer tourism relates to CYC centres lacking capacity and needing the skills, time, labour and financial resources offered by tourists in order to run efficiently and adequately care for children (Rehoboth Children's Village, 2018; Give the Child a Family, 2018). This is despite the fact that by CYCCs' own admission, volunteers often come with very little skills and experience, and require training to prepare them for work at the centres. Secondly, the human and financial burden to the centres of hosting volunteers, by way of training and mentorship by staff, and the cost of food and accommodation, tour guides or general assistance take significant time and resources away from the core functions of CYCC and pours that into serving volunteers who in the end may not pay back that investment as they are there for only a limited time (Richter et al; 2010).

If hosting volunteer tourists is so onerous, and the rewards so doubtful questions emerge about what sustains the growth of the industry and specifically what fuels the continued participation by CYCCs in volunteer programmes.   Whose interests are served by the consistent messaging that promotes volunteer tourism to CYC centres and young travellers who are probably well-meaning in their quest to make a difference?   Richter et al (2010) argue that international funders and tourists who sponsor residential care centres are misguided in their actions by the "HIV/AIDS Orphan crisis" rhetoric communicated widely, including by tourism agencies. Tourism agencies are profit making businesses that directly benefit from a growing volunteer tourism industry. Their interests are apparent.

 Volunteer tourists act in the interest of the children, or so they believe (Ritcher et al; 2010). But the personal and material benefits that accrue to a young graduate with international work experience cannot be minimized. According to testimonials, many volunteers find personal fulfilment as they generally find the experience of caring for vulnerable children meaningful (AVIVA, 2017; TLC, 2017; Give the Child a Family, 2018). Volunteer tourism has also served many a volunteer's career or academic project by offering training and international working experience in a very specialised environment (Erasmus, n.d). Considering the effort that goes into training, mentoring and hosting volunteer tourists, coupled with the potential risk to children of having

temporary caregivers, it seems CYCCs maybe unwittingly prioritize the interest of tourists over those of the children in their care.

The observed burden of hosting volunteer tourists seems to weigh heavily against the interests of the children and the resources of the care centres. The question then becomes what informs the continued participation in volunteer programmes by child and youth care centres who by definition are supposed to be child protection service providers and not tourist host organizations.

International media and tour operators play a significant role in propagating persistent messages promoting volunteer tourism as a legitimate intervention in the Child and Youth Care Centre environment (Richter et al; 2010). Even though these messages are negated by research and practical experience, they evidently remain influential in how CYCCs respond by relenting to the demands of the volunteer tourism industry. The account by Witepski (2016) on how Fair Trade established the Tourism Child Protection Code of Conduct for Volunteer Tourism is essentially an account of how an emerging counter narrative, exposing the risks of the volunteer tourism industry to children is ironically used not to curb the practice, but rather to cushion it from criticism, threat and regulation by providing a guide which is not enforceable by law, but provides a convincing impression of commitment to ethical conduct by the industry.

It is apparent that CYCCs take their cue from information provided by the tourism industry and international NGOs and media rather than research sources specializing in the wellbeing of vulnerable children in their care. Widely accepted research on the dangers of temporal contact between children and volunteers is trumped by unrelenting messages that paint a desperate situation that volunteer tourists are led to believe they can help remedy. International media plays a significant role in broadcasting sustained reports and images of the global South in crises of poverty and HIV and AIDS that have left children destitute, abandoned and in desperate need of care and attention even if for a short period (Richter et al; 2010).

Tour operators that specialise in planning holidays and connecting tourists with volunteer organizations also communicate strongly messages of need by children in destination countries. Tourists are encouraged to make a meaningful contribution to the lives of children by giving of their time to connect with the children, even if for short periods of time. AVIVA sells packages as short as two weeks to volunteers who will interact directly with children (AVIVA, 2017). Some volunteer testimonials show that

interaction happened on a very few occasions, including once off interactions (TLC Projects, 2017; AVIVA, 2017).

The popular media messages are not entirely without merit as factually they reflect events and circumstances that do prevail in South Africa and other African countries. However, these messages are implicitly couched to encourage misguided actions from well-meaning tourists and CYCCs. Volunteer tourism has found a niche market in South Africa in the context of child poverty and a historical breakdown of the black family for economic and political expediencies of the colonial and apartheid eras. According to Leatt, Rosa and Hall (2005) child poverty in South Africa is caused and perpetuated by the colonial and apartheid legacies that systematically disenfranchised and underdeveloped black people through exploitative wage labour, poor education, poor access to health services and the migrant labour system that separated families. As such, the face of poverty today in South Africa is black, and black children in particular. Poor black children make up to 60% of the poor and are overrepresented in rural provinces of KwaZulu Natal, Eastern Cape and Limpopo (Leatt, et al; 2005). It comes as no surprise that the rural town of Port Shepstone in KwaZulu Natal is not only a tourist town but also hosts several child and youth care centres where volunteer tourism thrives.

In addition to historical poverty, volunteer tourism has emerged in the wake of a devastating HIV / AIDS epidemic that affected poor countries in Africa the most (Ritcher et al; 2010). The shocking statistics of children orphaned by the pandemic have been widely and persistently reported on and have no doubt contributed to the drive by tourists to visit institutionalised children with the view to asssist under desperate circumstances (Ritcher et al; 2010). Although there may be some accuracy to the statistics on the deaths of parents and the number of children orphaned by the pandemic, statistics often do not take account of the nature of child care in the African context which often includes the extended family. A typical African family is often not a nuclear unit, but rather an extended network of kin and relations who take on the responsibility of raising children in a family setting regardless of biological connections. These nuances are not considered when defining orphans or reporting on orphans created by deaths from AIDS, to the extent that international organizations in 2004 reported on 12 million AIDS orphans, whilst the number of those who were left without both biological parents was only 1.2 million (Ritcher et al; 2010). Of the 1.2 million,

one can deduce that only a fraction would be orphaned to the extent of having no parental care whatsoever from either older siblings, cousins, grandparents or aunts and uncles.

Obviously, there are valid psycho-social and economic reasons that create and sustain the need for institutionalization of children in South African society, including poverty, HIV/AIDS, and the strain on the extended family to provide care. But the extent of the problem has without a doubt been over-reported by international organizations and media to create a heightened sense of calamity and possibly spurred the volunteer tourism industry along with inherent practices that pose a threat to children place in care centres.

The practice by CYCCs to accommodate short term international volunteers even as they acknowledge the undesirable effects of short-term interaction with children is a disturbing practice that seems to serve only the interests of tourists and the growing tourism industry. The practice appears to be informed by market demands ahead of the needs of the children in the care of CYCCs. Why CYCCs succumb to the pressure to accommodate international tourists at a significant financial and human resources cost; and to the likely detriment of the children in their care can be understood in terms of governance, or more precisely, what Bracking (2015) calls neo-liberal governance. Neo-liberal governance is the exploitation of Southern countries afforded to external organizations, individuals and companies from abroad under the pretext of giving in the context of global capitalism. Similar to philanthropy, volunteer tourism uses the idea of volunteering and giving to rob locals of their agency in resolving their problems and affords the giver influence over policy making and regulation of local beneficiaries (Bracking, 2015). Volunteer tourism, and its tourism code is a clear example of industry influence on policy, regulation and practice. The pretext of "skills, donations and capacity" offered by volunteer tourists to local child care centres sees foreign youth enjoying opportunities that could be used to benefit local youth as well as the care centres. The idea of neo-liberal governance is essentially that of privatization and commercialization of services to governance networks and wealthy individuals who can afford to buy access into spaces that should be controlled by government to the benefit of its citizens (Swyngedouw, 2005; Hajer et al; 2003).

Carothers (2003) discusses how foreign "help" in the form of donations and volunteer work is often used by first world countries, organizations and private individuals to exert influence on local institutions as it affords the giver the power to set the agenda

and define values that institutions of beneficiary countries should adopt. In the case of child and youth care centres, value seems to be placed on participating on volunteer tourism programmes even when they do not serve their primary beneficiaries, the children; but rather serve the self-rewarding values of tourists in what Swyngedouw (2005) refers to as decentralized democracy and privatization of government services.

2.3 CONCLUSION

The child and youth care centre environment offer a classic example of neo-liberal governance wherein external actors participate in the regulation, policy and practices of institutions that should traditionally be the ambit of government to the benefit of local citizens. Volunteer tourists and the tourism industry have demonstrable power to influence how the centres operate in the form of the tourism code of conduct for the protection of children. This code serves to secure the volunteer tourism industry and entrench its presence in the CYCC environment regardless of evidence that it puts their interests ahead of the wellbeing and development of vulnerable children. By becoming a tourism destination, albeit in an untraditional sense, a CYCC that accepts international volunteers by offering volunteering experience invariably commodifies the children in their care as tourist attractions. In this sense, children in care centres that accommodate volunteers are exploited in service of the tourism sector and international volunteers.

In the following chapter, the research methodology to be applied in the study of power relations between volunteer tourists and workers at the child and youth care centres in Port Shepstone will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The main research questions in this study are concerned with power relations between permanent workers in the Child and Youth Care Centres and international volunteers who come in temporarily into the centres. The study sought to solicit the views of the workers and international volunteers about how they navigate these relations; and what can be done to empower workers to always enforce decisions that place the rights and interests of the children at the centre of all interactions. Workers in the study are defined as all workers who interact with international volunteers at the Centres and make decisions regarding the care of children and activities done with, or that affect children. This includes centre managers, departmental managers, caregivers, social workers and administrators. International volunteers are international visitors from first world countries who come into the centres to work voluntarily for a set time as part of their travel experience.

3.2 STUDY DESIGN

A study design is the strategy chosen by the researcher to go about conducting their research. It is the plan and its execution which must adhere to some criteria to secure the trustworthiness of the research process and its findings (Shenton, 2004). The study design guides action and decisions by the researcher for the research questions to reflect the purpose of the inquiry, and actually enquire on the subject it sets out to investigate. The design of the study determines how the researcher selects participants, frames questions, gathers and analyses data (Shenton, 2004).

The study of relations between Child and Youth Care Centre workers and international volunteers has been conducted by means of a case study - which is an in-depth analysis of the CYCC environment and the interactions that take place therein. (Creswell, 2014). This case study is interested in the specific CYCC context in which life and decisions take place, and so an in-depth description of the context is provided, as well as in depth interviews using open-ended questions in order to allow for collection of detailed and rich information about the experiences of participants, both workers and international volunteers.

3.2.1 Population and Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to select participants to the study. Purposive sampling gives priority to information rich participants that can provide in-depth insights on the

subject under study (Patton, 1990). In this case, participants drawn from the Child and Youth Care Centre staff and international volunteer population were deemed relevant and information rich as they have direct experience in the context under investigation. Participants were engaged in open-ended interviews and discussions in order to provide them with freedom to provide as much contribution as possible.

Purposive sampling incorporates a number of strategies used to identify participants that are relevant to the research (Patton, 1990). Again, workers who have experience of working in CYC Centres, in the context of volunteer tourists and volunteers themselves were relevant participants. Snowball or chain sampling was done by way of referrals to specific participants who had specific information rich experiences to share that typify or provide insight into the worker / volunteer tourist dynamic. For example, the researcher was referred to a participant who had worked as a social worker in a residential care environment in Sweden and was now working at the local CYCC, also as a social worker.   Another was referred because she was a former child resident at the centre and had interacted with international volunteers at that time. She now works at the same centre in a marketing position. Homogeneous sampling is a strategy in purposive sampling which selects individuals based on shared traits which are relevant to the research (Patton, 1990). The focus groups are examples of homogeneous sampling used for the study. All international volunteers were grouped together on the basis of that characteristic; as so were permanent workers selected into a focus group by themselves.

The workers as a homogeneous group all have experience of working in the CYCC environment and with volunteers in their respective departments; and could therefore contribute to the discussion based on that experience. International volunteers were a homogeneous group because they all came from Northern hemisphere countries (Europe and United States of America) and had been volunteering at the child and youth care centres wherein the research was conducted. Homogeneous sampling proved useful in the context of group discussions; by ensuring that all participants and their experiences have a bearing on the research question (Patton, 1990).

For one-on-one interviews, the researcher managed to secure 15 in-depth interviews with permanent CYCC staff, and 6 in-depth interviews with international volunteers as according to Kuzel (1992) 6 - 8 is the recommended number from which sufficient

detail and in-depth information about the nature of relations between permanent CYCC staff and international volunteers can be gathered. There were 3 group discussions. The first permanent workers' group discussion comprised of 5 participants who were all workers on the premises of a children's village in various positions including an estate manager, preschool and day care teachers and a social worker. The second workers' discussion group was made up of 10 caregivers. The last discussion group comprised of 6 volunteers.

Data was collected by means of digital recordings, transcriptions and researcher notes of the interviews and group discussions.

3.2.2 Data Collection

In-depth interviews were conducted with participants, using open ended questions to elicit rich and detailed responses. Open ended interviews were appropriate for this study, as it sought an in-depth understanding of the worker experience in relation to international volunteers (Shenton, 2004). International volunteers were also interviewed, to solicit their views of their relations with workers. The interviews are supplemented with focus group discussions where participants were gathered to hold discussions about their experiences in relation to volunteer tourism in the CYCC environment. This supplementary method was used to triangulate information at the analysis stage (Patton,1990). In one case, the worker was not able to attend a one-on-one interview but was able to make the group discussion as it was scheduled at a more convenient time for him. In this way, the group discussion was used to secure participation from someone who would have otherwise been lost to the process.

Observation was used as a third data collection method, whereby the researcher observed to a limited extent the day-to-day functioning and decision making at the centres. Observation is a popular method to complement interviews and group discussions and provides an opportunity to verify the information provided during interviews and group discussions, and therefore aids triangulation (Shenton, 2004). Observation in this study was limited especially at the GCF centre, where the researcher was stationed at a boardroom near the reception area and could not witness much interaction as the centre went about its daily functions.

However, some interesting observations were made wherein what was discussed with the researcher contradicted events as they unfolded on the ground. For instance,

GCF say they do not allow visitors on the premises where children occupy space; but this was not the case on two occasions witnessed by the researcher. On the first occasion, the researcher was invited to devotion in the morning with staff and the children prior to her beginning her research. The second occasion was observed in between interviews which took place at a boardroom just outside the reception area, researcher observed visitors being directed to where a child was in the living space with other children. A late visitor was also directed from the reception area to join the visitors who had arrived earlier. Note, they were not accompanied to the area, but given directions to where they would find the child.

3.2.3 Data Analysis

Interview transcripts have been coded by the researcher, wherein significant references and themes are extracted from the interviews and group discussions. Group discussions should ideally highlight particular themes that may resonate for the participants, which may be difficult to identify with individual interviews (Shenton, 2004). A notable observation is that responses from participants within a group seemed to prompt new information from participants that they had not shared during the one-on-one interviews. The emergent themes form the basis of a thematic analysis, which will be guided by a social constructivist paradigm – which centres the subjective experiences of the participants, how they relate their experiences; and how a new reality can be constructed which empowers them and enforces their authority in the face of competing interests from international volunteers (Guba and Lincoln; 1994).

The NVIVO computer package was employed as it is suitable for thematic analysis of quantitative data collected through interviews and group discussions.

3.2.4 Paradigm

This research is informed mainly by critical theory and in part by social constructivism.

Critical theory's historical realism resonates with the worldview that "reality" is a *shared construct* that results from historical, economic, political and social values that over time come to be accepted as the natural order, assumed by both the dominant and oppressed (or less powerful) as normal (Guba and Lincoln; 1994). These values are defined by the dominant group and serve to perpetuate and naturalize their dominant status.

It follows then that day-to-day decisions of both the dominant and minority groups, based on the prevailing values tend to lean towards the benefit of the dominant group, and to maintain the status quo. For example, despite the dubious benefits to the centre of hosting volunteers, because volunteers want access to the CYCC, the workers seem to be at pains to explain why the presence of volunteers is justified; even though the gist of their own experiences seems to contradict or undermine the value of volunteers in the CYCC context.

The literature reviewed in chapter 2 identified how the values of first world countries, the tourism industry and volunteer tourists from first world countries have a bearing on the practices at CYC centres. These values favour the tourists and enforce practices that disregard the wellbeing of children in the centres. Therefore, an overriding assumption is that volunteer tourists exercise power and influence at the centres by virtue of their status as international visitors, and on the strength of their economic standing compared to the local workers they interact with at the centres; even when the contribution they make is negligible or does not justify the lengths the centre and staff go to accommodate them.

Methodology in critical theory consists of a dialogue between researcher and the subjects of inquiry (Guba and Lincon, 1994), which in this case are permanent workers at the CYCC as well as volunteer tourists working there. The dialogue conducted through open-ended interviews and group discussions allowed for reflection on the values that inform decisions and daily life in the CYCC. The purpose of critical theory research is to challenge and transform prevailing values that are exploitative and constraining of minority groups (Guba and Lincon, 1994). What this research purposed to do was to engage with participants in a critique of the prevailing values that currently inform life at the CYCC and assess the extent to which those values and consequent decisions promote or fall short of the rights and interests of children in their care.

The second paradigm that partly informed the research is social constructivism, which is the idea that reality is a construction of collective consensus; meaning reality is a product of what groups of people commonly hold as reality (Guba and Lincon, 1994; Haverkamp and Young, 2007). This paradigm is useful in so far as understanding prevailing constructions of reality and engaging actively in reconstructing them,

including consciously redefining values that guide action at the CYCC. Like critical theory, constructivism acknowledges the historical, social, economic, ethnic and gender contexts that determine and influence what is shared reality within groups (Guba and Lincon, 1994).

