Volunteerism for capacity building: The case of Cuso International volunteers in Peruvian *Centros de jóvenes y empleo*

Submitted by
Rachel Ginsberg

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Professor Ken MacDonald and Professor Ryan Isakson

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I. INTRODUCTION

From September 2012 to April 2013, I worked as a volunteer researcher for Cuso International (Cuso), based in the organization’s Program Office in Lima, Peru. The goal of my research was to determine which factors made a volunteer placement in Peru with Cuso successful or unsuccessful. The study I carried out culminated in a final report with a number of recommendations, which was shared with Cuso staff and volunteers as well as Cuso’s local partner organizations. Through the course of this research project, I became interested in the ways in which one of Cuso’s partner organizations, Asociación Kallpa (Kallpa), made use of Cuso volunteers as well as the workings of international volunteer sending in general. It was this interest which led to this thesis research. The field of international volunteering is dynamic and as nearly a year has passed since I submitted my final research report to Cuso, it is possible that both Cuso and Kallpa have made changes to their operations since that time. Nonetheless, I present my thesis as an analysis of the work of these two organizations.

This thesis sets out to answer the question: How can international volunteers be utilized as effective agents of development without displacing local volunteers or paid employees? Through a case study analysis of one of Kallpa’s projects, the Centros de jóvenes y empleo, I argue that when certain conditions are present, international volunteers can work effectively and are unlikely to displace local actors in the short-term, although their continued presence in the long-term may have a displacing effect. This study contributes to a growing (yet still small) body of research relating to the role of international volunteering in development.

1.1 Research problem

Sending volunteers overseas in place of direct financial support for international development projects is a growing phenomenon. It is very expensive to deploy volunteers and
there is disagreement over whether or not sending volunteers in place of money is actually good for development outcomes, the justification for sending volunteers being that they will share their skills with local actors in order to build their capacities to direct their own development initiatives. The real issue is whether or not international volunteers can accomplish something that local volunteers or employees cannot or if they simply claim local jobs, undermine local ownership of projects, and create dependent relationships. The two youth and employment centres (Centros de jóvenes y empleo [CJEs]) operated by Asociación Kallpa in Peru are an example of international volunteer-sending in action as international volunteers placed with Kallpa by Cuso have been an integral part of the CJEs since their inception. The CJEs in Peru are loosely based on a similar centre developed in Québec, called the Carrefour jeunesse emploi de l’Outaouais (CJEO). The objective of this study is to critically evaluate whether or not international volunteers can contribute effectively to development projects and how the use of international volunteers affects the use of local volunteers or paid employees, using the Peruvian CJEs as a case study.

This study will add to a growing body of research on skills-sharing and volunteerism in a development context. Existing research on the use of international volunteers in development projects focuses heavily on the impact of such volunteering on the volunteers themselves, whether it be positive or negative, professional or personal. Of the research that examines the effect of international volunteering on volunteer host organizations, it tends to rely almost exclusively on the perceptions of volunteers, rather than host organization staff or beneficiaries. A number of studies have concluded that international volunteers have a positive or neutral effect on the capacities of their host organizations but many have also concluded that the impact of capacity building activities carried out by international volunteers is difficult to measure. Very

1 Local organizations which host volunteers, also called partner organizations.
few studies have examined volunteer placements that are longer than six months, as many Cuso placements are. Some scholars (Eade, 2007; Lopes & Theisohn, 2003; Lough, McBride, Sherraden, & O’Hara, 2011; Perold et al., 2013) have highlighted the potential for international volunteering to exist as a neocolonial process, reinforcing the hegemony of Western skills and knowledge. While my research does not specifically address this point, it does examine the question of whether or not international volunteers actually displace local staff or volunteers, a contention about which existing research offers little evidence. What is clear is that international volunteers have become important development actors in many sectors, for good or bad. Rather than simply funding development initiatives, alternative means of supporting development work are growing in popularity so more research must be done on this topic in order to provide a better understanding of how volunteers might be used more effectively in carrying out development projects. This study will explore some of the questions that remain regarding international volunteers’ effectiveness in sharing their skills and their potential to displace local actors.

1.2 Objectives and sub-questions

Using the CJEAs as a case study, this research focuses upon the following question: How can international volunteers be utilized as effective agents of development without displacing local volunteers or paid employees? “Effective agents of development” describes international volunteers who utilize their experiences and skills to make a positive contribution, the effects of which last beyond the length of their placements. The objectives and sub-questions of this study are listed below:

- 1. To determine if skills-sharing does actually occur in CJEAs between international volunteers and local employees and volunteers.

  - Are international volunteers able to build Kallpa’s institutional capacity?
Are international volunteers limited in their ability to share their skills by the need to overcome contextual differences related to class, race, gender, language, and workplace culture?

2. To determine what role training plays in the effective use of international volunteers.
   - What role did the initial training at the CJEO in Québec (of Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers) play in the creation and operation of Peru’s CJEs?
   - How do routine training practices of Cuso volunteers and preparation of Kallpa staff (prior to and immediately after a volunteer’s arrival) affect a volunteer’s effectiveness?

3. To determine if the use of international volunteers encourages dependency and displaces local employees.
   - How does the presence of international volunteers affect local ownership, participation, and sustainability in CJEs?
   - Are the professional skills necessary for CJEs actually scarce in Peru or is there another reason that Peruvians cannot be recruited to do the work being done by international Cuso volunteers?

The terms “capacity building” and “skills sharing” will be used throughout this thesis; the first describes a process which implies a one-way transfer of knowledge or skills, usually from an international volunteer to a host organization, while the second allows for a recognition of the multi-directional exchanges which often take place in the context of so-called capacity building activities. While Cuso makes use of both terms in its literature, it emphasizes the idea that volunteers can learn from their placement experiences and should work alongside their host organization colleagues as equals (Cuso International, 2013c; Cuso International, 2013e).
1.3 Context

Peru’s two CJEs opened in 2009 in the San Juan de Miraflores district of Lima and in the city of Cusco. The centres serve youths from the ages of 15-29, providing them with services that include job searches, career counselling, and entrepreneurial training. Both centres are currently operated by Kallpa although the goal is to have the municipal governments where the two centres are located eventually take on the responsibilities and operating costs. The CJEs are essentially a pilot project to determine whether the model can and should be used throughout the country. The CJE model being used in Peru is loosely based on a similar centre which was developed in Gatineau, Québec and later expanded across the province, where over 100 such centres now exist (Carrefour jeunesse emploi de l’Outaouais [CJEO], n.d.-b, para. 1).

Kallpa is a Peruvian non-profit, non-governmental organization (NGO) founded in 1990, which has been a host organization for Cuso volunteers for approximately 15 years. Cuso is a Canadian non-profit NGO, founded in 1961 (beginning its activities in Peru in 1969), which sends volunteers overseas in place of direct cash transfers. From 2007 to 2012, approximately 60 Cuso volunteers were placed in Peru, about 25 of them with Kallpa. Since 1965, Cuso has received a significant portion of its funding from the Canadian government (Cuso International, 2013a; Cuso International, 2013d). At the beginning of its history, Cuso volunteers were mostly recent university graduates but by the early 1980s, many volunteers were professionals with many years of experience in their fields (Cuso International, 2013d). More recently, Cuso’s pool of volunteers has increasingly come to consist of young professionals with only a few years of relevant work experience.

Peru is a middle-income country with an economy which has been growing rapidly for the past ten to fifteen years after a long period of political instability (Central Intelligence
Agency [CIA], 2013; Chiesa, Crotti, & Lengefeld, 2013). Inequality and discrimination remain serious issues in the country and light coloured skin is considered a standard of beauty in Peru as well as a marker of sophistication and wealth (Collyns, 2010; de la Cadena, 2001). Crime and governmental corruption are also important challenges across the country (Chiesa et al., 2013; Transparency International, 2013). Peru has a young population with a high rate of unemployment, an issue which the CJEs are meant to address (CIA, 2013; Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática [INEI], 2014). Peru currently hosts hundreds of international volunteers from a number of different countries, with the United States being the largest source of such volunteers (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores [MRE], 2013b, p. 1).

1.4 Methodology

This study is based on two separate sets of data. The first set was collected between September 2012 and April 2013, while I was completing a placement as a Cuso volunteer\(^2\) in the Cuso Program Office in Lima, Peru. This data was collected for a research project carried out specifically for Cuso. The second set of data was collected from April 2013 to December 2013 and was used solely for the current research project. The data analyzed for this thesis comes from questionnaire responses, interviews, and observations from meetings, gatherings, and visits to the two CJEs. The research subjects included past and current Cuso volunteers, Cuso and Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) staff, Cuso partner organization staff, volunteers in Peru who were placed by other international cooperation agencies, and others involved in the creation or operation of the CJEs.

\(^2\) To fulfill the requirements of an Honours Bachelor of Arts degree in Co-op International Development Studies at the University of Toronto Scarborough.
1.5 Significance of the study

The existing research on the topic of international volunteering leaves a number of important questions unanswered relating to the effectiveness of such volunteers and their potential to displace local staff or volunteers. Very few studies have taken into account the viewpoints of host organizations when attempting to determine the capacity building impact of international volunteers on these organizations. In addition, very few have examined volunteer placements which are longer than six months. Almost no studies have produced evidence proving whether or not international volunteers actually displace local staff or volunteers.

Major findings that have been raised in the existing literature suggest that volunteer impact is difficult to measure and that therefore, it is a challenge to determine if a volunteer has actually had a positive, negative, or neutral impact on a host organization (Feeley, Connelly, McCoy, Richards, & Vian, 2006). Conventional monitoring and evaluation systems are argued to be too restrictive and focused on short-term results to be appropriate for capacity building activities (Eade, 2007; Lopes & Theisohn, 2003; Watson, 2006). While capacity building is viewed by Lopes and Theisohn (2003), Turcot et al. (2007), Watson (2006) and others as a key tool for accomplishing the United Nations-established Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and volunteers as a means to deliver capacity building, Perold et al. (2013) and Lough et al. (2011) argue that capacity building, especially when carried out by international volunteers, may reinforce existing unequal power dynamics. Lacey and Ilcan (2006) and Phillips and Ilcan (2004) have even argued that capacity building activities may be harmful as they can further an agenda of neoliberal governance. Given these findings, we must continue to question what the role should be of international volunteers in development as well as what the significance may be of the power differentials that tend to exist between international volunteers and host organizations.
With the continuing popularity of capacity building activities and international volunteering, it is crucial to explore these points of contention.

1.6 Outline

I argue that a case study of the two CJEs in Peru reveals that when certain conditions are present, international volunteers can serve as effective agents of development. While these volunteers are unlikely to displace local CJE staff and volunteers in the short-term, this may become an issue in the long-term. This is because Kallpa currently lacks the financial resources to hire local staff and local volunteers are very difficult to recruit; however, a continual supply of international volunteers may reduce Kallpa’s incentive to seek out other sources of funding which may be used to pay local actors. Key in preventing such displacement in the long-term will be the development of a plan between Cuso and Kallpa to eventually phase out the use of international volunteers in the CJEs when they are no longer needed. In addition, donor country governments such as Canada’s should consider removing the conditionalities attached to funding allocated to volunteer sending organizations such as Cuso, in order to allow for the recruitment of more volunteers from aid recipient countries, rather than just from the donor country. Such a policy change would help to prevent displacement and work to allow host organizations to take greater advantage of the skills bases that exist in their own countries.

In the following section, I explore the existing research on the topic of international volunteering through a literature review. The third section explains the context of Peru, Cuso, Kallpa, and the two CJEs, while the fourth section describes the methodology used to carry out this research. The fifth section contains an in-depth analysis of the data collected for this study, drawing conclusions relating to each of the three objectives and the overarching research question. This section also considers alternative critical perspectives on international
volunteering, drawing from the works of Marxist, post-development, and pedagogy of the oppressed theorists. The final section discusses the findings and significance of this research as they relate to broader questions within the field of international development studies.
II. LITERATURE REVIEW

In questioning the role of international volunteers in the field of development, we must examine what is already known about these volunteers and the labour they perform. The following literature review identifies overarching themes in the existing literature on the topics of international volunteering and capacity building. An analysis of journal articles, reports, and a discussion paper published between 2003 and 2013 provides insight into what is already known about the impact of volunteers, the potential of capacity building efforts, and the complicating factors of each. Major themes include: the impact of international volunteers as positive, neutral, or unknown; capacity building as having the potential to reinforce existing power dynamics; conventional monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems as a hindrance to effective capacity building; capacity building as an essential tool for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and volunteers as a means of delivering capacity building; and capacity building as a component of neoliberal governance. The existing literature provides limited evidence regarding the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of international volunteers in building capacity and extremely limited discussion of the potential for international volunteers to displace paid staff in host organizations. Minimal evidence is available relating to volunteer placements which are longer than six months.

2.1 Volunteer impact as positive, neutral, or unknown

The overall consensus of the literature is that when planned and executed properly, international volunteerism can have a positive impact on host organizations. However, the measureable impact of volunteers’ work is difficult to determine so most research on this topic is

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3 “Host organizations” refers to local organizations which receive volunteers from international volunteer-sending organizations. In the case of the CJE’s, Kallpa is the host organization and Cuso is the volunteer-sending organization.
based on the perceptions of volunteers and host organizations. As an additional challenge, the incredible variety of international volunteering programs and host organizations that exist worldwide makes it very difficult to generalize the findings of a particular study to other situations.

Based on his fifteen years of experience working with international volunteers and findings from his doctoral research, Devereux aims in his 2008 article to refute a number of criticisms of international volunteering, arguing that volunteers can be a positive force for capacity building within host organizations. Despite a very small amount of research on the impact of international volunteers, he argues that international volunteers can make sustainable contributions to host organizations that local people cannot. He highlights six criteria which he believes promote successful international volunteering: “humanitarian motivation; reciprocal benefit; living and working under local conditions; long-term commitment; local accountability and North-South partnership; and linkages to tackle causes rather than symptoms” (p. 359-360). Devereux does not, however, provide any data regarding how common it is for these criteria to actually be met in practice. The fact that Devereux’s positive observations regarding international volunteerism are based in large part on his personal work and volunteer experiences raises questions about his potential bias with regards to this topic.

Devereux (2008) claims that the displacement of local employees by volunteers in host organizations is unlikely as those organizations must commit some of their own resources to the training and support of volunteers, who often have limited skills and experiences. This means that since host organizations must absorb certain costs associated with volunteers (although they may be non-monetary), they may be less inclined to view international volunteers as free labour which can produce the same quality and quantity of outputs as a paid employee. Devereux
mentions the existence of south-south volunteering in an effort to refute the common criticism that international volunteering is dominated by white Westerners with substantial financial resources; however, he does not seem to consider the reality that international volunteers from Southern countries may also come from wealthy backgrounds that bear no resemblance to those of the beneficiaries that their host organizations serve. Thus, simply recruiting international volunteers from Southern countries may not be enough to counter allegations of elitism.

A small-scale 2007 study by Vian et al. of Pfizer Corporation’s corporate volunteering program supports Devereux’s (2008) assertions to a degree, finding that the accomplishments of its volunteers resulted in “high levels of perceived impact on service quality, efficiency, and service expansion” (p. 7) on the part of host organizations. The study involved 19 Pfizer employees who volunteered in five different countries between 2006 and 2007 as well as over 20 host organizations (p. 10, 19). Most placements were less than six months long (p. 18). Although the focus of this study was to test a methodology for measuring volunteer impact, it provided a small number of findings regarding volunteer impact itself. The study found that in terms of capacity building, having multiple successive volunteers was helpful; that high levels of interaction between a volunteer and host organization staff may be associated with greater impact; and that in general, host organization respondents to the study reported that their organizational capacity had improved or remained the same by the end of a placement.

