

An Operational Framework For Institutionalizing Volunteerism And Founding A Volunteer Research Center In Kenya

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Introduction

Donor countries, despite having made strong commitments at the 1995 World Summit on Social Development are now cutting back on aid to developing countries including Kenya. These cuts have often resulted in concomitant shrinking of the economies of these countries. Kenya for instance, is experiencing difficulties in financing the national budget; unemployment has struck its peak exasperated by massive retrenchment and early retirement across the board. The experience of the activities of the IYV 2001 indicate that a new global strategy for strengthening volunteerism if carefully mounted could be the panacea to a myriad problems afflicting developing countries. Part One of this paper reviews the commemoration of IYV 2001 - Kenya. The second part is an interplay of theoretical and empirical bases, to produce an operational framework for institutionalising volunteerism and founding a volunteer research center in Kenya.

PART I

IYV 2001 Kenya: An Overview

In November 1997 the United Nations General Assembly declared 2001 as the International Year of Volunteers (IYV), with the United Nations Volunteers programme (UNV) as the focal point for preparations and coordination of the celebrations around the globe. In Kenya, the National Coordinating Committee Housed by The Office of the Vice President and Minister for Home Affairs and Sports and a Non Governmental Organisation—Research and Community Integrated Development Centre (RICDC) housing the secretariat were responsible for the planning and actual implementation of the activities.

The United Nations has set a number of broad objectives for IYV celebrations around the world. To help shape objectives relevant to Kenya, a series of workshops with broad participation, were held across the country in late 2000. This led to the identification of the Theme Volunteering for the Eradication of Malaria. The choice of the theme was dictated by the desire of all stakeholders to have the International Year of Volunteers leave a lasting impression on the Kenyan community, acting as a springboard for strong voluntary activity in years to come.

IYV Objectives

The overall purpose of IYV in Kenya was to promote the recognition and importance of voluntary activities and the role of communities and development players in the eradication of Malaria. Specifically it was to:

Recognise and celebrate the outstanding contribution volunteers make to a strong, cohesive Kenyan society;

Have community, business, the media and government work together to build a Kenyan society that encourages and nurtures a culture of volunteering; and

To support Kenyan communities in their engagement in valuable and productive voluntary activities.

(Abridged from the National Coordinating Committee (IYV) 2001, 2000 Commemoration Masterplan)

At the consultations held across Kenya, participants raised a number of issues as being important in celebrating, recognising and supporting volunteers in the country. These were implemented over the year and the subsequent subsections reports on the issues that emerged.

Issues relating to recognising and celebrating the outstanding contribution volunteers make to a strong, cohesive Kenyan society

What would Kenya be like without volunteers? Positive, simple messages about volunteers were promoted throughout the year, using a full variety of media, working to breaking down stereotypes, and building constructive images. The message articulated was that volunteering: helps others and contributes to overall community success; utilises and develops new, transferable skills; leads to personal development, family involvement and activity; fulfilment, satisfaction and self esteem. Besides that, it was recognised, that volunteering creates a wider circle of friends and networks; exciting new experiences; a sense of belonging; and responsibility.,

During the year it was noted and it is being underlined here that the effort of volunteers should be the core of recognition, not just high profile outcomes or numbers of hours. Although many Kenyans do volunteer work they often do not consider themselves as volunteers or their contributions as valuable. Therefore, expansive scope and diversity of all volunteering should be recognised and promoted. The professionalism and dollar value of volunteering needs to be acknowledged.

Recognition from peers and the local community is very important, with local IYV celebrations and activities being the key to a successful Year. Methods of token recognition of volunteers and their work were thought as a workable solution in this regard. Because, While for instance, "thank you" is all a lot of volunteers want, tangible recognition through letters, certificates and skills statements are welcomed. Awards can be a positive way of recognising volunteers, as long as the process is credible, and handled sensitively. Real" stories about "real" volunteers should be emphasised and opportunities to build on the Centenary of Federation activities should be encouraged. It would thus be worthwhile to consider implementing this proposal at a global level.