Finally, critical theory will be used to unpack and understand the historical context responsible for the current structural power relations that prevail between individuals at CYCC. Critical theory exposes the economic and socio-political contexts that create the current reality and current power dynamics. It explains why things are the way they are as it allows for an understanding of the structural reasons for lopsided power imbalance: that the dominant, economically and culturally powerful group defines reality to their advantage and naturalises their dominant position as though it were a normal order of things (Guba and Lincon, 1994; Haverkamp and Young, 2007). This research explores current assumptions of what is "normal" at the centres; and reflects on whether it enables the centres to fulfil their mandate towards the children in their care. In critical theory the powerful; in this case those with economic and cultural power, define reality. But constructivism allows for a new consensus about "what is right" and how power can be relocated to serve at all times the best of their interests - which in this case are the interests and rights of the children placed at CYCCs.

3.2.5 Study Area

Permanent adult staff, mainly caregivers, administrators and management working in Child and Youth Care Centres that participate in volunteer tourism programmes were interviewed. Volunteer tourists working in these organizations at the time of the study were also interviewed. They were sourced from CYC Centres serving Port Shepstone and surrounding areas. The Rehoboth CYCC in Murchison and the Give a Child a Family CYCC participated in the study and are both located in Port Shepstone, the main town in the Hibiscus Coast Municipality in the South Coast of KwaZulu Natal.

Time Period

As anticipated, data collection took place during the course of two weeks wherein group discussions and individual interviews were held with all participants at their places of work.

Socio-political-economic Context

Port Shepstone and the Hibiscus Coast Municipality make up the second biggest local tourism market in KwaZulu Natal after Durban; and boasts holiday resorts, sports amenities and recreational activities. The rural areas surrounding the town are predominantly underdeveloped, with 60% of households still sourcing water from outside the home. The rate of general unemployment is 28% and stands at 37% amongst the youth (Census; 2011). That Port Shepstone is a tourism destination surrounded by poor communities makes it an ideal choice for volunteer tourism activities, and therefore ideal for this study.

3.3 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Qualitative research, especially conducted from a social constructivist framework centres the subjective positionality of participants (and the researcher) (Shenton, 2004). This means that the research is concerned with their perspectives rather than an "objective" account of phenomenon. Therefore validity, reliability and rigour have less to do with whether participants provide accurate accounts and more to do with the interview questions being able to elicit rich and in-depth information regarding participant's experiences relating to the power relations between them and international volunteers in Child and Youth Care Centres (Shenton, 2004). Furthermore, qualitative research depends on a number of elements to achieve credibility. Of those, member checks, the use of original data in reporting and triangulation were applied to the study (Shenton, 2004; Patton, 1990). Member checks refer to the testing of the researcher's analysis with participants in order to check that the researcher's understanding aligns with what participants meant to represent during interviews and discussions. This process also presents an opportunity to enrich the data as participants can offer additional comments and information at this stage. This builds on the credibility of the research as it captures and confirms representation of participants' views. The use of original data (verbatim quotes) to represent the participants' position in the report further enhances credibility as it allows their own voices to be directly reflected (Shenton, 2004). This has been done consistently in Chapter 4. Finally, triangulation by showing a clear link between the data and conclusions reached in the data analysis demonstrate that the research is credible. Triangulation also ensures that the study is confirmable (Patton, 1990). Confirmability reflects the extent to which the research findings are consistent with information provided by participants, rather than the researcher's own ideas.

The dependability of the research will further be demonstrated by the researcher's ability to extract from the participant's representations of their experiences the shared meaning that they have constructed regarding relations with volunteers, and how new meaning can possibly be co-constructed to build new resources to navigate these relations from an empowered position (Shenton, 2004). The 're-construction' is reflected in parts of the interviews where participants reflect on how things can be done differently going forward.

Although transferability, which is the extent to which the study findings can be generalised to other contexts is not a priority in case studies; it was possible to explore the extent to which the two centres have similar experiences. (Shenton, 2004) This is because case studies are very context specific, and transferability is limited by the uniqueness of each context. So, transferability in this instance has been done to a limited extent and only within the study.

Methodologically, open-ended interviews present with the challenge of coding and theming for commonalities in divergent narratives and subjective representations from respondents. Fortunately, the environments under study provided some similarities in ascribed meaning and experiences. Group discussions also addressed this challenge by exploring similar experiences and similar meanings between participants.

The nature of qualitative research using a social constructivist framework, which seeks to achieve transformative outcomes for the participants requires in-depth interactions between participants and researcher which are enriched by lengths of time spent together (Heron and Reason, 1997; Haverkamp and Young, 2007). The time constraints imposed on this project pose a limitation wherein not enough time was available to build and harness long-term relationships between researcher and participants.

3.4 DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

3.4.1. Although children are a stakeholder in the CYC Centres and may hold views that are relevant and valuable to the study, I did not set out to interview them due to ethical considerations. I am not equipped to deal with vulnerable children and the consequences of discussing issues that may cause them stress or trigger traumatic reactions. As such, the study had to do without the perspective of an important stakeholder. However, one of the workers at the Give a Child a Family CYCC is a

former beneficiary of the centre as she was admitted there at different times as a child. Now an adult, she participated in a one-on-one interview giving her own subjective views from the perspective of having interacted with international volunteers as a child.

Obviously one such interview is not representative of children's experiences and views, and the objective of the study is concerned with the workers at the centres and how they navigate relations with international volunteers. As a focal group for the research, the study's objectives were achieved fully without the participation of children in the study.

3.4.2. Unavailability of respondents – the study depended on the voluntary participation of staff from child and youth care centres and available volunteer tourists. Unavailability was mitigated by securing permission to engage with staff through the relevant authorities and the gatekeeper's letter. Further, at GCF CYCC, the researcher was given a staff member to coordinate workers' diaries and schedule workers for interviews with the researcher. This was an efficient process to make sure that there was always someone available to interview. An initial introduction was conducted at a gathering of staff wherein prospective respondents were informed about the study in order to solicit participation. Although the researcher was willing to conduct interviews outside of working hours in order to accommodate respondents, there was no need as sufficient numbers of participants were secured during work hours in both sites. Further, group discussions were facilitated to compliment interviews, and also as an alternative to interviews where it was not feasible to secure a one-on-one interview with some workers at Rehoboth.

3.4.3. Three child and youth care centres were identified for the study. But due to the fact that the methodology used was in-depth such that one of the sites that had been secured was no longer included in the research. This is because the research conducted at the first two sites harvested enough data to provide insights into the subject under study (Kuzel, 1992).

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Children are an important population group in the CYCCs under study, but it is the considered position of the researcher that they should be excluded from the research. There is enough evidence in the literature to suggest that children at CYC centres are often traumatized and emotionally vulnerable, and therefore not ideal for them to

interact with friendly strangers who are there for short periods (Richter et al, 2014). As a result, the researcher did not engage with children at the Centres during the research. As mentioned, one adult who is a former child beneficiary who now works at one of the centres was available for an interview, thus offering what can be considered a child's perspective.

3.6 CONCLUSION

The study explores the power relations between workers and international volunteers in the Child and Youth Care Centres by focusing on the subjective experiences of research participants, exploring with them the values that inform decisions at the centres. Subjective experiences are explored by means of open-ended questions so that in-depth and rich information could be solicited from the participants. Using a constructivist approach, the dominant values that inform decision making are critically engaged with to allow for the group to construct a new consensus that places the interests of children at the core of all decision making; especially where existing values contradict this mandate.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 3 presented the research methodology that was used in this study. The current chapter will present and analyse the data collected during this study. Thematic data analysis was used to analyse the data. The aims of this study were to investigate the relations between permanent CYCC workers and international visitors that spend time at the centre as volunteers, with a view to determine how power is distributed between the two groups; as well as to understand the influence that volunteers have on the day-to-day decision making at the centres.

Several themes emerged during data collection from the interview questions and from the focus group discussions. Interview and discussion group questions were mostly the same, with some follow-up questions being asked for clarity and additional two questions asked specifically to volunteers. Major themes to emerge from the research were;

The freedoms and restrictions placed on volunteers at CYCCs

The influence volunteers wield on decision-making and operations at the CYCCs

Justifications by both workers and volunteers for the practice of hosting volunteers at CYCCs regardless of the risks this practice exposes to the children

The contrast between the volunteer industry between South Africa and the Global North

The next section looks at the profile of the participants.

4.1 PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

Participants for the research were sourced from 2 child and youth care centres in Port Shepstone, KwaZulu Natal. One CYCC operates as a Place of Safety; which staff described as a temporary placement for children removed from their family villages by a court for safe keeping whilst interventions at the village take place to improve the situation for the children; or before they are placed in alternative permanent arrangements such as foster care. The other is a Children's Village (also referred to as a 'village') which offers permanent accommodation for abused and abandoned children without an option of alternative residential placements. A total of 15 workers were interviewed on one-on-one interviews; and six volunteers were interviewed. The

initial plan was to interview 8 volunteers but at the time of conducting research, only 6 were available. The third site was also left out of the research as they did not have any volunteers at the time, and the workers available at the two centres had already reached the threshold required for the study.

 The research was conducted by means of in-depth one-on-one interviews with open-ended questions. Two group discussions were held with workers from the children's village, and one group discussion was held with volunteers from the same centre.

Table 1 below shows the demographic information of the participants.

Table 1: Demographic profile of the participants

Variable	Category	Frequency
Total number of participants		21
	CYCC Workers	15
	Volunteers	6
Race Distribution	White	9
	Black	12

Table 2: Demographic information for CYCC workers

Variable	Category	Frequency
Total number of workers		15
Place of Safety CYCC		8
Children's Village CYCC		7
Age distribution	25 - 34	4
	35 - 44	5
	45+	6
Gender Distribution	Female	15
	Male	0
Race distribution	African	12
	White	3
	Indian	0
	Coloured	0
Urban / Rural distribution	Urban	6
	Rural	9
Qualifications	*M (Matric)	4
	M+1	10
	M+2	1

*Matric: high school qualification

Two of the permanent workers from the place of safety came from Europe originally as volunteers. They have been at the centre for 13 and 17 years and currently working respectively as a Human Resources Manager and Senior Social Worker. All the white respondents were urban based, and most black respondents were rural based.

Most worker respondents were 35 years or older, and all were female. According to these statistics, the child and youth care industry is dominated by black African females, a majority of whom are from rural areas. The rural population is generally less educated and occupies the lower levels in the organizations; specifically, they are the caregivers. The urban population was mostly more educated, holding a post-high school qualification; and occupied positions of influence within their organizations. Notably, only one worker respondent had a postgraduate qualification.

Table 3: Demographic profile of the volunteers

Variable	Category	Frequency
Total number of workers		6
Place of Safety CYCC		2
Children's Village CYCC		4
Age distribution	18 - 24	3
	25 - 34	3
Gender Distribution	Female	4
	Male	2
Race distribution	African	0
	White	6
	Indian	0
	Coloured	0
Qualifications	M	4
	M+1	0
	M+2	2

Demographic profile of the volunteers

All international volunteers were white and under the age of 32, with an average age of 24. The majority (4) were students spending time at the CYCCs as part of their degree requirements. The two long-term volunteers had post graduate qualifications and occupied managerial positions at the CYCC that operated as a children's village.

4.2: THEME 1: RULES VS. ACTUAL PRACTICES

The first theme relates to how centres define their rules and how they actually implement those rules in practice. These are rules relating to the recruitment and selection of volunteer tourists and how centres hold volunteers accountable for behaviour where it contradicts the rules. It also relates to centre priorities and how these are upheld in the context of volunteers who bring their own priorities into the CYCC environment. 4.2.1 How volunteer tourists come to the Centres

Both centres advertise for volunteers through online platforms such as their websites and Facebook. But word of mouth from past volunteers and church networks seems to be the main means by which volunteers come to hear about the centres. Predictably, most volunteers come from birth countries of the founders which are Holland and Sweden. One of the directors makes annual fundraising tours to their village country, contributing to the recruitment of volunteers mainly from their country of origin.

Most volunteers hear about the centres through Church circles or if they are students, through their university. Many past volunteers refer others who also like to travel and volunteer. This is the case for both centres however, more workers from the children's village were not aware of how volunteers find out about the centre. As one of them put it;

> *I couldn't say how volunteers connect with the centre. I only hear when it's announced that a volunteer is coming and for how long. That's all* (LK, caregiver at the children's village).

The long-term volunteers are a couple who applied for posts advertised by the children's village online. Below is an account of how they came to volunteer at the CYCC;

> *My wife is the one who visited here in 2009 for just a short-term trip… and when we were working in the States years later, we felt we should go overseas to serve in some capacity and so after praying about it my wife reached out to (the children's village) and uhm, contacted them and they were looking for additional volunteers so we applied and were accepted.* (BR, long-term volunteer and managing director at the children's village's profit-making subsidiary).

As mentioned, the students came from universities that arranged for them to travel to the centres;

> *Normally schools plan for us... So, it's via school* (PV, nursing student and short-term volunteer at the children's village).

> *Well actually this is part of my education, to go abroad, and they have had contact with the granddaughter of a volunteer in our school... they just gave us the opportunity to visit here* (MK, nursing student and short-term volunteer at the children's village).

The practice of advertising for volunteers and actively recruiting them through online platforms, physical tours and affiliated organizations talks to the way these CYCCs are promoting themselves as travel destinations and positioning their centres as non-traditional tourism products. This means centres are functioning in service of the tourism industry, offering a tourism product and assuming responsibility for their tourist clients in addition (and in competition to) being Child and Youth Care centres.

All the volunteers, but specifically students mentioned assistance by someone with a personal relationship with the directors at the centre. This confirms the network nature of governance that operates in CYCCs-as-tourism-destinations. Networks insert foreign interests into the CYCC environment and consequently compromise the centre's ability to protect and prioritise the interests of the children in their care as they cater to the interests of visitors and acting on behalf of their connections.

The long-term volunteers at the children's village were an American couple that felt compelled to travel and work overseas as part of fulfilling their religious service. The wife said:

> *So, I came in 2009 on a mission trip with the university I was with uhm back in the States ... we were out here for one day, really for just about 3 hours, not even like the whole day; to meet the kids, uhm and to play with the kids and leave their house moms and whatnot; and so that's how I came originally ... and then the Lord started to move in our hearts that we're supposed to be moving overseas uhm and both my husband and I ...the Lord just kept bringing the children's village back into my mind and so I finally looked them up and they were looking for a couple both to come and serve in a management role.* (KR; HR, PR and Financial manager at the children's village).

All the accounts provided by the volunteers of how they came to the centres point to personal academic and self-actualization goals that volunteers are pursuing through volunteer work. The students are fulfilling their academic requirements, and the couple their religious or spiritual duty, confirming observations by Erasmus (n.d) on how volunteer tourism serves many a volunteer's career or academic project by offering international exposure in a very specialised environment. The linkages being made through personal and university connections are in line with Hajer and

Wagenaar's (2003) claim that governance affords access through networks. This is a noteworthy point when considering the academic and career benefits that accrue to those who can gain access to the CYCC space through networks.

4.2.2 Worker perspectives on application of selection criteria

One of the research objectives was to explore actual practices in recruitment of volunteers in contrast to the formal processes as claimed in official communication. At the place of safety three respondents from the management team identified age as a restriction, however there is no stipulated minimum age. In the past they have accepted younger volunteers although they prefer volunteers from the age of 20. The age criterion seems to be applied at the discretion of the one processing the application.

Another criterion mentioned by respondents was Christianity. It is not clear how this is verified, but the centre does recruit mainly via church organization and referrals from church networks. Other criteria include a driving license and relevant experience, and non-verifiable requirements such as passion for children and compassion. A former volunteer coordinator also identified the issue of numbers. The place of safety has a staff complement of 80 and capacity for about 65 children so, they must restrict the number of volunteers they can host at a time, although they did not specify a limit. Staff from the lower ranks were not sure about the selection criteria, although one caregiver assumed volunteers may be required to produce a police clearance in a process similar to that applied to employment candidates. The idea of selection criteria that is not made specific or verifiable criteria leaves a lot of decision making up to the discretion of the recruiting officer and makes it hard to judge whether recruitment decisions are rational and well considered.

All staff at the children's village indicated that they are not sure of the volunteer selection criteria. This includes a social worker who sits at management meetings. One respondent guessed that the director would make sure that the volunteers are Christian. A simple response summarised what employees in general understand about recruitment at the village;

> *That would be up to the director* (MN, social worker at the children's village CYCC).

Workers at the children's village provide no input into the selection process and are completely alienated from the decision of who comes into contact with "their" children.

The lack of involvement or even awareness in the selection of volunteers by workers in lower ranks, who are typically the ones providing primary care to children means that they are less likely to confront volunteers who display undesirable behaviour. Worker distance to decision-making processes bears witness to what Swyngedouw (2005) called the marginalization of locals (the workers) which happens when external, private (and international) individuals or entities assume control of processes. In the case of the children's village decision-making power is centralised in the director who as a foreigner seems to favour her fellow nationals and other international visitors, making it easy to undermine the views of local workers and interests of children at the centre.

Governments in Africa and in South Africa remain inefficient in enforcement of their own child protection statutes within child and youth care centres (Crispin and Mann, 2016). A disempowered workforce exacerbates the vulnerability of the children in their care.

