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Looking back on a short-term mission:
stakeholder narratives on development



Kim de Leeuw
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After participation in a short-term mission: stakeholder narratives

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Master thesis MSc Sustainable Development – International Development
Faculty of Geosciences Utrecht University

Student: Kim de Leeuw
Student number: 6622992
k.deleeuw@students.uu.nl

Supervisor: Dr. Femke van Noorloos
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Geosciences
Department of Human Geography and Planning
Social Urban Transitions
h.j.vannoorloos@uu.nl

Second Reader: Dr. Maggi Leung
Associate Professor
Faculty of Geosciences
Department of Human Geography and Planning
International Development Studies
w.h.m.leung@uu.nl

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It is a pleasure to present to you my individual report on the social impacts of agritourism. This research is conducted as part of the course GEO4-2321 Master's thesis of the master program Sustainable Development, track International Development of Utrecht University.

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Summary

Since the 1960s and 1970s, youth missions arose and over the decades short-term missions have become increasingly popular. Young adults favour short-term missions over long-term missions, because they prefer to participate only for a short amount of time. With this increase in popularity of short-term missions amongst young adults, a new actor in development arose. Young adult, religious volunteering groups are important to take into account when discussing the development landscape, because it enhances the understanding of the development landscape in its totality.

Voluntourism is very present in the literature, but short-term missions and the link between development aid and religion is less frequently studied. The way people think about development co-constructs their development efforts and therefore this thesis looked at the narratives about short-term missions, development and daily life changes of volunteers that participated in or provided a short-term mission. Moz Kids served as a case study for this research and participants of their short-term missions participated in this study. Additionally, managers of All Nations Mozambique, the receiving organisation connected to Moz Kids, shared their thoughts on development and short-term missions. The narratives of these stakeholders were gathered by digital interviews. Besides that, a content analysis was performed on the website of Moz Kids.

The volunteers feel like they have contributed to development by helping out at the orphanages, either by taking care of the children or building a baby house. Where the volunteers speak of the short-term mission with a helping goal, the receiving organisation speaks of it as a learning experience. Indeed, the volunteers vowed afterwards that they have learned several things and that they have made changes in their daily lives. However, the group could be divided in two: a group that made small changes in daily life and a group that made no changes at all. The sending organisation is in the middle between the volunteers and the receiving organisation and therefore speaks of a helping as well as learning experience.

Concludingly, the volunteers feel like they have contributed to development through their presence at the orphanages but also by continued support after their short-term mission. Their ideas regarding development aid have changed and a preference is given to small-scale projects of which the local community directly benefits.

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List of abbreviations

STM	Short-Term Mission
YWAM	Youth With A Mission

List of frequently mentioned people

Name	Function
Rika	Founder All Nations Mozambique
Pieter	Founder All Nations Mozambique
Lizé	Legal representative All Nations Mozambique
Llwellyn	Legal representative All Nations Mozambique
Mirjam	Founder Moz Kids
Mike	Founder Moz Kids
Tia (aunty)	Name for all care takers in the orphanage

Table 1. Frequently mentioned names.

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The Bible teaches, amongst others in John, that love should not only be shown by words, but that it should be visible through deeds (Soerens, 2017). Believers are being called to action to help others. This can be visible through small things, like helping the elderly in the community, but also by supporting international development organisations. The Christian church has a long history of participation in development aid which is visible in charity donations, overseas service and peace building (Dalton, 2013). Over the past decade, many groups of youth from Western Europe and America have been going on a trip via their church to help out in a country in the Global South (Howell, 2009). Building or working at orphanages are often the aim of such trips. Such holidays “*makes use of holiday-makers who volunteer to fund and work on social or conservation projects around the world and aims to provide sustainable alternative travel that can assist in community development, scientific research or ecological restoration*” (Wearing, 2004, p. 217). However, these short-term missions easily turn into voluntourism, because while the volunteer is enjoying his time, the benefits for the host community are often not long-lasting (Soerens, 2017). Additionally, not all host communities are happy with the arrival of religious groups. For example, in the study by McGehee & Andereck (2008), the Mexican host community associates religious groups with ‘getting the God talk’ as if that listening to these talks is the price they have to pay for the help. Faith-based organisations are therefore ranked as least preferred groups of voluntourists among these host communities. There are a lot of different views on short-term missions ranging from people saying that the participants often benefit more than the host community to research arguing that the hosts do not benefit at all (Fanning, 2009; Ver Beek, 2006). However, this is also dependent on the way the short-term mission is organised. Despite the likability of the religious groups, the number of short-term missions has grown drastically and a new wave of volunteers arose. These volunteer groups mostly originate in America and Europe. From the 1960s and 1970s, youth ministries from Youth With A Mission (YWAM) and Operation Mobilization have been founded and grown exponentially. In doing so, short-term missions gained popularity over long-term missions (Fanning, 2009). This trend also came to Europe and in 1973 the Dutch YWAM, Jeugd Met Een Odracht, was established. In the 1980s and 1990s, short-term missions for youth gained popularity and nowadays play a prominent role in development missions from the Christian church (YWAM, 2016). Besides faith-based development organisations and missionaries, youth volunteer groups have now become a new actor in the development landscape (Fanning, 2009). Taking into account all actors, including religious actors, is important in understanding the development sector and landscape in its entirety (Gore, 2013).

1.2 Problem definition and knowledge gap

Modernisation and secularisation had led to a neglect of religion. It was assumed that modern societies did not need religion anymore and that it would slowly disappear. Religion was, therefore, not part of development thinking, which mainly focussed on economic progress. Academics had neglected the subject, but this has changed recently now we entered the era of postmodernism. Postmodernism takes the cultural context into account and therefore includes aspects like religion. Faith-based organisations are not new, but academics are now paying attention to it (Jones & Petersen, 2011). There is an increasing body of literature on religion and development, and short-term missions as well as voluntourism (Zehner, 2013). The voluntourism literature is already a bit more extended, but has several knowledge gaps regarding the role of religion. Therefore, this study will look at the role of religion in short-term missions that do not have the purpose of evangelisation. Most of the literature on short-term missions is related to the impacts it has on participants and some of it also looks at the impacts on the host community (Friesen, 2004; Zehner, 2014). However, it is also interesting to look

at the narratives of the people that have contributed to these short-term missions, either because they participated or are part of the sending organisation. Narrative analysis also comes from postmodernism, because words co-construct meaning and thereby co-construct the world itself. Narratives explain the learned significance of an experience, in this case of the short-term mission, and therefore give an insight in how these churchgoers think about development and their contributions to it (Webster & Mertova, 2007). The way people think about development is co-constructing their development efforts in reality and is, therefore, an important topic to study, especially because short-term missions and volunteer tourism in general are prone to critique regarding their impacts. Additionally, the representation of post-colonial north-south inequalities, and how volunteers and development actors talk about development plays a role in the actual development practises and policies.

1.3 Scientific and societal relevance

McGehee & Andereck (2008) already said in 2008 that *“the role of organized religion in volunteer tourism often seems to be the ‘elephant in the living room’ that no one wishes to discuss”*. Religion has always been present in development, but until the last decade it was never recognised as such. However, the public started to recognise the presence of religion in development and with that an interest in the workings of religion in development arose. Therefore, academic research and empirical evidence is just at a starting point (Dalton, 2013). After that, not much research has focussed on the relationship between religion and volunteer tourism either. Thus, from a scientific point of view, it is important to create knowledge about these subjects. Additionally, the societal relevance of this research can be found in the value for religious organisations, like churches, and providers of volunteer tourism that have religion in their core values. Insights in the narratives of churchgoers that participated in a volunteer tourism project could contribute to the improvement of these travels and to the justification of participation in voluntourism projects by church groups. Organisations that work on representation and communication of development issues can benefit from this study as this study will give an insight in the way people think about development and how they co-construct this in reality. Additionally, scientific debates on the link between religion and development, and voluntourism can also benefit from the study for the same reasons.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1 The role of religion in development aid

2.1.1 The history of religion in development aid

Christian missions are already visible in the Bible when missionaries go and start telling about Christianity. However, at the end of the 18th century, massive Christian missions to Africa started to develop (Viera,2007). Long-term missionary work is strongly connected to colonialism in two ways. First, missions have been a tool to search for colonial empires. Christianity was seen as method of Western cultural infiltration and as a way to gain political control (Ward, 2000). Second, the Dutch state stressed the importance of spreading Christianity in their colonies (Ward, 2000). So, not only was Christianity embedded in the start of colonialism, the religion also played a role in the colony after it was colonised (Hilliard, 1974). In the 19th century, Christian development aid started to develop because missionaries were confronted with poverty during their missionary work and wanted to do something for the people suffering from these poor circumstances. The missions became diaconal¹ as well and started to combine the words of the Bible with deeds. In this time, development aid was strongly connected to churches and congregations. This changed after the second world war when the Dutch government became active in development cooperation. Development aid was not only taken up anymore by missionary activities, but also by collaborations of governments. Current Christian development aid is not always easily recognisable anymore. Some Christian organisations have maintained their main goal of spreading religion, but others have focussed their development activities on Christian principles and not directly on missionary activities. These organisations can be linked to a church congregation but some of them are also private initiatives (Westerveld, n.d.).

2.1.2 Religion as an actor in development

A considerable amount of research is suggesting that religious people are more active in volunteering than secular people. There are two things that connect religion to volunteering, which are belief and belonging. All major religions are teaching selflessness and preach the helping of others in society, but most of these things are only acted upon through social pressure within the religious community. Therefore arguing that deeds are mostly happening because individuals are stimulated by the religious community. Researchers suggest that congregations, where people meet socially, are places where individuals can learn about volunteering options or are asked to volunteer, and in that sense religion is also stimulating volunteering (Lim & MacGregor, 2012).

Religion has always played a part in international development, but only from the last decade onwards religion is seen by others as a powerful voice (Dalton, 2013). This study will focus on religion as defined by Lunn (2009, p.937): *“an institutionalised system of beliefs and practices concerning the supernatural realm”*. To ensure sustainable development, it is necessary to take into account cultural beliefs and values.

Faith-based organisations achieve the most effective results in development on the ground (Lunn, 2009). Teachings of all religions have a certain set of principles that determine what society should look like and how development should look (Rakodi, 2012). Historically, Christianity and the Islam have evidently participated in social work. Christianity has historically organised missions intertwined with imperialism that focussed on humanitarian aid, education and health, whereas the Islam has a lot of donors that funded the building of schools and hospitals (Lunn, 2009). Some Western donors are now intensifying the ties with Islamic NGOs to create a bridge to the Muslim world (Jones & Petersen, 2011).

¹ Diaconate entails the offering of help to anybody who needs it.

Donations to charity is the form of development aid that is used most frequently by religious groups, but also overseas service and peace building are forms of development aid. Despite the declining number of churchgoers, the church still remains a powerful venue to deliver a message to a large group on a weekly basis (Dalton, 2013).

2.1.3 History of religion in development thinking

Since the 1920s, religion has not played a significant role anymore in social sciences. Where Marx, Weber and Durkheim still had a strong interest in religion, modernisation theory underpins other aspects. Economic growth was seen as more important and it was assumed that religion is no longer needed in a modern, developed society (Herbert, 2009; Selinger, 2004). Culture and religion only played a marginal role in the time where church and state became separated. While religion increasingly became separated from society, it started functioning less as a binding factor between different groups. Secularisation and modernisation theory are therefore heavily intertwined. Religion became something for the private sphere and because of that religion disappeared from development thinking. Many development programmes focussed and still focus on poverty reduction (Selinger, 2004). However, in the 1970s critique at this economic standpoint arose as the investments did not seem to trickle down to poor and poverty was not reduced. There was a need to distribute the economic benefits more equally, and dependency theory and related theories became the main advocates of this. The basic needs approach was one of the measurements that was undertaken (Deneulin & Rakodi, 2011). After the anti-developmental opinions in the 1990s, we have now entered an era of thinking that is more constructive and that is called postmodern. Whereas the conventional frameworks only included the economic and technical aspects of development, the postmodern frameworks go beyond that and include the cultural context, including religion, in their framework. That way, it is multidimensional (Lunn, 2009). Escobar emphasised that grassroots mobilization and social movements should be acknowledged, and that there is an over-dependence on expert knowledge. Therefore, he is in favour of bottom-up approach to development instead of the top-down approach (Deneulin & Rakodi, 2011).

2.2 Volunteer tourism

Participation of religious groups in development nowadays often goes hand in hand with short-term missions (Dalton, 2013; Friesen, 2004). Short-term missions are a form of volunteer tourism that include a religious aspect (Guttentag, 2009). Volunteer tourists are *“those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment”* (Wearing, 2001, as cited in McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). The term volunteer tourism does not have clear boundaries, but it should meet the following criteria: the tourists are paying for their holiday, the trip takes less than one month and has fixed dates, the trip is publicly advertised, the trip fits the interest of the volunteer, the trip is authentic and participatory, leads to personal development, and, lastly, the volunteer contributes labour or funding to the host organisation’s project (Coghlan & Fennell, 2009). Since the 1990s, a significant growth is seen in volunteer tourism. Volunteer tourism holidays are offered by many ‘sending institutions’, like NGOs, religious organisations, universities, private companies and foundations (Guttentag, 2009).

Whereas tourism companies often promote the trip as an alternative, more sustainable form of tourism in which cultural encounters appear, the others focus on the promotion of development aid (Jakubiak, 2012). According to Wearing & Neil (2000), a volunteer tourism experience consists of three elements. The first element is that a tourist specifically chooses volunteer tourism to get a different experience and because he is intrinsically motivated to volunteer. The next element is the potential of volunteer tourism to benefit the lives of both the host community as well as the participant. Finally,

the third element entails giving meaning to the experience through interaction with the host community and other participants. The identity of the individual can be developed during the experience.