Issues relating to developing partnerships with community, business, the media and government to build a Kenyan society that encourages and nurtures a culture of volunteering

All Kenyans were encouraged at varied levels to participate in voluntary activity towards the eradication of malaria and HIV/AIDS. To address current gaps, activities for the Year were particularly climaxed with the coming in the country of Mr. John Jerry Rawlings UNV Eminent Person for IYV 2001 and former President of the Republic of Ghana. During his visit, high-level recognition and acknowledgement of volunteerisms was attained and volunteerism was brought to the fore. The focus was to encourage all sectors to shift focus and support volunteerism.

The government at all levels was identified as the single most important enterprise in facilitating and strengthening volunteerism. In this respect direct efforts were necessary to encourage the government to recognise the impact of their policies and practises on the voluntary sector. A constructive dialogue between the business community, government and other sectors needs to be encouraged about the best ways to harness the professional services and employee capacity available in the corporate sector as a measure of engaging the business community to supporting volunteerism. Equally important was the media with her power to promote positive messages about volunteering, and encouraging wider participation. All these, it was observed, shall be achieved with flexible responses from all parties to keep in step with the changing face of volunteers and volunteering.

Young people should be encouraged on the valuable contribution they can make as volunteers in a variety of organisations. This was promoted through the Year, with the potential for skills development to aid employment prospects highlighted. As well as using the education system, it was imperative to engage young people themselves in designing the messages.

Issues relating to supporting Kenyan communities in their engagement in valuable and productive voluntary activities

Recognising that volunteering is not a cost free activity, for the individual or the organisations whose infrastructure supports volunteers, IYV raised awareness of the support required for volunteers to continue to build the capacity of their communities. Ongoing education/training and skills development was noted as imperative to a healthy and professional voluntary sector. Promotion of mentoring is a constructive way of offering support to volunteers; where volunteer managers and volunteer research centres are the only effective measure in sustaining strong voluntary activity in communities.

Volunteer organisations can support their volunteers with rewarding, productive activities and an encouraging environment. Infrastructure needs, such as transport and administration, need to be acknowledged much as particular needs of rural, regional and isolated volunteers. Governments can play a role through improving information flows, for example, making information on who to contact when recruiting volunteers, how to apply for volunteering work in particular sectors and skill requirements, easily accessible to the public. The governments can also play a role through seeking advice from

volunteers on new policy and considering flexible and simple funding processes to support operational and developmental costs.

Based on this review of the IYV activities in Kenya, this paper advances the argument that genuine volunteerism offers a unifying force and process that can bring groups within nations and also different nations together to deal with dynamic development challenges facing them. Recognizing that volunteerism can not succeed in a vacuum, the succeeding section is a deliberate attempt to formulate an operational framework for institutionalising volunteerism in Kenya by examining essential institutional structures and mechanisms (both structural and systemic) that make volunteerism genuine and sustainable. The argument that the 'missing link' between volunteerism and its sustainability in Kenya is lack of a policy framework and an institution that can be used as a nerve center or a focal point to strengthen, document, mitigate the value, facilitate and promote volunteerism and the ingredients that go along with such a proposition are articulated.

PART II

AN OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR INSTITUTIONALISING VOLUNTEERISM AND FOUNDING A VOLUNTEER RESEARCH CENTRE IN KENYA

Background

Contemporary documents discussing strategies on volunteerism posit that policies and efforts directed at promoting volunteerism comprise two components. One addresses "supply" - the means that enable individuals and organisations to volunteer - the other addresses "demand" - promotion of economic and social development to ensure that services provided by volunteer programmes shall contribute to overall growth of a nation to socially desired average level (Gillet, 1968; Roker, Player and Coleman, 1998). This standard dichotomy is in many ways unsatisfactory. For example, how volunteer programmes are organised and how services are delivered in any region, have a significant influence on the capacity of these programmes to attract 'clients'. Thus, supply influences demand. Conversely, the ability of even the most determined suppliers of volunteers to sustain an effective volunteer programme is a function of the level of demand. It is difficult, nay impossible, to maintain hamburger outlets in a resolutely vegetarian neighbourhood. Thus supply is not an independent variable it reflects, inter alia, demand. These reservations notwithstanding, even a cursory examination of relevant evidence reveals that, in actual practice, these two pillars of volunteer policy currently receive vastly unequal levels of attention and emphasis. Evidence gathered in Kenya during the commemoration of IYV 2001 plus recent publication (Gehyigon, 2000) indicate that preoccupation with volunteer programmes absorbs the lion's share of budgetary and physical resources allotted to volunteer sending agencies and also claims much of the analytical and research capacity, at the disposal of decision makers in this area of public concern.