4.2.3 Volunteer accounts of applied selection criteria

Responses regarding the process of recruitment as experienced by the volunteers provides insight into the dynamic of the tourism industry in CYCC practices. All volunteers had filled in an application form which one volunteer identified as the only requirement she had to fulfil;

> *We had to fill in some forms. But otherwise there was no [none]…* (LD, student and short-term volunteer at the place of safety).

Besides the application form, all volunteer responses varied regarding requirements they had to fulfil as part of their application, suggesting that criteria may have not be applied consistently with each application. For example, only one respondent mentioned the requirement to have a driver's license even though it's a requirement at the children's village and a preference at the place of safety. Also, only one volunteer mentioned the requirement to produce a police clearance.

One student acknowledged that a minimum 3-month stay is required, but that this condition was not applied in their case. Predictably, both centres were hosting students visiting for 10 - 12 weeks even though they both stipulate a minimum 3-month stay as a condition to applicants. The fact that all the students were connected to the centre through someone with a personal relationship at the CYCC demonstrates the

power of networks, in that relationships may trump due process in an environment that enjoys relative autonomy from government regulation.

Volunteer responses reveal that CYCCs contradict their own selection criteria when faced with applicants who do not meet the criteria. They tend to accommodate applicants rather than apply criteria uniformly. The inconsistent application of selection criteria not only speaks to the centres' lenient attitudes but also, to inadequacies in how legislation is applied at the level of CYCCs. Due to weak enforcement by government, centres are able to practice a lot of discretion in how they align their processes to the spirit of the law pertaining to the protection of children in their care. Where government institutions lack capacity to adequately enforce or regulate the CYCC environment; the gap is filled by independent players whose interests come to bear on CYCCs and thus compromising the interests of children the institution is meant to protect.

4.2.4 Worker perspectives on how centres handle misbehaving volunteers

Some of the workers at the place of safety identified a designated volunteer coordinator as responsible for the discipline of volunteers. However, the centre is careful to negotiate boundaries cautiously, so they do not offend volunteers. Many workers emphasised that volunteers are not dismissed offhand but always provided with explanations of why they are being restricted at a particular time;

> *You want to accommodate them. The whole aim of this as well is to have them leave as friends and it's important for us so; we do not want to dismiss them offhand.* (CW, financial manager at place of safety CYCC).

They also emphasise the importance of preparing volunteers beforehand so that their expectations are managed.

While most of the workers are adamant that they have not witnessed a situation where volunteers misbehave, a caregiver provided an example of unacceptable behaviour that seems common with male volunteers; where their physical play with the children is inappropriate, especially considering children who have experienced sexual abuse. Alarmingly, she gives the example as a common occurrence attributing it to cultural differences between the South African context and where the volunteers come from;

> *I can make an example regarding the way they play with the children. It happens that maybe when we play with children, you'll find that they would lie down and have the child run all over them whereas we would say to the children not to touch just anywhere on the body.*

So, we would warn them that these children come from different backgrounds. You'd find some from home they have been sexually abused and so it's easy for them to know what happens with a male body. Normally when we warn them, they get in line, but if not then we escalate it to management if we have warned them, but they still do not follow procedure (NX, caregiver at the place of safety).

The caregiver does not explicitly qualify this behaviour as contrary to the centre's rules although it is something they have to monitor and address repeatedly. This idea of not identifying volunteers who show inappropriate behaviour speaks to the idea that as people from a dominant social group their behaviour is excusable. The psychological disconnect between volunteers and their unbecoming behaviour on the part of workers in general and specifically this caregiver speaks to the unequal power relations between workers and volunteers, wherein the wealth, class and social dominance of the volunteers afford them a position of reverence and positive associations (Crispin and Mann; 2016). In this way, economic and cultural dominance provides volunteer tourists with "immunity" and room to exploit without being viewed with suspicion. This explains why in her account, the respondent separates intention from the behaviour and in her mind, volunteers continue to be "innocent" or unwitting in their offences.

Staff at the children's village give different accounts of what happens when a volunteer acts contrary to the rules, indicating that rules and processes are ill-defined, and a lack of a culture of accountability when it comes to volunteers. From a preschool teacher who said staff provide feedback to the director, who would then deal with the volunteer; to social workers who said volunteer contracts would be terminated. A caregiver said their stay is cut short and they leave without any disclosure of reasons.

The majority of respondents insist that they have not come across instances of unwelcome behaviour that warranted some kind of process to be instituted against a volunteer. The fact that the majority are not aware of recruitment requirement means they are likely disempowered to monitor volunteers or confront them in instances of unacceptable behaviour. Even so, volunteer stays have been abruptly cut pointing to possible misbehaviour that the centre leadership were compelled to act against. The fact that these instances are not widely discussed points to the privilege and reputational protection afforded international volunteers by virtue of their social and economic status compared to the workers at the CYCCs (Crispin and Mann; 2016).

4.2.5 Perceived restrictions on volunteers

When asked what volunteers were not allowed to do that they had planned to do, only one volunteer, a social work student felt they were restricted from participating in social work activities to the level they desired;

> *I would say I would love to be more with the social workers that work with the kids. Because now I've been mostly with the social workers that assess whether the family's suitable or not. that would be really nice ...* (LD, social work student and short-term volunteer at the place of safety)

Five out of the six volunteers did not feel that there were restrictions placed on them at the centres;

> *Most of the time we can just do what we want to do and so it's ok.* (PV, nursing student and short-term volunteer at the children's village).

> *No. I do not think so. We're very free to join in everything, which is very good. You can be in the school, you can play with the children. You can join them when they're going out in the community. Yes, you can really do a lot of things.* (HS, social work student and short-term volunteer at the place of safety).

This last response is noteworthy considering that both volunteers and some workers were adamant that short-term visitors are restricted from interactions with children as part of providing a stable environment for them. This contradiction points to the centres' willingness to compromise on what they consider best practice in the interest of children in service of the desire by short-term volunteers to interact with children. In making compromises for volunteers, centres demonstrate how interests from external stakeholders take centre stage and replace the interests of the community the CYCC is supposed to serve (Swyngendouw, 2005).

4.2.6 Differences between volunteer expectations and actual experience

The volunteers were generally pleasantly surprised by the flexibility they found at the centres in terms of the range of activities they could participate in. They had not expected the extent of freedom they were afforded regarding what they can do;

> *I think I thought I would just come here and write the thesis. But when I came here, I saw that there were so many things that we could join and do, like experience. ... it was really exciting to go along with the social workers and see how it works here. To see the difference from Sweden as well.* (LD, social work student and volunteer at the place of safety).

For MK, a nursing student and short-term volunteer at the children's village, there was less work than she had expected. Consequently, she and her fellow student organized

to split their days between the village and another care centre. This is shown in the excerpt below:

> *It's actually the same, but I think there is less work to do than I expected... and we're also just working at another care centre... But we're working at the care centre and quarter of the time we're here; so that's the difference* (MK, nursing student and short-term volunteer at the children's village)

In general, international volunteers are free to do what they set out to do; and where this is not possible, the hosts make efforts to either bend the rules, or diplomatically redirect their actions. But their hosts are generally dedicated to showing respect for the volunteers' opinions and feelings. Again, this point to a culture of prioritising the interest of those from the dominant group (Crispin and Mann; 2016). Tourists constitute an economically dominant group who gain access to CYCCs through the commercialisation of the centres. They become paying customers for a tourist experience on offer at the centres. Thus, CYCCs are transformed into service centres for tourists who volunteer there.

4.2.7 Staff perceptions about centres' biggest priority regarding children

At the place of safety staff responses varied regarding what they understood to be the most important priority. Three members of staff had similar responses which emphasised taking a holistic view of the child and providing to each child's unique needs in terms of their health, education, social welfare, therapy and physical safety. The rest of the respondents emphasized safety. In terms of safety, the centre has a media policy to secure the confidential identities of the children.

Although one respondent at the children's village mentioned conditions regarding the use of children's photos on social media, it is at the place of safety that the policy seems more explicit and tied directly to the priority of keeping children safe. The rest of the responses from the place of safety highlighted various priorities including the need to relocate children with their families, or to find them safe foster villages. Interestingly, the place of safety does not seem to have an active adoption programme although their key function is to place children into alternative care when they cannot be placed back into the family village.

At the children's village responses also varied from education, to love and care. But more respondents identified health as a priority. This owes to the fact that the village was founded as a treatment village for abandoned HIV positive children. The village

now accepts children in need regardless of health status although 75% of their children are living with the HI Virus. The lack of clarity regarding priorities CYCCs opens up room for manipulation. When values and priorities are not well articulated for and by staff members; they are in no position to reinforce them in the face of competing interests from volunteers.

4.2.8 Volunteer perceptions of centres' biggest priority regarding children

All the volunteers identified different priorities at the centres with common threads in terms of safety, health and education. Interestingly, only the long-term volunteers at the children's village identified "stability" in relationships as a priority. Fostering long-term and stable relationships for the children at the CYCC is cited by the director and their website as a major priority. But the fact that practices on the ground accommodate short-term volunteers and visitors indicates inconsistency in how the centre pursues this priority. Short-term volunteers were not even made aware that this is an important goal for the centre, probably owing to their inability to contribute towards it.

Volunteer motivations are self-actualization and academic pursuits. The interests of the children in the CYCCs are not their priority. Volunteer motivations confirm the governance argument that was discussed in the previous chapter that external players represent their own interests. For this reason, government should exercise fully its responsibility to secure the interests of the children in these centres, and to ensure that all practices therein serve the children first and foremost.

4.3. THEME 2: THE INFLUENCE OF VOLUNTEER TOURISTS AT CYCCS

In order to explore the influence of volunteer tourists on decisions and processes at the centres, respondents were asked regarding centres openness to requests by volunteer tourists. They were also asked to reflect on the decisions that have been influenced by volunteer tourists, and who those guide action at the centres.

4.3.1 Staff views on adherence to programmes

To understand how formal processes are acted upon by volunteer tourists, and to glean their influence on operations, staff members were asked whether their centres adhere strictly to their programmes or if they accommodate volunteer ideas into how programmes are implemented. At the place of safety staff generally felt there is a well-developed programme that the centre adheres to with some flexibility to suggestions from volunteers; especially regarding activities with children during weekends and

school holidays. Again, where the centre is not able to accommodate volunteer suggestions, reasons would be provided. Two workers emphasised that the organization has well established systems that have been tried and tested over the past 26 years.

At the children' village responses from workers who interact with volunteers indicated more readiness to accepting volunteer suggestions. Predictably, the caregiver responses indicated that they are not aware how the centre deals with suggestions from volunteers as they are not witness to those interactions. By the time volunteers interact with staff, they would have had discussions with the director and so staff would accept as approved what volunteers come to them with;

> *For us, they will speak to the directors; and then we would be told by the directors that so-and-so [has come up with such a suggestion]. … that would mean they have already approved.* (MN, social worker at the children's village CYCC)

Responses from the children's village indicate that power is skewed towards the volunteers who have exclusive discussions with the director and descend on workers with ready approved decisions. At the place of safety, although there is a level of strictness, the flexibility to accommodate volunteers is built into the programme.

4.3.2 Perspectives on processes and decisions influenced by volunteers

From the point of view of workers at the place of safety, the first health care programme was drawn up by a volunteer, as was the teachers' programme. Other workers identified the extracurricular activities and the fact that volunteers like to take children out. It was decided that when volunteers are around, they must be accommodated in schedules so that there is allowance (and budget) for taking children out. There is also a language policy at the centre that compels everyone to speak English amongst themselves for the benefit of the volunteers. The financial manager from the place of safety recalled a time when the staff salaries had to be reviewed because volunteers were asking questions about whether they were being paid sufficiently. At the village, a preschool teacher recalled that a student doing her practicals revamped the preschool programme. All the caregivers indicated that they could not provide an informed response to the question, confirming that programmes are implemented without any of their involvement.

Reflecting on volunteer contributions to the centres reveals that firstly, they come to define the values that guide life and action at the centres in very significant ways; from the language spoken between workers, to salaries and the curriculum taught to pre-schoolers. Carothers (2003) argues that when those who offer help come to define the values of the organizations or people they help; the effect is that of a revolving door for volunteer tourism at child care centres; where past benefits justify the practice going into the future. Even though staff at the place of safety had previously expressed feelings of being in control of programmes; reflecting on the influences of volunteers reveals the significance of volunteer contributions to systems, programmes and culture in the organizations. These significant contributions not only have revolving-door effect for future volunteer tourists, but also create a dependency on the part of beneficiaries and weakens their agency (Bracking, 2015; Swyngendouw, 2005).

From the perspective of volunteers, their influence at the children's village was significant and far reaching; from decisions regarding remuneration and issuing payslips to staff, to another assuming complete control of the profit-making entity of the organization. Short-term volunteer students were providing medical care and administering medication to children and staff over the 10-week period of their visit.

A short term (10-week) visitor who came to conduct research on site for her thesis felt that her presence may influence a decision by the place of safety to participate in more shorter-term programmes where students come to conduct research as part of their academic programme. Only two out of the six respondents felt they had not influenced decisions at their respective centres; however, their mere presence on a shorter than stipulated term indicates an influence on formal processes that were ignored in order to accommodate them.

The issue of foreign students dispensing mediation is concerning as it is a clear breach of South African laws. Nursing Act of South Africa has clear conditions under which a registered professional nurse can obtain the authority to prescribe, administer and dispense medicines (Nursing Act No. 33 of 2005). Besides being illegal, the practice is grossly hazardous, as these students will likely not be available to account should any of their decisions impact negatively on their patients down the line. The practice also demonstrates the inadequate enforcement of regulation at CYCCs, leaving them open to exploitation.

4.3.3 Perspectives on programmes introduced by volunteers

Staff at the place of safety identified activities introduced by volunteers as typically involving fun extramural activities to engage the children, mainly; art and craft, teaching the children to bake, swimming, music, and hosting movie nights in their house. A respondent also identified a school's programme and the health care programme as having been initiated by volunteers.

At the children's village, volunteers were credited with more significant contributions such as sponsoring the construction of and operations at the school. An elaborate career guidance programme used at the school was developed by a student volunteer. One caregiver identified a bible study for the child care workers as having been introduced by volunteers.

It is clear from the responses from both centres that volunteers prefer work that fosters engagement with children. Rosquist et al (2013) have previously observed this is the norm and raise concerns about the temporary nature of such engagements. Professionals and student volunteers also make important interventions at a structural level such as influencing programme implementation at both organizations. Leeway to making structural and programmatic interventions gives volunteers significant power and influence; enabling them to shape these institutions to suit their interests (Crispin and Mann, 2016).

All four volunteers at the children's village provided examples of their unique contributions to how things functioned at the centre. The short-term nursing students had "reviewed and reorganized" medical records at the centre's clinic. The long-term volunteers had made significant contributions in their respective departments. One volunteer had set up operations for the village's business entity and was responsible for the strategic and day-to-day running of the business. In addition, he had "helped bring more structure to the sports programme". Another had several achievements to highlight, mainly;

> *I totally redid the website. marketing and our PR materials ...all the staff get payslips now* (KR, long-term volunteer, HR, PR and Financial Manager at the children's village).

Only the volunteers at the place of safety felt they had not made any new contributions to the centre during their 12-week stay. They emphasised that their focus had been on conducting research for their thesis.

The fact that short-term volunteers who were undergraduate students were

administering medication and conducting medical checks on children and staff did not raise any alarm bells for the staff at the centre is an example of how staff are uninformed about inappropriate behaviour and disempowered to protect the children in their care and themselves. The consequences of the student nurses' conduct may not be evident immediately and being around for only 12 weeks means they may never answer for their actions. This shows the lack of accountability of external players who access such vulnerable spaces through fluid membership (Joshi and Houtzager, 2012). These students will be long gone and cannot be held accountable for any consequences from their illegal practice at the centre. The fact that nursing students from overseas are able to practice unsupervised indicates a gap between legislation and implementation, which exposes the government as not able to provide adequate protection of its territory and vulnerable groups (Elden, 2007).

4.3.4 Processes to introduce changes made on account of volunteers

According to the workers at the children's village, suggestions are implemented through the director. Volunteers discuss their plans with the director, who provides approval and announces them to the staff. At the place of safety, the volunteer speaks to the relevant manager in the department concerned. Two staff indicated in their departments it would be a joint discussion with the manager, volunteer and workers.

A caregiver related a story about a volunteer from Holland who approached the centre for a training session with workers who were responsible for making baby feeding bottles as part of their duties. At the session, the visitor taught staff to get rid of milk that had remained in the bottle after a feed. The staff member felt the model suggested was wasteful, and something they could not afford in their context. Below are the staff reactions to this intervention;

> *So, we were told to attend a training session on making feeding bottles. We thought it was wasteful. You can't have a bottle ready made for a child to feed. So, we thought about days when we must take the child out to the clinic and it was decided that you can take the hot water along with you. Some of their ways confuse us... Maybe it works for them because they are wealthy.* (NX, child care giver at the place of safety CYCC).

It is clear from the response that the respondent considers this session to have been a waste of time and did not fully take into consideration the context under which feeding bottles are made at the centre. The example also demonstrates how the centres make allowances for the sake of volunteers rather than the needs of the centre

or its staff. In this instance the centre entertained the volunteer's need to provide an intervention where none was needed.