Vian et al.’s (2007) study was prompted by a 2006 study of the same program by Feeley et al., which highlighted the difficulties in measuring volunteer impact. Feeley et al.’s study involved 60 placements which took place in five countries (not all the same countries as in Vian et al.) between 2003 and 2005 (p. 3-4). This study found that the success of a placement (in terms of capacity building) was highly dependent on (1) the existing capacity of the host
organization (with greater capacity or being on the verge of a turnaround being favourable), (2) the type of work performed by the volunteer, and (3) the preparation of the partner and the volunteer prior to the start of the placement. In conclusion, Feeley et al. found that although it was unlikely (and difficult to measure) that Pfizer volunteers had a significant impact on development at large, they were often perceived to be successful in transferring skills to their host organizations. This potential disconnect between larger development impacts and impacts on host organizations begs the question of how relevant the skills were that were transferred in the first place.

Turcot, McLaren, Marquardt, and Gallant completed a highly positive mid-term evaluation of the Canadian International Development Agency’s (CIDA) Volunteer Cooperation Program (VCP)\(^4\) in 2007, a funding mechanism for volunteer-based development initiatives managed by Canadian international cooperation agencies. The VCP supports placements of varying lengths all over the world and is used to fund programming related to several of the MDGs (Turcot et al., 2007). The VCP’s overall goal is to provide opportunities for Canadian volunteers and the report states that although some VCP-funded organizations may wish to recruit Southern volunteers, their funding agreements may make this impossible. The evaluation was based on information gathered in three countries from volunteers, host organizations, cooperation agency staff, CIDA staff, government officials, and other experts. The authors concluded that the program “is evolving into a relevant and coherent programming vehicle” (p. x). Some challenges to international volunteering were highlighted, including: growing financial difficulties of civil society organizations in the Global South, health and environmental dangers posed by climate change, worsening security situations in a number of regions, and the diversity

\(^4\) This is the program through which Cuso still receives a large portion of its funding. However, with the recent absorption of CIDA into the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, the future of the VCP is uncertain.
of volunteer-sending organizations which makes monitoring and evaluation more difficult for CIDA. The evaluation affirms many of the praises mentioned by Devereux (2008), Vian et al. (2007), and Feeley et al. (2006), that international volunteers can have a positive impact on the capacity of host organizations and that international volunteering should be continued to be pursued as a method of delivery for international aid.

Lough et al. (2011) studied short-term (on average, four weeks long), non-expert volunteer placements which require a fee from the volunteer (p. 123). These placements more closely resemble voluntourism (or volunteer tourism) with a volunteer pool which is very different from that of Cuso, an organization that recruits volunteers with specific skills and experiences who are matched with the needs of local host organizations. In contrast, voluntourism is more of a tourist experience incorporating a volunteer element which is meant to have some kind of positive developmental impact (Guttentag, 2009). Voluntourists are not selected based on their abilities or the specific needs of Southern partners but rather on a volunteer’s own desire to participate in the pre-planned program the voluntourist agency has created for its numerous customers (Guttentag, 2009).

Voluntourist and non-voluntourist international volunteer experiences are probably best characterized as existing along a spectrum, rather than being defined by strict categories. According to my own assessment, what differentiates Cuso placements from voluntourist placements is that Cuso’s are designed with the intention that partner organizations will gain a greater share of the benefits of placements than will volunteers. Whether or not this is actually the final result, the intention is an important defining characteristic. Although Cuso placements are different from voluntourism experiences, some of the critiques surrounding the two are common, including the potential displacement of local employees by international volunteers and
the selfish motivations of volunteers that may hinder their effectiveness as agents of
development (Guttentag, 2009; Devereux, 2008).

The inclusion of Lough et al.’s study in this review encourages a critical comparison of
Cuso placements with those of voluntourists and it is one of very few studies which compares
local organizations which host volunteers with those that do not. It is also one of very few studies
of this nature which are based in Peru, the site of my own research. The study compared the
interview responses of 30 representatives from ten similar\(^5\) community-based social service
agencies; five of which regularly hosted international volunteers and five of which did not (p.
124). Like Vian et al. (2007), Feeley et al. (2006), and Turcot et al. (2007), this study found that
host organizations were generally satisfied with their volunteers. Host organizations claimed that
volunteers were able to (1) help alleviate human resource deficiencies by acting as “an extra pair
of hands” (p. 126), (2) provide extra resources through fundraising efforts in their home
countries, (3) enhance the intercultural understanding of staff and clients, and (4) transfer
technical and professional skills in some instances. Important factors which affected volunteer
placement outcomes were identified as: integration of the volunteer into the organization,
occupational experience of the volunteer, commitment to the placement on the part of the
volunteer, successive volunteer placements with the same organization (similar to Vian et al.’s
2007 findings), volunteers’ language skills, and placement length (longer placements being more
favourable). Organizations which did not host volunteers claimed this was due to low volunteer
supply, rather than a lack of interest on their part.

Although Lough et al.’s (2011) findings regarding international volunteers were generally
positive, the authors did raise the issues that volunteers require an investment of time and human
resources from the host organization, that they may serve as a distraction to staff and clients, and

\(^5\) Similar in terms of size, resources, and goals.
that host organizations may become dependent on volunteers. An additional concern raised was that the disparities of power and privilege between volunteers and local people may reinforce stereotypes of Westerners as culturally superior and may contribute to the de-valuing of local cultures. This last concern is expanded on in a 2013 article by Perold et al., which argues that although international volunteers can make positive contributions to host organizations, greater attention must be paid to colonial legacies and the power dynamics at play in the international aid arena.

2.2 Capacity building as having the potential to reinforce existing power dynamics

Concerns have been raised by various authors relating to the ways in which capacity building efforts interact with existing global power dynamics. Some suggest that the presence of international volunteers in “teaching” roles can perpetuate stereotypes and internalized dialogues associating Westerners with superior knowledge and Southerners with ignorance and a perpetual need for outside assistance. As the vast majority of the literature suggests that international volunteers are often given mandates of capacity building within host organizations, this discussion is relevant to the study of international volunteers in the development sector.

Perold et al.’s 2013 study of host organizations in Tanzania and Mozambique reveals a number of issues surrounding the use of international volunteers. The researchers used interviews and focus groups to gain insight into the opinions and perceptions of host organization staff and beneficiaries relating to international volunteers. Similar to Lough et al.’s (2011) study, three organizations which hosted volunteers were compared with three organizations that did not, in each of the two countries (p. 184). A survey of 455 volunteers relating to their volunteer experiences was also conducted (p. 185). Perold et al. found that the prestige and legitimacy that is lent to an organization which hosts international volunteers can reinforce perceptions (both
locally and internationally) of Westerners as knowledgeable and capable and of local people as ignorant and in need of outside assistance. This was illustrated by a focus group participant’s observation that, “most people in Tanzania have a tendency to listen [to] a person from abroad [more] than a local person, even though both of you might carry the same message” (p. 187). The authors argue that this attitude is heavily influenced by colonial legacies, which must be considered when implementing international volunteer programs. Devereux (2008) asserts that international volunteers are unlikely to displace local employees but Perold et al. (2013) propose that perhaps a more important issue to consider is the potential displacement of local opinions and knowledge in favour of those coming from the West.

In addition to the problems associated with the high social status that is often accorded to international volunteers within host communities, Lough et al. (2011) also express a concern that the flows of volunteers to the Global South are often supply-driven by volunteers from the North, rather than demand-driven by the actual needs and wishes of Southern host organizations. This can undermine the ability of host organizations to direct the types of volunteers or placements they host. Perold et al. (2013) relate this outcome to a lack of engagement between host and sending organizations as well as a perception by host organizations of Westerners as superior, leading many to uncritically accept the assistance of volunteers. These types of partnerships are unequal and do not promote using the full capacity building potential of volunteers. This dynamic may not have been considered in the studies conducted by Vian et al. (2007) and Feeley et al. (2006) which had highly positive findings regarding the effectiveness of international volunteers but were focused on evaluating whether or not volunteers contributed to positive changes within their host organizations, rather than how much control and ownership the organizations had over the changes. The top-down approach to capacity building that many
Pfizer volunteers (called Fellows) appear to have taken is revealed in the following statement by Vian et al. (2007):

“Although most Fellows (75%) felt that the Partner Organization understood what the Fellow was recommending or trying to do, about half of the Fellows felt that their counterparts were not at the right level to facilitate execution of the changes that were needed” (p. 27).

This reflects an attitude that places volunteers in charge of instituting changes in organizations that may not be ready for or even desire them.

Eade’s 2007 critique of capacity building places the onus on Western development organizations to fundamentally change the way they interact with their Southern host organizations in order to make these partnerships more equitable, claiming that, “many conventional NGO practices are ultimately about retaining power, rather than empowering their partners” (p. 630). She argues that Southern partners must be allowed to articulate their own organizational agendas and that both Southern and Western NGOs should hold themselves accountable, above all else, to their intended beneficiaries, rather than their donors. Eade claims that the typical one-way flow of resources from West to South, combined with the one-way flow from South to West of stories and photographs of beneficiaries for fundraising purposes, undermines Southern partners’ dignity and is an unsustainable development model. Eade argues that NGOs’ conventional approaches to capacity building are flawed and that instead of ignoring or dismissing the existing capacities of people in Southern partner organizations, these capacities should be identified and enhanced.

Rather than condemning capacity building as a failed idea, Eade (2007) actually tries to rescue it, much like Devereux (2008) tries to salvage its reputation. Both authors actually
envision a capacity building methodology that works in much the same way, promoting equal partnerships and self-reflection. Such a methodology would see the removal of the assumption that the goals of Western and Southern organizations are exactly the same and would promote accountability to beneficiaries rather than to project funders. In order to achieve these ends, both authors argue that Western NGOs must be willing to make significant changes to their own structures and practices to allow for meaningful shared risk-taking in long-term projects which are based on national priorities.

What these authors do not address are the potential benefits of reconsidering the very model of development in which capacity building takes place. The concept of capacity building assumes that capacities can and should be built in the first place and that outsiders are the actors best suited to carry out this task. Freire (1981) argues that education is never a neutral process and that education cannot be transformative unless it allows marginalized people to begin to understand themselves and the world in new, critical ways. Therefore, a simple transfer of skills from a volunteer to a host organization is not sufficient to inspire transformational societal change. Post-development theorists such as Esteva (2010) essentially argue that all forms of externally-imposed development constitute neo-imperialism and should be abandoned. As a concept, Esteva argues that development was invented by powerful Western interests in order to create another justification for the exercise of Western hegemony over the rest of the world. Therefore according to Freire and Esteva, the basic assumptions underlying the field of development must be re-imagined. The theories of Freire and Esteva are discussed in greater detail in section five.

Lopes and Theisohn’s 2003 in-depth assessment of capacity building practices largely supports Eade’s (2007) arguments, claiming that capacity building will be ineffective if not
directed from within host organizations and based on existing capacities. Therefore, the authors argue that the term used should be capacity “development” rather than “building” as it should involve enhancing what already exists instead of constructing something new from scratch. Echoing the sentiments of Perold et al. (2013), Lopes and Theisohn agree that, “capacity development is not power neutral” (p. 1) and that power differentials, when left undisturbed, can generate mistrust, exclusion, and disempowerment on the part of Southern host organizations. Empowerment can only be achieved when local partners have ownership, responsibility and control over projects, with external donors providing long-term support based on local priorities and conditions set by recipients (Lopes & Theisohn, 2003). One step toward achieving this type of empowerment must be challenging the monitoring and evaluation systems of many Western donors which focus on the achievement of short-term results, undermining the potential successes of long-term capacity development efforts.

2.3 Conventional monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems as a hindrance to effective capacity building

A number of sources have suggested that M&E systems which emphasize the achievement of short-term outputs are not suitable for measuring the impact of capacity building efforts. Within many M&E frameworks, success is largely measured in terms of outputs which are purportedly objective and quantifiable; even the most successful capacity building activities may produce results which are neither, as it may be difficult to accurately measure how much learning has taken place and its potential long-term effects. In addition, there is a tendency for project goals to be set by external donors, rather than local actors. As M&E systems themselves tend to direct the way that organizations operate once in place (because they are used to measure
success and determine future funding cycles), many authors have argued that such systems can undermine effective capacity building.

Lopes and Theisohn (2003) posit that capacity building is a long-term endeavour which should not be rushed, especially not by external actors. They point to the importance of local historical and social influences on the outcomes of capacity building, which can take time to fully understand. A 2008 article published by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) argues that the responsibility for capacity building essentially falls on Southern partners and as such, they should set the agenda and timeline, also emphasizing that local ownership of development projects is deeply connected to processes of locally-driven capacity development. In addition to problematizing M&E systems that have timelines which are too short for capacity building goals, Eade (2007) urges Western development organizations to challenge the assumption that their goals are the same as those of their Southern partner organizations.

Watson suggests in a 2006 discussion paper that it takes a significant amount of time and resources for Southern partner organizations to learn how to use externally-imposed M&E systems and put them into practice. Although he claims that such accountability mechanisms are important tools for successful capacity building, he argues that they may be more useful, appropriate, and less burdensome when they are internally developed by partner organizations themselves. Watson (2006) and Eade (2007) both raise the issue that a focus on short-term goals can also result in a lack of follow-up mentoring support after capacity building projects have ended, threatening the sustainability of those projects.

Watson (2006) suggests a serious re-thinking of the way monitoring and evaluation is done; that rather than relying solely on predetermined outcome indicators, changing conditions
on the ground should also be taken into consideration. He emphasizes the need for reflection, feedback, and dialogue in capacity building efforts and argues that input from intended beneficiaries should be considered in these processes. Turcot et al.’s (2007) evaluation of CIDA’s Volunteer Cooperation Program praises the fact that some volunteer-sending organizations are changing their M&E systems and indicators to make them more practical, realistic, and qualitative but the authors stop short of suggesting the more radical changes to M&E systems suggested by Lopes and Theisohn (2003), Eade (2007), and Watson (2006).

2.4 Capacity building as an essential tool for achieving the MDGs and volunteers as a means of delivering capacity building

A number of sources have framed a lack of capacity as a major factor which has undermined progress on the MDGs in many countries. These same sources also often view international volunteer service as the ideal delivery mechanism of capacity building projects. This connection between the MDGs and international volunteering frames international volunteers as key, even essential development actors.

Lopes and Theisohn (2003), the OECD (2008), Turcot et al. (2007), Watson (2006), and Devereux (2008) all contend that capacity building is a necessary step in achieving the MDGs and that international volunteering may be an effective and practical means of promoting capacity building. Lopes and Theisohn see the MDGs as only achievable and sustainable once they are transformed into local terms, with specific priorities adapted to local conditions; something which must be done by Southern actors themselves and which is made possible through capacity building. Lopes and Theisohn also argue that volunteers (local or international) and local consultants are preferable over foreign consultants for providing capacity building, citing the high cost of foreign consultants. Devereux agrees with this sentiment while also
claiming that volunteers can be more approachable for host organization staff and sensitive to local conditions and attitudes, as they often live and work under local conditions while overseas and because they generally do not have a level of authority or autonomy which elevates them in status above a host organization’s employees. Devereux also emphasizes the importance of the personal connections that can be created between staff and volunteers as a result of their close work with staff and their lack of financial motivation. Watson as well as Lopes and Theisohn assert that capacity building is a long-term endeavour, supporting the argument that volunteers are a better option than paid consultants, whose prolonged presence would likely be unaffordable for many organizations.

The designation of international volunteers as key development actors raises important questions regarding their qualifications and preparation for working in the field. Despite Devereux’s (2008) defence of volunteers’ ability to make meaningful contributions to host organizations, he admits that they may have limited experience with regards to local languages, cultures, and institutions. However, he claims that this may be a useful characteristic as it could limit a volunteer’s ability or willingness to dominate the workings of their host organization. Perold et al.’s (2013) concerns regarding the dominance of Westerners in international volunteering is also important to consider given the arguments by Lopes and Theisohn (2003), Eade (2007), and Watson (2006) that capacity building must be done on the terms set by local host organizations in order for it to promote empowerment. Devereux (2008) argues that international volunteers are increasingly recruited from Southern countries but the structure of CIDA’s Volunteer Cooperation Program can be used as an example to show that Western governments (those with the most aid resources to give) still prefer to provide funding for volunteer programs which overwhelmingly send their own citizens and permanent residents.
overseas. This suggests that donor governments tend to direct aid funding toward programming which benefits their own domestic priorities.