In the light of relevant facts and considerations, this imbalance between the presumed pillars of volunteer policy is highly anomalous. The aim of this note is to discuss some salient aspects of the anomaly with a view to outline suggestions for remedy, which will give a new bearing to volunteerism in the context of "what-next-after IYV 2001".

A. Reasons for Anomalous Imbalance in Supply and Demand Approaches to Promotion and Sustenance of Volunteerism

Three considerations seem especially pertinent in approaching the question of reasons for the anomalous imbalance between the supply and demand approaches to the promotion and sustenance of volunteerism.

Volunteer history provides one emphatic answer. Well before the basic design features of contemporary volunteer programmes had been worked out in the 1950s and early 1960s, many populations experienced a radical decline of aggregate volunteer efforts (see also Gillet, 1968 and Werna, 1999). The volunteer transition, which has occurred in societies at different levels of economic development and with different types of cultural traditions, exhibits a relentless spread across geographical boundaries and across social strata. It has also showed unmistakable tendency to pick up speed at accelerated rate. Whether if such a pattern would have continued to spread unaided in second half of the twentieth century, to what came to be called the "third world", is debatable. What the historical record does establish without doubt, however, is that transitions can occur in the absence of access to modern methods of volunteerism. Volunteerism had gained recognition levels in many populations, sub national and national, long before modern forms were institutionalised.

A classic formulation by Gillet (1968), Coale (1973) and The National Centre for Volunteering (1998) specifies three conditions for volunteer transition: (a) volunteerism must be within the calculus of conceptual and conscious choice; (b) increased volunteerism must be viewed as advantageous; and (c) effective techniques of promoting and sustaining volunteerism must be available. But these three ingredients are unequal in lexicographic rank and causal weight. In the absence of the second condition, the two are irrelevant and inoperative, at least under conditions characterised by voluntary micro level choices with respect to volunteer decisions. And if the second condition holds, the other two are also bound to be satisfied in due course. It would be utterly condescending, indeed absurd, to propose that population in the developing countries, had they strongly wished to achieve increased volunteerism, would have been incapable of acting upon their interest and, in seeking to do so, would have been unwilling or unable to adopt some variant of the same methods of promoting volunteerism that have proved effective, as measured on the aggregate level, in the West.

These comments in no way question the superiority of modern volunteer organisation over those that enabled populations to increase their volunteerism in the past. Once individuals view the participation in volunteer efforts as advantageous, such efforts as organised programmes that help to make volunteerism more acceptable can be plausibly justified both as enhancing individual welfare and as promoting the collective interest. But to insist that individual motivation is the driving force of volunteer transition is more

than to add a quaint historical footnote to the contemporary volunteer policy debate. It establishes the special importance of the demand side of the equation.

A second answer to the question posed above would point out that the importance of the demand side in volunteer policy has been indeed widely recognised and has been enshrined both in analytical work and in numerous formal policy declarations. Development of the volunteer paradigm in the 1950s and early 1960s was soon followed by articulation of the need to pay attention also to individual motivation to the practice of volunteerism. Probably the best-known landmarks in this intellectual process are the contributions of Gillet (1968), Chareille, 1962; United Nations (1998) and Davis Smith (1998). At the Experts Working Conference on Volunteering and Social Development in New York, the most memorable articulation was the need to ensure the promotion, recognition and sustenance of volunteerism (Davis Smith and UNV, 1998). These themes have been echoed, elaborated, endorsed and underlined in the various contributions to the IYV Survey on social cohesion that were carried around the world between 2000 and 2001. Volunteerism practised as virtually synonymous with volunteer programmes is clearly in sharp conflict with the dominant analytical understanding of the factors underlying development of volunteerism, as well as with the sense of the policy directive in standing international declarations.