This is yet another example of a lack of controls and openness to external influences that renders CYCCs exposed to exploitation (Witepski, 2016). In terms of power relations, this account shows how international visitors are positioned as givers of knowledge, and local workers as recipients and available audience regardless of the need of the knowledge being offered by the volunteer. Their position as "helpers and givers" (in this case a giver of knowledge) positions the volunteer as one to define the values that guide life at the centre (Carothers; 2003). The ability to give is always in aid of the patron's interests; and enables the privatization of the CYCC (Swyngedouw, 2005). It also introduces "neoliberal governance" where the patron uses their access to resources or economic power to bulldoze the territory of those who are economically weaker and threaten the recipients' ability to self-determine (Bracking, 2015).

The volunteers at the Children's village all identified changes that they had influenced at the centre; from new programmes to operationalizing a new business entity. But they could not unpack a process by which the rest of the staff were engaged and informed of their contributions. Their responses to the question imply that the changes they were making were simply naturalised into the system fostered by a "just do it" attitude. For example;

> *I do not know I just did them*, (KR long-term volunteer and PR, HR and Financial Manager at the children's village)

And;

> *I guess I just suggested, and everyone thought that it was good* (BR, Long-term volunteer and Managing Director of the For-Profit Trust of the children's village)

A natural acceptance of volunteer contributions implies an assumed acceptability of such contributions because they are made by volunteers. Again, this confirms openness of centres and lack of controls. For volunteers, CYCCs seem to represent an opportunity for one to experiment, experience and exercise their will without restrictions. It also exposes CYCC's to manipulation and exploitation (Manshausen, 2015). The naturalization of contributions by volunteers also reflects their dominant position in relation to other workers; where they and their input is accepted without question *because* it comes from them (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

4.3.5 Worker perspectives on reasons to adjust programmes for volunteers

Although there is no regulation on minimum stays for volunteers, on paper both CYCCs prefer for their visitors to stay for six months or longer although they allow a minimum three months stay. They deem six months as ideal for a volunteer to acclimatise and make a worthwhile contribution in a new environment. Both centres say they mainly get visitors who stay for three months owing to visa processes. The 3-month South African Visa is a tourism or business visa. Both centres were adamant to define their volunteers outside of the "tourist" definition. But their visitors gain access to the country and the centres based on a tourist visa, which is not a working visa; and "working" in the way that the student nurses were for instance is outside of the legal provisions of the tourism visa used for them to travel. Ironically, centres are hesitant to acknowledge their volunteers' status as tourists; even though they position themselves as tourist destinations, albeit non-traditional ones.

In practice, both centres use their discretion to accept visitors on even shorter stays. At the time of the research both centres were hosting students who would be staying for only 10 weeks. It seems these requirements are easily adjusted to suit a volunteer's schedule. One respondent identified financial and goodwill reasons in compromising for volunteers. It is important for the centres to create pleasant relationships with volunteers as they go back to their home countries as ambassadors, spokespeople and even fundraisers for the centres;

> First and foremost is that we want to have supporters overseas that contribute to us financially when they can or even with services. So, it's probably for human resource and financial gain for us, for support and benefits - it's a lifelong benefit to us. (CW, financial manager at place of safety CYCC).

Typically, respondents believed the centres would be willing to adjust if benefits would accrue to children and the centre and not just for convenience to volunteers, although they acknowledge that how the volunteers feel remains important. None of the care workers from the children's village could offer an answer to the question, a reflection of their distance from any decision-making process at the centre.

The fact that CYCCs compromise on their own rules regarding length of stay in order to accommodate volunteer schedules speaks of commercialization of the CYCCs, and volunteering as a tourist experience on offer. Such commercialization has the effect of weakening democracy (worker influence) and silencing their voices in the decision-

making processes. Decisions are instead based on the preferences of the paying visitor (Joshi and Houtzager, 2012; Bracking, 2015).

4.3.6 WORKER PERCEPTION ON DECISION-MAKING ON DAILY ACTIVITIES

At the children's village, the director makes decisions about programmes and allocates volunteers to departments. At the level of the department; volunteers come already decided in terms of what their contribution will be - it is not decided with the worker. At the place of safety, the manager of the department provides direction, although they also do not have a choice in terms of which volunteer is allocated to them. The volunteer coordinator does the allocation in response to the volunteer's expectations as expressed on their application form.

A child care worker at the place of safety indicated that in their department decisions are made jointly, while another worker indicated that in her department, they all work as a team, although the supervisor or manager would provide direction;

> *We work together. It's team work. It's team work, although at the end of the day there is a superior* (TM, Teacher at the place of safety CYCC).

At the village, the social workers suggested they have more control of what happens in their department, whereas the child care workers feel that they get to hear from the volunteer. In this way power is unevenly distributed; probably depending on the level of skill attached to the worker's role;

> *[the director] discusses them with the volunteers at the office. We only get told that a volunteer will be working at the office for the next three months until they leave; another one will be helping at the creche; and so on. We only just get told.* (BN, preschool teacher).

> *We will hear from the volunteer what is being done* (VM, child care giver).

4.3.7 Volunteer perceptions on decision-making on daily activities

Three out of four volunteers at the children's village felt that that decisions on daily activities were made by the director. Their proximity to the director provides these volunteers an uneven access to power, and decisions tend to lean towards them. Only one volunteer identified the workers as making decisions regarding activities. This may owe to his own subjective experience as a worker responsible for a schedule of activities in his section. Both volunteers at the place of safety identified designated managers as decision-makers.

Volunteers' proximity to the decision-maker, which is facilitated by their status as "international visitors and givers" and access to wealth reinforces the uneven power relations between them and the rest of the workers, skewed in their favour (Crispin and Mann; 2016). In this way, volunteers represent the typical way international actors bring their interests to bear on decisions in a local setting operating under governance practice (Hager and Wagenaar, 2003). The dominant position enjoyed by volunteers is also a function of failed governmentality, in which the state is coming short of its responsibility to protect the CYCC environment (Murray Li, 2007; Elden, 2007).

4.3.8 Worker perceptions on who makes decisions on programmes

At the children's village workers almost unanimously identify the directors as responsible for making decisions regarding the running of programmes. Only 2 identify the management team as a decision-making body. Notably, a member of the management team was among those who identified the directors as the real decision makers.

Most workers from the place of safety identified each manager as the decision maker in their own department. A worker from the child care department indicated that they provide a lot of input as child carers;

> *That is a group effort because as we [caregivers] stay with the children, our managers take a lot from us* (MN, child caregiver at the place of safety).

A permanent staff member who initially came as a volunteer to the place of safety, related that many years ago volunteers used to assume a lot of responsibilities; including dispensing medication to the children. According to her, the children's act has in recent years become "stricter", and as a result volunteers are responsible for less, and permanent staff are assuming more responsibilities. This demonstrates how government legislation can influence practices at the CYCC environment. According to her, volunteers are most involved in the weekend and holiday programme used to entertain children as they are out of school and can afford to abandon routine. Even there, there is a staff member responsible; volunteers merely make suggestions during planning and take part in the programme.

4.3.9 Volunteer perceptions on decision making on programmes at the centres

Short-term volunteers at the village identified one of the directors as the programmes' decision maker. Long-term volunteers identified a management team which they are members of as making joint decisions and providing direction.

Volunteers from the place of safety were divided, with one identifying the volunteer coordinator and a manager as decision makers whilst another felt that volunteers were more autonomous and could make joint decisions with their hosts.

The varying responses indicate that volunteers may be basing their responses on their own subjective experiences, which differ from person to person; indicating a customised interaction for each volunteer.

Customising interactions to suit each volunteer and not having a set system speaks to the fluid nature of governance; where rules change often, and no clear boundaries are set. This type of system makes compromises the centres' ability to hold people accountable; and renders adherence to legislation arbitrary (Hajer, Wagenaar; 2003 and Joshi and Houtzager; 2012).

4.3.10 Worker views on changes made to accommodate volunteers' preferences

Discussions on changes the centres have made in response to the needs and preferences of volunteers are thebest indicators of the extent CYCCs have gone to become tourism destinations of choice for volunteer tourists. As one respondent succinctly put it;

> We're trying to really make it a memorable experience for them and enhance our support to them. (CW, financial manager at the place of safety CYCC).

In this bid, CYCCs have made considerable investments into their hosting capabilities. Both centres have newly upgraded, fully furnished accommodation which has been customised to volunteer requirements. Free wi-fi was indicated as a specific requirement from the volunteers at one of the centres. Both centres provide access to vehicles for volunteers to use for their own purposes.

Three respondents referred to their centre's concerted effort to making volunteers feel welcome. They indicated that as staff they are;

> ...encouraged to welcome them [volunteers] and treat them as part of the [CYCC] family (PG, caregiver at the children's village CYCC).

In the same vein, another caregiver said;

> It requires us as workers to love them and to listen to them. And we must respect them and not talk to them anyhow (LK, caregiver at the children's village CYCC)

The language used by the workers demonstrates the deference with which volunteers are treated at the centres, and this is tied to the cultural norms that affords international visitors unqualified respect and esteem (Carothers, 2003). It is also because of their status as providers of donations, which reinforces their position of power and advantage in the CYCC environment (Crispin and Mann; 2016).

At the place of safety, two respondents spoke of a "certificate awarding ceremony" where volunteers are presented with certificates of appreciation, caps and t-shirts in a;

> *...continuous effort to acknowledge them and their contribution; to make them lifelong friends of us and being ambassadors for us in terms of fund raising* (CW, financial manager at the place of safety CYCC).

Offerings unique to the place of safety include taking volunteers on a community tour to families, schools and creches; as well as training in the community where they meet families in need. The centre also has a volunteer coordinator who facilitates their arrangements from the time they apply as well as providing support during their stay. For the future, the centre is looking at building new volunteer accommodation on the property but on the other side of the dam so that it is secluded enough that they can have visitors to entertain. These plans are based on volunteer feedback that it is inconvenient that they are not allowed to host and entertain guests.

Accounts of measures taken and plans to customise accommodation to volunteer tourist preferences are yet another example of how the interests of outsiders, in this case international visitors are taking priority in an environment that should be safeguarded as it shelters vulnerable children (Hager and Wagennar, 2003). These measures not only represent a breach in security on account of volunteer tourists, but also the failure of government to exercise its full responsibility towards children in CYCCs. (Elden, 2007).

A care giver related a story about how unskilled and ill prepared volunteers are to operate in this kind of environment and also demonstrating the burden on staff for hosting them;

> *Some are open about their experiences that from where they come from, they have never come across a child with a special need. And sometimes they feel too sorry for the child and keep on crying. Sometimes a new-born would arrive, maybe they are a day old and you'd find the volunteer getting so emotional that they can't manage to proceed with the necessary tasks.*

Maybe when they spend time with the child, you must watch them because they will get emotional with the child. (SM, caregiver at the place of safety CYCC).

Rosquist et al (2013) noted that voluntourism is disruptive to the regular work of permanent staff and interferes with the quality and continuity of the work at places where they volunteer. The above proves this point; child care givers assume an added responsibility of providing support to volunteers - burdening them with even more responsibility; and possibly redirecting time and resources away from children to the volunteer. In this way, services of caregivers become focused on volunteers and the intended beneficiaries (vulnerable children) become marginalized (Swyngedouw, 2005).

4.3.11 Volunteer accounts of formal processes changed to accommodate them

According to the financial manager at the children's village the director responsible for volunteer deployment is "very good as slotting them in an area of their interest" and in aligning their role with their skills, studies and interests. For example, a student teacher will get experience in the classroom at the centre's school;

> *...we've just had a volunteer who was a special needs teacher, she wasn't a "special needs" (herself), she was a special-needs teacher and she served inside a special needs classroom. So, I think those are things that uhm, she'll put you where your interests lie, which makes it helpful as a volunteer to get what you want - to like, the experience you want to have.* (KR, HR, PR and Financial Manager at the children's village).

Another volunteer confirmed the notion that the centre's director will tailor a volunteer's experience to suit their interests;

> *I suppose that happens during the interview process, … if volunteers want to serve here then they mark on their applications what their interests are, hobbies, and then the volunteer coordinator ... would, I guess, take those into consideration and see where they'd fit while they're serving here.* (BR, managing director of the centre's business entity)

One short-term volunteer was aware of a plan by the children's village to convert some of the empty houses into rental properties for short-term rental. According to him, they had already rented one house out to a couple that was visiting their parents in the area.

The rest of the respondents were not aware of any changes done on their account, although they were all there on a shorter than 3 months stay. Both centres stipulate a minimum three month stay for volunteers. But these students were allowed to stay

for 10 weeks. One set was allowed to work unsupervised at the centre's clinic providing medical care and medication to the children and staff. The students were also working at another site while staying at the centre, thereby using the centre mainly for accommodation.

The above discussion bears testimony to the lack of controls in volunteer tourism, which threatens the health, safety and security of the children in the centres. Secondly, the human and financial burden to the centres by way of hosting volunteers, providing them with training and mentorship by staff, and the cost of food and accommodation and tour guidance or assistance take significant time and resources away from the core functions of staff and pours that into serving the volunteers who in the end do not pay back that investment as they are there only for a limited time (Richter et al, 2010). The practice of hosting volunteer tourists demonstrates how governance displaces citizens and imposes interests of external actors on the CYCC (Swyngedouw, 2005).

4.3.12 Worker views on what volunteers do that they are not allowed

Workers were generally reluctant to identify any behaviours that are deemed unacceptable from volunteers and instead highlighted efficiencies in their recruitment process that prevented the presence of undesirable elements among volunteers. Measures include recruiting "Christians" and communicating clear rules before the volunteer arrives. Regardless, one employee said;

> *They think this is an underdeveloped organization and they have come now to ... change the world and are going to put structures up and are going to do it their way* (AK, senior social worker at the place of safety).

This response points to a general attitude by international volunteers and the authority they want to assume at the centre. International volunteers descend on CYCCs with ideas and interventions that they seek to impose without consideration for local expertise, agency and experience that has sustained the centres for decades.

To minimize undesirable behaviours, the place of safety monitors volunteer interactions with children;

> *There are no restrictions to what they can do because they always work under supervision. But we also consider their qualification. Those who want to practice therapy for instance can be exposed to therapeutic sessions but not alone with the child*. (NM, child care giver at the place of safety CYCC)

Staff gave conflicting accounts on whether volunteers are allowed to take children out;

> *I do not remember because they like to take them out, but it's allowed depending on the situation* (NM, child care giver)

> *Sometimes they like to go out with the children, especially their age mates. They sometimes get children close to their age that they bond very closely with such that you can't tear them apart. You'd find that their relationship is too close. And when they do that, they want to take photos as evidence to show where they come from and what the donations were used for.* (SM, child care giver)

The staff member lists taking children out as part of volunteer behaviours that are not allowed at the centre along with exclusive bonding with a favourite child? and taking photographs.

The account regarding volunteer students being allowed to practice therapy as part of their practical experience contradicts management's account that;

> *They cannot be the social services professional of the child. I'm definite I think that has happened before. Even if you are a social worker, we won't necessarily allow you to now manage a child's case just because... you do not have the license to operate in our country anyway* (CW, financial manager).

Another manager;

> *You cannot let them do certain things like when we have had volunteers who were nurses, we can let them assist with certain aspects. But also, a nurse is a profession that has to be registered by a Council. So, we look at that. They can do activities leaning towards their field of expertise. But they cannot really take it over for very practical reasons. ...if you do not have your registration you're not allowed to practice. Whether you're South African or not South African I mean rules remain the same.* (HM, human resources manager)

The respondents say here that even when volunteers have professional qualifications relevant to the centre's work, they would not be allowed to practice their professions because they have to be registered to practice in South Africa. This is in direct contradiction to the account given by another respondent on another question of a nurse and a therapist who practiced in their professions at the centre;

> *We had a nurse from Sweden. She came just actually for a visit with her husband at that time. And they said, well we can help for a while. They were just planning on just passing by and then she just got stuck here and she helped us for six months as a qualified nurse... You know, and it was so useful. When she left, we were [saying] how are we going to cope now without her.* (CW, financial manager at the place of safety CYCC).

This account is corroborated by another worker who indicated that students, especially those in therapy are allowed to practice with the children, although they are not left alone to do this. So, it seems while the centre may have a formal position, in practice they apparently give leeway to professionals volunteering at the centre. The fact that a CYCC can exercise discretion on whether to allow professional volunteers to practice; when the law of the country is clear that they may not do so unless registered with the relevant statutory bodies is a clear indicator of the distance between legislation and enforcement at the CYCC environment.

At the children's village, all three child care workers interviewed said they do not know of any activities preferred by volunteers that are not allowed. One of the workers said;

> I wouldn't know that because they first discuss those with [the director] and her team; and then they decide that this is right, and this is not right. So, by the time they get here they come with a complete programme (BN, preschool teacher).

This response suggests that employees would not know explicitly what acceptable or unacceptable behaviour from volunteers is. Volunteers' association with the director, and the impression that what they do is preapproved points to a risk that workers could not easily confront a misbehaving volunteer or to report them. This sentiment is corroborated by a caregiver when she said;

> It's never been made clear what a volunteer is not allowed to do here" (LK, caregiver).

One of the social workers said;

> Their relationship should be professional; not just something that will follow them in the future. Yes, they must work with children but professionally. It should not be personal. (JS, social worker).

The social worker says volunteers are not allowed to develop personal relationships with the children. Which contradicts the centres practice of allowing volunteers to "choose a favourite" that they can take out and spend alone time with; and provide financial support to through sponsorship. Volunteers at the village can maintain private contact with a chosen child via private cell phone messages and telephone calls. This is standard practice which gives the impression that the centre supports personal relationships between children and volunteers.