2.5 Capacity building as a component of neoliberal governance

Two articles, one by Anita Lacey and Suzan Ilcan (2006), and the other by Lynne Phillips and Suzan Ilcan (2004), problematize the very idea of capacity building as part of a larger process of neoliberal governance. Rather than being a useful tool for empowering Southern partner organizations, these authors frame capacity building as an enabling factor in negatively changing the very nature of government.

Lacey and Ilcan (2006) link capacity building to processes of neoliberalism which replace the provision of public services by the government with their provision via the free market and voluntary sectors. As the free market often fails to serve disadvantaged people, unpaid volunteers are required to fill service provision gaps. The authors argue that the ethos of “responsibilization” is required in order to recruit such volunteers, which frames volunteering as a neutral and individualized act based in altruism and separated from labour. This is not to say that capacity building itself is bad but rather that larger pernicious processes of neoliberalism may be forgotten when it is viewed in this way. Phillips and Ilcan (2004) argue much the same thing although they point out another process connected to responsibilization--that of “self-regulation”, whereby private citizens and civil society not only take certain duties of service provision upon themselves but they also police themselves as ideal participants in neoliberalism. This takes even more responsibility away from an ever-shrinking government which has an increasingly negligible role in the provision of certain services. All of these authors argue that while these processes tend to create the illusion of greater choice and autonomy for citizens, the reality is often the reverse.
This argument illustrates an interesting context in which to view the activities of Kallpa with regard to the CJEs. As the CJEs were created as a pilot project of a policy measure to eventually be adopted by municipalities across Peru, the project cannot truly be said to be an exercise in neoliberal governance; rather, it may represent an attempt to undo such a process in a small way. However, the trend of neoliberal governance may help to explain some of the resistance of the municipalities of San Juan de Miraflores and Cusco in actually taking on responsibility for the two existing CJEs. Thus, regardless of whether or not the CJEs have the potential to function effectively and sustainably in various locations, local governments may simply view the services they provide as outside of their role and something which is better left to the private sector.

2.6 Conclusion

From a review of the existing literature regarding international volunteering and capacity building, there seems to be a general consensus that international volunteers can contribute to impactful capacity building within host organizations, under certain conditions. The extent of this impact is difficult to measure, as is its sustainability over time, although a number of factors affecting these two areas have been elaborated on by various authors. It is clear that capacity building, especially through international volunteerism, has become a favoured way to spend foreign aid funds. However, capacity building as a means to development has also been criticized as having the potential to reinforce the hegemony of already powerful institutions and people. It has also been connected to the harmful process of the neoliberalization of governance.

While a great deal of research has been conducted on the topic of international volunteering, the bulk of it has focused on the effects of volunteering on volunteers themselves (not included in this literature review), rather than on host organizations or communities,
including the potential for international volunteers to displace paid employees. Fee and Gray (2011) provide an excellent review of the literature available on the topic of the benefits commonly accrued to volunteers through international experiences. These benefits are listed in the table below (p. 532):

**Table 2.1 Benefits accrued to volunteers through international experiences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefits</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>➢ Personal development, including stronger self-confidence, resilience and ethical values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Decision-making and problem-solving skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Cultural skills and understanding, which incorporates culture-specific knowledge of the host culture, as well as more generic cross-cultural skills and awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ High-level communication skills, including advanced communication, collaborating and teamwork skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Strategic understanding, incorporating a broader ‘global’ awareness and perspective, and more sophisticated worldview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Self-awareness and understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Role performance and management skills, which comprise generic management skills from managing staff, information, and projects, to leading, coaching, mentoring and teaching others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➢ Domain-specific knowledge and skills that contribute toward one’s task performance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course, the actual rates at which international volunteers may experience these benefits will greatly depend on their individual circumstances and the conditions of their placements. Fee and Gray also mention that not all international volunteer experiences are necessarily positive and that being the victim of a serious crime or suffering from a serious illness are also possible outcomes, although these too may eventually lead to constructive self-reflection on the part of the volunteer.

Even among those authors which have attempted to gauge the effects of international volunteer labour on host organizations, most have based their research on the perceptions of volunteers, not organization staff or beneficiaries. Where attempts have been made to quantitatively or qualitatively measure the impacts of volunteer labour, the results have often been inconclusive or have had limited generalizability. Additionally, few studies of international
volunteering appear to focus on placements which are longer than six months. Devereux (2008) is the only author to address the issue of the potential for the displacement of local employees by international volunteers, claiming that it is unlikely, as hosting such volunteers is not actually cost-neutral and requires training the volunteers. Although lacking in conclusions regarding volunteer impact, the literature does provide an impressive body of work regarding factors which may contribute to successful capacity building, especially that which involves volunteers. The literature also provides a critical analysis of the practice of capacity building itself and presents persuasive evidence framing capacity building as deeply connected to international power dynamics and politics.

My study of CJEs in Peru will contribute to the small body of research which takes into account the perspectives of host organizations in determining the impact of international volunteers. It will also explore how the presence of international volunteers affects the use of paid staff in a host organization. As the majority of Cuso’s volunteers serve in placements which are longer than six months, my research will examine the perception put forth by many partner organizations in the literature that longer placements are more valuable. In addition, my research will examine a fairly unique dynamic wherein Kallpa, a Peruvian NGO, is attempting to build its own capacity concurrently with the capacities of municipal governments in an attempt to eventually transfer the responsibilities of managing the CJEs to these municipalities. Kallpa has made agreements to this effect with the municipalities of San Juan de Miraflores and Cusco (Asociación Kallpa, n.d.-a), running counter to the dynamic described by Phillips and Ilcan (2004) and Lacey and Ilcan (2006) of the neoliberalization of governance. My study of Kallpa’s use of international volunteers will make a unique contribution to the existing literature on the topic of international volunteering and capacity development.
III. CONTEXT

This research project examines two youth and employment centres, called *Centros de jóvenes y empleo* (CJE}s) in Peru, one in the San Juan de Miraflores (SJM) municipality of Lima and the other in the city of Cusco. Serving youth from the ages of 15-29, the CJE}s offer three basic services in both locations: job searches, career counselling, and entrepreneurial training. Additional activities conducted in the CJE}s include job fairs, entrepreneurship contests, and educational initiatives surrounding labour rights. These centres were created through a partnership between the Peruvian NGO, Asociación Kallpa, and the Canadian NGO, Cuso International. Both centres are staffed by local paid employees, Cuso volunteers, and local volunteers. Kallpa currently operates both centres, although it is in the process of transferring this responsibility to the local governments of SJM and Cusco. As a project which utilizes local paid and volunteer labour as well as international volunteer labour, the CJE}s provide an interesting environment for a case study regarding the potential positive and negative impacts of the use of international volunteer labour within an NGO. This chapter provides an overview of the social, economic, and political context of Peru, followed by a summary of Cuso’s historical and ongoing activities in Peru and around the world. The last three sections provide background information regarding Kallpa, the cities of Lima and Cusco, and the CJE}s themselves.

3. 1 Peru

Peru’s economy has been growing rapidly during the last ten to fifteen years with increasing private investment in the extractive sector, increasing international trade, and continued expansion of the country’s tourism industry (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2013; Chiesa, Crotti, & Lengefeld, 2013). Peru’s recent history before its economic takeoff was characterised by political instability. After twelve years of military rule, a democratically elected
government took power in 1980 (CIA, 2013). A violent internal conflict followed, lasting until
the year 2000, which was experienced at varying levels of intensity across the country (CIA,
2013). Despite an ever-increasing GDP, social and economic inequality remains a serious issue,
often following racial and geographical lines (BBC, 2012; Collyns, 2010). Racism and
discrimination are especially harsh against indigenous people and the Afro-Peruvian population
and internalized racism leads light coloured skin to be seen as a sign of sophistication and wealth
(Collyns, 2010; de la Cadena, 2001). Political and economic power is concentrated in the capital
city of Lima, where over 8 million of Peru’s almost 30 million residents live (CIA, 2013,
Population section, Major urban areas – population section). Crime is a major obstacle
throughout the country and governmental corruption is also a serious concern (Chiesa et al.,
2013; Transparency International, 2013). Peru has a young population, with 27.6% of the
population under the age of 15 and 47% under the age of 25 (CIA, 2013, Age structure section).
In the year 2012, Peru experienced an average urban unemployment rate of 17.4%, with 12.3%
of those unemployed being between the ages of 14 and 24 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e
Informática [INEI], 2014, p. 57). According to Peruvian government statistics, an average of 4%
of the total urban male population was unemployed in 2012, compared to 5.5% of the total urban
female population (INEI, 2013)6.

In 2002, the Peruvian government created the Agencia Peruana de Cooperación
Internacional (Peruvian International Cooperation Agency) (APCI), an arm of the Ministerio de
Relaciones Exteriores (Ministry of External Affairs), to track and manage non-profit
international development activities in the country (Agencia Peruana de Cooperación
Internacional [APCI], 2007). The Agency was established with an emphasis on transparency by
the government of Alejandro Toledo immediately after the presidency of Alberto Fujimori (and

6 Data for the rural population was not available.
the interim presidency Valentín Paniagua), which was marked by undemocratic actions and corruption (Burt, 2009). All non-profit organizations in Peru (based in Peru or elsewhere) which receive international assistance are strongly encouraged to register with APCI, which entitles registered organizations to a tax refund but also requires them to submit information about their projects and budgets to APCI and to coordinate with multiple levels of government (APCI, n.d.). In 2010, there were 2894 development NGOs registered with APCI (including Kallpa) and 256 volunteer or expert sending organizations (including Cuso) (Coordinadora de Entidades Extranjeras de Cooperación Internacional [COEECI], 2013, p. 28; APCI, 2011). According to data from September 2013, there were 232 experts or volunteers registered with the Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, with the top five sending countries (and their respective numbers of experts or volunteers) being the United States (86), Germany (41), Canada (32), South Korea (25), and China (14) (MRE, 2013b, p. 1). 95 out of the 232 experts or volunteers were registered as working in the city of Lima or the bordering province of Callao (MRE, 2013b, p. 3).

According to the Coordinadora de Entidades Extranjeras de Cooperación Internacional (Coordinating Agency of Foreign International Cooperation Entities) (COEECI), almost US$350 million in international aid funds were spent in Peru in 2012, with about 55% in the form of bilateral or multilateral aid and about 45% in the form of private charitable aid (COEECI, 2013, p. 24). APCI statistics show the United States as the largest donor of aid to Peru, comprising 88.63% of donations in 2013 (MRE, 2013a, p. 1).

In 2006, the Política Nacional de Cooperación Técnica Internacional (National Policy of International Technical Cooperation) was adopted by the Peruvian government in response to the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (to which Peru is an adhering nation) (APCI, 2006). The Paris Declaration was the result of a forum organized by the OECD involving national
governments and development institutions (OECD, 2005). It was meant to address the need to make international development aid more coordinated, predictable, and transparent in order to increase its effectiveness (OECD, 2005). The Declaration outlined the following five principles to be followed in order to achieve these goals (OECD, 2005, p. 3-8):

Table 3.1 The principles of the Paris Declaration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ownership</td>
<td>Greater involvement of developing countries in directing their own development programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alignment</td>
<td>Donor countries align their support with local objectives and strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmonisation</td>
<td>Donor countries coordinate in order to make procedures more efficient and avoid duplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results</td>
<td>Developing countries and donors focus more on achieving measurable development results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual accountability</td>
<td>Both donors and developing country partners are responsible for achieving development results</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these principles, the 2012 version of the Peruvian government’s National Policy also outlines its own seven principles which incorporate a national perspective (APCI, 2012, p. 21-22):

Table 3.2 The principles of the National Policy (my own translation from Spanish)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principle</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>Peru will set its own development priorities and strategies on which international development actors working in the country should base their programming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementarity</td>
<td>The efforts of international development actors should complement the efforts of the state, not be parallel to them nor act as a substitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transparency</td>
<td>International development actors should share information about their activities and progress with the government and the state should share this information openly with other actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainability</td>
<td>International development actors and the state should work together to ensure the long-term sustainability of development projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Search for effective results</td>
<td>The state should define prioritized development indicators and international development actors should regularly monitor and evaluate their progress toward these goals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Focusing of aid: international development actors should focus their efforts according to geographical and thematic criteria in order to maximize impact

Solidarity for development: Peru should assist other countries with a lower or equal level of development by creating channels for sharing experiences, knowledge, and good practices

The 2012 version of the National Policy also lays out the development priorities established by the Peruvian government, according to the following four areas and 17 themes (APCI, 2012, p. 33-34):

Table 3.3 The areas and themes of the National Policy (my own translation from Spanish)

| Area 1: Social Inclusion and Access to Basic Services | ➢ Human rights and cultural diversity  
➢ Universal access to justice that is efficient, effective and transparent  
➢ Women’s empowerment and attention to vulnerable groups  
➢ Equitable access to a quality comprehensive education  
➢ Access to quality comprehensive health and nutrition services  
➢ Access to adequate water, sanitation, rural energy and telecommunications services |
| --- | --- |
| Area 2: State and Governability | ➢ Modernization and decentralization of public administration with efficiency, efficacy and transparency  
➢ Equitable and efficient citizen participation  
➢ Citizen safety and disaster risk management |
| Area 3: Competitive Economy, Employment and Regional Development | ➢ Productive structure and tourism which is diversified, competitive and sustainable  
➢ Export promotion and access to new markets  
➢ Science, technology and innovation  
➢ Management of internal and external labour migration, with an emphasis on the generation of work opportunities  
➢ Diversified economic activities in accordance with the comparative and competitive advantages of each regional geographic space |
| Area 4: Natural Resources and the Environment | ➢ Conservation and sustainable exploitation of natural resources  
➢ Integrated, efficient and sustainable management of water |
According to a 2014 APCI press release, 72.5% of the projects carried out by development organizations in Peru are aligned with Peru’s national priorities (Cárdenas, 2013, Temas prioritarios section, para. 3). The Canadian government’s stated development aid for projects in Peru aligns with the above priorities, focusing on access to quality primary education, sustainable natural resource management (with a focus on mining), access to public services, and economic growth (Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development [DFATD], 2013a). In addition, Canada signed a free trade agreement with Peru in 2008 which came into force in 2009 (DFATD, 2014a). Canada’s economic growth priorities for Peru include activities directly addressed by the CJEs, including employment programs, training directed toward small enterprises, and the increased participation of youth in economic development (DFATD, 2013a).

3.2 Cuso International

Cuso International is a Canadian NGO which was founded in 1961 and began its activities in Peru in 1969. Cuso’s primary purpose is to match volunteers from around the world with capacity building placements in NGOs and governments in the Global South. Since its founding, Cuso claims to have filled 16 000 international volunteer postings (Cuso International, 2013a, p. 18). Cuso’s areas of focus are Secure Livelihoods and Sustainable Development; Education, Participation and Governance; and Health, with gender equality as a cross-cutting concern (Cuso International, 2013a, p. 9). Cuso first received financial support from the Canadian government in 1965 and that support continues to be an important source of funding today, although it seems likely that due to the government’s shifting priorities, that support will end in early 2015 (Cuso International, 2013d). Through intensified fundraising efforts aimed at
private donations, a new partnership with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and other strategies, Cuso hopes to be able to compensate for this loss.