A third set of answers to the questions posed above can be drawn from current themes manifest in expert discussions concerning the potential effectiveness of volunteer programmes. In that regard, the received policy positions, which for practical purposes, consider volunteer programmes and policy to be coterminous, exhibit a remarkable blend of optimism and extreme caution. The central claim for the effectiveness, indeed the sufficiency, of volunteer programmes in promoting volunteerism rests on the existence of a large "unmet demand" for services offered by individual volunteers and volunteer organisations. Standard economic analysis pays scant attention to verbal expressions of intent: it considers focussing on one particular aspects of preference in abstraction of all potentially conflicting simultaneous considerations that shape actual choices to be an unsatisfactory guide for predicting behaviours. Since volunteer practice, as the historical record demonstrates, can be home-produced, its observed absence or low frequency of occurrence in a population must be interpreted as at least a presumptive indication of weak "need" or demand (cf Makunja 2000 and, Gehyigon, Olweya and Makunja 2001).

To some extent such weaknesses can be counterbalanced by providing methods that are superior to home-produced good. But what constitutes satisfactory provision capable of capturing the cooperation of those with declared unmet needs? In its insistence of free availability of supplies and high quality of service, expert judgement in fact betrays strong scepticism about the strength of demand for volunteer services in any situation characterised by weak service delivery systems. A recent authoritative summary, for example, calls for aggressive marketing of what we all know constitute the characteristics of any successful volunteer programme, and proceeds to enumerate these characteristics (Gehyigon 2000).

Literature on volunteer programmes tends to claim a large share of the credit for whatever volunteer promotion did occur in developing countries following the introduction of Government-organised programmes. Conversely, when volunteer promotion is nil or falls short of what was expected, the programmes can argue soundly, that the stipulated characteristics for effective programme performance have not been adequately satisfied. Thus successes in promoting volunteerism or lack of success can be equally construed as reflecting the state of supply system and, therefore, as proof of the need for greater programme effort. Certainly, *ceteris paribus*, any increase in the size of improvement in the quality of volunteer programmes would be helpful in promoting volunteerism when latent demand is present. But the desiderata listed above represents a toll order. They strongly suggest raising the question: are there complementary measures and policies that would elicit adequate effort and cooperation on the part of potential clients short of such programme features as individual volunteering, doorstep availability of volunteer services and repeated follow-up support to volunteers? Advocacy of improved volunteer programme performance is clearly consistent with the notion that volunteer policies should pay attention not only to supply but also to demand of volunteerism.

B. Cause of the Imbalance in Supply and Demand Approaches

For reasons embedded in the historical circumstances that characterised the early decades following the close of the Second World War, economic and social policies of Governments in most developing countries came to be perceived and organised as a series of sectorally defined programme-packaged tasks. The forces behind this process, which cannot be discussed here in any detail but have been discussed in greater detail in my other works (see Makunja, 1999 and 2000), reflected the logic of the then ascendant ideology of central planning and the consequent extension of direct government control, by professed intent if not, over all economic and social domains. The launching of large-scale international assistance programmes greatly reinforced this conceptualisation of the role of the government in promoting development. Sectoral allocation of aid offered distinct advantages to both donors and recipients. When clearly linked to specific "problem" areas the need for aid could be easily explained and justified for the benefit of the domestic constituencies of aid-giving countries. Earmarking of assistance for a narrowly specified set of tasks facilitated control over the use of funds, assured accountability and permitted direct lines of transfer for specialised services and products. Assistance that provided tangible material values, incorporated modern technology, satisfied clearly felt needs and directly eased day-to-day problems was readily welcomed by recipient Governments. Thus, encouraged by availability of international assistance and defying the weakness of domestic material and human resources base, public authorities of developing countries became active in many areas beyond those traditionally addressed by Governments similar stages of development.

The resulting of a greatly overextended public sector was often detrimental to development in general and of volunteerism in particular. Performance of core Government tasks critically important in promoting economic and social progress - articulating and achieving a just and stable apportionment of the rights and responsibilities of citizens and their voluntary associations, safeguarding law and order,

assuring a sound currency and an impartial judiciary, enforcing property rights and private contracts, and providing basic public health and educational services and physical infrastructure- suffered a great deal as a result of government overreach. Ventures to socialise industry, commerce and banking often amounted to outreach economic disaster. Government announced claims to perform functions analogous to those of social service sectors of the modern welfare state in affluent countries have often bordered on false advertising as resources, physical and administrative, in weak economies fell chronically short of what fulfilment of ambitious government plans and promises would have required.