2.2.1 Motivations

There are several reasons to participate in a volunteer tourism project that range from altruism to egotism (Taplin, Dredge & Scherrer, 2014). Altruistic volunteers mainly aim to give back to the host community, because these volunteers feel like they do well in life (Brown, 2005). Thus, the ultimate goal is to help others and benefits to the self only come unintentionally (Coghlan & Fennell, 2009). Volunteers driven by egoistic reasons participate in the project because they want to achieve personal development or increase their social capital (Taplin, Dredge & Scherrer, 2014). Helping others is thus done with the ultimate goal to benefit oneself (Coghlan & Fennell, 2009). Many tourists go on a holiday and search for the 'Other'. They have created a set of prejudices about the people in a developing country and they want to experience the local life and the local culture. Volunteer tourism seems to be form of tourism that brings them the deepest into the local community instead of getting a staged tourism experience (Brown, 2005). It is assumed by some scholars that a trip to these communities will create lasting understanding and respect (Raymond & Hall, 2008). Additionally, it is believed that friendships between the host community and the volunteers can emerge. Establishing comradeship with the other travellers is also important (Brown, 2005). However, what is often most important for the tourists is that working activities are surrounded by fun activities that could be undertaken together with other people. The type of motivation affects what type of experience the tourist is looking for (Taplin, Dredge & Scherrer, 2014).

Also sending organisations can have different motivations to offer volunteering holidays. Similar to the motivations for tourists, altruism is one of the motivations. Other motivations are religious motives or political motives and to make profit, which could be seen as an egoistic motivation. These different motivations influence the degree to which organisations feel accountable to create a project that is socially responsible, the type of projects offered and the type of volunteers requested (Taplin, Dredge & Scherrer, 2014).

Moreover, the intentions of the volunteer tourists or sending organisations are also questioned. Some scholars argue that the tourists mostly go for their own pleasure and self-development whereas some private sending companies are blamed to solely focus on making profit. Besides this, the desires of locals are sometimes neglected. Decisions are often made by managers or other key members from the sending organisation while neglecting to ask for the input of the host community. Additionally, the community's wish for development is sometimes overshadowed by the wish of volunteers' desire to keep the villages quite without a need for new construction (Guttentag, 2009).

2.2.2 Positive impacts

The benefits of volunteer tourism for participants can broadly be defined into three categories, namely (1) 'personal development and self-fulfilment', (2) 'knowledge gain and increased skills', and (3) 'enhanced personal relations and social networks' (Coghlan & Fennell, 2009).

During a volunteer tourism project, social ties between volunteers are strengthened or created, resulting in a strong social network. These ties can be a strong influence in a person's choice to participate in social movement after the project (McGehee & Santos, 2005). On the other hand, the tourists learn from the host culture and get an authentic experience. Meaningful interpersonal experience often led to genuine friendships and personal development arose from the experiences (Lepp, 2008; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). Additionally, volunteers become more conscious about social,

economic and environmental problems and are more aware of the impact they can make. A new view on their lives at home is created (Lepp, 2008; McGehee & Santos, 2005).

Although less frequently mentioned, there are also positive impacts for the host community besides from the general aims of the project, like the building of a school. McIntosh & Zahra (2007) identify benefits that result from the cultural encounter. The host community in their study saw that the interest from volunteers in their culture led to an increase in pride in their own culture. Traditional habits, like Maori dance, became more popular at school and an interest in the local legends and identity arose. Additionally, the elderly perceived the volunteers to be 'positive role models' for their youth because of their norms and values, and the fact that they were willing to give up time and money to help. Besides from serving as positive role models, the interaction with the volunteers can also be turned into a valuable friendship (Lepp, 2008; Zahra, 2007).

Economic benefits are less visible because volunteer tourists take up jobs and often sleep at their project. However, in some cases local accommodation is chosen and therefore some income is generated. There is also a small multiplier effect visible, because of the volunteer tourists' need for, amongst other things, food (Guttentag, 2009).

2.2.3 Negative impacts

There is more research done about the positive impacts of volunteer tourism than about the negative impacts. Guttentag (2009) has made a summary of the negative impacts. First, the critiques on the side of the volunteers will be described. The tourists often do not speak the language and are insensitive to the local culture, which can cause problems. The volunteers are not necessarily negatively impacted by the trip, but there are many critiques on the assumed benefits. The personal growth of volunteers is questioned as well as the value of the cross cultural interaction that is established by the volunteering projects. Also, the cultural distinction can grow even further when the volunteers keep on defining the host community as the poor and reinforce the notion of us versus them. Often, the people in developing countries are defined as 'the Other', meaning that there is a significant difference between us versus them. Sending organisations sometimes promote that difference to attract tourists and emphasise this generalisation of host communities. As a result, the previously established ideas about 'the Other' are confirmed (Raymond & Hall, 2008).

Much more negative impacts are attributed to the host community. Having a continuous stream of volunteer tourists in the host community could lead to a dependency on these tourists. Additionally, host communities could feel resentment towards (some groups of) volunteer tourists. This can be because they perform labour activities that otherwise could be the job of someone of the community, but also because they are unskilled and do not achieve much. Even volunteers that are skilled might not be able to accomplish a lot. Projects often focus on short-term fixes but these are not viable in the future. On the other hand, some of the positive impacts are also doubtful according to some researchers. A threat to the cultural differences can be the 'demonstration effect' that appears when tourists impact the culture of the host community. Especially the younger generation is inclined to copy behaviour or to desire certain clothes or gadgets, while a fair amount of the volunteer projects includes work with children (Guttentag, 2009; Ver Beek, 2006). To conclude, some argue that the tourists spend a lot of money on the trip while this money could better be spend on the project so that experts could execute it (Ver Beek, 2006).

Orphanage tourism specifically creates another set of critiques. One of the main points is that not all children living in the orphanages are true orphans. Orphanage tourism is seen as a way of making money and therefore, in some places, children are taken away from their parents to fill the orphanages. This is often undermining families and neither is it in the best interest of the child. Besides,

the children are exposed to attachment disorders. Volunteers in orphanages often do not stay for a long time and therefore the children grow up with many different volunteers that only stay short-term. Children under the age of three are most vulnerable to these disorders and therefore specific care should be taken to prevent from the disorders (Carpenter, 2015).

Of course, every volunteer tourism project is set up in a different way and therefore the positive and negative impacts can be different for each project. Negative impacts can be mitigated if the projects are steered in a certain way. Examples hereof are limiting the number of volunteer tourists sent each year and by developing projects that are of actual value to the host community (Guttentag, 2009).

2.2.4 Volunteer tourism by religious groups

McGehee & Andereck (2008) state that it is very likely that volunteer tourism has emerged from relief work and missions in the early days. The degree in which religion plays a role in religious volunteer tourist projects depends on the length of the stay. However, religion always plays a part in their projects and often it is important to them to familiarise the host community with the values of their faith (Guttentag, 2009). It can be argued that this familiarisation with the values of faith is in contrast with truly valuing the culture of the host community, because there is an attempt to impose the own values on the host community. In this way, a genuine exchange of culture is not possible and the host community is impacted in a way that they might not even desire (Wearing, 2001, as cited in Guttentag, 2009). However, there are also proponents of short-term missions and they have listed the following positive impacts: benefits for the host community arise from the sharing of the gospel and the provision of services and goods (Ver Beek, 2006). However, critics also question this because volunteers are often not able to speak the local language, so part of the message might be lost (Van Engen, 2000). Additionally, host communities in a previous study have called listening to the faith values a necessary price to pay for the help. They referred to it by 'getting the God talk', which is not a positive view on religion (McGehee & Andereck, 2008). Other benefits for volunteers are the strengthening of their faith and raised awareness of the problems in the world. Other missionary projects receive more support and there is an increased chance of a participant becoming a full-time missionary (Ver Beek, 2006).

2.3 Conceptual model

The conceptual model below shows that the topic of this thesis is built around the three debates regarding religion, development and volunteer tourism. Central in these debates is the concept of narratives. In this study, narratives are used to find out how participants of a short-term mission think about their short-term mission, development in general and whether it resulted in changes in their daily life.

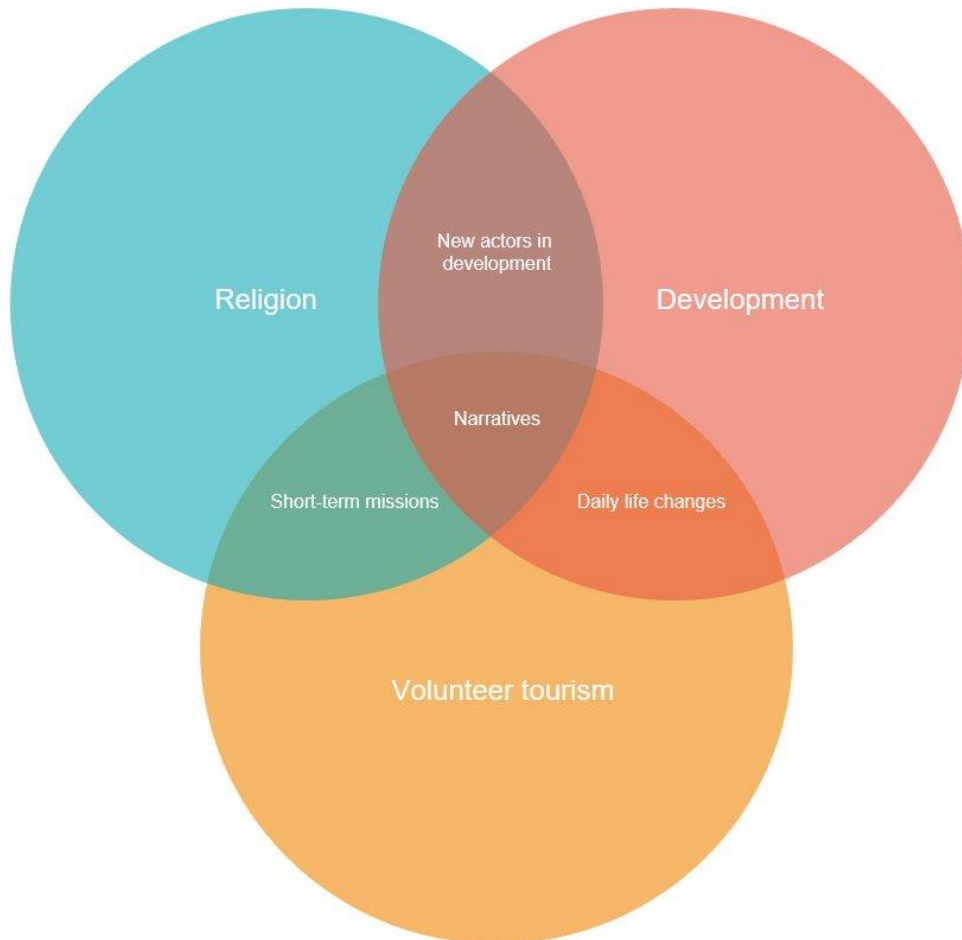


Figure 1. Conceptual model.

3. Methodology

The following section provides the research questions on which the research is based. Then, the case study, data collection and data analysis methods are described. Finally, the limitations and ethics of the research are discussed.

3.1 Research objective and research questions

The aim of the study is to find out what the narratives are on development and short-term missions, and to explain those by studying the sending organisation and participants of a short-term mission.

The following research question has been formulated:

What are the narratives of volunteers on development, their contribution to development and the influence participation in a short-term mission has on daily life after contributing to a short-term mission?

The following sub-research questions have been created to help answering the main research question.

- How is the short-term mission organised?
- What is the development goal of the sending organisation and how do the volunteering projects contribute to this goal?
- What role does religion play in daily life, the volunteering holiday and the sending organisation?
- What are the differences between the way the sending organisation, the daily management and volunteer tourists talk about the volunteering holiday and how can this be explained?
- What changes do the volunteer tourists observe about their view on development and daily life before and after their participation in a volunteering holiday?

3.2 Case study design

3.2.1 Motivation case study

The Christian, non-profit organisation Moz Kids served as a case study for this thesis. The case study design of this thesis was based on a single case, because this allows for a more in-depth study of the organisation. Often, a multiple case study is preferred over a single case study, because you can better test the theory if it is applied to multiple cases. However, when the case meets all the criteria of the study, a single case study can be chosen (De Vaus, 2001). One of the reasons why Moz Kids is an interesting case is that besides the volunteers and the board from Moz Kids, the receiving organisation, All Nations Mozambique, is linked can also be interviewed via video call. Additionally, the organisation meets the criteria of the volunteer tourist as described in the literature review. The organisation can be seen as a faith-based organisation that provides a short-term mission for people that want to contribute to the projects of Moz Kids, the volunteering holiday is less than a month and has fixed dates. Lastly, the tourists are paying for their own trip. Additionally, the study was not meant to test a theory, but to explore the narratives of the volunteers. Within the time frame, one case allowed to study the topic more in depth.

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Narratives

This research will study the narratives of people that participate in or contribute to a short-term mission. Narratives are often used to discover the experiences of people, how they experience events and give meaning to it, and the narrative means that a person is using for something to make sense (Haden & Hoffman, 2013). Using the narrative inquiry is suitable to study the complexities of cultural and human centeredness, because it is focussing on personal stories that tell how important events had a significant influence on the narrators (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Researchers that make use of narratives can present the experience of participants in a holistic way, because the social context and culture of the events is also taken into account (Haden & Hoffman, 2013; Webster & Mertova, 2007).

Narratives are going beyond what is simmering on the surface by analytically examining the assumptions and insights underlying their story, and therefore it is more sensitive to other matters. The narrative inquiry became a popular research method for many disciplines when the conventional research methods were not capable of explaining the complexity of human actions. Besides this, the change from a modern to a more postmodern way of thinking also influences the choice for narrative enquiry. Whereas modernism relates to a scientific way of thinking with only one truth, postmodernism has a stronger focus on the individual and the way culture and experiences construct knowledge and therefore acknowledges multiple, subjective truths (Webster & Mertova, 2007).

3.3.2 Data collection strategy

Narratives can be oral and written and therefore the stories on the website of the organisation were used, as well as stories gathered via interviews. Oral stories can be collected in several ways, but this study made use of interviews, because in that way the topic and prompted items could be controlled (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Due to COVID-19, the interviews were held via a video calling tool. Depending on the interviewees preference, the following tools were used: Skype, Microsoft Teams, Google Meet and Zoom. Because you can make use of the webcam, the interaction was comparable to face-to-face interaction to pick up non-verbal cues. Another advantage of using a video call tool was that participants with limited time were more inclined to participate (Janghorban, Roudsari, & Taghipour, 2014).