In 1961, Cuso (then called CUSO\textsuperscript{7}) was focused on filling skills gaps in newly independent developing countries, especially in the sectors of health and education (Cuso International, 2013d). Over time, the organization shifted to a model based on solidarity and capacity building (Cuso International, 2013c; Cuso International, 2013d). In its early years, Cuso mainly recruited university students but by 1981, older professionals were also taking on placements (Cuso International, 2013d). In 2008, the name CUSO was changed to CUSO-VSO through a merger with Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), then it was changed again to Cuso International in 2011 when CUSO and VSO separated (Cuso International, 2013d). Although the typical Cuso volunteer in the fiscal year 2011-2012 was in their late 30s or early 40s, placements increasingly attract young professionals (Cuso International, 2012, p. 5). Cuso specializes in placements of six months or longer but also offers short-term placements (Cuso International, 2013a, p. 7). In recent years, the organization has explored new types of placements, including diaspora volunteering, corporate partnership volunteering, and south-south and national volunteering. Cuso is also exploring long-distance volunteering over the internet or e-volunteering.

In the fiscal year 2012-2013, 576 Cuso volunteers were working in 39 countries around the world (Cuso International, 2013a, p. 3). Cuso manages its volunteers directly in Latin America and the Caribbean and indirectly through its strategic partner, VSO, in Asia and Africa (although this partnership will soon be ending). Cuso recruits, screens, and trains its own volunteers and supports them from its head office in Ottawa and a number of country offices in

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\textsuperscript{7} Cuso International was known as Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) from 1961 to 1981 (Cuso International, 2013d). From 1981 to 2008, the organization was simply called CUSO, dropping the meaning of the acronym (Cuso International, 2013d).
Latin America and the Caribbean. Although every Cuso volunteer is asked to raise at least $2000 through personal fundraising efforts to help support future placements, their participation as a volunteer is not dependent on achieving this goal (Cuso International, 2013b, Am I required to fundraise before I go overseas? section). Volunteers receive financial support from Cuso prior to their placement in order to cover the cost of equipment and during their placement in the form of a monthly stipend in local currency (based on the local cost of living), quarterly payments in a home bank account, and a local housing allowance (Information for candidates, 2011). All health insurance, travel doctor, and travel costs are covered by Cuso (Information for candidates, 2011). Extra financial support and other accommodations can be provided for volunteers who choose to be accompanied by their partner or children during their placement (Accompanying family members, 2012).

This research uses data based on Cuso’s activities in Peru from January 2007 to the present, with a particular focus on the period from September 2012 to April 2013. In 2007, Peru was not a priority country for Cuso and therefore the number of volunteers placed in the country was limited, along with the number of host organizations that could be maintained. Cuso’s merger with VSO in 2008 brought more autonomy to the Program Office in Lima along with more financial resources, new monitoring and evaluation tools, and fewer restrictions on the number of volunteers and host organizations that were permitted. Another important development at this time was the reduction of the volunteer stipend, making it more difficult for Cuso to attract older volunteers with more experience and volunteers with accompanying children. In 2009, CIDA announced that twenty “countries of focus” would begin to receive 80%

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8 Country offices are currently operated by VSO in Asia and Africa.
9 Payments received prior to beginning a placement to cover the cost of equipment are deducted from these payments (Information for candidates, 2011).
10 The merger was implemented in Latin America in 2009 and concrete changes began to take place in the country in 2010 and 2011.
of Canada’s bilateral development aid and Peru’s status as one those twenty countries likely affected Cuso’s prioritization of activities in the country to some degree (DFATD, 2013b, para. 1).

3.3 Asociación Kallpa

Founded in 1990, Kallpa is a non-profit NGO which works in four provinces in Peru in the areas of youth employment, food security, environmental health, sexual health, and public safety (Asociación Kallpa, n.d.-b; Asociación Kallpa, n.d.-c). Kallpa has partnered with Cuso for about 15 years and hosted approximately 25 Cuso volunteers\(^{11}\) between 2007 and 2012. Kallpa’s head office is located in Lima and the organization also has an office in each of the four provinces where it works (Asociación Kallpa, n.d.-b). As shown in its mission statement below, Kallpa believes in achieving development goals relating to public policy through empowerment and building the capacities of local people and authorities (Asociación Kallpa, n.d.-d). Kallpa has been recognized numerous times at the national level for its work in the area of health (Asociación Kallpa, n.d.-e).

Table 3.4 Kallpa’s Mission Statement (with my own translation from Spanish) (Asociación Kallpa, n.d.-d, Misión section)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Spanish</strong></th>
<th><strong>English</strong></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somos una organización que promueve el desarrollo integral y el ejercicio de los derechos de los niños, niñas, adolescentes y jóvenes en situación de pobreza y vulnerabilidad.</td>
<td>We are an organization that promotes comprehensive development and the exercise of the rights of boys, girls, adolescents and youth in situations of poverty and vulnerability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Validamos estrategias para la implementación de políticas públicas en diferentes regiones del país, de una forma propositiva, creativa y eficiente.</td>
<td>We validate strategies for the implementation of public policies in different regions of the country, in a proactive, creative and efficient way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortalecemos capacidades de la población, sociedad civil y autoridades locales, regionales</td>
<td>We build the capacities of the population, civil society and local, regional and national</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{11}\) Not all of these volunteers worked on CJE projects.
y nacionales para la gestión de programas y servicios diferenciados para niños, niñas, adolescentes y jóvenes.  

authorities for the management of programs and services differentiated for boys, girls, adolescents and youth.

3.4 Lima and Cusco

Lima is a sprawling coastal city composed of 30 municipalities or districts, each with its own local government, police force, and mayor, although another mayor is also elected for the city as a whole. Districts are often starkly divided by socio-economic class (Peters & Skop, 2007). For example, the districts of San Isidro, Miraflores, and La Molina are quite wealthy while La Victoria, Rímac, and San Juan de Miraflores (where the CJE is located) are relatively poor. The city has a large Western expatriate population, meaning familiar Western comforts and luxuries are available in many parts of the city. Lima’s climate is quite warm throughout the year and the city normally experiences very high humidity. The vast majority of Cuso volunteers between 2007 and 2012 were placed in Lima while the second largest group was placed in Cusco.

Cusco is located in a mountainous region of Peru and has a population of approximately 350,000 people (United Nations Statistics Division, 2013). Cusco is the closest major city to the ancient Inca ruins of Machu Picchu, as well as being an historic city itself, making it a major attraction for domestic and international tourism. Cusco has a large indigenous population which plays a role in the local tourism industry (McCoy, 2011). The cusqueño culture is more closed to outsiders than that of Lima which, combined with a general wariness of foreigners generated by the high level of tourism in Cusco, can make it difficult for foreigners to befriend local people. Cusco’s high elevation and cold climate can make day-to-day-life more challenging for those living in Cusco compared with those living in Lima.
3.5 Centros de jóvenes y empleo

The two CJEs that exist in Peru, as well as similar centres in Bolivia, Jamaica, Senegal, and Mozambique, are based on the model of the *Carrefour jeunesse emploi de l’Outaouais* (CJEO), a youth employment centre in Gatineau, Québec which was replicated throughout the province before being used internationally. Today, there are over 100 *Carrefour jeunesse emploi* centres in Québec (*Carrefour jeunesse emploi de l’Outaouais* [CJEO], n.d.-b, para.1). The CJEO model takes a holistic community approach to provide “integrated services aimed at improving the living conditions of young adults from 16 to 35 years of age” (Morisette, 2006, p. 8).

Kallpa operates both of the CJEs in Peru, which opened in 2009 (Thériault & Laroche, 2012). Prior to 2009, the youth which Kallpa served through its health programming began to request that Kallpa find a way to provide them with employment services, which began Kallpa’s search for a viable solution, which it found in the CJE model. The services provided by the CJEs in Québec differ from those offered in Lima and Cusco but in all three places, the same three basic services are offered: job search assistance, career counselling, and entrepreneurial training (see Appendices III and IV for the brochures advertising the two centres) (CJEO, n.d.-a; *Centro de jóvenes y empleo – Cusco*, n.d.; *Centro de jóvenes y empleo - Lima*, n.d.). The CJEs in Lima and Cusco were both customized to meet the different needs of youth (15-29 year-olds) in the two cities and the Cusco CJE is much smaller than its Lima counterpart. Both centres have as their overarching goal addressing Peru’s high youth unemployment rate. Both CJEs have made use of Cuso volunteers since their inception and both have recently begun to use local volunteers as well, although in different capacities. Eventually, Kallpa hopes to transfer the responsibility for the CJEs to the governments of the municipalities where they are located; agreements have been signed with the municipalities to this effect (Asociación Kallpa, n.d.-a).
IV. METHODOLOGY

From the literature review, it can be concluded that the existing research regarding the impact of long-term international volunteer placements based on capacity building efforts is quite limited. Most studies have focused on short-term placements or aim to measure the impact of placements on volunteers themselves, not the organizations or communities that host them. Of the few studies which attempt to measure the impact on organizations or communities, they are case studies, focusing exclusively on one program or one community. The studies by Vian et al. (2007) and Feeley et al. (2006) regarding Pfizer volunteer placements in five different countries come the closest to what my own research examines. In these studies, volunteer host organizations responded that international volunteers were often able to transfer skills to their organizations and that as a result, their institutional capacity improved or remained the same. However, the placements analyzed in those studies were mostly shorter than six months and were all filled by Pfizer employees, while Cuso’s placements are generally longer than six months and are not filled only by employees from one organization (Cuso International, 2013b, How long are placements? section).

In recognition of the gap in existing research on the topic, my own research addressed the following question: In the case of Peruvian CJEs, how can international volunteers be utilized as effective agents of development without displacing local volunteers or paid employees? In the case of Cuso volunteers working in CJEs, these volunteers would be effective agents of development if they are able to build the institutional capacities of the CJEs in a sustainable way (ie. the effects of their work last beyond the length of their placements).

This research took place during and after my volunteer placement with Cuso, working as a researcher for the Cuso country office in Lima. The current study draws on research data from
the project that I completed for Cuso through my placement, as well as additional data compiled separately, both during and after my placement. I was granted permission to use the first set of data for this project by the Cuso Peru Country Office.

In addressing the objectives of the current study, the data gathered during the first study complemented the data obtained through a second set of interviews and observation conducted in the CJEs in April 2013. The objectives of the current study are as follows:

- To determine if “skills-sharing” does actually occur in CJEs between international volunteers and local employees and volunteers
- To determine what role training plays in the effective use of international volunteers in CJEs
- To determine if the use of international volunteers encourages dependency and displaces employees in CJEs

Questionnaires, interviews, and detailed research notes from observations were combined in order to gain a deeper understanding of how the interplay of a number of different factors relating to the volunteer and partner organization experience contribute to capacity building outcomes and potential dependence on volunteers. Such triangulation was necessary to achieve the objectives of the current study as most of the evidence is based on measuring attitudes, perceptions, and reasoning, rather than quantitative indicators. As shown in the literature review, it is difficult to accurately measure volunteer impact through quantitative analysis and many previous studies have relied heavily on qualitative methods of measurement as a result (Vian et al., 2007; Feeley et al., 2006; Lough et al., 2011). In this section, I will first discuss the methodology used for the research project that I completed for Cuso, then the methodology used to collect the data for the sole use of the current research.
4.1 Research for Cuso International

From September 2012 to April 2013, I worked as a Cuso volunteer in the Cuso Program Office in Lima as a researcher. I was given the mandate to design, carry out and present findings for a research project which would explain which factors make a Cuso volunteer placement in Peru successful or unsuccessful. The final products of this research were a detailed report of my findings (in Spanish and English) and a presentation given in person to Cuso staff and volunteers in Peru. Although the findings of this research are not directly relevant to the current thesis, much of the data collected are directly relevant as they provide an understanding of the tasks that volunteers are asked to perform in their placements, the challenges they face, and the attitudes of volunteers and partner organization representatives regarding volunteers’ roles and value within these organizations.

I chose satisfaction as the definition of success for the context of this first research project. Satisfaction for volunteers meant that their needs and wants were fulfilled in their work and personal lives throughout their placements. For partner organizations, satisfaction meant that their expectations of the volunteers they hosted were met (ie. volunteers were able to meet the organizations’ needs). This definition was chosen for a number of reasons, primarily because 1) it would be simple to compare levels of satisfaction (on a scale from one to five) across volunteers and organizations as well as different years (although these levels would still be subjective) and 2) a lack of satisfaction on the part of a volunteer or a partner organization would likely indicate that there was an issue with the placement or the match of the volunteer with the placement. The only other real option for a definition of success would have been the achievement of the expected results of each placement by examining the documentation of these results by volunteers in a form which is common to all Cuso placements. This would have been a
very time-consuming process and would not have been suitable for assessing the levels of success in ongoing placements. In addition, the expected results of different placements varied greatly, some being much more difficult to achieve than others, and many factors can affect the achievement of such results, including unforeseen circumstances for which no one is to blame.

Volunteers were asked to rate their satisfaction with relation to their placement on a scale from one (not at all satisfied) to five (completely satisfied). The satisfaction levels of partner organizations were measured qualitatively through the interview responses of organization representatives to questions related to the role of volunteers within their organizations, problems they have had with volunteers, and their potential use of volunteers in the future. These satisfaction levels are not directly relevant to the current thesis; however, this research project for Cuso is relevant because it revealed other data regarding what tasks volunteers perform and how volunteers and partner organization staff view the role and value of these tasks.

I limited the scope of the research to placements which had taken place between January 2007 and December 2012 (regardless of their start or end dates). This allowed for an analysis of placements that took place before, during and after the major structural changes that occurred due to Cuso’s 2008 merger and 2011 separation with VSO. Placements prior to 2007 were excluded because it was assumed that it would be increasingly difficult for volunteers to remember the details of their placements after many years and because the major changes that came with Cuso’s merger and separation with VSO made older experiences less relevant. An extensive search through Cuso’s online volunteer database (VSO’s Starfish program) yielded a list of 60 volunteers in total whose placements took place in Peru and fit within the five year timeframe, including current and past\textsuperscript{12} north-south, south-south, diaspora, and corporate

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Current} volunteers were those who were working in the country between November 8 and December 8, 2012. \textit{Past} volunteers were those who finished their placements between January 2007 and November 8, 2012.
volunteers\textsuperscript{13}. Of those 60, four were excluded for the following reasons: two could not be contacted, one allegedly broke the confidence of Cuso in a very serious way, and another was myself (the researcher).

The data for this research came from four different sources: 1) a questionnaire which was emailed to volunteers, 2) a series of semi-structured interviews conducted with a sample of volunteers, Cuso and VSO staff, and partner organization staff, 3) observations during several volunteer gatherings and meetings, and 4) observations during visits to the CJEs in Lima and Cusco.

**Questionnaire**

56 volunteers (19 current and 37 past) were successfully contacted by e-mail with an initial invitation to respond to the questionnaire between November 8 and December 8, 2012. Members of the sample were also sent a maximum of two follow-up reminder emails asking them to participate. The e-mails were in Spanish, English, or French, depending on the volunteer’s preference and geographic location. Participants were asked to answer the questionnaire only after having completed at least one month of their placement.

Two versions of the questionnaire, one for current volunteers and another for past volunteers, were available in Spanish, English, and French. The “Form” function of Google Drive (a free service by Google) was used as the platform for the questionnaire, which was accessed by participants using a link in the invitation e-mail. The questionnaire consisted of about 40 structured and open questions, taking approximately 20 minutes to complete.

\textsuperscript{13} North-south volunteers are those from Canada or the United States who volunteer in the Global South. South-south volunteers are those from Global South countries who volunteer in other Global South countries. Diaspora volunteers are Canadian or American citizens or permanent residents who volunteer in their country of origin or heritage in the Global South. Corporate volunteers are employees of specific organizations who take a short-term leave of absence to volunteer, with their employer making a financial contribution toward the cost of their placement, as per a previously negotiated agreement with Cuso.
Respondents were given the option to submit their answers anonymously or with their name and contact information in order to be contacted for a follow-up interview. Respondents were informed that the questionnaire was voluntary and that all answers would remain confidential. The questions asked respondents about themselves, the nature of their work during their placements, their working and living conditions, their social lives during their placements, and the effects of the placement experience on their lives. Volunteers were asked to respond only with regards to their most recent placement, if they had completed more than one. The questionnaire was tested before its launch by three Cuso volunteers known to the researcher who were working in VSO-managed countries. 17 out of 19 (89.5%) current volunteers and 10 out of 37 (27%) past volunteers responded to the questionnaire. In total, the response rate was 48% (27 out of 56).