The emergence of volunteer activities as a sectorally conceived and organised programme has to be understood in the context of this general syndrome. In the fierce competition of limited resources, sectoral success naturally becomes defined in terms of tangible criteria such as size of budgets, the numbers and qualifications of those employed, the facilities occupied and the extent of the clientele served. In the volunteer field, such competition thus favoured virtually exclusive emphasis on supply-oriented volunteer programmes. Attempts to apply similar programme-packaged strategies to affect the demand side of developing "incentive schemes" for example, as Costa (1970) indicates, providing rewards in cash or in kind to persons volunteering to volunteer as was the case with National Youth Service Programme in Kenya, proved bureaucratically and politically inherently ill-conceived and hence, fortunately short-lived. A fundamental shift in the incentive system underlying individual volunteer behaviour does constitute the essential foundation of volunteer transition. But such a shift depends upon the style and character of the overall development process: it lends itself to manipulation by specific programmes and selective "targeted" interventions.

It is often claimed that volunteer and general development programmes do recognise the importance of the demand side and seek to affect it by lending support to other sectors of development that are helpful in generating demand for volunteer services. Health and education programmes are typically cited in this regard. Invariably, however, these activities are also conceived and carried out as social service programmes; therefore, in the use of budget, personnel, and physical facilities they are in direct competition with each other and with volunteer programmes. Allocation of resources among them in fact reflects the relative effectiveness with which each sector separately is able to make the case for itself.

Such sectoral competition may be best illustrated with reference to the health sector. The case for free or subsidized provision of family planning services is far stronger than that for a vast variety of other private goods. This is because voluntary consumption of family planning services enhances the private welfare of the recipient and confers a benefit to third parties and society at large. Be it as it may, therefore, managing volunteer programmes as an independent organisational entity, as it has been in the past and done in a few volunteer sending agencies, could assure that such programmes enjoy preferential treatment. Yet the character of modern volunteer efforts makes volunteer programmes a natural component of general development service. Integration of the two components is highly desirable, but integration makes it exceedingly difficult, indeed unlikely, that

quality standards of volunteer service provision can be attained and maintained at levels that are much higher than those accorded to development services at large (see also Davis Smith, 1998; Angel 2001; and European Voluntary Service, 2000).

It was on the basis of the foregoing discourse in addition to the review of the IYV activities in Kenya, that this paper advanced the argument that genuine volunteerism offers a unifying force and process that can bring groups within nations and also different nations together to deal with dynamic development challenges facing them. Recognizing that volunteerism can not succeed in a vacuum, an operational framework for institutionalising volunteerism in Kenya, with special emphasis to essential institutional structures and mechanisms (both structural and systemic) that make volunteerism genuine and sustainable must be advanced. The succeeding section presents a remedial framework to amend the 'missing link' between volunteerism and its sustainability in Kenya. Lack of a policy framework and an institution that can be used as a nerve center or a focal point to strengthen, document, mitigate the value, facilitate and promote volunteerism and the ingredients that go along with such a proposition are identified and proposed to stimulate discussion

C. The Remedial Operational Framework for Institutional Volunteerism in Kenya Beyond IYV 2001

The foregoing discussion strongly suggests that renewed attention to the volunteer demand side—complementing and amplifying the effectiveness of supply efforts - would be highly desirable. But past inattention to this issue cannot be remedied simply by professed resolve to broaden the compass of volunteerism policy debate. The reasons that underlie and explain neglect are structural; they are embedded in the existing institutional base that supports the one sided concept of volunteer policy outlined above. The social technologies required by the needed twin approach to solving the problem of facilitating volunteerism - operating on supply, the other on demand, - are fundamentally different. One requires the mobilisation and deployment of a great amount of physical and human resources. The other approach may be characterised as institutional and legal, as implicit rather than programmatic (Davis Smith, 1998). One delivers tangible services; the other seeks to influence the overall style of development policy and thus to affect the gravitational field that shapes the individual calculus of volunteer recognition and facilitation choices. Combining these two approaches under unitary sectoral management makes no more sense than would uniting the Kenya Air Force and the Central Bank in a single organisation on the ground that both affect the external economic relations of the country. Supply and demand approaches in the volunteer field draw on different knowledge bases and types of analysis. Their application calls for different institutional frames pursuing different kinds of policy solutions.