3.3.3 Content analysis

Content analysis entails the systematic study of some form of communication, in this case the communication on the website of Moz Kids (Adler & Clark, 2011). The information about the policy plan for 2019, the about us section and the communication about the short-term mission have been analysed. Additionally, the annual reports from 2016, 2017 and 2018 have been analysed. The annual report from 2018 can be found on the website of Moz Kids whereas the annual reports from 2016 and 2017 can be found online at <https://stichting.moment.online/stichting-moz-kids>.

3.3.4 Semi-structured interviews

The interviews were semi-structured, which means that an interview guide including mostly open-ended questions will be prepared in advance. However, the questions were adapted to each interview and follow-up questions have been used to get a full answer from the participants (Adler & Clark, 2011). An advantage was that the participant did not have the option to choose from prescribed answers and therefore the narratives about volunteer tourism experiences could be revealed (Patton, 2002). Each interview lasted between 45 and 100 minutes. The interview guides can be found in the appendix.

Adler & Clark (2011) write that for many qualitative studies purposive sampling is preferable. This sampling method entails a selection of elements that the researcher deems important for the research. In this case, the choice was made to interview specific members of the board because they were expected to give the most information about the development goals of the organisation. Additionally, the short-term mission participants were chosen in such a way that the general characteristics were evenly distributed, for example to ensure that different genders and age groups are studied. The daily management on the other hand is selected through snowball sampling. The researcher was connected with the current daily management of the orphanages and he had connected the researcher with someone that has a leading role in the caretaking of the children and the founder of All Nations Mozambique who was still in charge when the idea of the short-term missions arose and when the first group visited Mozambique. Therefore, the sampling method was used to get in touch with other interesting members of the group of interest (Adler & Clark, 2011).

The board of Moz Kids, the sending organisation, consists of seven people of whom four of them were interviewed. Three of them were interviewed about Moz Kids' narratives on short-term missions, whereas the fourth person had joined the board after his participation in two short-term missions and therefore was mostly interviewed regarding his volunteering narratives. Besides that board member, 10 other participants of short-term missions have been interviewed. All interviewees have participated in at least one short-term mission between 2016 and 2018. These short-term mission each consisted of around 20 participants consisting of adults and young adults, and in 2016 and 2018 some children. Some participants of the study have participated twice in a short-term mission, namely in 2016 and 2018. Five adults and six young-adults were interviewed of whom five males and 6 females. The two organisers of the short-term mission have also been interviewed. Finally, three managers of the receiving organisation have been interviewed. The two (ex) legal representatives are of South African origin and the other manager is Mozambican. Table 2 and 3 show the more detailed interviewee list. The interviewees are either Dutch or South African, except for the Mozambican manager that spoke English, and therefore the interviews are done in Dutch or English, which means that there was no need for an interpreter.

Code	Age category	Religion	Year of participation
Participant A	Young Adult	Religious	2016 & 2018
Participant B	Adult	Religious	2018
Participant C	Young Adult	Religious	2016 & 2018
Participant D	Young Adult	Religious	2018
Participant E	Adult	Religious	2016 & 2018
Participant F	Young Adult	Non-religious	2017
Participant G	Adult	Religious	2016 & 2018
Participant H	Young Adult	Non-religious	2017
Participant I	Adult	Non-religious	2017
Participant J	Adult	Religious	2016 & 2018
Participant K	Young Adult	Non-religious	2016 & 018

Table 2. Interviewee list participants.

Code	Organisation	Profession
Organiser A	Moz Kids	Teacher
Organiser B	Moz Kids	Project manager
Board A	Moz Kids	Nurse
Board B	Moz Kids	Online marketer
Board C	Moz Kids	Remedial educationalist
Daily management A	All Nations	South African manager

Daily management B	All Nations	South African manager
Daily management C	All Nations	Mozambican manager

Table 3. Interviewee list sending and receiving organisation.

3.4 Data analysis

The data from the content analysis and the transcribed interviews was coded using NVivo. For the purpose of this study, both deductive and inductive coding was used in a complimentary way. Prior to the analysis, a coding manual was developed based on the research questions and literature study. This helped with recognising relevant elements of the text and organising them in a comprehensive way (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Additionally, inductive coding was used to encode other relevant phenomena that have not been listed as a theme a priori (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

3.5 Limitations

Several limitations of the study could be identified. Researcher bias is one limitation that is often occurring and had the possibility to arise in two occasions. First, semi-structured interviews raise concerns regarding validity. The data can be biased by the subjective interpretation of the researcher, misunderstandings can occur during the interview and the way a researcher responds during the interview can influence the participant. However, a standardised method does not necessarily lead to a better understanding, because participants can interpret questions in a different way and, contrary to semi-structured interviews, the researcher cannot reword a question for a better understanding (Adler & Clark, 2011). During the interviews, the participants sometimes mixed up the terms international development aid, volunteering and short-term missions, and therefore it was useful to ask them beforehand what the terms meant to them, so that there would not arise any confusion when interpreting the data. Secondly, researcher bias can also arise from purposive sampling, because participants might be chosen for their knowledge or because they are easy to approach and as a result the research population is not generalisable. However, a purposive sample can get close to a random sample when the population is chosen correctly, the sample is valid internally (Tongco, 2007). The researcher kept a list of the demographics of the group and the study's participants to ensure a diverse sample.

The interviews themselves were held in a different way than normally would have happened because of COVID-19 and therefore they were held online. A limitation hereof is that the use of a video calling tool for the interviews can prevent from observing the full body language (Janghorban, Roudsari, & Taghipour, 2014). However, the interviews were not hindered by this as the facial expression of the participants was still visible.

Another limitation of the study is that socially preferred answers could have been given. The volunteers might not have wanted to tell about the negative aspects of the trip because they are from the same community. However, the guaranteed anonymity helped people to feel more comfortable and they did share their frustrations and aspects that they did not like. Additionally, the daily management in Mozambique could have given socially preferred answers. Like one of them said, relationships are important in African cultures and therefore they would not easily talk bad about others or they might refrain from discussion. There might also have been an chance that they were afraid to lose the financial support. One of the managers already said that the examples that he gave about the negative aspects of such short-term missions were not necessarily focussed on Moz Kids but on all of the experiences he had with groups. In doing so, he was able to talk about the negative experiences without putting Moz Kids in a bad position. Additionally, the Mozambican leader answered with a very indignant "no, no". It could not be said with 100% certainty that she had no negative experiences or if she did not want to discuss this because this is not natural in her country.

Additionally, the narratives of the orphanage managers could be influenced by or even reproducing the Western narratives. The sending organisation also provides mental support to the managers and thus discussions regarding the management of the orphanages are also happening. In doing so, the narratives of the two groups can get closer and unconsciously their narratives are similar to the Western narratives. In general, local people that work in the development sector are often influenced by such narratives. Additionally, the interviews were arranged via the sending organisation and therefore the managers might have had the idea that their answers had to be in line with those of the sending organisation. More importantly, however, is that the founders and the current legal representatives of the orphanages are also foreign, namely South African, and that only one Mozambican person was interviewed. Therefore their narratives are also influenced by their own cultural values and also given by their task to serve God in another country. Thus, it is important that the narratives from the receiving organisation are carefully interpreted.

Finally, another limitation is that of recall bias. The study was designed in such a way that participants of a short-term mission that took place two to four years ago are studied to see whether this participation had caused long-term changes. In doing so, the participants have to look back at an event that happened a long time ago and therefore they might not be able to recall exactly how they felt at that moment or they judge things in light of different events that happened after the short-term mission (De Vaus, 2001). This could have possibly effected the research because participants might not remember everything they have encountered in Mozambique or they could possibly have forgotten about some of the aspects they liked less due to the general positive feeling that remained. However, de Vaus (2001) says that events that played a significant role in a person's life are likely to be recalled quite well and these people are able to provide reliable information. In this case, the participants all said that the short-term mission was an important event and therefore it is assumed that the participants have provided reliable information. Additionally, with COVID-19 you see that the participants judge the events in relation to their short-term mission. This strengthens what they have learned in Mozambique, because now they can work with it in their own crisis situation. An example hereof is sharing with others. This is a trait that they valued from the Mozambican culture but that had not really translated in a daily life change. During COVID-19, some of the participants started helping others by calling elderly, cooking soup for others and doing groceries, and link that back to what they have learned in Mozambique.

3.6 Ethics and positionality

3.6.1 Ethics

Talking about religion and development could be a sensitive topic for some people and therefore full anonymity and confidentiality was taken care of. Pseudonyms have been used and the data was not shared with others than the people working on the research. Additionally, the following participants rights were included: right to refuse to answer a question or to withdraw from the study at any given moment, the right to ask questions about the study and access to the project findings (Scheyvens, 2014). Therefore, every participant got a short explanation of the study before the start and a summary of the thesis findings in Dutch or English was send to the participants who requested it. My identity as a student researcher was made clear to the participants. Dignity, privacy and safety of a participant are the three requirements that need to be met in order for a research to be ethical, according to Scheyvens (2014), and therefore this was taken into account during the fieldwork. Finally, each participant was orally asked to give permission to record the interviews and this permission statement is recorded as well.

3.6.2 Positionality

The interviews were held online and the interviewees had not met the researcher in person. Therefore, it was important to start off in an easy way by having some chit chat. This made the interviewees feel more at ease and see the researcher as an equal. Therefore, the interviewees gave more extended answers and reacted spontaneously. The interviewees were aware of some of the critiques on short-term mission and voluntourism projects that visit orphanages, but felt like these were not true for their short-term mission. They all had a positive experience and therefore it seemed like the interviewees had the idea that they had to convince the researcher that their short-term mission was not harmful and organisation in a good way.

3.7 Operationalisation

Table 4 shows the operationalisation of the main concepts. The article by Jakubiak (2012) and the dissertation of Carter (2008) served as an inspiration for the main concepts volunteering and volunteer tourism. The topics for religion and development are partly based on aspects discussed by Soerens (2017), Lunn (2009) and Ver Beek (2006).

Main concepts	Topics	Data collection
Volunteering	Previous, current & future volunteering <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Type of volunteering - Length of volunteering 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews with volunteer tourists - Interviews with Moz Kids board/founders - Interviews with daily management Mozambique - Content analysis website/documents Moz Kids
	Motivations for volunteering <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intrinsic motivation - Social group - Upbringing 	
Volunteer tourism	About the project <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Type of project - Aims of the project - Tourist activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews with volunteer tourists - Interviews with Moz Kids board/founders - Interviews with daily management Mozambique - Content analysis website/documents Moz Kids
	Motivations for participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intrinsic motivation - Social group - Upbringing 	
	Experiences <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most memorable part of the experience - Least memorable part of the experience - Expectations vs realities - Differences with normal holiday - Lessons learnt - Achievements / contributions - Cons - Repeat volunteer tourism - Their role and actions 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Other stakeholders' role and actions 	
	<p>Perceptions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Culture - The Other - World - Daily life - Development - Volunteering 	
Religion and development	<p>Religion in personal life</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Upbringing - Role in daily life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews with volunteer tourists - Interviews with Moz Kids board/founders - Interviews with daily management Mozambique - Interview with the reverend - Content analysis website/documents Moz Kids
	<p>Development aid</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Necessity - Usefulness - Participation / Support 	
	<p>Importance of religion in development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivations to include/exclude religion - Religious teachings to serve others 	
	<p>Importance of religion in Moz Kids</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivations to include religion - Role of religion in the organisation - Role of religion in volunteering holiday 	

Table 4. Operationalisation of key concepts.

4. Case study

4.1 Receiving organisation: All Nations Mozambique

All Nations Mozambique is part of the church planting movement called All Nations. The main goal of All Nations is to *“make disciples and train leaders to ignite church planting movements among the neglected peoples of the earth”* (All Nations, n.d.). All Nations Mozambique is one of the two organisations that focusses on the provision of a home for abandoned or orphaned children. The founders of All Nations Mozambique are South African missionaries Pieter and Rika Boersma who have started to take care of children in Matola, Mozambique, in 1997. Their vision is as following: *“Our hope is that we will offer an opportunity and future to the children that God has given us the privilege of raising as our own children. Our vision is to have a ministry that is raising future community and national leaders that will eventually be able to bring about change and social justice, through their love of Jesus Christ, to the entire country of Mozambique”* (All Nations Mozambique, n.d.).

All Nations Mozambique started with one, rented house, Casa Uno, and took in children that are neglected or abandoned, have aids, or are orphans. The children are placed under their care by the social welfare system of Mozambique. The aim is to find adoptive parents for the children or to reintegrate them with their families when the official authorities and the leaders think that this is possible. Children that are reintegrated are visited after they leave the house to ensure that they are doing well. Children that are not adopted or cannot reintegrate will stay in the house until they are grown up and have the capabilities to live on their own. Over the years, All Nations Mozambique had built a second home, which they fully own, named Casa Gemma. In 2016, the orphanage Casa Promessa, also called Promise Centre, was taken over by All Nations Mozambique. Three years later, in 2019, All Nations Mozambique left Casa Uno and the children are now living in Casa Gemma or Casa Promessa. A baby house, Casa Valerio, that is built on the same ground as Casa Promessa will be opened in 2020. Currently, Casa Gemma and Casa Promessa are housing respectively 15 and 19 children of all ages. Both orphanages are in a different district so that community can be involved in the lives of the children. ² The volunteers and the sending organisation talk about the houses in terms of orphanage, so from this point onward the term orphanage will be used for the houses.

Figure 2 will show the organisational structure of the organisation. In 2018, two new leaders took over the work of the founders, because one of them got leukaemia, of which he later died, and the family returned back to Cape Town for treatment.

² This information was provided in the interviews.



Figure 2. Organisational structure All Nations Mozambique.

All staff of All Nations Mozambique is Christian and the South Africans call themselves missionaries. One of the current legal representatives was schooled as a pastor and is continuing this job also in Mozambique.