One worker said;

They are not allowed to take a child out of the centre without reporting where they are going. They must say where the children are going and how they will get there. So, they are not allowed to just take a child and go with them anytime they want and maybe come back later. They must report to our social workers if the child is taken out of school.   They must report where the child is going, what they will do there and whether it's safe for the child… (KM, schoolteacher at the children's village).

Alarmingly this practice of volunteers taking children out by themselves is not prohibited, but "managed" by the volunteer giving a time and place of where they will be taking the child or children.

Conflicting responses in accounting for the freedoms and restrictions afforded to volunteers shows environments that are governed through discretionary rather than clear policies and legislative measures. This is the fluidity fostered by governance as referred to by Joshi and Houtzager (2012); which makes child care centres vulnerable to manipulation by external individuals who cannot in the long term be held accountable, and whose interests do not coincide with the best interests of the children at the centres.

In Europe and USA where the volunteers hail from, child and youth care centres are completely governed by unbending rules that keep out all external players; ensuring consistent standards for protection of institutionalized children.   First world governments exercise complete control of their responsibility towards their vulnerable children through stern measures, thereby practicing strict governmentality over their CYCCs (Murray Li, 2007). In South Africa by law the state is responsible for children when parents are not able to care for or provide for their children (Leatt, Rosa & Hall; 2005). The discretion exercised at the CYCCs lies outside of government mandate and point to a gap in how government is fulfilling its mandate towards institutionalized children. Ironically, the failure by government to regulate the CYCC environment and to offer adequate protection to children compromises the same government's authority and entrenches the presence of alien elements that exploit this gap for their own interests in ways that are not possible in their own countries (Elden, 2007; Murray Li; 2007).

4.3.13 Volunteer accounts of the work they want to do the most when planning their trips
All volunteer responses indicated how their volunteering was aligned to their personal objectives.   They all indicated that they were doing what they had set out to do,

meaning their roles at the centres had aligned to their personal objectives. The student nurses were working at the clinic, and the social worker students at the place of safety were doing village visits and shadowing social workers as part of their research. The long-term volunteer who was working as an HR, PR and Financial manager had wanted to work in a business role, with less engagement with the children. Her husband recounts how he wanted a diversity of roles which he managed to fulfil;

> *I wanted to help the centre become more self-sustainable. That was the biggest need that they presented to us; a new project ... that could help [the village] generate income on its own without relying on private donors or government funding as much... then I also wanted to play sports with kids* (BR, Managing director of the children's village's business entity).

This volunteer fulfilled both objectives as the managing director responsible for running the centre's for-profit entity, as well as being head coach for the centre's sports programme.

Testimonies from international volunteers show how the opportunity to work at a CYCC can benefit students and young people bolster their academic and budding careers. Local youth could also benefit from such opportunities, but the commercialisation of the CYCC environments as volunteer tourism destinations means that locals cannot access this space and are precluded from enhancing their skills and build their careers in ways that their international counterparts are able to. Richter et al (2010) have argued about how benefit can be redirected to local communities rather than reserving the volunteering opportunities for overseas visitors.

Furthermore, volunteers get the privilege of exercising influence in the CYCCs in ways that significantly affect the ways in which centres operate. This influence is self-rewarding and sustains the idea that international volunteers add value to the centres; thus, perpetuating volunteer tourism in CYCCs and their commercialization (Carothers, 2003; Joshi and Houtzager, 2012).

4.4 THEME 3: JUSTIFICATIONS BY RESPONDENTS FOR VOLUNTEER TOURISM DESPITE THE RISK TO CHILDREN

Volunteers and workers were asked for their views regarding the practice of volunteer tourism in child and youth care centres, especially considering research that uncovers its negative effects on children in the long-term. Volunteers were further asked whether they have volunteered in their home countries in environments similar CYCCs to gauge governance practices in their own countries.

4.4.1 Making sense of volunteer tourism practices despite harm caused to children

A senior social worker at the place of safety recounted how they have realised that having a lot of strangers coming in and out upsets not only the children, but also their staff. To create a stable environment, the centre resolved to host volunteers who can stay for longer than three-month. She also thought it prudent for the centre to assess the risk of hosting a particular volunteer by asking for reasons behind their visit, as often it is just to "have a few cute photos".

The HR manager highlighted some practices in place to manage the relationship between children and volunteers. Firstly, they prefer volunteers who can stay longer. Secondly, 2 weeks before leaving, volunteers are made to "disengage with the children" by informing them that they will be leaving soon. Thirdly, the centre is very concerned about close personal relationships developing between a volunteer and one specific child. Having favourites and interacting with just one child is discouraged. The HR manager has in the past been directly involved in putting measures in place to create distance between a child and volunteer who seem to be bonding. For example, '*during bath time the volunteer will not be allowed to bath that child'*.

They also enforce the rule that volunteers are not to be alone with a child, to protect both the child and the volunteer's reputation. Despite the very serious risks to having volunteers in the CYCC environment the respondent justified their presence by saying;

> *I think children like interaction with the volunteers. In general, they are younger people; they are full of ideas, they are actively involved with them; whereas maybe their immediate care giver is more like a parent to them* (MH, human resources manager at the place of safety).

A senior care giver reiterated the point that they prepare the children for disengaging with volunteers towards the end of their visit;

> *When they are about to leave, we also prepare the children that the volunteers will be leaving within two weeks. So that they will have that time to disengage with the volunteers* (NM, senior care giver).

A child care worker provided a justification for the presence of volunteers at the centre;

> *...the volunteers can have (quality) time with the children. There is nothing pressing them, they are not accountable like us who are looking after many responsibilities at once... a volunteer's presence in the child's space allows them to give a child affection that if you want to give you have other demands from other children who also need you to care for them at the same time.*

So, their presence [is important], because they give their time and play with the children… it gives a child that warmth. (NX, child care giver at the place of safety).

The care giver refers to a capacity shortage that is filled by the volunteer. Considering the long-term effects of filling this gap through visitors, the centres are missing an opportunity to engage the local communities in bridging this gap whilst also providing locals with a chance to enhance their skills (Richter et al, 2010). Unfortunately, access to CYCCs has been commercialised and becomes the preserve of international tourists who can afford to pay their way in (Joshi and Houtzager; 2012).

In an attempt to minimize impact, another manager shared the view that the centre keeps the volunteer and child relationship distant;

...Volunteers do not take primary care giving of the children. They have limited times where they interact with the children... and that's also one of the reasons why they cannot stay so short; so that there is no constant traffic of volunteers. (CW, financial manager at the place of safety).

She also referred to staff being emotionally drained from having many strangers coming in and out;

So that is why we've said they must stay for longer so that there's some kind of semi-permanency in this. As well as we encourage them to not get too close to the children. We discourage them to get favourites among the children, although even discouraging it does not normally prevent it. But as soon you have one-on-one interaction normally there is a bond and you cannot stop that. That is probably the most challenging thing, where is the balance in that. (CW, financial manager at the place of safety).

Some workers felt that their CYCC as a place of safety is not a permanent village for the child and that all interactions within the centre should be taken as part of a temporary experience of being institutionalised. All relationships at the centre are fleeting. The volunteer experience should be viewed in the same light and children briefed accordingly.

Respondent SS provides a unique perspective as a former child resident who interacted with volunteers during her multiple stays at the centre. Like her colleagues she believes volunteers bring a different energy and experience for the children that the care workers are not able to give due to their workload. In her experience, care workers are not affectionate, unlike volunteers.

The aunties as loving as they are, it's their job. And then the volunteers come; whether it's 2 months or 3 months. They give extra attention that the aunties can't give; that do a lot for self-esteem I believe. There are many times when I was here where having volunteers was a relief. They played with you, they came and sat by your bed at night. They would talk to you, talk to you; pray with you, uhm, read a book. … they allowed you things that some of the things that the aunties aren't always able to do (SS, administrator and former child resident at the place of safety).

She also confirms that as a previously institutionalized child she has struggled to form and maintain relationships in adulthood. Speaking on the concern that children may become depressed when "their favourite" volunteer goes, she felt that it is better to deal with a broken heart than to have never experienced the affection and bond with a volunteer;

You know, we come from terrible backgrounds. Maybe by the time you get here you've been shuffled around. You've been told many times that you're unwanted, unneeded... So, Linda, Linda played a huge role in my growth. So, ja I was depressed after she left. And I was really heartbroken. But I'm glad for it. I would have much rather had that three months that I had with her or however long it was than never at all. (SS, administrator and former resident at the place of safety).

In discussing the relationship between children and care givers in the context of volunteers she said;

I think child care workers get jealous of the relationship that usually develops between children and volunteers because [they may argue] 'I'm doing all of this but then you're, you're all hung up on that person. (SS, administrator and former resident at the place of safety).

Some workers at the children's village sought to underplay the bond between the child and the volunteer, emphasising instead the caregivers as the primary relationship for the child. According to one care worker, children bond more with the 'parent' allocated to them and only play with volunteers;

When a volunteer is coming, children are informed that they will be visiting for a set time; and are reminded again when the volunteer is about to leave. When that time comes the announcement is made, and the child is left behind with their aunty (LK, caregiver at the children's village).

Both social workers also responded in this vein, saying children are informed when a volunteer is coming and how long they will be staying. Further, short-term volunteers

are told to maintain a professional (distant) relationship with the child; although it was not clear how the centre monitors this and enforces a desirable distance.

Another worker's response gives an account of practices that seem to be at odds with one another where on the one hand an attempt is made to maintain a distant relationship between volunteers and children, whilst on the other volunteers are given a lot of freedom in their interactions with children;

> *I can say they make sure the child does not spend too much time with a volunteer. They have a set time, they can't take the child for a sleepover at your house. It's not allowed, it's never happened. You just have that short time with the child and then you leave again.* (BN, preschool teacher)

This statement contradicts the following by the same respondent;

> *If there's a child that the volunteer likes; they can take the kids out maybe to a Spur [restaurant], eat there and come back again with the child. A child will know that ok, this aunt likes me. Yes, she will come, but she will leave again. But the person that I am with is the aunt at the house - she is always there.*

Other workers highlighted that the centre facilitates ongoing communication between volunteers and children to maintain long-term relationships when the volunteer has left. This account corroborates the practice of allowing volunteers to cultivate exclusive relationships with their favourite children. According to the schoolteacher, there is a "Jabulani" programme where children and volunteers exchange letters, birthday cards and gifts long after the volunteer has returned village. In this way separation trauma is apparently mitigated and the bond between volunteer and child is maintained. According to the respondent, volunteers chose a child they become financially responsible for and maintain contact with them over time;

> *So, all the kids in the school have their own volunteers… their own sponsors. So, when they come to volunteer it is part of visiting their kids that they sponsor.* (KM, schoolteacher at the children's village).

In the same vein another caregiver also spoke on the continuous relationship between a volunteer and their chosen child;

> *Even when the volunteer leaves the relationship does not end. Volunteers send letters maybe during the child's birthday. Maybe they will send birthday cards. Some will even send photos they took with the child while here... The children also get a chance to write; or if they do not know how to write they scribble on the paper and it's sent to the volunteer. So,*

the relationship continues electronically even when they do not see each other. (PG, child care reliever at the children's village)

Speaking on the after-effects of volunteer visits at the village, a child care giver gives a distressing account of the effects of institutionalization in general, and the phenomenon of superficial interactions between children and volunteers;

> *When a volunteer comes to a child and bonds with them a lot. It means they give this child a lot of affection, they are always with them - the child adjusts easy and the child will love more the person who they do not stay with. The person that shows them a lot of love. The love they give to the child [comprises of], of course things the child cannot get here... She knows the aunt will take her out… things that the aunt she stays with cannot do for her. So those   things make the child to attach a lot to this one [the volunteer]. When the volunteer leaves it hurts the child and that does give us problems - us who stay with the child. It takes time for the child to come right again.*

She continues;

> *Here we have white people. It's the black person that they are afraid of. They feel better with a white person; because many of the times our volunteers that come here are white people... the special love they get is from white people. They know that a white person is loving, a white person comes with good things   and shows them nice places and fun things… But now that they are grown, we're also now realising that in reality this is not the way things   go. I'm not sure what's right to do for the children - what should be done for them. Because we want them to be safe... but we have such problems. When you find your child so afraid of (black) people* (VM, child care giver at the children's village).

Volunteers all admitted to not being aware of the long-term effects of pleasant but short-term interactions between children and volunteers. They acknowledged the potential harm to children in the long term however, they still made justifications for volunteering at CYCCs. In their mind, the pleasant interaction is worthwhile regardless of consequences. Below represents a typical response from the volunteers;

> *I think they appreciate the fact that they come so that they can do fun things and experience different things. The volunteers are really good at that. They are always drivers, so they can always take them out .... I think there's stability from having same house moms; really same teachers* (KR, long-term volunteer at the children's village).

In this comment, we see that on a scale of priorities between "doing fun things with volunteers" and the long-term consequences of such interactions on children; the respondent has centred fun with volunteers even though she admits;

> *... I do wonder what the long-term consequences are to our kids. I do not know if it's going to cause more harm than it does good. That will be something to wait and see as our kids grow up.* (KR, long-term volunteer at the children's village).

This comment highlights the lack of accountability of governance networks that volunteers form part of in CYCCs. Joshi and Houtzager (2012) identify the fluidity of governance networks with members coming in and out of the structures as and when they see fit, they cannot be held accountable in the long-term outcomes of the children's lives at the centres. Permanent staff which is marginalized by "governance" on the other hand have a stake in how these children turn out as members of society.

Another long-term volunteer admitted that the children's village does not exercise much control over the nature of visits they allow at the centre;

> *[The children's village] strives to put a lot of measures in place to ensure consistent relationships with only one house mom and one reliever in place ... but I do think we could do a lot better in how often we bring in short-term volunteers because there are volunteers here around the year; maybe one or two at a time. They are here around the year, they are only here for a few months, and then we have teams that come a couple of times a year that are just here for a day or a couple of days ... I do not think we do a great job in balancing that. There's a lot of benefit that these short-term volunteers and teams bring, for just creating a fun atmosphere for a day, and helping with different projects around [the centre]* (BR, managing director of the children's village's business entity).

The two short term volunteers at the village claimed that they were not interacting with the because they were only there only once a week on clinic Wednesdays. They were however being accommodated at the centre for the duration of their stay. They cited the centre's rule of allowing volunteers to stay a minimum of three months as an attempt at providing children with a more stable environment. Ironically, they themselves were only staying for 10 weeks.

All volunteers at the children's village mentioned the stability offered by consistent child carers as a cornerstone to the stability the CYCC provides for the children. The caregivers are permanently employed and tend to stay in their employment for many years. When they are on leave, the same reliever is allocated to a 'household' thus, providing children with a predictable routine and consistent alternative.

At the place of safety, one respondent did not identify herself as a volunteer because she was primarily there for the accommodation and access to relevant participants for

her thesis. Evidently, that has little to do with how the Centre and the children identify her. The centre staff referred to her as a volunteer; and probably so did the children. Her presence as a visitor still affirms the idea that the place of safety assumes the role of a tourist destination. Joining in on Social Worker field trips and playing with the children also reaffirms her typical volunteer status at the centre. She felt that the organization communicates clear rules that govern interaction with children such as not being with one child at any given time. She was also aware that the centre discourages any personal bonding with one child. Although from interviews with the workers, it is clear that preventing personal bonds is not an easy task. She acknowledged the risk of volunteer interactions for children and admitted she did not know if this is good practice. In the same breath she provided the following justification;

> *But in another way, I feel like the children that been abused or something can have that feeling of safety with people that show the love and everything; even if it's for a period. I think that maybe that's more… it's a better way than not having anyone there* (LD, social work student and short-term volunteer at the place of safety).

Her colleague's response sums up the contradictions of the argument;

> *Children know you come as a volunteer and then after a few months, so you leave, and they are left questioning 'where did she go…' It's always tricky you do not know how the children will react and how they feel with people coming and going. But they are very careful about how the children feel. I do not think they would just like put the children out there …Not anyone can just come in* (HS, social work student and short-term volunteer at the place of safety).

The common thread in these responses is that although respondents acknowledge the risk of having temporary volunteers interacting with children at the centres; they all provide defences for volunteer tourism, making clear the tendency to prioritise the interests of international visitors and disregarding the risk posed to children in the institution. Ritcher et al, (2010) argue that continued volunteer tourism against scientific evidence of its negative effects on children in the long-term attests to the idea that volunteer tourism serves the interests of volunteers rather than of the children in the care of institutions. The adamant justification of volunteer tourism at CYCCs is due to the fact that volunteers are viewed in a positive light regardless of the actual value of their contribution or lack thereof. This has to do with their status as "givers", "providers" or "helpers" (Carothers, 2003). Their social, economic and class status also contribute to them being perceived in a positive light (Carothers, 2003). Positive

perceptions removed from empirical evidence of their harm and lack of significant contribution expose children in the CYCCs to harm, exploitation and abuse that would go unaccounted for due to the temporary nature of their presence; and the short arm of the law when it comes to regulating CYCCs.

4.4.2 Contrasts in volunteer practices between South Africa and the Global North

Volunteers were asked whether they had volunteered in environments similar to youth and child care centres in their home countries. None had done so. The majority of them had not done any volunteer work in their home countries at all, let alone in a CYCC environment. Asked to provide reasons, respondents advised that volunteering is not a general practice and secondly, the laws governing CYCC's in their countries make it impossible to gain access by outsiders. One volunteer put it aptly when she said;

> *Volunteering in Sweden is not really a thing; and, you have to work… we do not have centres like this either so, the closest thing is maybe a nursery, and to be there you have to be qualitied; like you have to have the proper education for it... I'm not really qualified for it.* (HS, social work student and short-term volunteer at the place of safety).