As currently organised, the volunteer field is not geared up to exert a significant impact on development policy - an impact beyond its more or less successful efforts at securing a chunk of domestic and international development good will for its own sectoral claims. Past experience has adequately demonstrated that, save for the highest level, organisational togetherness between personnel charged with carrying out volunteer service-oriented programmes and personnel addressing volunteer demand-side concerns

are counterproductive. In a unified organisational set-up, the much higher budgetary and human resources involved in the former task, and the consequent complexity of its management and sustenance, are bound to absorb a disproportionate share of the attention of managerial and intellectual leadership. To the leaders the central part of volunteer programmes seems clear and difficult enough. Raising issues that might divert attention from the main thrust is, not unreasonably, seen as unhelpful. Arguments about elusive development and volunteer linkages are seen as academic pastimes, no match for the apparent simplicity of hard-wired input-output sequences in volunteer programmes. The case for the demand side might get more attention especially from volunteer sending and receiving agencies, if it generated proposals that are programmatically of respectable weight. Achieving this end would require some functional equivalent of the tangible and 'budgetary' paraphernalia of the development programme approach. But such expectations may seem misguided and must remain frustrated unless there is a supportive institutional framework; in this regard the two approaches are symmetrical.

The institutional problem just outlined is detrimental to the conduct of research and analysis that would provide the basis for a productive broadening of the volunteerism debate. The core strategic issues in the volunteer programme approach were settled decades ago. The remaining, if still difficult, issues are essentially technical and managerial. Therefore, the perceived knowledge needs are for operations research, producing workable suggestions for programmatic fine-tuning. In addition, there is the crucial and constant need for the shoring-up of public support for the programmes, securing an appropriate level of finance for them in the keen sectoral competition for scarce resources and warding off unfriendly or sceptical critics. These are logical and necessary functions found in any soundly institutionalised public programme area. But in such a set-up the research performed is bound to remain ancillary to the ruling strategic concept. The reward system that guides it makes it improbable that it will be open to, let alone generate, ideas and findings that may be perceived as distracting attention from the main charge or as competitive with the dominant policy paradigm that provides the rationale or the activities of the field as a whole. The remedy would call for separating the research and analytic activities by deliberate institutional design, corresponding to the recognition that there are two distinct approaches to policy. Continuing dialogue between policy analyses addressing the two approaches would, of course, be pursued and could often be helpful. A main goal, however, would be to break out from the parochial confines and intellectual insularity of development policy research as it is now defined and practiced, so as to be energized by and exert influence on macroeconomic and macro social policy analysis and policy-making.

D. Issues to be addressed on the demand side of volunteer institutionalisation

Demand for volunteer services is derived demand, it reflects the desire of individuals, governments, non governmental organisations, schools, religious groups and private sector, rather than the intrinsic attractiveness of volunteer practice as such. Reducing the disutility of volunteers can be helpful in this regard, but policies directed to deliberately increasing the level of demand for volunteers should focus on the factors that motivate individuals and organisations to prefer, on average, to offer voluntary services. This requires an institution that shall constantly provide analysis and understanding of the

relevant micro level incentive structures. Although "volunteerism" at large eventually generates socio-economic changes that induce a desire for volunteerism, the claim expressed in the phrase "Volunteering and Social Development" is vacuous without an institution and a policy for supporting the same. Policy, qua volunteer policy, must focus on the key elements that change the micro level incentives that determine volunteer behaviour.

The experience of IYV 2001 in Kenya and volunteer transitions as a whole identifies the main components of the relevant incentive structure. Four are particularly important:

- (a) The direct costs volunteers must incur in offering their services;
- (b) The opportunity costs of volunteers to service beneficiaries, that is the earnings a volunteer must forgo because of providing voluntary services;
- (c) The contribution of volunteers to organisational income through voluntary services;
- (d) The contribution of volunteers to the country's economic security, in comparison to alternative sources of national economic security.

These need to form the theoretical basis of the volunteer centre. Growth in volunteerism will certainly be assured when shifts in these components make volunteerism more advantageous to individual volunteers and beneficiary agencies.

Patterns of volunteerism generate the above effect when at least some, but especially when all, of the following conditions shall be fulfilled.

- (a) Social expectations and formal institutional arrangements identify and place facilitation responsibilities to the entire society and not a few agencies;
- (b) Volunteers have access to income-earning opportunities in the labour market, including jobs not easily compatible with volunteering;
- (c) Social institutions make formal social services accessible to volunteers;
- (d) Effective legal guarantees of property rights, legal enforcement of private contracts and the development of private and public insurance and pension schemes provide attractive and comparatively secure alternatives to volunteers especially at old-age security.