4.2 Sending organisation: Moz Kids

Moz Kids is a Christian, non-profit organisation that is aiming to make a difference for children in the orphanages of Mozambique that are under the care of All Nations Mozambique. This year, the foundation celebrates its 10th birthday. The quote by Ghandi “Be the change you want to see in the world” is used as their slogan. The foundation is responsible for supporting the orphanages through fundraising. The foundation was set up after Mike and Mirjam de Bruijn had been to Mozambique and volunteered for All Nations Mozambique for half a year. After they returned home, they wanted to support the orphanages financially. In order to do this, they asked several people for help and they gained the ANBI status. The initial idea was to send €100 each month, but that amount is much higher now. Fundraising is done through sponsoring and several activities. Moz Kids provides several sponsoring options for individuals. They can sponsor a child for a monthly amount of money. The sponsor receives some information about the child once the deal is made and also the child will be informed about his sponsors. Every once in a while there is an opportunity for the sponsors to send a card. The monthly sum will be transferred to All Nations Mozambique, so that the money can benefit all children equally. Additionally, the sponsors can also choose a one time or monthly donation for the tia’s. Sometimes there is also the option to donate money for other causes, for example when there is construction or when the children need new school uniforms. Activities that Moz Kids organises range from a yearly barbecue to a car wash. Schools and churches are also raising funds for the foundation. At least 90% of the funds of the foundation are transferred to All Nations Mozambique. The remaining funds are used to cover administrative costs and expenses made by the board members to perform their tasks, these exclude travel costs in the Netherlands and to Mozambique. The board does not receive any form of payment for their tasks. Fundraising activities are fully sponsored or paid by the board themselves.

The board of Moz Kids exists of seven people, namely a chairman, secretary, treasurer, commissioner of promotion and three general members. All board members have a Christian background. Together they try to increase brand awareness and to support All Nations Mozambique financially and mentally. Figure 3 shows how All Nations Mozambique and Moz Kids relate together.



Figure 3. Relationship between All Nations Mozambique and Moz Kids.

As mentioned earlier, Moz Kids supports All Nations Mozambique financially by transferring a fixed amount of money every two months. Additionally, upon request by All Nations Mozambique, Moz Kids can send extra money for certain projects. Moz Kids has a general overview of the costs made in Mozambique. Secondly, there is a personal relationship between the two organisations. The board members of Moz Kids have all visited Mozambique and know the staff of All Nations Mozambique in person. Whenever there is an issue from one of the sides, they can discuss it. Additionally, Moz Kids and All Nations Mozambique also try to establish a personal relationship between sponsors and children. These children are sometimes seen as unworthy by the community and therefore they try to show them that they are worthy special.

4.3 Organisation of the short-term mission

Each short-term mission³ or volunteering holiday is organised in a different way and because of that the experiences that a participant had can differ significantly based on the way the short-term is organised. Therefore, the following section will describe the way the short-term missions were organised to provide a context for the narratives of the volunteers.

4.3.1 Organisation

Over the years, Moz Kids has sent both individual volunteers as well as groups to Mozambique to support the orphanages in Matola. The short-term missions for groups as they know them now have taken place for the first time in 2016. The organisers had visited their daughter who was volunteering for Moz Kids in 2015 and that is where the seed was planted to start organising those trips. According to the organisers, the reason for starting the trips was twofold. On the one hand, there was a concrete wish from the founders of All Nations Mozambique to realise a baby house where abandoned or foster babies could be taken care of until a match was made with Mozambican adoption parents. However, it is hard to raise funds and to realise the construction of a baby house without any help. One of the organisers and one of the founders spoke for a long time about the wish to have a baby house right under the three where the baby house was going to arise. Once back at home, the wish of the founders was still playing around in the heads of the organisers and they started thinking about the realisation of such a house. In terms of engineering they did not foresee any problems (one of the organisers has its own business in project management of construction sites) and raising funds should not be a problem either because the church and its members could play a part in fund raising. On the other hand, they wanted others to experience what life is like in a developing country because that leaves a memorable impression. They feel like you can see the situation in some parts of Africa on tv, but truly experiencing it adds an extra dimension. As one of the organisers puts it: *"I always say that when you watch a soccer game on TV, you see it, but when you watch the soccer game in a stadium, you experience it. There is a huge difference between the two, because the latter includes so many experiences and so many impressions that it creates added value. So I thought, it would actually be*

³ In Dutch, the word 'werkvakantie' is used by the participants when they refer tot heir short-term mission. In general, people do not use different words for voluntourism based on religious principles and voluntourism without religious principles. The word 'short-term mission' will be used throughout this thesis when the participants speak about 'werkvakanties'. Thus, the word used by the participants is not specifically referring to a religious background.

really special to go to Mozambique with more people. I would want to go with a group.” That is how the short-term missions started.

In order to have a successful trip, the organisers were looking for intrepid people. The organisers themselves had never organised a short-term mission before and therefore they were looking for active people. The groups would consist of both adults and young adults so that the responsibilities of the organisers could be shared with other adults that joined the trip. For the first and the third trip, this resulted also in a few families with younger children to join the trips. The second trip only included adults and young adults. However, it was necessary that these were also people that would listen to rules and show correct behaviour. They thought that this was especially important for the youth, because they did not want to cause problems in Mozambique and end up in difficult situations. Therefore, the organisers decided to hold a presentation in the church to recruit churchgoers because they were expected to be raised with a certain set of norms and values. The first and the third year, people were recruited in a church in the Hoeksche Waard and were therefore mostly people that already knew each other from the church. Besides those, a few friends of the young adults joined the group. The second year, a part of the group was recruited from a church in the Alblasserwaard and the rest of the group consisted of friends from previous volunteers. Therefore, the second group consisted of a more diverse group of people that were strangers to each other before the trip. In general, the people that were not recruited in church were non-believers and thus the groups were a mix between believers and non-believers, but with the majority being Christian.

The short-term mission itself was divided in a volunteering part at the orphanage and a holiday part. The division between the volunteering part and the holiday part differed per short-term mission. The first two trips were organised in a similar way with eight full days in the orphanage and four full days at the beach in Bilene, Mozambique. On the way back to Johannesburg, where the groups flew on, the Kruger park was also visited. The third time there was a bigger emphasis on the holiday part, so the holiday took longer. That time, a road trip in South Africa was organised. Table 5 shows the schedule of one of the short-term missions.

Date	Programme
17.07	Departure
18.07	Arrival Johannesburg
19.07	Arrival Promise Centre
20.07-22.07	Activities at the orphanages
23.07	Church
24.07-27.07	Activities at the orphanages
28.07	Departure coast, Bilene
29.07-01.08	Bilene (holiday)
02.08	Return to Promise Centre
03.08	Departure to Komati, South Africa
04.08	Kruger Park
05.08 – 07.08	Return home

Table 5. Short-term mission schedule.

According to the organisers, there were two main goals for the time in the orphanage, namely to work on the building of the baby house and to spend time with the children. The tasks that were performed on the baby house differed each year from making the foundations to painting the exterior of the house. With the children, the volunteers did fun and activities. Each volunteer prepared a lesson, this could be something creative but also something educational, to do with the children. Each day the volunteers were divided into three groups. One group stayed at the Promise Centre to work on Casa

Valerio, one group went to Casa Uno and the third group went to Casa Gemma. These activities were seen as something extra and are not happening when there are no volunteers. The volunteers did not experience difficulties with the language barrier, because most of the children spoke some English due to visiting volunteers and the older children or a staff member that spoke English could translate the activities to the others. For all activities, the volunteers had brought an example or performed an example to show the idea behind it.

4.3.2 Financing the trip

One of the points of departure is that the volunteers pay for their own trip. They feel like they want to go on the trip and therefore they should be paying for it themselves. As one of the adult participants puts it:

“We have discussed that everybody should pay the trip on its own. We do not want to be like World Servants where they need to raise a lot of money and pay the holiday also from this amount. We absolutely do not like that. The money that you raise should be for the charity. Therefore the money that we raised was designated for the construction materials and everybody has paid their own trip. The money thus truly benefitted the cause.”

Both the adults and the young adults agreed on this, but an arrangement was made for the young adults who were still studying so that they would not have to pay the full amount of money. In other words, they would join on a student tariff. The main reason for this was that they wanted to make the trip accessible for everyone. The first year the volunteers had to pay €1700 for the trip. In the end it turned out that the costs that were made were lower and therefore the students got €150 back. Therefore, the price was put at €1550 in the second year. The student tariff was €1000. The student tariff was enabled by letting the other volunteers pay a little extra and with €100 per student from the activities. The activities that were held to fund the student tariff were also marketed as activities that would also cover the costs for the trip. According to the organisation, labour can also be sponsored.

Besides the costs for the trip, the construction also brings in a lot of costs. The idea is that these costs should not be covered by the foundation, but that the volunteers will bring the money. The money was raised by doing all kinds of activities. Some examples hereof are a high school party in a night club, a high tea, New Year's dive, selling food, working at Kingsday and many more. The local church often served as the venue for activities and fundraising activities were promoted in the church as well. These activities do not only raise funds for the construction but also work as a marketing tool. When more people know about the foundation, the involvement with the foundation grows which eventually leads to more funds. The goal was to raise €10.000. The first year the fundraising campaigns totalled to €11.000. The second and the third year respectively €4000 and €3000 were raised. Around two third of this amount is used for the construction and the other third is used for other things to benefit the children. Examples hereof are extra water in the orphanage and materials for the lessons. The orphanage also receives an amount of money for the accommodation they offer. Because the amount of money that was raised in the first year was so high, a remaining €3000 was given to the management of the orphanage to spend freely.

Besides the money, the volunteers also came with things for the children. Each volunteer had brought an extra suitcase. These suitcases were filled with clothing, materials for the lessons, and gifts from sponsors. These things were either donated or bought in the Netherlands on the own expenses of the volunteers. All the materials for the construction were bought locally. The founders of All Nations Mozambique stressed the importance of buying locally, because that would contribute to the income of the local community. They advised to get bread at the local bakery, buy souvenirs on the local markets, hire a local cook and to use local shops instead of the big chains. The groups did all of these

and also they had spent money on touristic activities. Therefore, a multiplier effect is put in place through the short-term missions. The regular tourism industry is often critiqued for its absence of a multiplier effect because most products are bought at the host country or imported from another country (Thagard, 2018). Thus, when attention is paid to where the money of short-term mission groups is spent, the multiplier effect can be higher than for the regular tourism industry.

5. The role of religion

5.1 The role of religion in daily life

Most of the people that participate in a short-term mission organised by Moz Kids are Christian. This is mainly because the recruitment for participants mostly happens in a church. The church where the organisers go to is one of these churches and the church of the chairman is the other. However, this does not mean that the mission is only accessible for churchgoers. Also people that are not Christian are allowed on the trip. They often join because they are friends with one of the participants. The receiving organisation states that they would also welcome non-believers as long as they keep in mind that All Nations is a Christian organisation. Out of the 11 participants of the short-term mission that participated in this study, seven of them have a religious background of whom six are still active believers. There is a clear division between the role religion plays in the daily life of adults and the daily life of participants. For the youth it is something that they do on Sunday or when they are engaged in a youth club or activities of the church, and maybe even start to question the existence of God, whereas for the adults faith is more interwoven in their daily life. They are all active church members that are volunteering in the church, either through participation in activities, guidance of youth clubs or being a member of the church council. In their daily life, they take God with them along the way. Their faith is represented in the decisions that they make, examples hereof are the choice for employer, upbringing of their children or the decision to volunteer. To the question “Why are you volunteering?” one of the participants answered: *“Because it stems from my religion that you need to help others.”*. Religion is thus also a guidance in the choices they make.

5.2 The role of religion in the receiving and sending organisation

In this section, not only the role of religion in the sending organisation but also in the receiving organisation will be discussed because the two organisations are interlinked and religion plays a part in their collaboration.

5.2.1 Receiving organisation

“Faith is everything for me. It is my whole foundation. It is everything I believe. It’s everything, I can’t live without it for me. It’s everything. It is the way I move, It’s what I do, it’s the reason why I do things.” – Daily Management A

For the daily management, religion is the centre around which everything else is turning. Both managers that participated in this research have not only been strong believers in their private lives, but they have also enacted on it in their jobs. One of them was trained as a pastor whereas the other one has been a missionary for almost her entire adult life. Her first outreach, which was in Belgium, formed the basis for All Nations Mozambique. When asked what the main motivation was to found All Nations Mozambique, she replied:

“I really started doing that because in Belgium I got a vision. I actually had an audible vision, an audible voice of the Lord, he spoke to me. Actually I have an experience where he appeared to me in the room and he told me that my husband and I will go to Mozambique. So the voice said you will go to Mozambique and start working with the orphans, take care of the orphans and the widows. So why I am doing it? Because God said so.” – Daily management A

The other manager was also brought to Mozambique because of his faith. He and his wife were connected to All Nations nine years ago and moved to Mozambique because there was a need for an English speaking pastor. Matola, the city in which the orphanages are located, is home to quite a few South-African expats for whom it was hard to attend church in Portuguese. The founders of All Nations

Mozambique were part of their church community. About four years ago, when Pieter became ill, the current daily managers got more involved with the orphanages. Thus, religion plays a large role in the lives of the key players in All Nations Mozambique.

Similarly, this line is prolonged in the organisation of All Nations Mozambique, which is the sending organisation. From origin, All Nations is a church planting organisation that, according to the manager, tries to share the love of God, to create disciples and to equip local pastors to raise the living standards of the community they live in. All Nations Mozambique, similar to All Nations Zambia, is a home for the neglected and abused children, and orphans, and therefore literally took up the words from the Bible by taking care of the widows and the orphans. In the beginning, they could not fully educate the values of All Nations because the children were still babies, but later on the children were taught about Jesus and one of the sons of the founders would do Bible studies. It is strongly believed by them that the children are the future church. If they want. Even though the children grow up with a strong religious perspective, they do have a choice whether they want to follow Jesus and therefore tell others about him, or not. Besides the founders, all the other staff are Christian too. In Mozambique, around half of the population adheres to a form of Christianity and therefore Christianity is the largest religion in the country. The Islam is with 17.9% the second largest religion but that is most prominent in the northern regions (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). Thus, the children being raised as children is common in the surroundings of the orphanage. That is one of the requirements when recruiting new staff. This is different for the volunteers that All Nations Mozambique receives, because they do not have to be Christians. They can be non-believers or believers in a different faith. But even receiving volunteers comes from a religious thought:

“I always felt that part of my ministry was to receive volunteers, whether it was teams or individuals or groups for whatever amount of time, internships for 6 months or outreaches for two weeks. So yeah the thoughts, it makes me very excited because I feel that is a way.... I would always say yes come and taste the work of the Father, come and taste what Jesus is doing. So I have always been open to volunteers.” – Daily management A

5.2.2 Sending organisation

Moz Kids is a Christian organisation from origin. The organisation itself is seen as an enactment of religion. Christianity is not something you only believe in, but also something that you act upon in your daily lives. The board members often refer to the love of one's fellow man as one of the ground principles of the organisation. In addition to that, the Bible literally tells that you need to take care of the orphans and therefore this is a message that all Christians have received. Therefore, the organisation is based on these two principles, and founded and run by people who have a Christian background as well. Apart from that, the organisation has a very open personality, according to one of the board members. The board is Christian and the staff at the orphanages is Christian, but others are not required to be Christian. Therefore, volunteers that help with activities or volunteers that go on a short-term mission can be of any background. They compare it with the Leger des Heils that also has a Christian foundation but is very open and appealing to people from any background. The website of Moz Kids shows the same thing. On the home page it is mentioned that the organisation is Christian and the extended who are we-section also briefly mentions three times that the organisation is Christian and that the organisation wants to make a difference from the love of God. The mission and vision-sections do not talk about religion anymore.