**Interviews**

In total, 30 interviews were conducted in English and Spanish; 29 in person, over Skype, or by phone, and one by e-mail. Six past and twelve current volunteers were interviewed after agreeing to a follow-up interview upon completion of the questionnaire. One past and one current volunteer who had initially agreed to an interview later declined the invitation because one no longer had time and the other had been asked to participate in an interview for another research project relating to Cuso’s activities in Peru. Seven representatives from five partner organizations (including Kallpa) that had hosted at least one volunteer between 2007 and 2012 were also interviewed. The partner organizations were chosen through purposive sampling for reasons of cost (ie. it would not have been reasonable to fly to another city just to interview one person) and so that interviews could be conducted with partner organizations that had hosted only one volunteer between 2007 and 2012 as well as those that had hosted many more. In
addition, interviews were conducted with one Cuso staff member in Canada, one in Peru, and one in Bolivia, a country which has almost the same number of Cuso volunteers as Peru and shares the same regional management structure. A VSO employee in Tanzania was also interviewed in order to learn about the volunteer management strategies being employed in a very different country that hosts almost twice as many Cuso volunteers as Peru. For comparison, interviews were also conducted with two volunteers working in Peru with other international cooperation organizations, one Canadian (known to the researcher) and the other French (contacted through a professional acquaintance of a Cuso staff member in Peru).

Each live interview was sound recorded, except for one, and each recording was selectively or fully transcribed. Interview lengths ranged from 20 minutes to more than two hours, due to their semi-structured nature. Interviewees were allowed to select the location of their interview in order to preserve the confidentiality of their answers and the fact that they had participated in an interview. The content of all interviews is confidential and before each interview, all participants were asked to sign a consent form explaining the purpose of the research, stating that their answers were confidential and voluntary, and asking for permission for the interview to be recorded. Interview questions for volunteers related mostly to their opinions regarding the work that they did and how they were treated as a volunteer. Partner organization representatives were asked to characterize their interactions with volunteers and their partnerships with Cuso, as well as to explain their reasons for hosting Cuso volunteers. The questions asked of Cuso and VSO employees as well as the two volunteers with other international cooperation organizations were aimed at understanding the structures and volunteer management practices of these different organizations (see Appendix I for a partial list of interview questions).
Of the 30 interviews conducted, twelve are relevant to the current research because they were conducted with Kallpa staff, Cuso volunteers who had worked in a CJE, or Cuso staff regarding Cuso’s activities in Peru. The other 18 interviews were conducted with Cuso and VSO representatives regarding activities in other countries, international volunteers with other volunteer-sending organizations, as well as staff and Cuso volunteers who had worked with other Cuso partner organizations in Peru; as these interviews did not reveal information regarding Kallpa or Cuso’s activities in Peru, they were not analyzed for the purposes of this thesis.

Meetings and gatherings

I took detailed research notes relating to Cuso volunteer meetings and gatherings that took place in Lima and other cities throughout my placement. These included routine events organized by Cuso for training and presentations of volunteers’ work. Also observed was the annual CJE meeting in January 2013 organized by Kallpa and a special meeting organized by Cuso but requested by volunteers in order to address a specific concern raised by the volunteers. Although my role as a researcher was known by all those present during these events, I also participated as a volunteer. I took research notes during all events related to the ways in which staff and volunteers all interacted with each other, the concerns raised by volunteers about their experiences, and the praise given to staff and volunteers by their peers. Through the process of recording these notes, I was better able to reflect on the general nature of the interactions that volunteers had with Cuso and Kallpa staff and I was able to gain an understanding of the ways in which Cuso and Kallpa view their relationships with volunteers.

Visits
I visited the CJE in Lima in December 2012 and April 2013 and the Cusco CJE in January and April 2013. I made my presence known as a Cuso volunteer and a researcher and during the visits, I observed interactions between Cuso volunteers, CJE staff, and local volunteers. I also used these visits as opportunities to conduct interviews with CJE staff members and Cuso volunteers. Being at the CJEs allowed me to see how the centres actually function and to see a bit of the geographical context in which they exist. I was also able to have more informal interactions with the volunteers in restaurants and in their homes where I gained a deeper understanding of the challenges they face in their work and personal lives in Peru. I took notes while in the CJEs and at the end of each visit day, allowing me to reflect on the specific interactions I witnessed as well as the experience of the visit as a whole.

4.2 Current research

After receiving permission from Cuso staff in Peru to use, for my own thesis research, the data I had already collected, I conducted further interviews. The data from these later interviews were used exclusively for the current research project. Due to the semi-structured nature of the first set of interviews and the overlapping foci of both projects, it was not necessary to re-interview all informants who had provided data regarding the CJEs. These later interviews were conducted in English and Spanish and took place in person, via Skype, and via e-mail from April 2013 to December 2013. All live interviews were sound recorded and fully transcribed, ranging in length from less than ten minutes to over an hour. Prior to all interviews, participants were asked to sign a consent form explaining the purpose of the research, stating that their answers were confidential and voluntary, and asking for permission for the interview to be recorded.

\[14\] Although I visited both CJEs in April 2013, before my final report was submitted to Cuso, these follow-up visits were not formally included in the body of research used for the report.
Informants were allowed to select the location of their interview in order to preserve the confidentiality of their answers and the fact that they had participated in an interview.

I re-interviewed two Cuso volunteers who had worked in a CJE and I interviewed for the first time two Cuso CJE volunteers who had answered the questionnaire but were unavailable to be interviewed during the research phase of the first study. Also interviewed, were two volunteers who had not previously been interviewed because their placements began in 2013, too late to be included in the first study. They were included in this research because they were working in a CJE when I visited in April 2013. In addition, I re-interviewed one of two Kallpa staff members I had previously interviewed (one did not respond to my requests for a follow-up interview), one employee of the Municipality of San Juan de Miraflores who works in the CJE, and a founder of the CJEO in Québec who was also instrumental in bringing the CJE model to Peru. The municipality employee was present during my second visit to the SJM CJE and was willing to be interviewed, an opportunity which was not available in Cusco. I was referred to the CJEO founder by one of the Cuso volunteers I interviewed. In total, nine interviews were conducted. Excluding the one individual who did not respond to my interview request, all those approached for an interview accepted the invitation.

In the interviews, informants were asked about the roles of Cuso volunteers in CJE's, their opinions regarding the ways in which Cuso volunteer labour is utilized in CJE's, the perceived impacts of Cuso volunteers in terms of the institutional capacities of CJE's, the reasons for which Cuso volunteers are placed in CJE's, the appropriateness of the CJE model in the Peruvian context, and how the CJE model came to be established in Peru (see Appendix II for a full list of interview questions).
4.3 Limitations of the methodology

The methodology used for this study imposes certain limitations on what can be concluded from the research as well as how widely its findings can be generalized to other cases. The small sample size and nature of the research as a case study mean that the lessons learned may not be applicable outside of the context of Peruvian CJEs. The overt observation used during visits to the CJEs means that those who were observed may have been subject to the Hawthorne effect, whereby research subjects behave differently simply by virtue of being knowingly observed. In addition, the small amount of quantitative data collected may have resulted in a failure to observe certain important dynamics.

My own low level of French language skills meant that some interviews with French-speakers were conducted in Spanish, being the second or third language of both the interviewer and interviewee. This was not an ideal situation but resource constraints meant that I was the only interviewer for both sets of interviews. The necessity of making the questionnaire available in Spanish, English, and French (for both practical and political reasons) could mean that certain questions did not have exactly the same meaning in different versions. Although every effort was made to ensure that all questions were translated accurately for both the questionnaires and the interviews, it is possible that certain meanings were changed or lost in translation.

Personal involvement in the projects on which informants were asked to comment could have led to responses being positively skewed. Long-term volunteer placements require a large investment of time and effort, meaning that some volunteers may prefer to see their placements as having been valuable and impactful rather than taking a more critical view. Positive responses regarding the long-term impact of Cuso volunteer placements could have also been related to a fear by informants that negative responses would result in the loss of placements which still
serve a short-term purpose. Current volunteers were overrepresented in the questionnaire results and interviews, potentially contributing to this bias toward positivity as it may be easier to critique a project in which one is no longer involved.

In retrospect, it would likely have been beneficial to spend more time observing in the CJE's and to interview local volunteers. My time spent observing in the CJE's was limited by my own perception that my prolonged presence would cause CJE users and volunteers to feel uncomfortable with constantly being watched. I also believed that it would have been unfair to interview local volunteers as they spent limited time in the CJE's and were minimally financially compensated for their efforts. Compensation for participating in this study may have made interviews less burdensome on the local volunteers however for financial reasons I was unable to provide compensation to my interview subjects.
V. DATA ANALYSIS

The CJEs in Peru are just one example of many projects worldwide in which international volunteer labour is utilized to conduct capacity building, however a void of knowledge still exists regarding a number of aspects of these types of projects. This thesis uses a case study of the Peruvian CJEs to examine how projects such as this may make use of international volunteers while safeguarding against the displacement of local actors. The analysis below draws from 21 interviews, ten questionnaire responses, and detailed research notes from numerous meetings, gatherings, and CJE visits to evaluate the merit of international volunteers as capacity builders. This thesis sets out to answer the question: How can international volunteers be utilized as effective agents of development without displacing local volunteers or paid employees? I argue that given certain conditions, international volunteers can work effectively and are unlikely to displace local actors in the short-term, although their continued presence in the long-term may have a displacing effect. In the following section, each of the objectives and sub-questions of the study are examined to determine what kinds of contributions are made by volunteers and how their presence affects local employees and volunteers. Finally, the findings of the study are subjected to a critique from alternative theoretical perspectives.

5.1 Objective 1: To determine if skills-sharing does actually occur in CJEs between international volunteers and local employees and volunteers

Are international volunteers able to build Kallpa’s institutional capacity?

According to Cuso International’s “Theory of Change” (2013e), the guiding philosophy of the organization’s work, positive social change comes about through the organized efforts of the private sector, public sector, and civil society. Cuso views its role as one of increasing the effectiveness of the aforementioned actors by providing access to international volunteers who
share their skills, experiences, and perspectives (2013c). While Cuso directs its work toward certain dimensions of societal change, volunteers ultimately collaborate with local actors to build their capacities in order to assist them in reaching their own goals, claiming: “We work in partnership with organizations, supporting them to realize their own development agenda” (Cuso International, 2013e, Theory of Change in Action section, para. 5).

As Feeley et al. (2006) have highlighted, it is very difficult to conclusively measure the levels of skills sharing that do actually occur in a capacity building endeavour. Directly linking improvements in a host organization to capacity building activities can be very challenging and simply measuring the amount of time spent on capacity building can be misleading. This is why most studies on the effectiveness of capacity building through volunteers have focused on the perceptions of volunteers as well as hosting and sending organizations.

With regards to this study, the only quantitative data available which measures volunteers’ work are annual and final reports completed by volunteers detailing their activities and the percentage of their goals that have been completed. However, not all of the activities listed in these reports actually involve straightforward skills sharing between Cuso volunteers and local staff and volunteers. In addition, these reports do not account for the potential long-term effects of volunteers’ work, supposedly the most impactful aspect of capacity building. Even more problematic, the format of these reports changed multiple times between 2007 and 2013 and not all volunteers have completed them, making the data they contain incomplete and inconsistent. As a result, the bulk of the data which addresses volunteers’ effectiveness as capacity builders comes from survey and interview responses as well as some of the concrete products of volunteers’ work (such as manuals, research reports, etc.).
For the purposes of this study, institutional capacity is defined as Kallpa’s ability to operate the CJEs in a sustainable way and to make them a viable project which can be taken on by the municipalities of San Juan de Miraflores and Cusco. Kallpa is itself a capacity building organization and the CJEs are a pilot project for what is hoped to become the model for youth and employment centres across the country. In effect, Kallpa is attempting to build the capacities of the municipalities of San Juan de Miraflores and Cusco so that they may eventually be able to operate the centres independently. This means that Cuso volunteers working in the CJEs are not only expected to participate in skills sharing with local Kallpa staff and volunteers but municipal staff as well.

The two Kallpa staff members and one municipal staff member interviewed all claimed that Cuso volunteers have been able to make important contributions to Kallpa and the CJEs in terms of capacity building. It is important to note however that Cuso has recently been attracting younger volunteers than in previous eras and that recruiting volunteers who speak Spanish well poses an extra challenge. A Kallpa staff member lamented that it is difficult to find volunteers who have both the required work experience and level of Spanish for a placement in a CJE. Volunteers with fewer years of relevant work experience may have more difficulties in sharing their skills with others. While Kallpa staff maintain that the specific skills of a volunteer are very important for the success of a placement, flexibility and a positive attitude on the part of the volunteer are viewed as being essential for success.

Despite these challenges, there are concrete examples of skills sharing which have occurred between Cuso volunteers and local CJE staff and volunteers, including but not limited to:
Operations manuals which have been written to guide the various services and workshops offered in the CJEs, many of which are still in use.

Research and planning carried out in order to create a National Volunteer (NV) program in the CJEs, a key element for recruiting local volunteers and making the CJEs a sustainable and expandable project.

The recruitment and training of local volunteers who now assist with service delivery in the CJEs, helping to reduce some of the centres’ reliance on international volunteers.

The training of a municipal staff member to give regular workshops for youth in one of the CJEs—workshops which were previously being given by an international volunteer.

Follow-up activities conducted with CJE program participants to gather data on the effectiveness of the services offered in the centres.

Nine out of ten Cuso volunteers surveyed about their work in the CJEs responded that they thought they had made or would be able to make a valuable contribution to Kallpa and/or Cuso. Cuso volunteers also claim to learn a great deal from their experiences in the CJEs. A Kallpa staff member remarked that as recent Cuso volunteers have been younger with less work experience, their goals for their placements may be more focused on learning than on sharing their expertise. On the one hand, this could mean that volunteers are less naive and have more realistic expectations of what they will be able to achieve; one Kallpa staff member commented that Cuso volunteers no longer believe that they will change the world. On the other hand, this reduced focus on sharing expertise could limit the amount of capacity building in which these volunteers actually take part.

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15 Cuso staff have attributed this to the reduction in the volunteer stipend that came with Cuso’s 2008 merger with VSO.
Many Cuso volunteers have actually found that skills sharing among volunteers is very important, especially between outgoing and incoming CJE volunteers. Outgoing Cuso volunteers are frequently replaced by other Cuso volunteers, leaving orientation to be done by outgoing or existing volunteers. One Cuso volunteer’s remarks about another are characteristic of the feelings of gratitude mentioned by numerous other volunteers regarding their fellow volunteers:

“[El otro cooperante] me ayudó bastante cuando llegué a enseñarme todo, el proceso, el plan de trabajo, la relación con los demás, los peruanos, la manera de trabajar, eso me ayudó bastante” / “[The other volunteer] helped me a lot when I arrived to teach me everything, the process, the work plan, the relationship with others, the Peruvians, the way of working, that helped me a lot”.

In this way, Cuso volunteers are able to assist each other in navigating the initial adjustment period of their placements and maximizing the effects of the work they do. This may be especially important for volunteers with little relevant work experience, as it provides them with intensive one-on-one training from the perspective of another international volunteer.