Her response also points to the discrepancies between South Africa and the global north when it comes to the practice of volunteering at child and youth care centres. In first world countries, volunteering in CYCCs is simply not allowed and the strictest terms are applied to those who access those environments. They can only be qualified and employed professionals. Outsiders simply do not have access to such environments. One American volunteer explained;

> *I think the regulations are a lot harder. ... there's a lot more… strict regulations of your qualifications ... even with having a conflict resolution masters I do not think they would… have me because I do not have a social work degree; but to work with the children I think the regulations are quite strict based on what I was researching.* (KR; Human Resource, PR and Financial Manager at the children's village).

The human resources manager at the place of safety noted how being a tourist provides people with privileges that they would not normally enjoy in their countries. Such privileges enable them to do things in destination countries that they would not think to do in their home countries;

> *No, I do not think even as an option as visiting a person ... I think it's just not allowed... It's very restricted. You cannot just come in and say I would like to visit your facility (laughs).*

> *You do not have anything to do there. I do not think this is an option. We wouldn't even think of ringing the doorbell of one of those institutions. And then you step into another, you're on holiday and you step into another culture and suddenly think [you can do that] ... but I think often when people go on holiday; things that is not really considered to be an acceptable or a norm in your normal life; but now you're on holiday and it seems to be different. I do not know.* (MH, HR manager at the place of safety CYCC).

We can see how the global north countries are exercising governmentality at home, and governance in global south countries like South Africa. Their governments provide maximum and uncompromising protection to its vulnerable; and naturally citizens respect these boundaries and adhere to them. Overseas, the same governments and institutions such as universities and charity organizations fuel the intrusion by their citizens into delicate spaces such as CYCCs. If, as Elden (2007) argues, a government's legitimacy is located in its provision of security to its citizens, then we can see how northern countries have mastered the art of governmentality; and how the failure to do so opens up a country's vulnerable to exploitation for external interests.

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented and analysed the data collected during the study through one-on-one interviews and group discussions. The data revealed the inconsistencies between the rules and parameters placed by CYC centres to protect children and actual practices which adjust to volunteer preferences. The study also exposed the tendency by workers to alienate volunteers from their undesirable behaviour as a pointer to the privileged position of the volunteer in the CYCC environment; thus, enabling continued compliance and cooperation with the volunteer programme on the part of workers and the CYCCs. The direct and profound influence exercised by volunteers on CYCC operations and decisions was unmasked. The contradictions between the South African and global north volunteer practices in a CYCC environment were also explored, pointing to the lack of legislative protection and adequate implementation of regulations in the South African context.

The following chapter will discuss these findings in greater detail and provide some recommendations for policy and practice in the CYCC and tourism industries.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This study sought to investigate the influence of international volunteers on the day-to-day operations at the Child and Youth Care Centres and to explore the power relations between them and permanent workers. This chapter presents the overall summary of the chapters of the thesis and discusses the research findings. Appropriate recommendations are then provided. Limitations of the research together with areas for future research are also presented.

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This thesis was divided into 5 chapters. Chapter 1 introduced important concepts for the study, mainly the volunteer tourism phenomenon, how Child Youth Care Centres function, their relationship with government and the problematic of volunteer tourism in CYCC environments. The chapter also presented the problem statement regarding the interface between tourists and workers, and the challenge to workers to enforce decisions protecting children whilst negotiating volunteer interests.

Chapter 2 discussed the theoretical framework of the study, focusing on the contrasts between governmentality and governance. Governmentality locates power and responsibility for citizens and vulnerable children in particular, at the hands of the state. A government gains legitimacy by securing the interests of its citizens and remains accountable to them. On the other hand, governance opens up room for participation by external role players in what is traditionally the responsibilities of government. In the process, the external players bring their own interests to bear on processes, and because their participation is intermittent and facilitated through financial means and networks, holding them to account is not always guaranteed.

The literature review section discussed volunteer tourism and its disruptive nature in the child and youth care centre environment. Contrasts in practice between first world governments, Africa and South Africa were explored, in particular how Europe protects children in residential care in their own countries whilst facilitating tourist access to CYCCs in Africa and South Africa.

The research methodology used in this study was presented in chapter 3, detailing how the field research was conducted. The research design, study area, sampling of

participants and data collection methods used in the research were explained. Ethical considerations observed in the research were also unpacked in chapter 3.

Research was conducted according to the methodology presented in chapter 3, and data from the research presented and analysed in chapter 4. Thematic data analysis was employed in analysing the data collected during the fieldwork. Finally, the concluding chapter presents the discussion of the research findings, recommendations and limitations of the study. Some areas which need further research are also highlighted.

5.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.3.1 Access to CYCCs is based on membership to networks

Volunteers from overseas learn about the opportunity to visit child and youth care centres in South Africa mainly through word of mouth from church and university networks. Predictably, these networks are strongest in countries of origin of directors operating the centres. At universities, access was facilitated through personal connections within the network, for example; a CYCC director's daughter who worked at the university and this enabled her to volunteer at the centre through this link. The finding on networks being the main vehicle for access to the Centres confirms claims by Hajer and Waagenar (2003) and others who identify *access via networks* as a characteristic of governance that is usually overlooked but has profound significance in making things happen.

5.3.2 Selection criteria are bendable in order to qualify volunteer tourists

The criteria used to qualify visitors to access CYCCs proved to be very loose, unverifiable and largely applied in a discretionary manner. Whilst a number of worker participants from the place of safety emphasised age as a condition; the fact that a minimum age was not explicitly stipulated opens up room for manipulation and variance on how the age rule is applied. Christianity was identified as part of the criteria at both centres however, this qualifier is not verifiable. It may be assumed based on the network used by the applicant to access the centre, but it cannot be objectively confirmed; nor is it clear how it precludes exposure to risk for children who interact with "a Christian volunteer".

Finally, all the criteria were applied in a discretionary and inconsistent manner. For example, none of the student volunteers interviewed had any prior relevant experience

in a CYCC environment. Only one of them had a valid drivers' licence despite it being a standard requirement. Having loosely defined criteria that is applied in an unreliable manner indicates that decision makers prioritise volunteers over the protection of the children in their care, which contradicts the mandate given to all institutions by the children's act, that all interactions in relation to children should put children's interests first at all times.

5.3.3 Primary care givers have no input into selection of volunteers who interact with 'their' children

Input from those who care directly for children is arguably one of the most important considerations when making decisions about children's lives. By virtue of the fact that they probably know the children best. However, the fact that they are not in any way involved in the processes that bring strangers to interact with the children they care for, indicates that the interests of the children are not the utmost consideration of volunteer tourism processes.

Since caregivers are marginalised from the selection processes, it is difficult to imagine that they are adequately empowered to enforce best practice decisions at the level of interaction with volunteer tourists. They are less likely to challenge volunteer tourist behaviours they deem harmful or undesirable, since the visitors are "imposed" on them by their seniors at work. This imposition positions volunteers at a power advantage in relation to workers. Workers are further disempowered by the centres' ethos that requires them to "love, respect and listen to" volunteers as part of their hosting responsibility towards volunteer tourists.

5.3.4. The tourism imperative impedes holding visitors accountable

Workers related how they are careful to negotiate boundaries very sensitively with volunteers. They always have to be careful not to upset volunteers when communicating restrictions to them. In this way, enforcing discipline is made difficult by the imperative to be amicable hosts. Whenever workers discussed undesirable behaviour they observe from volunteers, there was always a tendency to explain the behaviour away as unwitting or due to cultural differences. Finding excuses indicates a likely inability to confront volunteers and effectively protect children from their offensive behaviours.

From the volunteers' perspective, they almost unanimously felt there were no restrictions placed on them. In one instance, a short-term (10 week) volunteer

indicated that they were free to play with the children despite the centre having a rule against engagement with children for short-term volunteers. This is a clear example of the centre flouting its own rules for the sake of the volunteers' experience. It also indicates the lack of authority by workers to guide the behaviour of volunteers to adhere to the set rules.

Volunteer tourism requires the workers to behave as hosts to guests. Commercializing the CYCC environment into a tourist destination erodes the authority of workers to enforce pro-child decisions; and places the 'paying client' in a more powerful position. The fact that caregivers have no say on the selection and allocation of volunteers; when volunteers are allocated tasks according to their preferences, speaks to how the centre operations are adjusted in service of the volunteer tourist and not the children or workers who manage the environment on behalf of the children.

5.3.5 Volunteer tourism has commercialised CYCCs as tourism destinations

Many of the worker respondents were apprehensive to speak of their centres in the context of the tourism industry. Some insisted that their volunteers are not tourists, despite them visiting on a tourist visa, and measures the centres have put in order to attract volunteer tourists. Typical tourist services that the centres offer specifically for their volunteers include upgraded and customised accommodation facilities with furniture and free Wi-Fi; access to organization vehicles for personal use and a requirement by staff to be welcoming and respectful to the guests. The place of safety additionally provides guided community tours to schools, creches and beneficiary families; as well as a dedicated support in the form of a volunteer coordinator. Interaction with children is the main attraction and the centres go out of their way to facilitate this by accommodating volunteers in their programmes in order to maximise their experience in this regard. Both centres customise volunteer experiences according to their preferences and personal interests. Social work students are paired with social workers for example and allowed to shadow them in home visits and therapy, and nursing students are allowed to provide medical services to workers and children. Customization of volunteer experiences is remarkable in demonstrating that the purpose of their visits is always attached to personal interests, with significant academic and economic implications for their future.

5.3.6 Inconsistencies regarding priorities of the centres

Government stipulated priorities regarding children in alternative residential care are that their rights are protected, and all decisions made regarding the child are to the child's best interest. Worker respondents identified a variety of priorities that differed from centre to centre, and from individual to individual. Although all priorities identified are important; namely safety, health and providing to each child's unique needs; these variations indicate the disconnect between government regulation and implementation at the child and youth care centres. It further indicates a disconnect between centre leadership and the workers that implement those priorities.

5.3.7 Centres provide interaction with children as a tourism experience

Both centres make provisions for volunteers to interact with children as a matter of priority. At the place of safety programmes are structured such that weekends and school holidays reserve time for child and volunteer interaction. At other times, schedules are changed around in order to accommodate volunteer wishes to interact with children. Further, volunteers are provided with a budget to take children out. At the children's village volunteers have more leeway for even more intense interaction with children; including selecting a "favourite child" and spending exclusive time with them away from the premises. Facilitating interaction with strangers for vulnerable children in residential care has widely been identified as a risk factor, exposing children to potential harm and abuse in the immediate sense, and also harmful bonding with negative consequences in the long term. Treating children as an experience for volunteer tourists dehumanizes and commodifies them, rendering them open to exploitation for the sake of volunteer tourism.

Hints of physical or sexual abuse were suggested specifically by the care giver relating to her observation of inappropriate physical play that volunteers tend to engage in with children. The former child resident who now works at the place of safety made mention of how she has struggled to form relationships in adulthood, owing to her time in the place of safety which included brief but pleasant interactions with volunteer tourists. These testimonies are evidence that these local centres are not immune to the typical risks, threats and negative consequences associated with volunteer tourism in child care centres as discussed widely in research and literature.

5.3.8 Volunteers enjoy considerable influence without concomitant accountability

The many concessions made for volunteers from the selection process indicate the influence the tourism industry and volunteers have on the decision-making processes of the child and youth care centres. Notable decisions influenced by volunteers include drawing up a health care programme for one centre; agitating for review of worker salaries; a student overhauling the preschool programme at the children's village and all four short-term volunteers being on a 10 week stay; flouting the requirement to stay a minimum 12 weeks at the centre.

Undergraduate students providing unsupervised medical care and administering medication to children and workers at the children's village clinic represent a serious breach of country laws pertaining to the regulation of health service provision, and the lack of regulation of the CYCC environment to ensure that practices therein are within the law. It also represents the considerable liberties enjoyed by volunteers without consideration of qualification, experience or the law. Such liberties may have serious and far-reaching consequences in the long-term that volunteers will not be around to account for. In the child and youth care centres volunteer tourists find an environment that is receptive to their whims without any accountability or responsibility for their actions.

In light of these breaches in law, unabated volunteer tourism in CYCCs represents a serious risk to the health and safety of children and workers in both the short and long term.

5.3.9 CYCCs lack standardised protocols, compromising adherence to legislation

Child and youth care centres have customised processes and practice relative implementation of legislation, depending on the discretion of decision makers at each centre. At the children's village, decision making in relation to volunteer tourists is centralised to one director. At the place of safety applications are processed by a volunteer coordinator; and once they arrive workers share in decision making within their departments and take up some responsibility for hosting volunteers. Volunteer tourists themselves also confirm the customised nature of how protocols are applied by the variations in their responses relating to the application process and level of flexibility in accommodating their suggestions. Deviations from processes in these cases indicate inconsistencies in how centres observe legislation; and the prioritization

of tourist preferences. It may also point to a need to clarify the regulations for the centres.

5.3.10 Risks posed by volunteer tourism at centres

 All three managers interviewed at the place of safety related that the frequent coming and going of many visitors causes strain on children and workers and acknowledged the need for a more stable environment. In response, the centre increased the minimum stay time required to "3 to 6 months". Three to six months is an arbitrary stipulation without a well-defined basis and is not always observed during the recruitment process. Another risk identified by workers was the tendency for visitors to establish special relationships with chosen children. This phenomenon prevailed at both centres and is evidently encouraged at the children's village despite a general awareness of harm to children in the long term. At the place of safety, workers acknowledged that it happens despite them "discouraging it". Measures to discourage exclusive bonding were not clear or enforceable. The worker who was previously a child at the place of safety also confirmed that she has struggled to form long-term and stable relationships in her adulthood. She attributed this struggle to her stays at the place of safety, and the many temporal relationships she experienced, including with volunteer tourists. One caregiver from the children's home gave an account exposing the risk of institutionalization of children in general, and the practice of volunteer tourism at the centre in specific. She related how quickly children attach to a visitor who gives gifts and provides exciting experiences. When the visitor leaves, the child is left depressed, and the difficult aftermath becomes a shared burden between the child and the caregiver.

Despite the risks identified by respondents, almost all of them provided justifications for the volunteer tourism practice at child and youth care centres. From the responses, creating fun for the children was the main contribution made by volunteers. The ability for volunteers to spend quality time with the children due to the burden of multiple responsibilities on the caregivers was also given as a justification. However, workers also related the complications and risks that come with interaction between children and volunteers, ranging from inappropriate physical interaction, and problematic bonding and attachment for the children. One worker also related how volunteers are often not emotionally prepared for interaction with some of the children (who have

been abandoned or have disabilities); in such a way that they must be monitored and supported in their interactions with children.

5.3.11 Affluent countries spare no room for governance loopholes in own institutions

Volunteer tourists unanimously confirmed that the laws controlling access to CYC environments in their countries are not negotiable. The law is so restrictive that volunteering at their CYCCs is simply unimaginable. Access to centres by anyone who is not appropriately qualified and employed is just not an option in any circumstance. There is also an unquestioned acceptance of this arrangement such that none of respondents would attempt to access CYCCs in their home countries without the necessary qualification and without being in the employ of the centres.

A clear double standard can be observed where first world countries from which the respondents come from, mainly USA and the Netherlands practice strict governmentality at home and facilitate untoward and problematic governance practices in third world countries such as South Africa. This is done in service of their citizens, mainly students who come to "volunteer" at local care centres and who in exchange gain experiences with academic and economic benefits. General acceptance of restrictive CYCC conditions in their home countries indicates that first world citizens acknowledge the legitimacy of their governments' measures to protect the interests of their vulnerable.

Reflecting on how first world governments protect their child and youth care centres through uncompromising legislation, and how their citizens respect and support their governments' measures hints at the failure by the South African government to protect its own citizens and opens up its most vulnerable to exploitation in the name of tourism. If governments gain and maintain legitimacy through the protection of their territory and population (Foucault, 1978); then South Africa has an urgent duty to rectify its laws and enforcement in order to remain accountable to its citizens and re-state its legitimacy.

5.4 DISCUSSION

5.4.1 Implications for Policy

The study has confirmed prior research that indeed volunteer tourism poses a risk to children in child and youth care institutions. The study discussed various volunteer tourism practices at both the children's village and the place of safety that expose

children to risks of physical and emotional exploitation. The government of South Africa must review regulations relating to access to CYCCs by volunteer tourists and the general public. The protection of such environments must be enhanced through restricted access and empowering centre staff to make decisions that maximize the protection of the rights and interests of children in their care.