Figure 4. Home page of Moz Kids.

Throughout the years the board of Moz Kids has visited Mozambique frequently and also for them religion plays a big role in their daily lives. One of the board members told me that religion started to come alive during their time in Mozambique. Religion used to be a must do and church something that you attend on Sunday, but it was not something substantial in their lives and that changed in Mozambique:

“In the Netherlands there are so many possibilities: when you get ill, you can an ambulance, when your car breaks down, you call the ANWB, and in a similar vein there are 15-20 steps you take before you start praying. At least, that is how it worked for me. But in Mozambique you do not have a choice. The only thing you can do when there is a problem, is pray, because there are no other options. You could call an ambulance but it would not show up. I have experienced special things over there. One day I was talking to Rika in the morning about the fact that we did not have spaghetti, diapers and lemonade anymore. Suddenly in the afternoon someone had left a bag on our doorstep with spaghetti, diapers and lemonade. That I was like huh. It felt like someone must have been listening to our conversations and this happened so often that I thought this cannot be a coincidence anymore. Or a child that had visited family that was known for their participation in witchcraft, that still happens a lot in Mozambique, and that child returned to us and got a really high fever and his face was covered in blisters. This happened all of a sudden. The child did was delirious and did not stop crying, and we had no idea where it came from and what it was. Then we started praying and we saw him calm down before our eyes and the blisters disappeared. That is when I thought: I cannot deny anymore that there is more between heaven and earth. I have seen to many things confirming this.” – Board member C

From then on, religion has played a big role in her daily life and it is something that was happing 24/7. It is a support network from which she can derive strength. Another board member that participated also experiences religion as something that is going on 24/7:

“I often tell my own children that it is just like breathing and moving; I could not live without it. To say, it is the oxygen in my life.” – Board member A

But also amongst the board members there is a difference in the way people believe. The other two board members that participated in this study were younger and religion plays a different role in their lives. They both believe but it is not something they experience 24/7. One of them does not even go

to church anymore because she feels that the church is stuck in her old patterns. Based on that, she would say that religion does not really play a role in her life anymore.

5.3 The role of religion in the short-term mission

5.3.1 The role of religion according to the organisation

As already mentioned, the leaders of All Nations Mozambique want to show the volunteers how the teachings of the Bible are brought into practise. When asked about what they want to achieve by receiving volunteer groups, and especially the Moz Kids group, one of the two aims was related to religion:

“I would say that we also hope, because we are a Christian organisation, which are based on church through discipleship, we also want always to help people who come to see another way of living out the gospel, making disciples, being disciples, and practising what the Lord has given. In other words, the strong focus on the Bible is important, because we are not a humanitarian organisation and we are bold about that. We are not only taking care for children because we are good people and we think it is the right thing to do, we do it because we feel called by Christ to take care of the widows and the orphans.” – Daily management B

Despite the fact that the receiving organisation wants the volunteers to experience religion, the managers are not actively doing missionary work. The managers said that they are only in touch with the leaders of the group and not necessarily with all the volunteers. Whether missionary work is included is more dependent on the group and the sending organisation. There is no requirement to talk about religion with the children either. Religion is interwoven in the short-term mission in a more implicit way through the taking care of the children and in the daily religious moments with the group.

The volunteers for the short-term mission are mostly recruited in the church. Consequently, the short-term mission automatically had ties to the church and religion, and the volunteers mostly had a religious background. Contrasting to the goal of the daily management, the short-term mission did not have a religious goal on its own. Thus, there was no active missionary work involved. This does not mean that religion was not involved in the short-term mission at all. Pieter, the founder of All Nations Mozambique, had told the organisation that he wanted the group to come together at the end of the day to create a moment of reflection in which faith was involved as well. Additionally, and this was done by default, the group said prayer before their meals. Finally, the group has also visited a local church. This was not a Mozambican church, but the expat church that is led by the current leader of the orphanages. The idea behind this was that the volunteers experience how the church is organised in an African country.

One of the organisers of the group had hoped that God would start to mean something for the participants that do not believe in God. She can put a lot of strength from her faith and she hopes that it can mean the same thing for others. She hopes that the short-term mission is an example and that it brings religion up in the lives of the youth. The following quote gives an example of how faith is brought up in the short-term mission:

“I think that through the way you work, when you start a conversation with a child, that sometimes you bring up God and sometimes you don’t, because God is not driving force for everybody. That was especially the case in the second group where God was not always the driving force, but I do think that the children got the young adults to think because of what they said. The way the children stand in their lives is formed by religion and I think that the group also got each other to think. This was very strongly present in the second year, because in the first and the third year there were more people that joined

from religion, and I have always experienced that as something special. We had told them that every day we would do a day closure and in the beginning that was very evident with the Bible and a story, but at some point people started to ask “Where is the book? Can I take it and read from it”. And I remember very well that someone took up the book who was not religious at all, and still he took up the book, and shared the story of his youth and what being in the orphanage did to him. At that moment I thought, God, you are here in a very special way. It might not be for the long term, that is in the hands of God, but at that moment He was present and I found that so special that second year. You felt that people grew towards each other and they started talking about God. Sometimes with doubts, sometimes they did not see God, but I still thought that that dialogue was very special. God evidently did new things in that second year. I thought that was extraordinary.” – Organiser A

5.3.2 The role of religion according to the non-believers

The volunteers that were non-believers had mixed feelings regarding the role of religion in the short-term mission. There was one volunteer that nothing with religion at all and for him these parts could have been left out. He talks about the day closures in terms of ‘awkwardness’ and ‘something that he does not relate to’. The church visit was called *“truly the longest hours of my life. I thought it was awful”*. He said that his friend had the same feeling. They both felt uncomfortable during the religious moments and they did not know what stance to take. The group had sung a song in church but the song and the words were unknown to him. They had practised it, but he still felt unfamiliar with the song and therefore the experience had felt very uncomfortable. Except from this participant, none of the participants that have taken part in the study felt this way regarding religion. On the contrary, the others had opened up to religion. Not in the way that they would call themselves believers now or that they would go to church, but they feel more connected to it. This connection was especially made during the moments in the orphanage, either upstairs, where the volunteers stayed, or with the children.

“For example, when we had a meal we would pray and thank God, and I actually found it beautiful to see that it created a certain connection within the group. I just sat there quietly and did not participate with the actual prayer because that felt contradictory to me since I have never believed and I did not want to pretend for three weeks that I do believe. I do believe in certain things, but not in this religion. However, I do think it is very meaningful for some people. For example, during this trip it gave so much grip to this woman and I thought it was very beautiful that she could gain strength from it. She could also take this strength to the children and I found that the connection she made with the children became more meaningful because of it. So I thought that it was a wonderful experience but I have not been put to other actions.” – Participant H

In a similar way, the other non-believing volunteers also saw it as something beautiful that means a lot to others. They recognise that because of their religion, people are willing to set aside their lives to do volunteering work and therefore they feel opposed to people talking bad about religious volunteers, because they have started to see it as something beautiful. So, that is in fact where they experience the actions that are coming from the words of God. Also the day closure is seen as something inspiring, because it is a moment to overthink and reflect upon the day and everything that happened. It was very open and everyone was free to go in his own head and to think about their experiences. One of them felt like certain moments, or certain day closures, are more expected and more accepted in a religious context. It might have been a bigger barrier to overcome and to sit together and talk about what happened in other contexts. Contrary to the day closures, the church service that was visited was perceived less open by these non-believers as well. They felt not at ease, because they were at a place that means a lot to other people and they had the feeling that they might not have been welcome, because they have different beliefs.

“I realised, because we had those moments, remember those daily moments with the group were we took a moment, I noticed the difference. What I really liked in the group that it felt really open and deliberate, and in the church I get the impression that there was more expectations. Kind of maybe that you should think likewise.” – Participant I

However, despite those things, they also saw the beauty in the church service. Again, they saw how it touched others and the strength people can get from their religion. One of the organisers was asked to give a speech during the service in the second year. He got very emotional and the volunteers saw it as a very open and honest moment.

5.3.3 The role of religion according to the believers

For the believers, the service was a special moment and the reasons for this are twofold. On the one hand, they got to experience what the church and a service looks like in a different country. On the other hand, they find it beautiful to experience that there are people on the other side of the world with a similar perception. It creates a feeling of solidarity and from the beginning there is a bond with the churchgoers in Matola. As organiser A puts it: *“It is together, and with such a congregation, experiencing God and being together in all your differences and cultures. That is what I find very special.”* Even though the church had a South African community and not a Mozambican community, the volunteers found it very special to experience a church service in a different country. The volunteers also felt that it was a special experience:

“We have been to several church services, but also to one in Mozambique, and in these services faith is alive. Then you notice that it brings a lot of emotions with it. It is so much more intense than in an ordinary church. I am a tough guy, at least, that is how I see myself, but in Mozambique I was singing with tears in my eyes. I have that in the Netherlands as well but then we are burying someone, as a matter of speaking. But there the emotions came much closer to the service. At that moment, you feel more religious and faith does more to you because of the fellowship you create.” – Participant B

The church visit did the most with the religious volunteers in terms of religion. Other ways in which they practise their religion was through prayer for meals and in the reflection moments. They also experienced religious moments with the children, but they were not of significant importance to them, especially not for the young adults. The young adults mentioned that the children are already very aware of religion and the existence of God, so they did not do so much with that. They did not do Bible studies or something like that because they did not feel the need to do so. The children would often write “God loves you” on the handicrafts they made and gave to the children, but that was it. The adults, on the other hand, did a bit more with religion with the children. They mention that they sang Christian songs with them and that they sometimes tried to give them an encouragement based on God’s existence.

“In that case you always bring up God, the trust, the power of God and that He will always walk with you. Of course that is also what you can give them. Also when you leave. Because we are leaving, but God does not. We have placed a lot of emphasis on that. And also, I don’t remember whether it was the first or the second time, we did an exercise with a mirror to show how beautiful you are. We did that especially because some of the children have a negative self-image. So we also placed an emphasis on that. That God takes you the way you are.” – Participant E

However, religion was not more emphasis than that. The emphasis on religion was *“not that extreme.”* as one of the volunteers put it. It was not prominently present but it was enough. The emphasis was mostly on the work they came to do and in a way that was a form of acting upon the words of the Bible:

“You are more working on putting your faith into practise than that you are busy studying the Bible. At such a trip, you are actually executing it. You transfer the love of God instead of individually focussing on God. Of course, you think about it in your head, those moments are there too, but I thought it was very good that you could give away the love that you have to the children there. I think that because you were doing that the entire day, you could actually implement a piece of the Work of God. Pass on a bit of love. In that way, you are busy with you religion every day, but not in the way that you would sing together or do these kind of things.” – Participant J

To go back to preferred achievement of the current daily management to create disciples that will create disciples, it cannot be said that this really happened. The children were Christian already so the Christian volunteers could talk about God and religion, but new disciples could not be made. On the other hand, even though some of the non-believing volunteers were touched by the faith, they did not start believing. The children nor the other volunteers could unintentionally achieved that.

6. Narratives about the short-term mission

There were four themes that dominated the interviews regarding the experiences that people had at the short-term mission. These were 'goal of the short-term mission', 'holiday', 'relationships' and 'staying at the orphanage'. The following sections show per theme the dimensions that were brought up by each stakeholder group, so volunteers, receiving organisation and sending organisation, the dimensions that were brought up per theme. As mentioned earlier, some of the board members have also participated in one of the three organised short-term missions and therefore when they talk about their personal experiences during the short-term mission, they are used for the stakeholder group 'volunteers' as well.

6.1 Goal of the short term-mission

The following section will describe the goal of the short term-mission according to each stakeholder group. Everybody goes into the short-term mission with a different goal and therefore it is interesting to compare these goals.

6.1.1 According to the receiving organisation

The receiving organisation sees the short-term mission by the Moz Kids group as a learning experience as shown in figure 5. The dimensions of the theme 'goal' are 'experience the work of God', 'impact on the volunteers' and 'advocacy for the children'.⁴ Daily manager A said that she felt like receiving volunteers was part of her ministry.

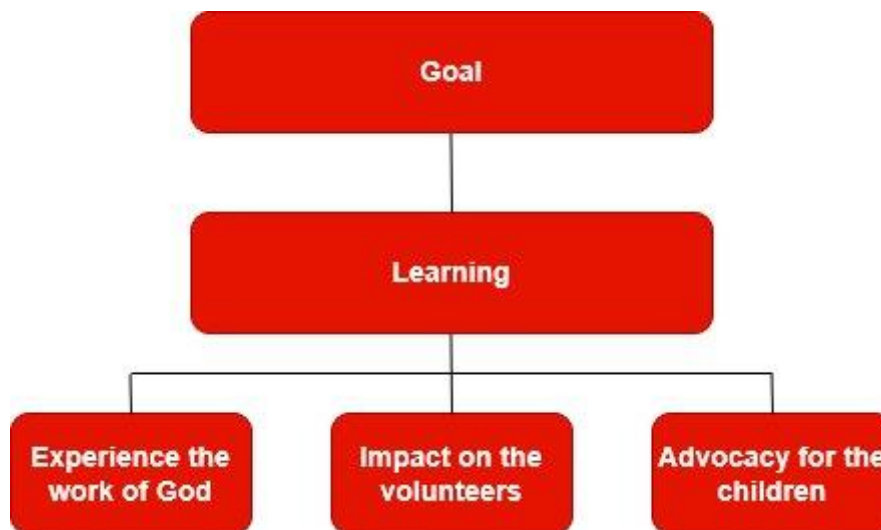


Figure 5. Dimensions of the theme 'goal' for the receiving organisation.