At times, Kallpa’s financial instability has acted as an impediment to effective skills-sharing by Cuso volunteers placed with the organization. This instability, combined with a lack of planning and preparation for a volunteer’s arrival means that a volunteer may not always carry out all of the tasks they are supposed to, limiting their capacity building potential. For example, when the funding was delayed for a project meant to be carried out by a Cuso volunteer placed in a CJE, the volunteer was forced to find alternative tasks to work on for several months. Effective capacity building requires careful planning and when the capacity builders are only available to an organization for a limited period of time, planning becomes even more crucial.
Are international volunteers limited in their ability to share their skills by the need to overcome contextual differences related to class, race, gender, language, and workplace culture?

International Cuso volunteers face a number of challenges in adapting to their placements with Kallpa. A volunteer’s positionality as a foreigner, their lack of familiarity with the work environment of San Juan de Miraflores or Cusco, combined with culture shock in general can create a steep learning curve. Adjusting to Peruvian culture, working with marginalized Peruvian youth, and Kallpa’s institutional environment takes time and not much capacity building on the part of the volunteer takes place during this period. Kallpa and Cuso staff, as well as Cuso volunteers, generally agree that this adjustment period is experienced by almost all volunteers and can take several months. While volunteers may still be useful to the organization during this time, their productivity is likely at its lowest point.

Prior preparation of volunteers regarding the challenges they may face during their first few months of placement is important and this is attempted through Cuso’s pre-departure training. However, Kallpa staff claim that certain realities of life in Peru cannot really be explained to a volunteer prior to their arrival and must be learned by experience throughout their placement. Volunteers with poor Spanish skills are much more likely to experience difficulties throughout their placements and their period of adjustment may take much longer than that of a volunteer who speaks Spanish well upon arrival. As previously mentioned, it is increasingly difficult for Cuso to recruit volunteers who have relevant work experience in addition to Spanish language skills.

Kallpa staff have remarked that cultural misunderstandings and poor Spanish skills can make a volunteer’s work more difficult and can contribute to interpersonal issues with staff,
although these issues are apparently relatively minor. Cuso and Kallpa staff seem to have an excellent understanding of the fact that international volunteers frequently require a period of up to several months in order to adapt to their new surroundings and to be able to make useful contributions. It is for this reason that Kallpa and a number of Cuso’s other partner organizations in Peru have mentioned specifically that Cuso’s ability to provide long-term placements (of one to two years) as an important factor in the decision to host Cuso volunteers. Despite the extra challenges involved in hosting them, Kallpa and municipality staff have claimed that, as foreigners, Cuso volunteers bring a valuable outside perspective to their work.

*Findings*

With proper planning on the part of Cuso, Kallpa, and Cuso volunteers themselves, skills sharing can take place in CJEs between international volunteers and local staff and volunteers, allowing them to act as effective agents of development; there are many specific examples of such skills sharing having taken place. Although adaptation to the new environment and conditions of the CJEs takes time for international volunteers, Kallpa still views their contributions and outside perspective as being valuable.

**5.2 Objective 2: To determine what role training plays in the effective use of international volunteers**

As it has been determined that international volunteers have been able to build the capacity of local CJE staff and volunteers, making these international volunteers effective agents of development, the next step is to examine the ways in which training may influence the success or failure of capacity building activities involving international volunteers. This will depend on whether or not the training they receive takes into account the differences in context that exist between Canada and Peru in general as well as how these relate specifically to the CJEs. If such
differences were taken into consideration, it must then be determined if the training was sufficient to allow Cuso volunteers to participate in the creation of the two CJEs as relevant and sustainable projects which address the needs of Peruvian youth.

*What role did the initial training at the CJEO in Québec (of Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers) play in the creation and operation of Peru’s CJEs?*

Over the course of two trips of several weeks each to the CJEO in Québec involving both Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers, the participants learned about the model which had been created in Gatineau, Québec and later spread across the province. According to the participants who were interviewed, these trips were incredibly beneficial, allowing them to see how this type of centre functions in practice, rather than just in theory. In being at the centre themselves, they were able to talk to the youth who used the CJEO in order to understand why they chose to go there as opposed to another service agency. While visiting the CJEO, the team from Kallpa was able to make a presentation to the CJEO staff regarding the context of Peru, allowing the trainers to better understand the challenges which would be faced in opening a CJE in San Juan de Miraflores and in Cusco. Throughout the training, the Kallpa team critically analyzed the various services and tools used in the CJEO to determine which components would be relevant and function well in Peru and which ones would not.

Although the CJEs in Peru are based on the CJEO model, they are very loosely based on it and a great deal of flexibility was exercised in the actual implementation of the CJEs. The guiding principles of the CJEO and the basic menu of services offered are the same, including job searches, career counselling, and entrepreneurship training. However, each CJE, in Peru as well as in Québec, is heavily customized to meet the unique needs of the local community where the centre is located. For example, the lengths of the workshops offered in CJEs may differ.
between Peru and Québec due to the difficulty in Peru involved in ensuring that youth will attend such workshops for several consecutive days. Another example is that job interview workshops in Peru place a larger focus on building self-confidence, possibly because Canadian youth are socialized to be very self-confident while Peruvian youth are not.

Although the CJEs are the result of a partnership between Cuso and Kallpa (with a number of other actors also supporting the project financially), it is Kallpa which directs the project. At the time that the CJEs opened, Kallpa already had almost twenty years of experience working with marginalized communities across Peru, making it an organization which was capable of understanding the life circumstances of the youth who would become beneficiaries. Through the group training received at the CJEO in Québec, Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers were both able to have a clearer vision of how Peru’s CJEs would take shape.

*How do the routine training practices of international volunteers and the preparation of Kallpa staff (prior to and immediately after a volunteer’s arrival) affect a volunteer’s effectiveness?*

Cuso volunteers typically participate in five days of pre-departure training in a group and are asked to complete a series of online learning tasks independently as well. After volunteers arrive in Lima, they are provided with several days of orientation with Cuso before they begin work with their partner organizations. Cuso volunteers generally agree that Cuso is well-organized and welcoming in both Ottawa and Lima. Although they say that the training they receive is of high quality and generally useful, a number of volunteers complain that it is quite Lima-centric, being less relevant to volunteers working in Cusco and elsewhere in the country. Some volunteers also commented that the orientation with Cuso in Lima does not involve enough discussion surrounding their specific placements and partner organizations.
Despite the numerous days of training which volunteers must attend in order to begin their placements, partner organizations receive very little training from Cuso regarding how they may effectively make use of volunteers for the purpose of capacity building. Cuso tends to treat partner organizations rather autonomously and allow them to quite freely determine which tasks a volunteer is assigned to complete. While one can certainly see the benefits of this approach, the lack of preparation of some partner organizations, including Kallpa, is sometimes the result. A number of Cuso volunteers complain that Kallpa’s orientation is lacking in many ways and can result in an overwhelming and stressful introduction to the organization and the volunteer’s tasks. One Cuso volunteer placed with Kallpa recalled in the following way a moment at the beginning of her placement when she participated in an important organizational meeting:

“I think back to that experience and I was like, oh my God!...What is going on? And what am I going to do? And how am I going to do this? I don’t understand what is going on! And I was just like super confused. And so that was the first introduction to Kallpa.”

This volunteer’s first experience with Kallpa clearly made her feel unprepared and incapable of making a contribution, a feeling reported by other volunteers as well. Although this particular volunteer later completed her placement successfully, making many valuable contributions, a more gradual and guided introduction to Kallpa may have helped to make the adaptation phase go more smoothly.

Both Kallpa and Cuso staff seem to be very aware of the cultural differences that exist between Peru and Canada and are aware that these differences can affect a volunteer’s performance. However, their interview responses indicate that they believe these problems do not affect the majority of international volunteers to a serious degree. These problems are seen as a phase of their placement which each volunteer must work through. More serious problems
seem to typically be addressed reactively, as they come up, rather than proactively in order to prevent them.

Findings

Although the CJEIs in Peru were based on a model from Québec, they were customized to the Peruvian context and are managed by a Peruvian organization with almost 25 years of experience working with marginalized groups. There were no informants in this study who raised concerns about the appropriateness of bringing the Canadian CJE model to Peru. The cultural and contextual differences which exist between Canada and Peru are recognized by staff and international volunteers although the difficulties they can create are not always adequately addressed by Kallpa and Cuso. Cuso could do more to ensure that Kallpa is prepared to receive international volunteers and make effective use of their skills. Therefore, the training that took place in Québec helped Cuso volunteers to be effective in their capacity building efforts however, the regular training that both Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers receive could be improved to continue working toward this goal.

5.3 Objective 3: To determine if the use of international volunteers encourages dependency and displaces employees

The conclusions have been reached that international volunteers are able to act as effective agents of development within the CJEIs and that the training which they have received and continue to receive has worked to allow for this outcome (although routine training practices could be improved). The last objective assesses whether or not Kallpa relies too heavily on international volunteers to the detriment of the long-term survival of the CJEIs as a viable and relevant project.
How does the presence of international volunteers affect local ownership, participation, and sustainability in CJE?

It is important to keep in mind that Kallpa’s long-term goal is to eventually transfer responsibility for the CJE to the municipalities of San Juan de Miraflores and Cusco, which will operate them independently; Kallpa has made formal agreements with the municipalities to this effect, although the idea of establishing the centres came from Cuso and Kallpa, not the municipalities themselves (Asociación Kallpa, n.d.-a). A major impediment to this transfer appears to be a lack of willingness on the part of municipalities to contribute significant resources toward the CJE, such as municipal staff time, and to incorporate the CJE into the municipal government structure instead of treating them like side projects. As one Cuso volunteer observed, the mayor of one of the municipalities currently seems satisfied to simply take credit for the successes of the CJE while it continues to be operated almost entirely by Kallpa. In addition to a lack of political will, the transfer of responsibility is also challenged by the tendency of newly elected municipal governments to immediately replace the majority of municipal staff in order to eliminate potential internal dissent and/or to give the impression that the staff members hired by the previous government were corrupt. This requires CJE staff and volunteers to start over building trust and relationships with municipal staff whenever an election results in a change of mayoral power. Issues surrounding nepotism and cronyism in the appointment of municipal officials also compound the difficulty of the situation as those in positions of power within the government may not always be qualified to carry out the responsibilities of their positions.

An interview informant lamented that the ratio of Kallpa staff members to Cuso volunteers was unbalanced at the time of the interview, with volunteers overrepresented. The
informant would have liked to see more local staff and volunteers within the organization but claimed that Kallpa’s financial situation would not allow for such a change at the moment. Long-term planning on the part of Cuso and Kallpa with regards to the use of international volunteers appears to be lacking. A clear exit strategy is needed if international volunteers are ever to be phased out of the CJEs so that they may be more independent and sustainable. If international volunteers work to build the capacities of local CJE staff and volunteers, it stands to reason that eventually these local actors will have the capacity to operate the CJEs without their assistance.

Between 2007 and 2012, Kallpa was the largest recipient of Cuso volunteers in the country, by far, hosting approximately 25 while each of Cuso’s other partner organizations only hosted about one to seven volunteers during the same period of time. In all fairness, none of the other organizations were involved in such a large joint project with Cuso, like the CJEs. However during their interviews, Kallpa staff were unable to estimate for how much longer they would require international volunteers to work in the CJEs. An overreliance on international volunteers may not work in Kallpa’s favour in convincing municipal governments that CJEs are sustainable with local resources. The consistent presence of a large number of international volunteers financed by Cuso may also reduce the urgency Kallpa feels as an institution to find more stable sources of funding. Cuso staff should support Kallpa in creating realistic plans for eventually phasing out the use of international volunteers in the CJEs. Cuso staff have acknowledged that their monitoring and evaluation processes have been lacking and inconsistent in the past, due to a lack of resources, and are working to improve them.

Despite numerous challenges related to sustainability, the use of international volunteers in CJEs does not appear to have an overly negative effect on local ownership and participation. International volunteers participate equally with Kallpa staff in training, planning meetings, and
performance reviews. Kallpa staff members are the immediate supervisors of Cuso volunteers working in the CJE's and the volunteers plan their tasks based on Kallpa’s institutional goals and strategic plans. In addition, Cuso volunteers have been working with Kallpa (with some financial and logistical support from the Peru Cuso office) to develop a National Volunteering program. This program works to recruit Peruvian volunteers who receive a small amount of financial support (to cover their transportation costs) and if the program is successful, it will be key in convincing municipal governments to take on responsibility for the CJE's as the presence of local volunteers will reduce the workload of municipal staff working on the project. The NV program is a Cuso initiative which has been integrated into the CJE's in both Lima and Cusco. These local volunteers have been trained to carry out the daily functions of the CJE's and the program has started to show promising results although it is still in its infancy.

Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers alike explained in their interviews that CJE's must be developed locally over time, moving through several different stages. In the initial stages, more Cuso volunteers are required in order to build the institutional strength of a CJE and in the final stages, the host municipality should take on the CJE as its own service. Besides the issues that exist within the municipal governments that may be preventing them from taking on a great deal of responsibility, the CJE's in Peru also lack substantial support from their local communities at large (such as the general public, business leaders, religious institutions, etc.). This type of local support has proven crucial for CJE's in Québec. Connections are slowly being forged with local business communities in Lima and Cusco but more work must be done in order to build a larger local base of human resource and financial support for the CJE's.
Are the professional skills necessary for CJEs actually scarce in Peru or is there another reason that Peruvians cannot be recruited to do the work being done by international Cuso volunteers?

According to a Kallpa staff member, part of the reason that international volunteers are recruited to work in the CJEs is that it is very difficult to find Peruvian volunteers who are willing or able to work in a CJE. This staff member claimed that most of the people who are able to volunteer in Peru are those in the upper-middle classes who have already satisfied their own needs. The staff member observed that these people often prefer to volunteer close to their own neighbourhoods in institutions like hospitals because these places are safer and more convenient than peri-urban neighbourhoods like San Juan de Miraflores, which experience higher levels of poverty and crime. As just one example, the staff member pointed out that most hospitals would have a secure parking area where a volunteer could leave their car, while the CJE does not. Although Kallpa does have Peruvian volunteers working in both CJEs through the NV program, these volunteers are only able to contribute a few hours a week of their time and most are students who will move on relatively quickly and so cannot be relied on as long-term volunteers.

It is obvious that another reason international volunteers are used in the CJEs is that Kallpa does not have enough funding to hire people locally to do the work, making it heavily reliant on volunteers in general. Cuso covers almost all of the financial costs of hosting international volunteers and many Cuso volunteers believe that if volunteers were not available to work for Kallpa for free, the work currently done by volunteers could not be completed. Unfortunately, the majority of the funding given to Cuso by the Canadian government is
conditional, requiring volunteers to be Canadian citizens or permanent residents. Therefore, this funding cannot simply be used to hire Peruvian employees or compensated volunteers\(^\text{16}\) instead.

However, a lack of financial resources and local volunteers are not the only reasons that Kallpa makes use of international volunteers. Kallpa and municipality staff as well as Cuso volunteers have explained the merits of bringing an outside perspective to the CJEs. As a Kallpa staff member explained:

“Hemos aprendido que un equipo joven que viene de afuera te trae innovaciones, mucha creatividad, otras formas de hacer las cosas y te hace más flexible, entonces eso es positivo para Kallpa.” / “We have learned that a young team that comes from outside brings you innovations, a lot of creativity, other ways of doing things and it makes you more flexible, so that is positive for Kallpa.”

Different views about punctuality, organization, gender and racial equality, and less hierarchical work environments are some of the positive influences these informants have credited Cuso volunteers with bringing to their work in the CJEs and Kallpa in general. In addition, a Kallpa staff member expressed a belief that having international volunteers in a CJE can create a positive experience for Peruvian youth who have an opportunity to have exposure to people who are different from them.

Kallpa and Cuso staff have placed a great emphasis on the positivity and energy that youthful international volunteers can bring to their placements. Cuso volunteers in Peru are disproportionately young compared to Cuso’s general pool of volunteers. This may be due to the focus in that country on the area of Youth Social and Economic Inclusion, something in which younger volunteers may have more of an interest compared to other program areas. Kallpa staff

\(^{16}\) Volunteers whose living expenses are completely paid for.
also believe that international volunteers can provide important networking opportunities and international exposure for its projects.