5.4.2 Implications for Practice

A number of practices that must be reviewed at the centres are discussed further below in the form of recommendations. Overall, child and youth care centres must exercise stricter controls on access to their premises by outsiders. If government bears all the centre costs, the need for outside contributions will be eliminated, along with their physical intrusion of CYCC spaces. Partnerships with communities in terms of providing additional human resources through voluntary and skills development programmes is an option to consider. Community partnerships can also bridge the gap between institutionalized children and the rest of society; fostering future integration of children into communities. In all interventions, the caregivers and other care centre professionals must take the lead in making decisions relating to the children in their care; ensuring that their rights and interests take priority in all aspects.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS DERIVED FROM FINDINGS

The two CYCCs involved in the research proved to be operating in part as tourism destinations for volunteer tourists from first world countries, especially students. Taking on tourism services compromises their ability to adhere to legislation and compromises their decision-making, cultivating a culture of prioritising tourist preferences, thus placing interests of children at the backburner and opening up children to the risk of abuse and exploitation. Volunteer tourism erodes the authority of staff, especially caregivers who are sometimes replaced by volunteer tourists as the trusted figure for the children they care for. They are also sometimes relegated to guides for the volunteer tourists; guiding them through care duties, supporting them and assuming the burden for their wellbeing. In their capacity as hosts, caregivers have to be agreeable to volunteer tourists and are not empowered to reprimand unacceptable behaviour or hold volunteers to account. The temporary nature of volunteerism exonerates tourists from being accountable for the consequences of their actions at the centres. Instead, they enjoy significant influence over programmes in support of their experience. All the volunteers found at the centres came from first

world countries were, despite their levels of education, would not have attempted access to child and youth care centres. This discrepancy speaks to their respect for the laws in their countries, the efficiency of their governments in protecting their institutions of child care; and poor regard for the interests of children and the laws in destination countries like South Africa.

5.6 REALISATION OF THE OBJECTIVES

Objective one: To describe the process and practices of volunteer tourism in Port Shepstone, KZN

The study revealed the presence of volunteer tourists, mainly students volunteering at two child and youth care centres in Port Shepstone, one a place of safety in Margate, and a children's village in Murchison. The centres have positioned themselves as volunteer tourism destinations by engaging in marketing and recruitment of volunteers and tailoring their requirements to enable volunteers to gain access to the centres. Recruitment is mainly through networks and personal connections. Volunteers are offered interaction with children as a main attraction, and an opportunity to conduct research or gain practical experience for their studies.

Objective two: To reflect on how Child and Youth Care Centres negotiate between the interests of vulnerable children and expectations of volunteer tourists who provide financial and human resources to the centres

The study found that CYCCs prioritise the health, education and wellbeing of the children in their care. The place of safety also articulated the protection of the children in their care as a priority. They also discussed various measures in place to mitigate the risk children may be exposed to by interacting with visitors. However, workers from both centres related how being agreeable hosts to the volunteers was also important, ensuring that their views are heard, and adjustments are made to accommodate them.

Objective three: Provide an analysis of the power relations between volunteer tourists and staff at CYCCs

The study found that volunteer tourists are treated with deference by the workers at CYCCs. As tourists and potential sponsors or ambassadors, workers related how important it is to treat their visitors with "love, respect" and to "listen to them". The practice by workers to excuse undesirable behaviour by volunteers reveals a tendency to preclude volunteers from accountability for their actions. Volunteers also enjoy

many privileges and experiences that the workers do not enjoy such as fun and entertainment with the children outside of the premises and access to vehicles for their private use. These factors demonstrate how power relations are skewed towards the volunteer tourists. At the children's village specifically, the volunteer tourists' proximity to the director and complete exclusion of caregivers from any decision-making relating to volunteers give them an edge over the workers where their actions go unquestioned.

Objective four: Explore possible gaps between imperative to protect the interests of vulnerable children and the actual practices at CYCCs as informed by actors in the volunteer tourism industry

The study has identified contradictions in the purpose of the centres and their practices in attempts to accommodate volunteer tourists and position themselves as volunteer tourist destinations. Most notable was the practice of allowing exclusive interaction and bonding between children and volunteers. Workers at the centres were generally aware of the negative effects that short-term interactions with friendly strangers have on their children, yet both centres admitted to the incidence of bonding with the children's village facilitating exclusive interactions where volunteer tourists take the children out to entertain them outside of the premises. Exclusive interaction as facilitated by the centres is a clear example of a failure by the centres to protect children and serve instead the interests of volunteers who have unwarranted and uncontrolled interaction with children.

Objective five: Contribute to a deeper understanding of the dynamic of volunteer tourism in shaping practices in CYCCs

The study has revealed ways in which volunteer tourism influences decisions at the centre from the point of selection where centres deviate from their own rules to accommodate volunteers. For example, centres prefer a 6-month stay but both centres were hosting visitors for only 10 weeks. They also prefer volunteers who are licenced drivers and who have relevant qualifications or experience. None of the volunteers at the centres had relevant experience or qualifications, except only one who had a driver's licence. All these deviations signify the concessions made by the centres for the sake of volunteers and volunteer tourism.

Workers and managers at the centres spoke of their concerns on the effects of attachment and bonding in the short term, however they also related how interaction

with children is imperative for volunteer tourists and therefore devised ways to accommodate interaction for the sake of the visitors. Both centres have made sizable investments into improving their hosting capabilities including the construction of tailor-made premises in service of volunteer tourism.

5.7 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.7.1 A universal purpose of child and youth care centres needs to be clear and well-articulated for all workers and individuals that come into contact with the CYC environment. Further, all workers must be empowered to enforce decisions towards that purpose at all times. The children's act stipulates that all decisions made relating to children must be in the interest of the children at all times. This priority must permeate all interactions at the child and youth care centres; and children's rights and interests must remain the utmost priority. This also means that law-makers and the child care centres must review the presence of the tourism industry at the centres as it inserts the interests of international visitors in the operations and decisions of individual centres who gladly accept them at the expense of the welfare of local children.

5.7.2 The provision of safety is one of the main reasons for alternative residential care, in particular places of safety. This study recommends that the safety and protection of children at the centres should be an explicit priority; and workers must be empowered to enforce the protection of children in all interactions involving the child. Fleeting interactions with friendly strangers have been proven to be harmful and should not be allowed at all at the centres, whether children are housed at the centres temporarily or permanently.

5.7.3 Volunteer tourists enjoy unmeasured influence at the centres without any accountability for the long-term consequences of their actions. In addition, rules and procedures are implemented at the discretion of some decision-makers at the centres. Roles at the centres should reflect the level of responsibility of each worker making decisions so that those tasked with making decisions are held accountable for the consequences. Volunteers are visitors and should not be in a position to make decisions as they cannot be held accountable for their actions over time. Permanent workers on the other hand have a long-term interest in the centres and the children they care for; this interest must reflect in their ability to enforce decisions and procedures that protect the interests of the children, and the integrity of the centre.

This study recommends that decision-making authority must be reserved only for permanent staff and none given to volunteer tourists.

5.7.4 Mechanisms to monitor implementation of legislation at CYC environments must be strengthened. One such can be to ensure that social workers and care givers are employed by government and deployed to CYCCs. In this way, they can serve the government's mandate regarding vulnerable children, rather than interests of tourists, external funders and the tourism industry. By extension, the missionization of non-governmental organizations that operate as CYCCs must be reviewed; that is, directorship of such institutions must be by South African citizens in order to preclude foreign interests from permeating the centres. External role players are likely to promote the interests of their home countries and fellow citizens rather than prioritize interests of South Africans in how they operate organizations.

5.7.5 Rules and procedures at CYCCs must be standardised in order to avoid variations in adherence to legislation. Also, legislation relating to access to CYCCs by tourists and members of the public must be clear, unambiguous and not left to the discretion or interpretation of those in positions of leadership at the centres. Furthermore, implementation of protocols and procedures must be the responsibility of all staff deployed at the centres, more so those who work and interact directly with children. This calls for initiatives to build the capacity of all workers, especially caregivers, and entrusting them with concomitant authority to make decisions in the interest of the children in their care at all times. This study recommends that rules governing the centres must be standardised across the CYCC sector; and all staff empowered to implement the rules.

5.7.6 This study recommends that all volunteer interaction with children must be prohibited. Some risky practices that must be stopped include allocating time and budget for volunteers to take children out of centre premises. If there is room for volunteers to visit the centres, they must not be allocated any duties that involve the care of children, including play and entertainment. Instead, centres must build entertainment programmes between children of different ages and caregivers. Local sports and youth clubs can also be used to facilitate interaction and fun between children.

Entertainment was cited as a factor in building attachment between children and tourists, and alienating caregivers as they are not able to partake in fun activities with the children. This can be corrected by including entertainment time into the caregiver and child interaction; so that the caregiver's role in the child's life is multi-dimensional, whilst making sure children are able to bond with the people who care for them on a consistent basis.

5.7.7 Where centres have limited capacity to fulfil all their functions, they must consider partnering with local youth in volunteering and skills development programmes where young graduates and students can do voluntary work in exchange for work experience, training, office resources and even meals. Replacing volunteer tourists with local youth will assist in strengthening relations between the centres and local citizens who can share in the responsibility and accountability towards the children in the long term. Communities have a vested interest in how children from CYCCs fare in the long-term and are better positioned to provide support to the centres.

5.7.8 The state must assume full responsibility for the financial needs of child and youth care centres. In South Africa, the state is responsible for children under age 18 where parents are not able to care for them. Child and youth care centres are means by which the state fulfils this obligation and must therefore fund their costs in full. Total funding of CYCCs will give the state full control of the CYCC environment, ensuring that all decisions and interactions protect the rights and interests of children.

5.8 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study was confined to only two centres, and although it provides an in-depth and qualitative investigation; findings are limited to these two centres investigated. A larger scale investigation would be required in order to confirm applicability of findings to the general child and youth care industry.

The importance of play, entertainment and quality time between children and trusted adults came out in the discussions during interviews and served as a justification for the presence of volunteer tourists in the CYCCs despite the risk they pose. Further research into the value of play and quality time between children and long-term carers in the context of child and youth care centres needs further attention.

Gifts and special treatment of institutionalized children by visitors from foreign cultures, and the effects this has on how children and caregivers relate also needs further

investigation. One worker's observation was that practice tends to alienate children from their caregivers, attaching them to the visitors. In her experience, children tend to value and respect people from cultures outside of their immediate environment, resulting in a feeling of alienation from their own communities in the long run. The respondent who stayed at the place of safety as a child confirmed the sense of alienation from the caregivers, and attachment to visitors who stayed for shorter but pleasant times. Whilst exposure to cultural multiplicity has obvious benefits to the development of children; it is important to foster this in ways that do not alienate children from their own. Further research on this topic is required.

5.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the findings of the research were discussed; mainly that volunteer tourists enjoy substantial freedoms and influence in the day-to-day operations and decision making at the centres with very limited accountability for their behaviour. Simultaneously, the authority of workers is eroded as they are relegated to tourist hosts. They feel alienated from the children as fun interaction is the preserve of volunteer tourists; serving to enhance the tourist experience. Workers' ability to protect the interests of children in their care is compromised by the presence of volunteers who must be treated with deference and given preference in decisions taken by management. The risks posed by volunteer tourism to children at CYCCs can be eliminated by clear and unambiguous legislation prohibiting access to centres by volunteer tourists. Capacity shortages can be filled by government increasing funding to the centres; and by facilitating cooperation between centres and communities who are invested in the lives of children in the long-term and can be held accountable. The authority of care givers and all CYCC workers must be guaranteed, as well as their capacity to enforce decisions that protect the rights and interests of children in all interactions at all times.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: **Interview Questionnaire - Permanent Workers**

Date: _____

Document Number: _____

*for statistical purposes only

Name:	Surname:	Calling Name / Pseudonym:

*Age:	*Sex:			*Race:				
	Male	Female	Other	B	I	W	C	O

Education Qualification M - Matric				Role at CYCC			If worker, state position:
-M	M	M+1	M+2	Worker	Volunteer Tourist	Other	

Number of years in the CYCC:	Address:			If volunteer tourist, state country of origin:
	Rural	Urban	Volunteer Tourist	

Introduction

The following information is shared with the respondent before the interview begins:

1. Thank you for making the time to take part in this interview
   Ngicela ukubonga ngesikhathi sakho sokwenza lenhlolomibono
2. The purpose of the interview is to discuss your experiences in working with international volunteers at a Child and Youth Care Centre
   Inhloso yalenhlolomibono ukuxoxa ngemibono yakho ngokusebenzisana namavolontiya aphesheya.
3. You have the right to confidentiality, and can choose a pseudonym to be used in quoting you on the report
   Unelungelo lokuthi igama lakho libe yimfihlo, nokuthi ukhethe igama-mbumbulu elingasetshenziswa ukukucaphuna kwi-report
4. Please make an effort to answer all the questions
   Ngiyacela ukuthi uphendule yonke imibuzo
5. I will ask open-ended questions, that you are free to answer in as much detail as you can think of
   Ngizobuza imibuzo evulelekile ukuze ukhululeke ukuphendula ngolwazi oluningi
6. I will leave my telephone number and email address should you like to discuss anything after the interview
   Ngizoshiya imininingwane yami yokuxhumana kongathanda ukujobelela noma ukubuza ngenhlolomibono
7. This interview should take 45 minutes to an hour
   Sibekelwe imizuzu engu45 kuya kwihora
8. I will be taking notes as we go along, and the tape recorder will be capturing our conversation
   Ngizobe ngibhala phansi ngesikhathi uphendula kanti futhi ingxoxo yethu iyaqoshwa
9. Do you have any questions before we start?
   Ikhona imibuzo onayo phambi kokuthi siqale?

1**.** Please explain how volunteer tourists find out about and are connected to the Centre.

Chaza ukuthi amavolontiya axhumana kanjani neCenta ukuze azovolontiya la?

----

2. What is the selection criteria if any, for volunteers who come into the centre

Ithini imiqomo ekumele bayigwalise ukuze bakwazi ukuvolontiya?

----

3. How are volunteers vetted against the criteria

Kuqinisekiswa kanjani ukuthi ngokwaleyo migomo amavolontiya akulungele ukusebenza

----

----

4. How do you deal with volunteers who behave contrary to the centre's rules

Kwenziwa njani uma ivolontiya lingayilandeli imithetho ekuqhutshwa ngayo?

----

5. Who decides on daily activities between the workers and the volunteers

Ubani othatha izinqumo ngezihlelo zosuku nosuku phakathi kwabasebenzi namavolontiya

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6. Is the centre generally flexible in letting volunteers implement their own ideas or are programmes strictly adhered to?

iSenta iyazamukela iziphakamiso zamavolontiya ngokwezinhlelo noma izinhlelo ziqhutshwa ngendlela enqala?

----

7. In instances where volunteers make suggestions that contradict normal procedure, what is the general response to those suggestions?

Kwenziwa njani uma uvolontiya lenza isiphakamiso esingahambisani nendlela ejwayelekile ekuqhutshwa ngayo?

----

8. Who makes decisions regarding the running of programmes at the centre?

Ubani othatha izinqumo mayelana nezinhlelo ezenziwayo kwiSenta?

----

9. What is the centre's biggest priority regarding the children in your care

Yini ebaluleke ukudlula konke mayelana nezingane enizinakekelayo?

----

10. What kind of activities if any do some volunteers seek to do that are not allowed at the centre

Yiziphi izinhlelo amavolontiya athanda ukuzenza afika athole ukuthi azivumelekile?

----

11. What kind of processes or decisions have been influenced by suggestions from volunteers?

Yiziphi izinhlelo noma izinqumo ezenziwa kulandela iziphakamiso zamavolontiya?

----

12. What new programmes have been introduced by the volunteers at the centre?

Yiziphi izinhlelo ezifike namavolontiya?

----

13. What was the process to introduce these changes

Ithini inqubo yokwethula lezinhlelo kubasebenzi?

----

14. What changes has the centre made recently or over the years to accommodate volunteers and the contribution they would like to make

Iziphi izinguquko ezenziwe yiSenta ngokuhamba kwesikhathi yenzelwa ukwenza amavolontiya azizwe amukelekile?

----

15. What would be reasons for the centre to make adjustments to their programmes in consideration of the volunteers' experience

Zizathu zini ezingaholela ekutheni iSenta yenze izinguquko ezinhlelweni zayo ngokucabangela amavolontiya

----

Experts agree that children need permanence in relationships with adults who care for them in order to develop emotional wellbeing. they also believe that friendly interactions on a temporary basis is harmful to children's emotional wellbeing in the long-term. On the other hand, it is general practice for visitors to seek interactions with children as part of their volunteering experience

16. How does the centre balance children's needs for permanent relationships with the need for visitors to interact and form relationships with the children in the short term?

Onjingalwazi bayavulelana ngokuthi izingane zidinga ubudlelwane obuqiniseke iminyaka ukuze zikhule kahle ngokomqondo nangokomoya. Bakholelwa ukuthi ukuxhumana nabantu ababakhombisa uthando iskhashana kuyazilulaza izingane emqondweni nasemoyeni ngokuhamba kweskhathi. Kwelinye icala, kuvamile ukuthi amavolontiya afune ukuxhumana nezingane ngesikhathi besavolontiya okweskhashana.

Umbuzo uthi, laykhaya nisiqinisekisa kanjani isidingo sezingane ukuthi zibe nobudlelwano obunganqunyelwe iskhathi nibe niqinisekisa ukuthi namavolontiya ayakuthola ukugcwalisa isifiso sokuxhumana nezingane.

END. THANK YOU

Appendix 2: **Interview Questionnaire - Volunteer Tourist**

Date: _____

Document Number: _____

Name:	Surname:		Calling Name / Pseudonym:		
*Age:	*Sex:			*Race:	
	Male	Female	Other	B	I	W	C	O
Education Qualification	Role at CYCC			If worker, state position:	
M - Matric	Worker	Volunteer Tourist	Other		
-M | M | M+1 | M+2					
Number of years in the CYCC:	Address:			If volunteer tourist, state country of origin:	
	Rural	Urban	Volunteer Tourist		

*for statistical purposes only

Introduction

The following information is shared with the respondent before the interview begins:

10. Thank you for making the time to take part in this interview
11. The purpose of the interview is to discuss your experiences in working as an international volunteer at Child and Youth Care Centres
12. You have the right to confidentiality, and can choose a pseudonym to be used in quoting you on the report
13. Please make an effort to answer all the questions.
14. I will ask open-ended questions, that you are free to answer in as much detail as you can think of
15. I will leave my telephone number and email address should you like to discuss anything after the interview
16. This interview should take 45 minutes to an hour
17. I will be taking notes as we go along, and the tape recorder will be capturing our conversation
18. Do you have any questions before we start?