What is very important for the receiving organisation is that the volunteers experience the work of God. The Father loves his children and he is showing his love in this project. Where the volunteers mostly spoke about helping the children, one of the people from the sending organisation even spoke about helping the volunteers:

"I would say that we also hope, because we are a Christian organisation, which are bases on church through discipleship, we also want always to help people who come to see another way of living out the gospel, making disciples, being disciples, and practising what the Lord has given. We are in other

⁴ This figure and similar figures show the codes that have been used in the analysis. These codes are both deductive and inductive.

words, the strong focus on the Bible is important, because we are not a humanitarian organisation and we are bold about that. We are not only taking care for children because we are good people and we think it is the right thing to do, we do it because we feel called by Christ to take care of the widows and the orphans. So also raising awareness not only for the sake of the children in the general humanitarian way, but also in the church when people go back that church is also here for the widow and orphans.”
– Daily management B

Secondly, a volunteering experience can impact the volunteers a lot in several ways. Every volunteer says that it has made an impact and that is one of the reasons for the receiving organisation to welcome volunteers.

“For me, I remember the impact it made on me the first time I went on a short-term outreach for two weeks, it changed my life. It changed, it confirms my purpose and what God has called me to. It changed the way I think, it broadened my perspective. It confirmed my purpose and my calling and what he wants me to do. So from a Christian perspective, but it impacted my life forever. And so that’s why I would say yes to people to come, because I know the impact it had on my life and I know what it did to me, so my desire, my heart is always that people come and walk away changed. I don’t think that people that go to Mozambique or any country on an outreach can ever be the same when they come back. So there is purpose in it.” – Daily management A

Lastly, the receiving organisation hopes to create advocacy for the children. By making volunteers aware of what life in Mozambique can be like for some children. They feel like experiencing is important because that is the strongest way they can conceive the message.

“The first thing I would say for a group is that we create advocacy for the children in Mozambique and the situation that is caused by the challenges of poverty. We would like people to see in real life what is the situation in Mozambique, how it is to live in a third world country and go back to where they come from to raise support and awareness of the underlying problems. So advocacy I would say is an important aspect for us to raise in people who visit us. We can do a lot by writing about it, positing on Facebook, writing our newsletters, but there is something which happens when people work with us for two weeks and then see the heart of the ministry, so the physical presence is very important in the swing for advocacy. We don’t create that awareness just by writing and sharing videos, but real life presence.” – Daily management B

Additionally, by the volunteers coming, the children can see that there are people trying to help them. It helps them to understand that they are not alone and that there are people that care for them, according to daily management C.

However, even though building is not a goal in itself for the receiving organisation, they do like it when a team comes and *“put their shoulders to a project”*. According to the managers, building does help the organisation a lot.

6.1.2 According to the sending organisation

The goal of the short-term mission according to the sending organisation is divided into two aspects, namely helping and learning. The dimensions relating to helping are ‘building’ and ‘supporting the children’, whereas ‘experiencing’ relates to learning. Figure 6 shows a schematic overview of the dimensions.

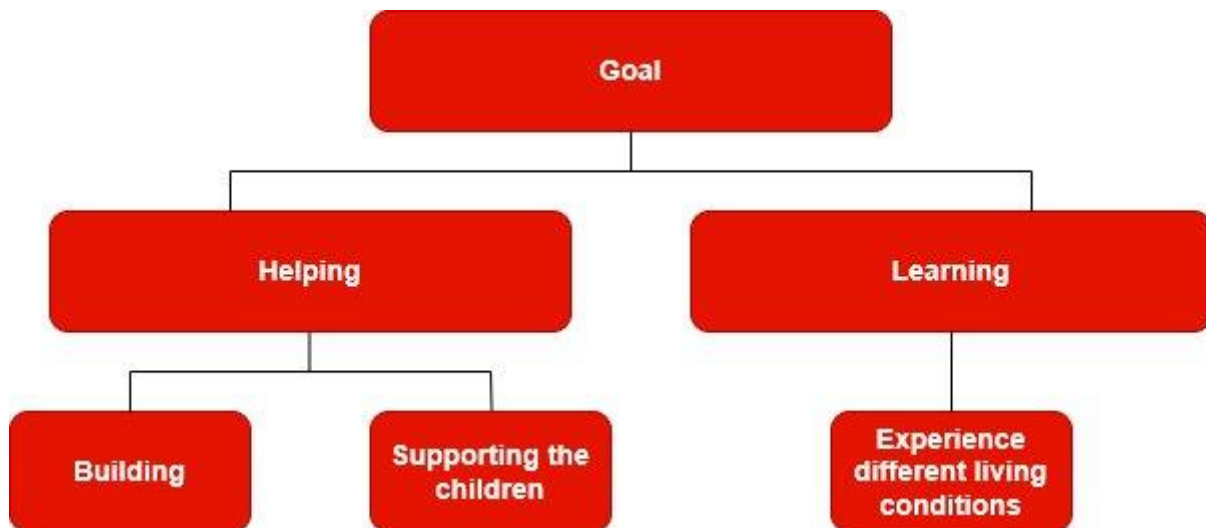


Figure 6. Dimensions of the theme 'goal' for the sending organisation.

Depending on who you ask, the first goal that is mentioned is either building or supporting the children. The construction of a baby house was a very concrete wish from the founders and therefore it is one of the main goals of the short-term mission. Thus, the short-term missions started from a very concrete wish for help. Without that wish, the short-term missions might not have started in the first place. The goal of supporting the children does not come from a concrete question for help, but stems from the intrinsic motivation to help others. There are several ways in which the children can be supported.

“The goal of the foundation is of course to help the children in Mozambique, that is the main goal. In my opinion, we have fully met this goal. When you see the faces of the children, that you can give them a holiday feeling and other joyful moments in their boring, daily routine, then I think that you have definitely met this goal. Besides the fact that you are building something where they can benefit from as well, where little baby’s benefit from. You might not feel it yet, but new children will also be taken care of in that house.” – Organiser B

The sending organisation wants to give the children a joyful week. A comparison is made with the so-called Vakantiebijbelclub that is happening in the Alblasserwaard. Two weeks a year, during the primary school holidays, volunteers from churches in the area organise a theme week with a daily activity for which primary school children are invited. Music, faith, handicrafts and games play a central role in this week. Such a week is wished for the children as well. A holiday week in which they can do nice things, have fun, have a distraction and possibly forget for a while the difficult circumstances they are in.

The daily management of the orphanages confirms that these weeks are a nice break for the children. Usually these short-term missions take place during the school holidays of the children and normally they cannot really get out of their daily routine because the opportunities are lacking. But when the groups have come, they have also got something to tell when they return back to school. They have also had a fun holiday. Support of the children can also happen in the form of creating involvement. People that have participated in the short-term missions often get more involved with the organisation and their family, friends and congregation also get familiar with Moz Kids. More involvement means more money which leads to a better life for the children.

Finally, they want participants to experience different living circumstances. Several lessons can be learned from a stay in the orphanage. These attainments will be discussed later on in the paper.

“What we also found very important for the young adults, because we heard from other projects, without talking bad about them, that it was often a lot of working without having time to experience and we found it very important to also experience things during the trip. To experience a part of the culture, also by hanging out with the children there. This orphanage was perfect for this and we realise that this not always possible. So we thought that it was very valuable that you experience that you can also be happy with less and maybe even happier than some Western children that as a matter of speaking are lacking a game computer in their house, and that you can actually mean something for such a child.” – Organiser A

One of the board members had also seen the change in her daughter after she went on a short-term mission and was very determined on developing a different mindset amongst the young adults. For her personally, that is the most important goal of the short-term mission whereas for other board members one of the other aspects are more important.

“You notice that by going there, and by sending young adults, that it is so life changing. You cannot measure that in terms of money. People think that we do it to generate more sponsors and more this and that, but that is actually not the most important thing. The most important is that you develop a different mindset at adults and young adults. That they live their lives with a different mindset and you hope that they can keep it also in the future. That sounds very idealistic, but I do see it happening in my surroundings.” – Board member A

Above, involvement was discussed and this can be created by the change in mindset as well. When awareness is created and a changed mindset is leaning towards being in favour of organisations like Moz Kids, then a higher involvement of the participants can be created because of experiencing the circumstances in Mozambique.

6.1.3 According to the volunteers

Two types of motivations are found in the analysis, namely helping and learning. The volunteers only talk about helping and the motivations related to that are ‘building’, ‘taking care of the children’ and ‘experiencing what it is like to help’ which are shown in figure 7 These are the personal goals of the volunteers.

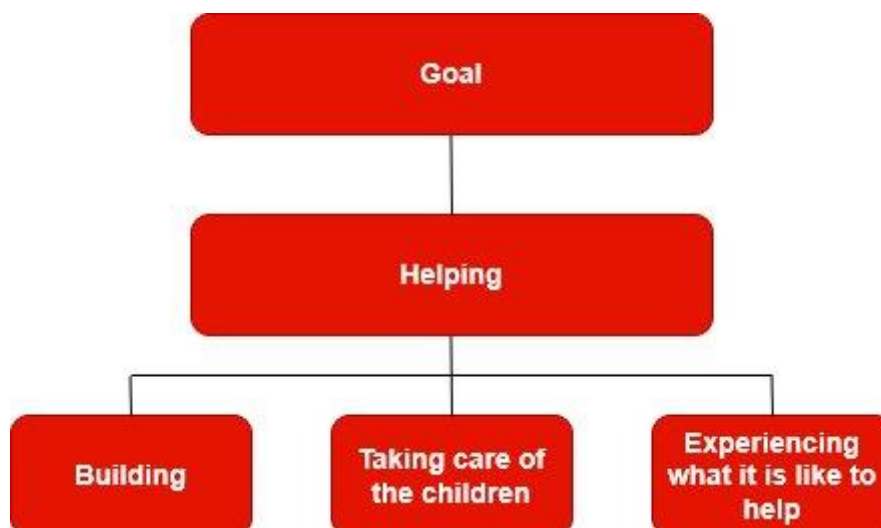


Figure 7. Dimensions of the theme 'goal' for the volunteers.

The short-term mission was mainly promoted as a building project and some of the volunteers mention the building as their first choice.

“For me, the main goal was to build at the orphanage in Mozambique. In the end you can do less than you want to do, but we did manage to do a lot of work with the team. I liked playing with the kids, but I only did that at night. During the day I did not go to the orphanage to play games and teach them things. No, I would go in the evening to do nice stuff. But during the day I was just busy with painting and building.” – Participant B

However, most of the volunteers mention that they hope to contributing by helping the children and meaning something for them.

I hope that we could really do something for the children. You saw in the time that we were there that a little boy was really shy, but that he opened up while we were there. So by giving just that little bit of extra attention to the children, it results in happier kids.” – Participant A

Three of the volunteers also mentioned that they were curious to go to a developing country and to see what it is like to help and to do such work. In doing so, they realised that they either liked every aspect or that they only liked some aspects.

“I think I mainly had a goal for myself. We already had the idea for years that we wanted to do something in such a developing country or just to undertake something like that. Now we finally went, so it was also mainly to see what it is like to do such work. I have to say that I had imagined it differently. We were entertaining the children a lot and personally I would have preferred to do something else. Something more substantial, something they benefit more from. Making a change in the organisation or figuring out whether life can be different. Now it was mostly fun for the children, the 10 days that you were there. But if I reflect on what I have contributed besides my presence, it is little and that is something I regret. I don’t know if that is possible somewhere else, but I would love to teach or do something similar. Educate people to become teachers or develop material they can work with. Personally, this was a bit disappointing. I thought now am I again just entertaining them and I did not like that. I preferred working on the house, that was a different goal. A better goal in my opinion. – Participant E

The word helping is frequently used by the volunteers. The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary defines the verb ‘to help’ as following: *“to make it easier or possible for somebody to do something by doing something for them or by giving them something that they need”* (Oxford University Press, n.d.). By using the verb ‘to help’ the volunteers therefore imply that they have got something that the sending organisation and its stakeholders do not have and that they are missing this. Volunteers need to be really careful, because when the need is not brought up by the receiving organisation they fill in their needs which might imply superiority. Some volunteers also mention that they have learned that things in Mozambique are arranged in a different way than in the Netherlands, but that does not mean that the Dutch way is better for them as well.

6.1.4 Comparing the perspectives

Interesting to see is that the receiving organisation and the volunteers have opposing views on what is the most important goal for them, learning or helping. The sending organisation is in the middle between those two with goals regarding to helping and learning. The receiving organisation is already used to receiving volunteering groups and individuals, and therefore they have already learnt about the effects a short-term mission can have. The volunteers on the other hand, had, except for one, never volunteered abroad before and because of that it makes sense that helping was the biggest goal for them. Especially because the volunteers have grown up with the idea that development aid is necessary and that they should help others.

Additionally, religion only seems to play an explicit role in the goal of the receiving organisation. The other stakeholder groups mentioned religion as something that was part of their short-term mission, but not as the explicit goal. Religion was more implicitly present in the goal through taking care of the children. The difference is thus in experiencing and learning from what is already going on of the work of God compared to going to help from an implicitly religious motive. This discrepancy probably comes from the difference in the way religions plays a role in the daily life of the volunteers and the organisations. The receiving organisation is based on missionary work and founded and run by people that have put their lives in service of God. The volunteers, on the other hand, express their faith in a different way and most of the young adults have their insecurities regarding it, and therefore their religious motives, if they have them, are less visible.

6.2 The holiday

Including a holiday week at a short-term mission or volunteering holiday is sometimes criticised because it takes time away from the volunteering work. The stakeholder groups gave their opinions on the inclusion of the holiday week.

6.2.1 According to the receiving organisation

The daily managers all had a different view on the holiday week. Figure 8 shows the dimensions that belong to the theme 'holiday' for the daily management.