Findings

The presence of international volunteers does not seem to jeopardize Kallpa’s ownership or control over the CJEs, nor their participation in them. The lack of an exit strategy in terms of Kallpa’s use of free international volunteer labour may represent a challenge to the sustainability of the CJEs, especially because municipalities need to be convinced of the project’s viability before taking on ownership of a CJE. Ironically, the greater involvement of municipal staff in terms of their time and resources would likely itself contribute to the sustainability of a CJE. Many factors likely influence Kallpa’s decision to use international volunteers but a skills gap in the country does not seem to be one of them. Kallpa lacks the funds to hire Peruvians as paid employees and has difficulty attracting local volunteers who are available on a regular, long-term basis. It seems that while international volunteers are unlikely to displace local staff or volunteers in the CJEs in the short-term, this may become an issue in the long-term because the constant presence of international volunteers paid for by Cuso may reduce the urgency for Kallpa to secure other sources of funding in order to pay local staff members.

5.4 Critical perspectives on volunteering: Kallpa’s relationship with Cuso

When assessing the effectiveness of international volunteers as agents of development, it is crucial to examine the assumptions involved in the model of development on which Kallpa and Cuso base their actions. Both organizations believe that Kallpa as well as the municipalities of San Juan de Miraflores and Cusco lack some of the skills, time, and/or human resources needed in order to operate the CJEs as relevant and sustainable projects; they also believe that international volunteers can play a role in addressing these shortfalls.
The CJEs themselves fall in the category of a development project based on youth social and economic inclusion. Economic inclusion, meaning inclusion in the capitalist market economy which many believe only reproduces inequality and exclusion. Marxist scholars would likely argue that integration into the capitalist economy is not at all desirable in the long-term and that in order for Peru to develop into a more egalitarian society (which is the underlying goal of the CJEs), capitalism would need to be overcome (Marx & Engels, 1960). Marxists view the subjection of the masses to wage labour as the root of exploitation and a fundamental aspect of capitalism. It is a process that fuels ever-widening socio-economic inequality and results in—and is the result of—political and economic oppression (Marx & Engels, 1960). According to this theory, the fact that the CJEs may eventually be taken up by governments and funded through tax revenue is not enough to make it a beneficial project because the CJEs will still be based on integrating its users into the exploitative capitalist system.

Post-development theorists like Gustavo Esteva (2010) argue that the idea of underdevelopment itself is an invention which serves only to allow “developed” nations to legitimize their hegemony. Esteva may view the sending of Canadian volunteers to Peruvian CJEs as a form of neo-colonialism and Westernization. Within the post-development perspective, Kallpa’s need for international volunteers may be seen as something invented for the purposes of enriching the lives of international volunteers and extending Canadian influence in Peru, rather than actually contributing to the well-being of Peruvian youth or Kallpa as an organization. Esteva argues that the achievement of “development” by all peoples is impossible and that efforts to impart development are actually wasteful and harmful. Economic development in particular is seen by Esteva as being destructive in its forceful transformation of lifestyles.
Esteva believes that ordinary people must be allowed to define their own needs rather than having the agents of development identify their needs for them. Esteva makes an important point in this regard concerning who defines which needs are most important. As Cuso relies heavily on funding from the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (DFATD), it must align its programming with DFATD’s priorities and as Kallpa relies heavily on Cuso volunteers, the placements of those volunteers must also align with Cuso’s programming priorities, which are influenced by DFATD’s – and, ultimately, the Canadian government’s – priorities. This one example shows that the effectiveness of needs analyses based on the participation of local stakeholders may be extremely limited when international bilateral funding is involved in these projects, potentially limiting their relevance.

Paulo Freire, founding theorist of the pedagogy of the oppressed, might take a less extreme view than post-developmentalism, arguing not that the capacity building efforts of international volunteers constitute neo-colonialism but that they may contribute to processes of oppression if carried out uncritically. Freire advocated for forms of education which break the traditional teacher-student relationship, making it more equal, and which make people aware of their oppression (Freire, 1981). Freire may view the activities carried out by international volunteers as problematic as they do not have as their goal making Kallpa or municipality staff, local volunteers, or youth aware of their oppression in society. Without such awareness, Freire would argue that the CJEs will have a limited impact in terms of empowering youth to achieve the goals which they set for themselves.

Another important consideration is the privilege which is afforded to some Canadian citizens and permanent residents, allowing them to participate in almost fully-funded

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17 Formerly the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).
placements\textsuperscript{18} with Cuso. Cuso’s funding arrangements with CIDA/DFATD mean that certain placements may only be filled by Canadians and in the 2012-2013 fiscal year, 41\% of Cuso’s revenue came from CIDA grants (Cuso International, 2013a, p. 23). Cuso recently entered into a funding agreement with USAID which will, likewise, mostly fund placements for American volunteers and which are also in line with the US government’s interests (Cuso International, 2013b). While Cuso actively recruits volunteers in Canada and the US from diaspora communities of the countries where they work and Cuso is able to provide some placement opportunities to Southern volunteers, these placements are in the minority. In fact, in the survey of past and current Cuso volunteers in Peru\textsuperscript{19} only four out of the 27 respondents (14.8\%) identified themselves as diaspora or south-south volunteers.

Related to Esteva’s (2010) framing of development assistance as a method for rich nations to exercise their hegemony, it is no secret that international aid funds given by governments are often not based solely on altruism but rather domestic economic and political interests as well. In Canada, an obvious example of this is the CIDA/DFATD-funded International Youth Internship Program (IYIP), which recruits Canadian citizens and permanent residents who are un/underemployed post-secondary graduates to work on development projects overseas (including some Cuso placements) (DFATD, 2014b). IYIP is explicitly part of Canada’s Youth Employment Strategy and the first stated objective of the program is to: “Provide eligible youth with international experience, skills and knowledge that will prepare them for future employment” (DFATD, 2014b, Program description section, para. 2). Another example is CIDA/DFATD’s funding of corporate social responsibility projects for the extractive sector, which are carried out by development organizations. According to Stephen Brown

\textsuperscript{18} Volunteers are expected to fundraise about $2000 in order to help fund future placements (Cuso International, 2013b, Am I required to fundraise before I go overseas? section)

\textsuperscript{19} The survey was conducted from November 8 – December 8, 2012.
(2014), these projects are essentially subsidies to Canadian-based corporations, allowing them to defray the costs of improving their public profiles both locally and internationally. CIDA’s recent absorption into DFATD and the Canadian government’s signing of a free trade deal with Peru in 2008 before making it one of 20 “countries of focus” (together receiving 80% of Canada’s bilateral assistance) in 2009 show other not-so-subtle linkages between Canada’s foreign aid assistance and domestic interests (DFATD, 2014a; DFATD, 2013b). Therefore, it seems that as long as Cuso receives a substantial portion of its funding from federal government sources, the majority of its volunteers will continue to be from the funding countries.

A non-critical view of CJEs reveals only a Peruvian development project which receives technical assistance from international volunteers, who may or may not provide valuable contributions with the potential risk of displacing Peruvian employees or volunteers. This analysis, while important, may leave important questions unanswered relating to the power dynamics involved in the relationship between Cuso and Kallpa as well as the disproportionate distribution of benefits from the volunteering experience between Cuso volunteers and Kallpa. Viewing CJE's through the lens of the theories of Marxism, post-development and the pedagogy of the oppressed may provide a starting point for questioning the assumptions inherent in the project.

5.5 Discussion

When proper planning takes place before a volunteer’s arrival and when training is used to acknowledge and overcome contextual differences, international volunteers are able to make valuable contributions to Kallpa’s institutional capacity, allowing them to act as effective agents of development. Kallpa’s strong managerial control over the CJE's and the independence given to Kallpa in determining the tasks of Cuso volunteers mean that these volunteers are unlikely to
displace local staff or volunteers in the CJE in the short-term, although a continued heavy reliance on Cuso volunteers may result in such displacement in the long-term.

Although there will likely always be an adjustment period for incoming CJE volunteers during which they are less productive, Kallpa can work toward making this period shorter and less turbulent by ensuring that any funding for a volunteer-managed project is already in place when the volunteer arrives and by creating an orientation program that will accelerate a volunteer’s integration into the CJE team without overwhelming them. Cuso could assist Kallpa with improving its orientation practices and ensuring that a plan is in place to take full advantage of a volunteer’s capacity building potential. Volunteers who are unable to communicate effectively in Spanish are limited in terms of what they can contribute within the CJE environment, so efforts must continue to be made to ensure that all CJE volunteers already have the necessary language skills. Cuso’s practice of extending a high degree of autonomy to Kallpa in deciding the tasks that volunteers perform is an excellent way to ensure that volunteers address the needs that Kallpa identifies for itself.

The case study of Peru’s CJE raises few concerns about the appropriateness of installing a model originally from Québec in Peru. The initial training provided to Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers in Québec allowed the Peruvian team to develop an understanding of how CJE function while still allowing for a great deal of customization to make the project appropriate for the Peruvian context. The routine training of Cuso volunteers provides a good introduction although it could provide more details surrounding the partner organizations themselves and placement locations that are outside of Lima. Such improvements would allow volunteers to adapt more quickly and have a better understanding of the context in which they work.
At least in the short-term, it does not appear that Cuso volunteers displace local employees in CJEs because Kallpa reportedly does not have enough funding to hire additional employees. The argument made by a number of interview informants is that if the work in CJEs were not performed by Cuso volunteers, the work could not be done at all. It is beyond the scope of this study to evaluate the accuracy of this argument although it does seem likely to be true due to the difficulty in obtaining funding to hire Peruvians on a full-time basis as either Kallpa staff or Cuso volunteers. While Cuso does recruit south-south and diaspora volunteers, they are the minority, with most volunteers falling into the category of north-south, the majority from Canada. Of the ten CJE volunteers surveyed, only two were not Canadian citizens or permanent residents, including one Peruvian citizen. The reality is that a large portion of the funding that Cuso has received from CIDA/DFATD has required the vast majority of placements to be filled by Canadians. With Cuso’s recent attempts to diversify its funding structure, this could potentially change.

Determining whether or not Cuso volunteers displace local CJE volunteers is a somewhat complex endeavour. Kallpa staff claim that domestic volunteering culture in Peru makes it difficult to recruit volunteers to work in the areas where CJEs are located. Despite this, a National Volunteering program has been implemented in both CJEs with promising results, providing volunteers only with reimbursement for their transportation costs. It is still too soon to say whether or not these volunteers could eventually completely replace Cuso volunteers but at the moment, most of these local volunteers are students who are only able to volunteer for short periods of time and for only a few hours a week, while Cuso volunteers are available full-time, for up to two years at a time.
In the long-term, the displacement of local CJE staff and volunteers by Cuso volunteers could become an issue. It is possible that a continued constant stream of Cuso volunteers, whose costs are almost all covered by Cuso, may reduce the urgency for Kallpa to search out ways to create financial independence. In general, the presence of international volunteers in Peru hosted by NGOs may work to allow the Peruvian government to absolve itself of some of the responsibility for providing domestic funding for badly needed large-scale social development endeavours. This assertion is based on the theory by Petras and Veltmeyer (2002) that the channeling of foreign aid funds into NGOs in Southern countries results in the proliferation of ineffective small-scale development programming instead of widespread structural change. This form of development funding fits in well with neo-liberal conceptions of the state which encourage extremely limited social spending (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2002). Therefore, there are a number of reasons why Kallpa and Cuso should work together to develop a plan for Cuso volunteers to eventually exit the CJEs. Once Kallpa achieves its ultimate goal of having municipalities take on responsibility for the CJEs, the centres will likely have greater financial resources as well as the human resources of municipality staff, hopefully reducing the need for international volunteer labour.

Marxist theory, post-development theory and the theory of the pedagogy of the oppressed provide alternative ways of looking at the relationship between Kallpa and Cuso. These theories call into question the very notion that foreign volunteers should be brought in to Peru at all or at least question the ways in which international volunteers may be attempting to build capacity. Such perspectives should be kept in mind in order to provide a critical view when assessing the use of international volunteers in the CJEs.
VI. CONCLUSION

This study sought to determine how international volunteers can be utilized as effective agents of development without displacing local volunteers or paid employees. International volunteers are increasingly important actors in development projects, coming to replace direct financial support in many cases. It is very expensive to deploy international volunteers and a general consensus is still missing as to whether or not international volunteers have a beneficial role to play which local actors cannot fill.

From an analysis of existing literature on the topic and a case study of Kallpa’s use of Cuso volunteers in two Centros de jóvenes y empleo, which involved questionnaires, personal interviews, and observations during meetings and visits to the CJEs, I argue that when certain conditions are present, international volunteers can act as effective agents of development. I also argue that in the case of the CJEs, the presence of international volunteers may not displace local employees or volunteers in the short-term, although this may become an issue in the long-term.

In this concluding section, a summary will be provided of the findings related to each of the research objectives and sub-questions, followed by a brief discussion of the findings related to the overarching research question.

6.1 Objective 1: To determine if skills-sharing does actually occur in CJEs between international volunteers and local employees and volunteers

Are international volunteers able to build Kallpa’s institutional capacity?

For the purposes of this study, institutional capacity was defined as Kallpa’s ability to operate the CJEs in a sustainable way and to make them a viable project which can be taken on by the municipalities of San Juan de Miraflores and Cusco. It must be noted that the capacities of these municipalities are also meant to be built by Cuso volunteers. According to Cuso’s “Theory
of Change” (2013e), volunteers should work with partner organizations in order to help them reach their own goals and the interview responses of Kallpa staff members indicate that this process has been taking place. However as Feeley et al. (2006) point out, it is very difficult to measure the levels of capacity building which may take place as a result of international volunteering. Indeed, no quantitative form of measurement could be found which could accurately measure this with relation to this study. Although CJE staff believed that Cuso volunteers make important contributions, volunteers are increasingly young professionals with little relevant work experience; it is possibly for this reason that many volunteers found skills sharing with their fellow international volunteers to be very beneficial. Kallpa’s financial instability and occasional lack of planning for placements have sometimes acted as impediments to skills sharing. Overall though, Cuso volunteers have been able to build Kallpa’s institutional capacity.

Are international volunteers limited in their ability to share their skills by the need to overcome contextual differences related to class, race, gender, language, and workplace culture?

There was a general consensus among Cuso volunteers, Cuso staff, and Kallpa staff that almost all volunteers go through an adjustment period at the beginning of their placements during which time they experience their lowest levels of productivity. Although both Cuso and Kallpa make an attempt to adequately train and prepare volunteers for their placements prior to and immediately after their arrival in Peru, representatives from the two organizations agree that it is not always possible to prepare volunteers for everything that they will encounter. Cuso and Kallpa staff have claimed that while volunteers sometimes experience problems related to
cultural misunderstandings or poor Spanish skills, these problems are usually minor and do not prevent volunteers from making valuable contributions on the whole.

6.2 Objective 2: To determine what role training plays in the effective use of international volunteers

What role did the initial training at the CJEO in Québec (of Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers) play in the creation and operation of Peru’s CJEs?

The visits that Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers made to the CJEO were reportedly incredibly beneficial, allowing both the team from Kallpa and from the CJEO to understand the contexts of each organization much better. Although the Peruvian CJEs are based on the CJEO model, they are only loosely based on it and as an interview informant explained, all such centres, whether in Québec or elsewhere, are customized to meet the unique needs of each community. Kallpa directs the CJEs with a great deal of independence and has almost 25 years of experience working with marginalized groups in the Peru, making the large international influence on the project an important but not dominating factor. Kallpa still retains control over the CJEs, helping to ensure that Cuso volunteers work on tasks which are determined by Kallpa to be important.

How do the routine training practices of international volunteers and the preparation of Kallpa staff (prior to and immediately after a volunteer’s arrival) affect a volunteer’s effectiveness?