1. Please explain how you found out about and connected to the Centre?

----

2. What criteria did you have to meet before volunteering at the centre?

----

3. When you were planning to come to the CYCC, what kind of work did you want to volunteer in the most?

----

4. How is that different to the work you are actually doing?

----

5. Who decides on daily activities between the workers and the volunteers?

----

6. Who makes decisions regarding the running of programmes at the centre?

----

7. From your experience, what is the centre's biggest priority regarding the children in their care?

----

8. Is there anything you wanted to do that you discovered you would not be able to do at the centre?

----

9. What kind of decisions have you influenced at the centre?

----

10. What new processes or programmes have you introduced to the centre?

----

11. What was the process to introduce these changes?

----

12. What formal processes have been changed in order to accommodate volunteers and the contribution they would like to make?

----

13. Have you done any volunteering at CYCCs in your home country?

----

14. If yes, what are the differences in the work that you have done there and what you can do here

----

----

15. If no, why not?

Experts agree that children need permanence in relationships with adults who care for them in order to develop emotional wellbeing. They also believe that friendly interactions on a temporary basis is harmful to children's emotional wellbeing in the long-term. On the other hand, it is general practice for visitors to seek interactions with children as part of their volunteering experience

16. In your view, how does the centre balance children's needs for permanent relationships with the need for visitors to interact and form relationships with the children in the short term?

END. THANK YOU

Appendix 3: **Focus Group Discussion Guide - Permanent Workers**

Document number: _____

Site: _____   Moderator: _____

No. of Participants: _____   Note Taker: _____

Date: _____   Transcriber: _____

Start Time: _____   End Time: _____

Introduction

Purpose: the purpose of this focus group is to discuss your experiences in working with international volunteers; and the relationship between volunteer tourists and permanent staff at the Centre.

Inhloso: Inhloso yalengxoxo ukuzwa imibono yenu mayelana nokwamukelwa kwamavolontiya-zivakashi kuleCYCC, nobudlelwano phakathi kwabasebenzi nezivakashi lezi.

Confidentiality: your identity in the report will be protected. You can choose your own pseudonym, or the researcher will allocate you one, which will be used in quoting you in the report. I ask that you respect one another's privacy and anonymity by not mentioning any specific information discussed by an individual outside of this session.

Imfihlo: ubuwena buzovikeleka ekubhalweni kombiko ngalomhlangano. Ungakhetha igama ekungasilo elakho ukuthi lisetshenziswe uma kucaphunwa amazwi akho kwi-report. Ngiyacela ukuthi nihloniphe ilungelo lomunye nomunye ngokungabhadlazi izinto ezikhulunywa kulomhlangano, kodwa nizithathe njengemfihlo.

Contact details: the researcher's contact details will be provided should you have any questions or concerns you would like to discuss after this session.

Imininingwane: umcwaningi uzoshiya imininingwane yakhe yezokuxhumana uma kwenzeka uba nemibuzo noma kukhona ofuna ukukudingida emva kwalomhlangano.

Data Usage: the information gathered in this session will be recorded and only used towards the purposes of this research.

Ukusetshenziswa kolwazi: lonke ulwazi oluqoqwa kulomhlangano luzoqoshwa, lusetshenziselwe lolucwaningo kuphela.

Time allocated: This discussion should take about 100 minutes, including a 10-minute comfort break

Isikhathi esibekekwe umhlangano: Lonhlangano kulindeleke ukuthi uthathe ngaphezudlwana kwehora nohhafu, kube imizuzu engu 100, kubalwa nekhefu lemizuzu eyishumi

Questions for permanent Centre staff

1. Is the centre generally flexible in letting volunteers implement their own ideas, or are programmes strictly adhered to?
    Ungathi iCYCC ihambisa izinhlelo zayo ngendlela enqala noma kuvumelekile ukwenza izinguquko ngokweziphakamiso zamavolontiya?

2. In instances where volunteers make suggestions that contradict normal procedure, what is the general response to those suggestions?
   Kuye kwenziwe njani uma ivolontiya linesphakamiso esingahambisani nenqubo ejwayelekile?

3. Who decides on daily activities between the workers and the volunteers?
   Ubani owenza izinqumo ngezihlelo zosuku phakathi komsebenzi nevolontiya?

4. Who makes decisions regarding the running of programmes at the centre?
   Ubani owenza izinqumo ngezinhlelo ezenziwayo kwiCYCC?

5. What kind of decisions have been influenced by suggestions from volunteers?
   Iziphi izinqumo ezenziwe kusukela eziphakamisweni zamavolontiya?

6. What new programmes have been introduced by the volunteers at the centre?
   Iziphi izinhlelo ezintsha ezifike namavolontiya?

7. What was the process to introduce these changes?
   Iyiphi indlela ekuqhutshwa ngayo ukuze lezizinguquko zethulwe kwabanye abasebenzi?

8. What changes has the centre made (over the years) to accommodate volunteers and the contribution they would like to make?
   Iziphi izinguquko ezenziwe laykhaya kuleminyaka, zenzelwa ukuthi amavolontiya azizwe emukelekile?

9. What would you change about the volunteer tourist programme at the centre?
   Yiziphi izinguquko ongazenza kululoluhlelo lwamavolontiya zivakashi eCYCC?

10. Experts agree that children need permanence in relationships with adults who care for them in order to develop emotional wellbeing. they also believe that friendly interactions on a temporary basis is harmful to children's emotional wellbeing in the long-term. On the other hand, it is general practice for visitors to seek interactions with children as part of their volunteering experience
    How does the centre balance children's needs for permanent relationships with the need for visitors to interact and form relationships with the children in the short term?
    Onjingalwazi bayavulelana ngokuthi izingane zidinga ubudlelwane obuqiniseke iminyaka ukuze zikhule kahle ngokomqondo nangokomoya. Bakholelwa ukuthi ukuxhumana nabantu ababakhombisa uthando iskhashana kuyazilulaza izingane emqondweni nasemoyeni ngokuhamba kweskhathi. Kwelinye icala, kuvamile ukuthi amavolontiya afune ukuxhumana nezingane ngesikhathi besavolontiya okweskhashana.
    Umbuzo uthi, laykhaya nisiqinisekisa kanjani isidingo sezingane ukuthi zibe nobudlelwano obunganqunyelwe iskhathi nibe niqinisekisa ukuthi namavolontiya ayakuthola ukugcwalisa isifiso sokuxhumana nezingane?

Appendix 4: **Focus Group Discussion Guide - Volunteer Tourists**

Document number: _____

Site: _____ Moderator: _____

No. of Participants: _____ Note Taker: _____

Date: _____ Transcriber: _____

Start Time: _____ End Time: _____

Introduction

Purpose: the purpose of this focus group is to discuss your views regarding the CYCC accepting volunteer tourists to work at the centre; and the relationship between volunteer tourists and permanent staff at the Centre.

Confidentiality: your identity in the report will be protected. You can choose your own pseudonym, or the researcher will allocate you one, which will be used in quoting you in the report. I ask that you respect one another's privacy and anonymity by not mentioning any specific information discussed by an individual outside of this session.

Contact details: the researcher's contact details will be provided should you have any questions or concerns you would like to discuss after this session.

Data Usage: the information gathered in this session will be recorded and only used towards the purposes of this research.

Time allocated: This discussion should take about 100 minutes, including a 10-minute comfort break

Questions for volunteer tourists

1. When you were planning to come to the CYCC, what kind of work did you want to volunteer in the most?

2. How is that different to the work you are actually doing?

3. who decides on daily activities between workers and the volunteers?

4. Who makes decisions regarding the running of programmes at the centre?

5. From your experience, what is the centre's biggest priority regarding the children in their care?

6. Is there anything you wanted to do that you discovered you would not be able to do at the centre?

7. What kind of decisions have you influenced at the centre?

8. What new processes or programmes have you introduced to the centre?

9. What was the process to introduce these changes?

10. What changes has the centre made to accommodate volunteers and the contribution they would like to make?

11. What formal processes have been changed in order to enrich your volunteer experience?

12. How different is your volunteer experience here compared to back home?

13. Experts agree that children need permanence in relationships with adults who care for them in order to develop emotional wellbeing. They also believe that friendly interactions on a temporary basis is harmful to children's emotional wellbeing in the long-term. On the other hand, it is general practice for visitors to seek interactions with children as part of their volunteering experience

In your view, how does the centre balance children's needs for permanent relationships with the need for visitors to interact and form relationships with the children in the short term?

Appendix 5: **Consent Form (English)**

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: _____

Dear _____

My name is Ayanda Tshazi from the School of Development Studies, UKZN (email: tshaziayanda@gmail.com / telephone: 0764602351.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research on the role of volunteer tourists in the day-to-day life of the Child and Youth Care Centre environment. The aim and purpose of this research is to understand how CYCCs function, and how they strike a balance between interests of children in their care and interests of volunteer tourists. The study is expected to enrol 24 participants in total, including workers and volunteers who work at care centres from the 4 child and youth care centres serving the Port Shepstone and surrounding communities. It will involve the following procedures:

- Interviews with workers (including management and general workers) from the CYCC
- Interviews with tourists who volunteer for a time at the CYCC
- Discussions with focus group of workers and of volunteers

The duration of your participation if you choose to enrol and remain in the study is expected to be an hour in a one-on-one interview with the researcher, and another 1.5 hours in a group discussion.

The study may involve questions that you may find uncomfortable to answer about your work experience. We hope that the study will create a better understanding of the Child and Youth Care Centre environment and help to improve relations between all stakeholders. The study will have no immediate, direct benefits to participants.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HHS/0207/018M)

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at 0764602351 / tshaziayanda@gmail.com or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Please note that participation in this research is voluntary and that participants may withdraw participation at any point, and that in the event of refusal/withdrawal of participation the participants will not incur any penalties or other benefit to which they are normally entitled in their workplace. To withdraw from a group discussion, the participant may simply raise their hand and notify the researcher that they are withdrawing from participating in the discussion, at which point the participant my quietly leave the room. On a one-one-one interview, the participant may simply inform the interviewer of their decision to stop the interview. In case a participant is unwell, unwilling to participate or becomes disruptive in a group discussion, the researcher will terminate the participant from the study?

No cost will be incurred by participants as a result of participation in the study. There will be no incentives or reimbursements for participation in the study.

Confidentiality of personal information will be protected by use of pseudonyms chosen by the participants to quote them in the report. The data collected during the course of the research will be stored in the University's archives for 5 years, after which time they will be shredded.

CONSENT

I (Name)………………………………………………………………. have been informed about the study entitled, "The influence of volunteer tourism in decision making and everyday life in Child and Youth Care Centres: an exploration of how tourist interests and children's interests are navigated at the centres" by Ayanda Tshazi

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at (0764602351 / tshaziayanda@gmail.com).

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

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Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion   YES / NO

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   **Date**

_____   _____

Signature of Witness   **Date**

(Where applicable)

_____   _____

Signature of Translator   **Date**

(Where applicable)

Appendix 6: **Consent Form (IsiZulu)**

ULWAZI NGEMVUMO

OKUZOSEBENZA NGEZIGABA

Bacwaningi: Kuyisidingo ukuthi konke kwenziwe ngobuchule noma ngokucophelela ngokomthetho,ukuthi konke okwenziwayo kube ulwazi olucacileyo ngokolimu olwaziwayo, futhi kungabi bikho ulwazi olubalulekile oluzokweqiwa kulokhu okungenzanzi. Ulwazi oluhunyushiwe luzodingeka emva kokuthi ulwazi lokuqala selugunyaziwe.

Ngezizathu ezithile ulwazi lungamukelwa ngokukhuluma kudingeke ukuthi kube nobufakazi noma ngezizathu ezithile Ulwazi ngemvumo yomuntu ngayedwa lunqatshwe noma lususwe ikomide(HSSREC).

Ulwazi oluqukethwe ngokuzibophezela ukuba yingxenye yocwaningo

Usuku: _____

Isibingelelo: Ngiyakubingelela lunga lomphakathi

Igama lami ngingu Ayanda Tshazi (Ucingo: 0764602351 / Email: tshaziayanda@gmail.com)

Uyamenywa ukuba ube ingxenye kucwaningo olubheka iqhaza lezivakashi ezivolontiya ekusebenzeni kwamakhaya agcina izingane. Inhloso yaloluqwaningo ukuqondisisa indlela lamakhaya asebenza ngoyo, nokuthi enza kanjani ukuvikela nokunakekela abantwani bebe ngesikhathi esisodwa beqinisekisa izimfuno zamavolontiya asuke evakashile. Loluqwaningo kulindeleke ukuthi lisebenzisane nabantu abangu 24 sebebonke, kubalwa abasebenzi abasebenza nabavolontiya emakhaya agcina izingane endaweni yase Port Shepstone namaphethelo. Ucwaningo luzombandakanya ukuhlolwa kwemibono yabasebenzi emazingeni ahlukene (kubalwa nabaphathi), imibono yezivakashi ezivolontiyayo emakhaya, izingxoxo namathimba abasebenzi namavolontiya.

Isikhathi sakho esizodliwa ucwaningo silindeleke ukuba ihora uxoxisana nomcwaningi ngemibono yakho, nelinye ihora nohhafu lengxoxo enabanye abasebenzi kanye nomcwaningi.

Ucwaningo kungenzeka lubuze imibuzo engenza kube nzima ukukhuluma ngezinto odlula kuzona emsebenzini. Sithemba ukuthi ucwaningo luzosinika sonke indlela engcono yokuqonda umsebenzi nokwenzeka emakhaya agcina abantwana nezingane, lusize futhi ekuthuthukiseni ubudlelwane kubona bonke abathinteka ekusebenzeni kulezikhungo. Ngale kwalokhu, ayikho inzuzo esheshayo ezotholwa ngokuba yingxenye yaloluqwaningo.

Lesisifundo asinabo ubungozi futhi akukho lapho ozozizwa ungenakho ukukhululeka. Siyethemba loluqwaningo luzosisiza ukwazi kangcono ngabantu baseThekwini ukuthi benza njani uma befuna ukukhombisa amalungelo abo. Okunye okumele ukwazi ngaloluqwaningo akukho muhlomulo ngokusebenzisana nathi ngalesisifundo.

Lesisifundo sibhekiwe ngokwenkambo yobulungiswa sagunyazwa ikomide lesikhungo sasenyuvesithi UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics (inombolo yokugunyaza HHS/0207/018M).

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

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Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Uma kukhona izinkinga obhekana nazo noma kukhona imibuzo ungaxhumana nomcwaningi (kulemininingwane enikezelwe: Ayanda Tshazi 0764602351 / tshaziayanda@gmail.com) ningaxhumana futhi nekomide elimele ubulungiswa lase UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences kulemininingwane elandelayo

Ukusebenzisana nathi kulesisifundo awuphoqelekile, unalo ilungelo lokushintsha umqondo noma ngasiphi isikhathi uhoxe. Ngasesayidini lethu njengoba senza lolucwaningo asinawo umuhlombulo esizowunikezela kuwe kodwa singakunika uma sesiqedile ukwenza ucwaningo iphepha ukuze ulifunde noma ubeke umbono ngalo.

Umcwaningi akukho lapho ezothatha khona igama lakho futhi konke ozobe usitshela khona akukho lapho oyokubona khona ukuthi uwena. Konke ozokutshela umcwaningi kuzogcinwa kahle kukhiyelwe ekhabetheni. Esizobe sikugcine kwicomputha nakho kuvikelekile ngoba

kuba nenombolo yemfihlo uma uyivula. Emuva kweminyaka emihlanu siyokushabalalisa lolulwazi osinike lona.

ISIVUMELWANO

Mina (igama) _____ngazisiwe ngakho konke ngocwaningo ngomthelela wamavolontiya zivakashi ekusebenzeni nasekwenziweni kwezinqumo kumakhaya aziwa ngama Child and Youth Care Centres ngu Ayanda Tshazi.

Nginikeziwe ithuba lokuthi ngiphendule imibuzo bayelana nalolucwaningo noma isifundo futhi ngiphendule ngendlela enginelseka ngayo

Mina ngiyamemezela ukuthi ukuba kwami ingxenye yalolucwaningo angiphoqiwe futhi ngingayeka noma nini ngaphandle kokuphazamisa lesisifundo.

Uma ngabe ngiba nemibuzo noma yini ephathelene nalolucwaningo ngingaxhumana nomcwaningi

Uma ngabe ngiba nemibuzo noma ngifuna ukwazi kabanzi ngamalungelo ami ngokusebenzisana nani kulolucwaningo noma okumayelana nalolucwaningo noma ngabacwaningi ngingaxhumana nonobhalo wesikhungo esibhekelene nobulungiswa bokwenza ucwaningo

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Okwengeziwe ngemvumo okudingekayo

Ngiyanikezela ngmvumo ukuthi

Ukusebenzisa isiqophamazwi / ingxoxo yedlanzana labantu YEBO/CHA

_____   _____

Sayina ukuzibophezela   **Usuku**

_____   _____

Kusayina ufakazi uma ekhona   **Usuku**

_____   _____

Kusayina ochazayo uma ekhona   **Usuku**