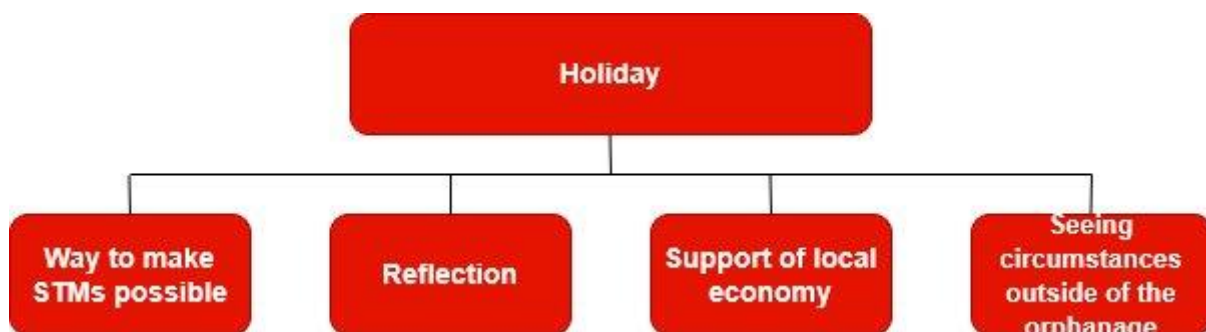


Figure 8. Dimensions of the theme 'holiday' for the daily management.

Each daily manager saw the importance of a holiday but each for different reasons. Two of them saw the holiday as a way to make the short-term mission possible. One of them saw it as the main reason and the other saw it as one of three reasons. According to them, combining the volunteering work with a holiday is okay as long as volunteering is the main goal. However, the balance is sometimes far off. People that volunteer for two days only are harder to incorporate in the system because after two days a volunteer has just started to build relationships. The managers have shared their doubts regarding the holiday part with the organisation of Moz Kids or someone else to better understand the reasoning behind the addition of a holiday week. Therefore, the receiving organisation realises that not everybody might be willing to go on a short-term mission with the sole purpose of helping out. Even though the volunteers are all relatively rich compared to the people in the receiving country, the amount of money that needs to be paid to go on a short-term mission is also a high amount for them, which takes some time to save. Therefore, participants of a short-term mission often prefer a combination of volunteering and having holiday and the receiving organisation is supportive of that:

“So I think whatever it takes for you to come and experience God in a different way. If the hook is gonna be the Kruger afterwards, you know, go.” – Daily management A

The only conditions that they have is that the sending church is also okay with the tourism part. Some churches require a hardcore outreach without a tourism aspect and therefore this should be rightfully communicated. This communication should not only be towards the church but also towards the donors of a trip. Some groups do not only have donors to generate money to bring with them but also to pay for the trip. Honesty is very important and they like the idea of fundraising also when it is used to pay for accommodation, but only when it is clearly told where the fundraising is for and that the tourism part will be paid from their own pockets.

The second dimension that was mentioned is 'reflection'. The receiving organisation also values the importance of a proper debriefing before the volunteers are returning home.

"But another thing that I want to say is that I actually recommend doing what the groups did, going to the beach afterwards, because it is much better debriefing an experiencing at the site before they fly back, because when they fly back there they go back to their families. Maybe you have a get-together but it is different. So I like that they go to the beach where the leaders can also just debrief you on what you experienced as a group together before it uit elkaar spat⁵. Pieter and I when we have individuals we also chipped them in with a trip to the Kruger and a sleepover in Nelspruit, just to breathe and process what you experienced." – Daily management A

The two final dimensions are both discussed very briefly, but nevertheless important to mention. Daily manager A thinks that it is important that you support the economy of the country that you are visiting. This could be through many things from buying bread at the local bakery to buying souvenirs at the local market. Tourism is also a big boost for the economy and there are many gorgeous places that you can visit, so volunteers are encouraged to give it a go. In 2018, 64.600 people were employed through tourism (Macauhub, 2019). The daily manager from Mozambique added that she thought that it was important for volunteers to also see the circumstances outside of the orphanage. She wants the volunteers to see the children both inside and outside of the orphanage. Some of the volunteers thought that the children still live in relative luxury: there is food, they can go to school. But outside of the orphanage they experience the circumstances that children can also live in. Frequently mentioned was the spontaneous visit to people living in huts on the side of the road close to the coastal holiday destination. The volunteers were amazed by the living conditions of these people and felt that there they have witnessed tough circumstances.

6.2.2 According to the sending organisation

The holiday was seen as something very valuable by both organisers. Figure 9 shows the dimensions that are found in their narratives about the holiday, which are 'reflection' and 'way to make the STMs possible'.

⁵ Uit elkaar spatten is a word that the manager used from Afrikaans. The Dutch have the same word. It means more or less before everything will fall apart. In this context it is meant that the volunteers will go back to their own lives and each will go his own way. The volunteering bubble will burst.

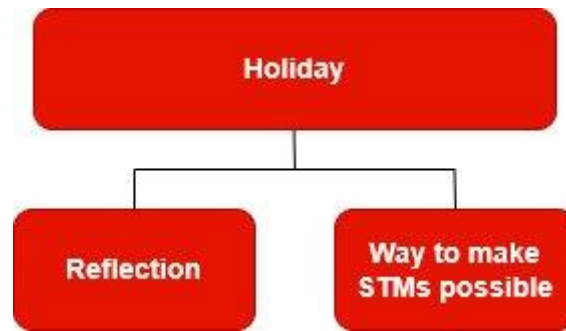


Figure 9. Dimensions of the theme 'holiday' for the sending organisation.

The main motivation for the organisers to include a holiday week in the short-term mission is because Pieter had informed them that it is important for volunteers to have a moment where they can relaxation after the short-term mission. It is possible that the experiences that they had in the orphanage are so overwhelming that they cannot process it easily. The time that you spend together after volunteering can be used to discuss about the experiences and to process them before they go back home. Another argument for the inclusion of a holiday week that is given, is because combining the volunteering work with the holiday makes the short-term mission possible. The combination of those two aspects makes the short-term mission more attractive for young adults. They do not have to sacrifice their entire holiday on working, but there is also room for relaxation and a different way of having fun. Besides that, it was also a way of showing how you can go on a holiday in a more basic way which hopefully made the volunteers appreciate basic holidays more. That also resulted in memorable moments. One of the volunteers had arranged that a boat would bring them to the other side of the lagoon to see what was there. They played volleyball and they had a *“moment that felt luxurious like they were wherever instead of in a poor country with only a few bottles of water.”* To conclude, they tried to keep the short-term mission as broad as possible to make it appealing to everyone.

6.2.3 According to the volunteers

An important part of the short-term mission was the holiday, because the length of the holiday and the volunteering part were almost equal. The volunteers describe the holiday part of their short-term mission as something very positive. They have seen many beautiful things during these days and they have some great memories attached to it. Figure 10 illustrates the dimensions of the holiday part.

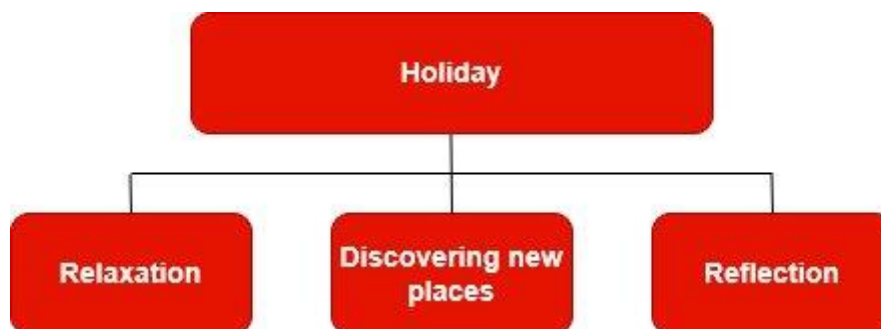


Figure 10. Dimensions of the theme 'holiday' for the volunteers.

In general, there is a need for a holiday after the volunteering part. Most of the volunteers, especially the young adults, usually have a relaxing holiday and they want to have that aspect in their short-term mission as well. In Dutch, the short-term missions are also often called *“werkvakantie”*, which literally translates to working holiday and that is exactly how they feel their short-term mission should be arranged; a working part and a holiday part. Especially because the part where they work is quite intensive and often leaves them very tired, the relaxing holiday part is very much appreciated. This

balance between working and relaxing is seen as the perfect combination.

“For myself, when I go on a summer holiday, I actually want to have a part where I can come to rest. I mean, you are already working the entire year and especially these kind of volunteering work costs a lot of energy too. So I thought it was important to have a holiday part in which we could relax. I, however, did want to do something else the second year I went on the trip. Because the first year it was just very relaxed, but I also wanted to see something of the country. That is what I like in a trip as well, that you can see something and that is also what I often do in my summer holidays. So I thought that it was important that there was a holiday part. The combination made the short-term mission even better.” – Participant C

That brings us to the second dimension of the theme ‘holiday’, which is ‘discovering new places’. Most of the volunteers said that they also want to see something of a country when they go on vacation. This is the case when they go on a normal vacation when the main purpose is to relax, but also on a short-term mission like this when the emphasis is on volunteering. This dimension became visible when they were asked about their thoughts on the holiday part of the short-term mission but also when asked about their most memorable experience. Often the volunteers would give two examples where one was related to their time in the orphanage and the things they did with the children, whereas the other is almost always related to the holiday. The examples go from paragliding for the first time in South Africa where you could look over the beautiful mountains to experiences in the Kruger Park to visiting Lion’s head and Robben Island in South Africa.

“Actually, I think spontaneously the moments within the Kruger Park are the ones that pop up right away.” – Participant I

“That [the Kruger Park] is something I will just never forget. I thought that it was super inspiring to see a leopard in the wild. I though wow that is something different than Ouwehands⁶. So in that sense it has also brought added value to the group, that holiday.” – Participant H

Interesting though is that especially South Africa plays a large role in these memories. The time spent at the coast in Mozambique is thought of with only good memories and as a time in which the volunteers also saw many beautiful things, like the Indian Ocean and turtles, but it is not recalled as most memorable. One of the conditions for some of the volunteers that went on the short-term mission a second time, was that they would see something new. Seeing south Africa and having the intrinsic motivation to travel were important reasons to return to Mozambique.

“My parents were going again and my friends as well. The combination with the travelling in South Africa was the decisive factor for me because I wanted to combine the return visit to the orphanages with something like that. So yeah, that was for me the decisive factor to go again.” – Participant C

Lastly, the holiday week was seen by volunteers as a moment of reflection. Mainly the adults spoke about the holiday week as a time where they could reflect together upon the experiences that they had. The time in the orphanage was sometimes very emotional and it raised awareness regarding the living conditions in Mozambique. The days spent on the holiday gave them the time to process everything they went through before they would go back to their own country and the good circumstances that they live in.

“Yes, I think that that [holiday] is nice. I would never recommend to do it before the visit to the orphanage. Because what you can do afterwards, I think that is good, you can share a part of your impressions, experiences, observations with other people. If you do such a vacation as an individual or

⁶ Ouwehands is a zoo in the Netherlands.

as a couple you can share it together but not with other people. What I really liked was that you could reflect on the period in the orphanage. Things you had seen, call it development issues in Africa, how that it got shape in front of us. You could see how it plays out, how it can be that human trafficking is still a thing, how girls could be traded and sold for the sex industry. For me it was good to talk about these things with others, mostly adults. But it was mostly for a bit of reflection and reconsideration in hindsight. And looking back at and sharing of experiences. You have not experienced it on your own and then return to Western Europe. You share it.” – Participant G

A phenomenon that was interesting, and sometimes difficult, to see for the adults was that when they left for the holiday and stopped at a supermarket the young adults immediately fell back into their old patterns of buying luxury products, like crisps and sweets. Also alcohol was bought at the local store at the beach. In the orphanage, the volunteers lived in a basic way without snacks, except for fruit, to get closer to the lives of the children. The adults expressed feelings of confusion and incomprehensibility. However, this is also part of the reflection process.

“What we struggled with was that, especially the youth but it also account for a small part for us, that you see the poverty with your own eyes and that the children only eat plain rice and sometimes a piece of fish, and that the youth immediately started buying luxury articles. That transition, we thought what is happening here. How can you do that. Have you already forgotten where you have been that you immediately start buying booze and crisps. It was disappointing for me in the primal habits of us rich, Western people, that we can make the switch so easily. From seeing with your bare eyes what you told to your children when they were younger “think about the poor kids in Africa because they do not have food”, and now you have an idea of what it looks like, now our children have an idea of what it looks like, also my own children, not only those of others, and still they can switch that easily. Apparently as an adult you think differently from adolescents or young adults who maybe think that now they have the opportunity to live a bit more luxurious they have to take it. That is thus a different view.” – Participant J

From the young adults that participated in this study, only two of them talked in a reflective way about the luxury they have. For them, the luxury was mostly related to the fact that they could even go on vacation. They struggled with the fact that they are able to go on vacation whereas the children in the orphanage mostly do not have the chance to do this. They have just witnessed the poverty and they are struggling with the fact that they can just return to their old lifestyles and go on a holiday. Sustainability and the ecological footprint that is left by travelling were not taken into account.

“We had organised a theme day and we saw that the children were so happy, so excited, and just so happy. There was koekhappen, and all these kind of things that are common to do in the Netherlands at a child’s birthday party. I found that so intense and I thought damn, in three days I am going to a park in Mozambique, in a country where there is so much poverty, and then I will lie on my lazy ass for four days. Those were the moments that were very hard for me. That is also when I realised that when I would travel to such a country again, then, because the nature seems to be astonishing with those nature- and safari parks, I would want to volunteer as well. I want to come and bring something and not just celebrate holidays. Of course it is awesome to go on a holiday, but I want to add something to the country. I want to contribute my part and not only being the tourist.” – Participant H

However, this does not mean that everything about the holiday part was perfect. Everybody enjoyed it and they all accepted it, because the planning was communicated to them ahead. However, there were small disagreements with the way the holiday was organised in terms of length and activities. As was visible in the quotes about the holiday part, the holiday did add extra value to the short-term mission, but not all participants felt that the holiday was needed. For a few the time spent at the orphanage could have been longer and the time spent at the beach could have been shorter. The third short-term mission had an even larger proportion of holiday and that was considered to be too long.