Many Cuso volunteers, while praising Cuso’s pre-departure and orientation training, also complained that it was heavily Lima-centric and could also benefit from a greater focus on specific placements and partner organizations. Cuso volunteers are given several days of training before they begin their placements but partner organizations do not take part in a similar training
period. While the independence given to partner organizations in directing the volunteers they host is beneficial, it does seem that partner organizations could also benefit from basic training from Cuso regarding strategies for utilizing international volunteer labour effectively. Such training could help partner organizations like Kallpa to deal with volunteer-related issues proactively rather than reactively and would help to make the initial adjustment periods for volunteers to go more smoothly, allowing them to become more productive more quickly.

6.3 Objective 3: To determine if the use of international volunteers encourages dependency and displaces local employees

How does the presence of international volunteers affect local ownership, participation, and sustainability in CJE?

The sustainability of the CJE is challenged by several factors, above all the difficulty involved in transferring responsibility for the centres to municipal governments. In addition to a lack of political will to incorporate the centres into the governmental structure, there are serious issues with corruption and high staff turnover after elections. Kallpa suffers from financial instability, making it heavily reliant on volunteers in general. At the time of the study, the CJE were judged by one informant to be unbalanced, with too many international volunteers and too few local staff. Kallpa seems to lack an exit strategy which could help them to eventually phase out the use of international volunteers in the CJE. An overreliance on international volunteers may eventually lead to the displacement of local staff within Kallpa as it may reduce the urgency of securing other sources of funding that may be used pay local staff. Such an overreliance could also make it more difficult to convince municipal governments that CJE are sustainable with local resources. Cuso staff members have acknowledged that their monitoring and evaluation
processes have been lacking in the past and are working to resolve the issue; as part of this effort, Cuso could assist Kallpa in developing a long-term plan for their use of international volunteers.

The presence of international volunteers in the CJEs does not seem to negatively affect local ownership or participation. Kallpa directs its Cuso volunteers with relative independence and volunteers are treated as equals in relation to Kallpa staff and are directly supervised by them. In addition, Cuso volunteers have assisted Kallpa in creating a National Volunteer program for the CJEs which recruits and trains Peruvian volunteers to carry out many of the daily functions of the CJEs. With relation to community participation in the CJEs, many informants explained that building a community base of support is crucial but takes time and is a process which is still ongoing in San Juan de Miraflores and Cusco.

_Are the professional skills necessary for CJEs actually scarce in Peru or is there another reason that Peruvians cannot be recruited to do the work being done by international Cuso volunteers?_

A Kallpa staff member claimed that while local volunteers are needed in the CJEs, it is simply very difficult to attract them due to a volunteering culture which makes upper-middle class Peruvians (those most able to spend their time volunteering) more likely to choose to volunteer in places which are in familiar and safe locations (such as hospitals in wealthier neighbourhoods). While a number of Peruvian volunteers have been recruited through the National Volunteering program, they are mostly students who will move on from their positions relatively quickly.

Kallpa’s unstable financial situation means that Cuso volunteers can provide a great deal of support in the CJEs. Unfortunately, the funding which CIDA/DFATD provides to Cuso for the purpose of volunteer placements often does not allow for placements to be filled by anyone other
than Canadian citizens and permanent residents, making it virtually impossible for Cuso to provide funding for Kallpa’s local staff instead of international volunteers. However, Kallpa staff highlighted a number of benefits that come from utilizing international volunteer labour, beyond reasons relating to a lack of financial resources. Kallpa staff credit volunteers with bringing different views about punctuality, organization, racial and gender equality, and less hierarchical work environments to the CJEs and Kallpa in general. It seems that a lack of professional skills in Peru is not the main reason for the use of international volunteers in the CJEs, which is why international volunteers may displace local employees and volunteers in the long-term.

6.4 Research question: How can international volunteers be utilized as effective agents of development without displacing local volunteers or paid employees?

International volunteers can serve as effective agents of development when certain conditions are in place. A case study of the CJEs in Peru reveals these conditions to be that:

- placements have been well-planned before volunteers arrive;
- training is provided to both Kallpa staff and Cuso volunteers which acknowledges and provides strategies for overcoming contextual differences; and
- Kallpa is allowed to direct Cuso volunteers working in the CJEs with a high degree of autonomy

In the short-term, it is unlikely that Cuso volunteers will displace local staff or volunteers in the CJEs because Kallpa reportedly does not have enough funding to hire additional employees and has a great deal of difficulty recruiting local volunteers, meaning that no one else is available to do the work currently being carried out by Cuso volunteers. In the long-term however, Kallpa’s continued reliance on a constant stream of free international volunteer labour could potentially
displace local staff or volunteers due to the lack of an urgent need to find alternative sources of funding that could be used to hire local employees or reimburse local volunteers.

6.5 Final thoughts and recommendations

This study has contributed to discussions surrounding the value and potential pitfalls of international volunteering, arguing that in the case of the Peruvian CJEs, international volunteers have been able to serve as effective agents of development without displacing local actors in the short-term, but that displacement may be a potential issue in the long-term. This research makes a contribution to the continuing debates surrounding value and role (or lack thereof) of international volunteering in development, while taking into consideration the complicating factor of the differential power dynamics that often exist between international volunteers and their hosts. What this study has not been able do is to resolve the issue of how to measure the impact of volunteer placements, especially in a way that may allow for comparison across placements; this could be a topic for further research. As long as international volunteers are viewed as important development actors, it will be necessary to search for new understandings of their impacts.

In order to counter the potential displacement of local staff and volunteers in the long-term, Cuso should assist Kallpa in developing a plan to eventually phase out the use of international volunteers in the CJEs. Such a plan should be comprehensive and must clearly anticipate the capacity building needs that Kallpa will likely have before the CJEs are successfully transferred to the municipalities and should estimate the number of placements that will need to be filled and in what order. The making of such a plan would force Kallpa to develop specific goals not only for building its own institutional capacity but for recruiting more
local staff and volunteers. A key component of this plan should be a strategy for increasing both the amount and diversity of sources that comprise Kallpa’s funding.

Cuso should work to improve the efficacy of its volunteers by providing training to Kallpa and the rest of its partner organizations related to how volunteers labour can be most effectively used to build an institution’s capacity. This training would not instruct partner organizations on what specific tasks volunteers should and should not be asked to carry out but would instead provide suggestions on how international actors may be most successfully integrated into an organization’s team and used to improve on institutional weaknesses. This training should also address the challenges that both institutions and volunteers may encounter in the process and how these may be overcome. Cuso should also complement this effort with increased dialogue between volunteers and partner organizations during pre-departure and orientation training, which would allow volunteers to be better prepared for the contexts of their placements and could make their adjustment periods go more smoothly and allow them to contribute productively sooner in their placements.

DFATD and other international cooperation organizations should create more flexible funding guidelines to allow for the placement of more Southern volunteers. Strict rules which allow only for the recruitment of volunteers from the donor country mostly serve the interests of donor country governments and often do not reflect the reality that the skills required by a host organization may actually be found in the host country itself.

The prevalence of international volunteering is a symptom of a global foreign aid regime that still views the West as intellectually, technologically, and economically superior to the rest of the world. The assumption that skills can only really flow in one direction, from the West to everywhere else, is based on an inaccurate stereotype that people from the West have all of the
answers regarding how to solve the world’s problems and that people from the south can only ever be the recipients of the answers, rather than the creators of their own answers. However, if international volunteers are indeed, as Lopes and Theisohn (2003) suggest, seen as ideal actors for carrying out capacity building and capacity building is seen as a necessary ingredient for achieving the MDGs, we may expect to see international volunteering continue to be embraced by national governments and multinational institutions. The practice of international volunteering itself is not necessarily harmful but a radical re-thinking of foreign aid is required if international volunteering is to truly be transformative and remove barriers to poverty reduction.
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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Questions for Cuso Research Project

Questions for current and past Cuso volunteers (questions for past volunteers were phrased in the past tense)

- How did you find out about volunteer placements with Cuso International?
- Please tell me briefly what work you do as a volunteer.
  - How do you feel about the work that you do? (Do you feel that it is important and useful?)
- What did you family and friends think when they found out about your placement?
- Did you feel prepared when you arrived in Peru?
- (If respondent had spent a long period of time outside of their country of residence before coming to Peru) Do you think that that experience affected the way that you prepared yourself and your expectations for this placement?
- Do you think that your partner organization/Cuso was prepared to receive you and use your skills in an effective way?
- Do you think that your placement suits you?
- In your opinion, what is your role as a Cuso volunteer?
- What do you hope to be able to achieve during your placement?
- What do you think is the most important contribution that you are making in your work with the organization where you are completing your placement?
- What is the biggest adaptation that you have made during your placement?
- Did you make big sacrifices in order to come to Peru? Do you feel that those sacrifices are respected by Cuso/the partner organization?
- How is the location where you work?
  - Is it comfortable? Do you normally have the tools that you need in order to do your work well?
- How is the relationship between the volunteers and the staff of the partner organization?
  - How is the work that you do different from the work done by the permanent employees?
- How important was the work plan in negotiations with your partner organization supervisor?
- What do you think about the length of your placement?
- Do you depend a lot on the Lima office staff for emotional support?
- How important is the support of other volunteers in your life during your placement?
- If I may ask you, have you gotten sick or badly injured during your placement?
  - How did Cuso react?
  - How did you feel about the way in which Cuso dealt with the situation?
- Have you used your vacation time during your placement? Was it enough time?
- How has your opinion about Cuso changed since before you started your placement?
  - What do you think Cuso does well? What does it do poorly?
- Is there anything about the volunteer experience that has surprised you?
- How does the placement fit in with your life plans (if you have any)?
- What do you think you will do after you go home?
- Is this placement meeting your expectations?
- (Only for volunteers who have begun or completed more than one placement) Why did you do another placement?
- If you could change anything about Cuso’s volunteer program, what would it be?
- Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Questions for partner organization staff
- How did this organization become aware of Cuso’s volunteer placements?
- What do the volunteers do here?
  o In your opinion, what is the role of a volunteer here?
- What do you think are the most important characteristics of a volunteer?
- Which do you prefer, long-term or short-term placements? Why?
- Why are Cuso volunteers hired by this organization?
- Do you think Cuso prepares the volunteers well for this type of work and to live in Peru?
- Do you think that Cuso prepares you enough to receive the volunteers?
  o Is there anything that should be done in a different way?
- Do you offer an orientation session for new volunteers?
  o Do you offer the volunteers additional training or feedback about their performance during their placements?
- Do the volunteers get along well with the permanent staff here?
- Have you ever had problems with the volunteers? Or have the volunteers had problems?
  o What happened? Why?
  o What did you do to resolve the problem?
  o What happened in the end?
- For how much longer would you like to continue working with Cuso?
- Is there anything you would change in terms of the way in which Cuso operates or the volunteer program?
- Is there anything else you would like to tell me?
Appendix II: Interview Questions for Thesis Research Only

For interviews with current and past Cuso International volunteers with Kallpa’s CJEs (the same questions were used in the present tense for current volunteers):
- Please briefly describe the work that you did as a volunteer at the CJE.
  - How much of your work involved performing the basic daily functions of the CJE (e.g. service delivery)?
  - How much of your work involved working on new tools, strategies, methodologies, etc. to improve the ways in which the CJE operates?
- Did you feel that you were qualified for the work you were asked to perform?
  - Did you find it challenging to apply your skills and previous experiences to your work in Peru?
- What do you think about the ways in which the skills of Cuso volunteers are utilized in CJEs?
  - What do you think the role of a Cuso volunteer should be in a CJE? Why do you think volunteers are used to fill certain roles rather than Peruvians?
  - Do you think that the CJEs will be able to function properly in the near future without the use of Cuso volunteers?
- Do you think you were able to share your skills in a meaningful and lasting way with the CJE staff?
  - Were they able to share skills with you that you will be/have been able to apply in future work or volunteering that you do?
- What kind of impact do you believe your presence had on the CJE, if any?

For interviews with CJE staff members:
- What do you think the role of a Cuso volunteer should be in a CJE?
  - Why do CJEs use expatriate volunteers for certain tasks rather than Peruvians?
  - How does the work of the volunteers differ from that of CJE staff members?
- Do you think that CJE staff members have been able to learn from the volunteers?
  - What do you think the volunteers have been able to learn as a result of working in the CJE?
- Has it been challenging to adapt the previous knowledge and skills of the volunteers to the Peruvian context?
- How successful do you think Cuso volunteers have been in building the institutional capacity of the CJEs?
  - What have the biggest achievements been in this sense?
- For how much longer do you think volunteers will be required in the CJEs in Peru?

For staff members who travelled to Canada for training:
- What was the purpose of this training?
  - What did you learn in Canada? What were you able to share there?
- How did you share what you had learned with your co-workers and the volunteers when you returned to Peru?
- How have the lessons from that training been applied to the Peruvian CJEs?
For an individual who was involved in bringing the CJE model from Canada to Peru:

- Where did the idea come from to bring the model to Peru?
  o Why was it believed that the model could be successful in Peru?
  o Why was Kallpa chosen to OR why did Kallpa choose to carry out the CJE project?
- How are these employment centres unique from others in Canada and Peru?
- What differences exist between the centres in Québec and those in Peru?
  o Why do these differences exist?
  o How flexible was the adaptation of the model to the Peruvian context?
- In your opinion, what should the role of Cuso volunteers be in CJEs in Peru?
- What should be the next step for CJEs in Peru?
Appendix III: San Juan de Miraflores CJE Brochure (Centro de jóvenes y empleo – Lima, n.d.)
Appendix IV: Cusco CJE Brochure (Centro de jóvenes y empleo – Cusco, n.d.)

¿QUÉ ES LA RED DE INSERCIÓN LABORAL JUVENIL?
Somos una red de organizaciones públicas, privadas y de la sociedad civil que promueve la formación, inserción laboral y generación de empleo y autoempleo juvenil.

¿DÓNDE NOS PUEDES ENCONTRAR?
Centro de jóvenes y empleo
Biblioteca Municipal
SANTA CATALINA ANCHA N° 333
Centro Histórico Cusco
Telfs: 632196 – 232395
Encuéñanos en Facebook.

¿QUÉ ES EL CENTRO DE JÓVENES Y EMPLEO?
Es un servicio de la Red Laboral Juvenil del Cusco (RILJUV) que enlaza y pone a tu disposición varios programas y servicios de diferentes instituciones publicas, ONGs y organizaciones juveniles.

¿QUÉ SERVICIOS TE OFRECEMOS...?

ORIENTACIÓN VOCACIONAL
INFORMACIÓN: Sobre ofertas de formación, carreras y su salida laboral, oportunidades de becas y ayudas para la información.
TALLERES: Gratuitos que te ayudarán a reflexionar y descubrir tus intereses, valores, aptitudes y competencias para tu desarrollo personal y profesional.

APOYO EN LA BÚSQUEDA DE EMPLEO:
INFORMACIÓN: Permanente y actualizada sobre ofertas de trabajo.
TALLERES: Gratuitos que te permitirán mejorar tus capacidades para la empleabilidad, desarrollar estrategias para realizar una búsqueda de empleo, elaborar tu currículo y prepararte para una entrevista de trabajo.

DERECHO LABORAL
INFORMACIÓN: Permanente y actualizada en materias de legislación laboral.
TALLERES: Gratuitos que ayudarán a conocer tu posición como trabajador/a tomando en cuenta bases legales dentro de tu centro de labor.

APOYO AL EMPRENDIMIENTO EMPRESARIAL:
INFORMACIÓN: Sobre oportunidades y recursos de apoyo para jóvenes empresarios, programas e instituciones que ofrecen información y asesoría, instituciones de crédito.
TALLERES: Gratuitos de inmersión en la cultura empresarial, generación de ideas de negocio y elaboración de planes de negocio, formalización y legislación de microempresas.