Mechanisms of promoting and advocating for the fulfilment of the above conditions would be core functions of the centre.

Social and institutional conditions that make such changes potent generators of volunteerism include the following; emphasis on personal economic contribution (rather than, for example, class status) as the primary factor determining earnings, thus providing

an incentive for increased investment in human capital; opportunities for upward social mobility and toleration of downward social mobility; rising expectations with respect to material levels of living; and emphasis not only on the rights but on the social and economic responsibilities of the individual.

Formulation of effective policies that seek to create incentives favouring facilitation and promotion of volunteerism to naturally mesh with the inclination of contemporary development planners to conceptualize policy in terms of sectorally packaged development programmes would be core to the center. A coherent constitutional - structure approach focusing on the establishment of an institutional framework characterized by stable and predictable rules governing social interaction in the economic domain would be equally vital. Under such an approach, social agreement on the right institutions and rules is the main object of policy-making. Rather than attempting to manipulate the outcomes directly, the approach implies acceptance of the outcomes of the resulting social interaction as right.

Social and economic reforms along these lines are admittedly far-reaching, although their general direction is in line with the structural reforms that low-income countries, frustrated by their highly unsatisfactory development performance, are currently espousing. But even short of a radical rethinking of the fundamental strategy of development, examination of Existing sectorally formulated programmes in the light of Governments' avowed macroeconomic objectives can provide useful guidance for policy adjustments serving volunteer goals. Such an examination is likely to demonstrate a lack of coherence in the signals individual couples receive from existing policies with respect to volunteer behaviour. Thus, for example, when the volunteer programme encourages conformity with the volunteer norms, that demand is likely to be undercut by existing institutional arrangements that "delink" volunteer behaviour and the quality and quantity of socio-economic and political services. Under typical arrangements prevailing in Kenya, whether an individual chooses to volunteer has little effect either on the quality and quantity socio-economic and political services to which citizens are entitled or on the contribution the volunteer is constrained to make to make (through direct or indirect taxes) towards the support of those services. Such lack of coherence in policy-imparted behavioral signals in part reflects genuine conflict between incompatible social objectives.

To some extent, however, it is the result of the uncoordinated and sectorally formulated origin of most government policies and programmes under the dominant style of development. This calls for the current IYV Secretariat under the auspices of Research and Integrated Community Development Centre (RICDC) to undergo a complete metamorphosis and be transformed into a full scale Volunteer Research Centre to act as a volunteer nerve centre in the region

RICDC shall then continuously undertake systematic and well-publicized periodic assessments of sectoral programmes from the point of view of volunteerism objectives. Such a structural measure could therefore be highly valuable in influencing policy. Such assessments should culminate in formal annual or biennial reports that cover the

following critical areas, focusing within each on the impact of existing policies and programmes on individual, community and national volunteer incentives:

- (a) Division of the direct costs of volunteering (including expenditures on health and education among volunteers, the extended family, the local community and the country at large; social standards on care of the aged and the effectiveness of their enforcement);
- (b) Volunteer's legal and economic status and domestic care arrangements;
- (c) Labour laws and the effectiveness of their enforcement, use of child labour in the family and community economy;
- (d) The impact of volunteer behaviour on distribution of the tax burden;
- (e) Old-age social security arrangements and their value compared with reliance on support by offspring;
- (f) Articulation of social values and aspirations concerning volunteer growth, standards of upbringing individual obligations to the state.

Numerous facets of social and economic policies pursued by Kenya and other countries that tend to undercut the effectiveness of social messages urging individuals to conform to the volunteer norms are routinely justified and defended on the grounds of assessments. RICDC will especially, facilitate through research in asserting that volunteer productive policies are necessary because they favour the poor: they redistribute income from the relatively affluent to the economically disadvantaged. To the extent that this claim is valid, it should command serious consideration in shaping economic and social policies; But closer examination of the actual redistribute effects of specific policies and programmes often shows that the claim is unsupported by facts; indeed, the redistribution is often in the opposite direction. Examination of the distributional effects of existing policies, especially in the domains of health and education, is therefore a crucial precondition for constructive discussion of any proposed change in social and economic policy. The proposed centre will help to drum up that.

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