The duration of the road trip in South Africa was discussed beforehand but there were a lot of different opinions. In the end they agreed on the division the way it was carried out but that does not take away that for some volunteers the emphasis was too much on the holiday and too little on the orphanage. One of the participants also mentioned that the time at the coast could have been used to see other places as well. According to him, Mozambique has a lot to offer and he would have loved to see more of the country than just the coast.

6.2.4 Comparing the perspectives

All stakeholder groups understand the inclusion of a holiday week and are not opposed to it. For many people, the inclusion of such a week is a great motivator to join a short-term mission and all of them feel that it is more important that people join such a mission and spend less time at the project than that they would not come at all. Interesting is that the expenses at the holiday evoke different feelings. Some volunteers felt guilty that they were able to go on a holiday and did not relate to the volunteers that would immediately start buying luxury products again, whereas others saw it as a relaxation moment in which they could enjoy their blessings. The difference might be in the reflection that each volunteer had individually. The volunteers that reflected on their privileges more deeply were also the ones that were hesitant to buy luxury products and did not feel the need to have a holiday afterwards. Interesting though is that the receiving organisation sees the spending of money as something valuable. When the money is spent locally, the country can benefit from it. This is something that the volunteers have not thought about and therefore it might be interesting to discuss certain things with the receiving organisation or with local people during the short-term mission. People living in a country are often more aware of the benefits that can be brought to the country and about the feelings that the local people or the children in the orphanages have about vacationing in Mozambique. When there is more interaction, better understanding of the effects of a holiday can be created.

Besides that, these reflection moments are also what the holiday is meant for. When the group is still together, it is easier to debrief and reflect than when they are back in their home country and everybody goes their own way. The receiving organisation advised the sending organisation to include a moment of reflection through a holiday and the sending organisation has followed up on this advice. Therefore, their ideas regarding reflection during the holiday are similar. The volunteers also acknowledge that the holiday week was convenient to reflect upon their experiences. Though for them, it was mostly about seeing something new.

6.3 Relationships

6.3.1 According to the receiving organisation

The sending organisation says that relationships are very important in African countries, and especially in Mozambique. Relationships will be protected above anything else. The relationships that are prominent for the receiving organisation are the relationships with the community and the relationships with the volunteers as shown in figure 11.

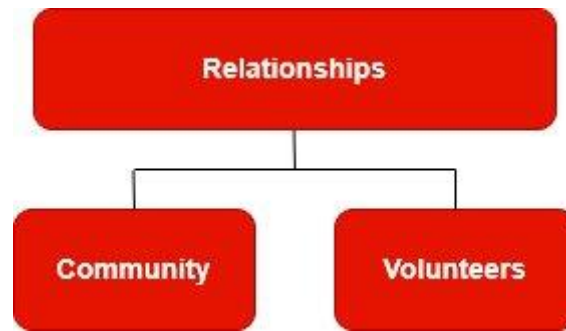


Figure 11. Dimensions of the theme 'relationships' from the receiving organisation.

The relationship with the community is strong because All Nations wants the community to look after their children, like a parent, and for them to be a part of the community. In times of need, like with COVID-19, the community helps when needed. The relationship between the volunteers and the community is also seen as good. The following has been said about that:

“The community likes so much the volunteers, very much. Because we know we don’t have the conditions, so if you have people to help us, to show how we can help ourselves this is very good.” – Daily management C

The receiving organisation has two bonds with the volunteers, namely the bond between the children and the volunteers, and the bond between the staff and the volunteers.

The relationship between the children and the volunteers is seen as something valuable, because it helps in the healing process of the children. Similar to the sending organisation, the receiving organisation also says that the children are able to deal with the coming and going of volunteers because the people that they live their daily life with are always there.

“That is a really good question because a lot of people ask me that. We come and we go and how is that emotionally on the kids, but I think the fact that we could broaden the children’s world perspective that they know there is people out there in nations caring and loving, and that they are coming to be with them and to learn from them and to love on them, played a huge healing in the hearts of those children that are orphan and abandoned. Because oh my goodness there is people coming from the other side of the world to come and love on me, that is how important I am for God you know. He would always see that some kids would bond to some volunteers. There are some kids that would maybe not even connect to a team that comes, but when another team comes that kid connects again. So it was always important for me to see a connection and connection is a very important role when a child is traumatized. When a child cannot connect after deep trauma, we have trouble. So it is really good time to also see, because we look at our kids individually and we know who has worked on a lot of healing and who still struggles, so God will always send the right person for the right time wherever that child is on that journey. And you know what, saying goodbye is hard yes, but the people that take care of them daily, the foundation, the system is always there. Like me and my husband we were always there, the staff, the ladies that take care of them ,they are always there. So it was also, even though teams would leave and come and go, it was very sad, but it is also a normal feeling. Because when your friend or family would leave, my house is the same, my mom and dad are here, my aunties are here. So on the children that was definitely a beautiful thing because it plays a part in the healing.” – Daily management A

The Mozambican leader said that the children like the volunteers very much because they do nice things with them. Before the volunteers come, the children are prepared that it will only be for a short amount of time. The children are fine with that and cherish the moments they shared. Even after years,

the children will remember the volunteers that they bonded with. It might even be harder for a volunteer to leave, because it is hard for people to leave a place where their hearts have been touched. They will leave a piece behind.

"It has this possible effect on the children where they meet other cultures, so for them it is also educational. It is good for them to interact with family that came here, when you came here, they will remember you two years later. And that just shows me that it is important. Even if it is just a once a year contact. It is very good to the children and our staff. Because our staff also feels encouraged to think that people would travel all this way from Europe to come and be with them. It makes them feel special in what they do because other people invest in travelling to see that." – Daily management B

Besides feeling encouraged, the staff is also happy with the extra hands, because it is a lot of work to take care of the children, and now there is extra time to do fun things with them, according to daily manager C. However, there is not much interaction between the local staff and the volunteers because of the language barrier. Which is a pity, because the local staff would like to experience how the volunteers do life because they are from another country. In one case, the local staff has learned from the volunteers. They have learned to do more things together with the children instead of only telling them what to do. In this case it went well, but it can be tricky when volunteers try to change ways of a receiving organisation in Africa. The staff tells that relationships are very important in African countries, and especially in Mozambique, and therefore it can sometimes take years to build a relationship and the missionary in the country has put in the effort to build these relationships and therefore they have earned a platform to suggest changes. A volunteer cannot expect to have that same privilege when they are only there for two weeks. In the beginning you just have to deal with your frustrations, it was the same when they started. But the management values the suggestions and keeps in mind that they come from good intentions. Therefore discussions between the volunteers and the local staff can be good as well as challenging. Raising children in the Netherlands goes in a different way than in Mozambique. The volunteers felt like the tia's could sometimes be a bit more interested in the children and act more kind, whereas this was more normal in the culture. Discussions regarding this have taken place with the management. According to the Mozambican manager, the tia's appreciated the input of the volunteers. They like to learn something new and have learned that they should do more things together with the children instead of only telling them what to do. However, sometimes the volunteers are also not known with the customs and in that case the suggestions are not taken up. The interaction between the volunteers and the South-African leaders differs. The previous leaders lived on the site and therefore they had a good bond with the volunteers. As one of them would say: *"They would become part of our family"*. The current leaders are not living on the site and therefore it is harder to create a relationship with the volunteers. However, there is a bond with the groups in general.

"This is our second year that we don't have a group coming to visit us and I must say it is extremely different. It feels empty and lonely, because we don't connect with our sponsors and our friends that we got used to. Though the groups differ, I mean it is not always the same people, but the group you feel connected to. And then of course they always bring help to us. So we miss just that focussed energy of a group of young people that come. We miss the interaction with people that visit us." – Daily management B

6.3.2 According to the sending organisation

Various relationships have been discussed during the interviews. For the sending organisation, these were relationships with the children, the volunteers and the local, Mozambican community, see figure 12.

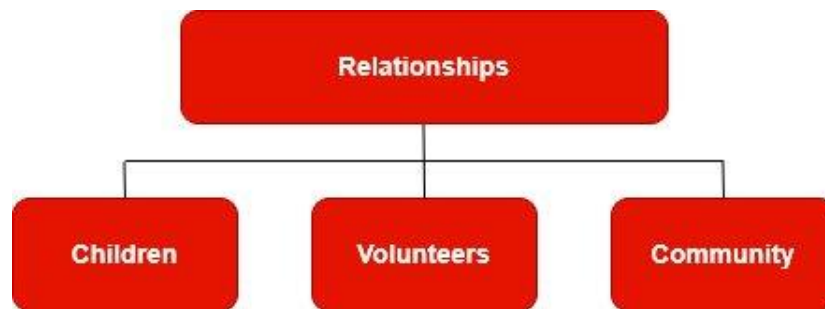


Figure 12. Dimensions of the theme 'relationships' for the sending organisation.

One of the board members said that once she struggled with her own work in Africa, because everything felt useless and a lot of things did not go the way she wanted them to go, and she felt like she was just a drop in the ocean. Then another hospital member told her something she never forgot: *“But you can be the golden drop for that child.”* That is also what they want to achieve with the short-term missions, being a golden drop for a child. This can be for example through connecting between volunteers and children, which in some cases also leads to the sponsoring of a child. Bonds are important but they can also be difficult. One of the critiques that is heard a lot is that such children often have to say goodbye and that that can be emotionally damaging to the children. The organisation also recognises that both adults and young adults form a bond with children and that while they have already had to let go of a lot of things in their lives, they also have to say goodbye to the volunteers. One of the board members of Moz Kids is a remedial educationalist⁷ and based on her knowledge and their experiences, the topic is frequently discussed. The following quote describes best the way they think about the bond between volunteers and children:

“We, for example, have been in Mozambique for a longer time. We have lived there for almost two years and we have often experienced how it was for the children after people had left and what has always positively surprised me is the resilience of the children. You know, the most important bonding figures for the children are each other. Paulina⁸ plays a super important role in that for the younger children. The women that work in the orphanage play a large role. It is not like the children are not attached, not grounded. I think that makes a difference, because orphanages have been negatively in the news. As well as short-term missions. I think that is a viable difference with a lot of other projects, that in the basis the children receive good care and the short-term missions are just an extra. The critiques are justified. Children should never be exploited as a form of tourism. But here I have always had the idea that the people that go and visit are something extra, it is not the purpose, whereas sometimes in other orphanages I have the idea that they are open for the sole purpose of receiving visitors.” – Board member C

One of the board members has gone to Mozambique more frequently and she was also there when the groups came and she saw the excitement of the children when a group would come. It changed their lives for a little while. However, the staff working at the orphanage does prepare the children for the groups that come. They are told that the groups only come for a short time and they will leave again. She said that surprisingly the kids always have a feeling of who would come again and who does

⁷ Orthopedagoog in Dutch

⁸ Fictitious name

not. And even when they do not come again, they are not disappointed. So there is an awareness amongst the children that most of the volunteers do not come back. They cherish the moments that they had together and you can see that it impacts them in a positive way.

“I always find it [the bond] always very special to see. ... I think that I like that most about the groups. You see that a child lights up and dares to trust again, especially when they are in touch with someone afterwards via phone, Facebook, a card or whatever. It makes it very personal and very valuable, and I found it really special to see that the children remember a group. That you come back a year later and that they ask if a certain person is also returning. That I was like: how do you remember all these names? ... That shows how strong the bond is, and yes saying goodbye is hard, but with time it goes better. So that is what I always think is very special. You see that they have good memories of the time with the groups. They could give a name and tell what they did with that person. And if you would ask how they are doing, and luckily you can ask most of the children that, they say I miss them, I hope they come back, but I had fun. And in that way you give them a positive memory. It makes a difference that they have a stable basis, that there are people that are always there with and for them.”

– Board member B

Besides bonds with the children, the volunteers also create bonds amongst each other. This already starts when doing the activities beforehand. The sending organisation thought that the fundraising was already a fun time in which bonds were created because everybody has the same purpose. It was different for the three groups, because the first and the third group consisted of mostly the same people who were from the same two villages, whereas the second group consisted of mostly strangers. One of the organisers even mentioned that the nights together in the orphanage with the second group, the group would do fun things as a group in the evening, were his favourite moments.

“If you ask me what you enjoyed most, I would say that I absolutely loved the second trip. That is also because it are all strangers, almost all strangers. We had never been on a day trip together or something like that. We were a completely new group that undertook a holiday together. That is a big challenge, but it gives you so much satisfaction. On the one hand also a bit of nerves, but it was so much fun. You do have different conversations with new people and you tell each other more. With people that you already know, you have less new communication. But with such a new group it is fantastic.” – Organiser B

The sending organisation recognises this bond as a long-lasting one. After the short-term mission, everybody goes his own way, some people might still see each other, but except from events the group does not meet regularly. However, this does not deter the bond that is created. Whenever you see each other again, there is always time for a little chit chat and you feel the connection. You have shared history together and that creates a bond that will never go away.

Lastly, the sending organisation spoke about relationships with people outside of the orphanage. People from the sending organisation mention that how hard they try, they will never be a part of the community. They will always be strangers. More of their reflections on this can be found in section 4.5.3 on changes in thinking. However, the Mozambican people are frequently described as very friendly and very happy. They are interested in you and what you are doing there, but you always start with a backlog. People have known Apartheid and you can still sense that. But once you show extra effort, for example by wearing a traditional capulana⁹ when you are on the street, it is highly appreciated. When asked about the relationship between volunteers and local people the following was answered:

⁹ Type of sarong that is mainly found in Mozambique and some other south-eastern African countries

“That changes a lot. It is really dependent on what you do and how you open up. I have always experienced it as very positive. But I know from other white people that they had completely different experiences. I think it is also an interaction between who you meet and how you act. We thought it was terrible. On the street, we, especially my husband, would be addressed as “hey boss”. I found that very strange, but they were so used to white people being the boss and being the people that have money and possibilities to employ them and pay them. People constantly asked: “hey boss, do you have a job for me?” After which we thought we are here as volunteers, we were 18 and 20. We were also just there because of the money we had earned with our side job. But people do not believe that. They believe that you are white and you have the money to come. And in some way that is true. My photo camera was worth more than they earn in a year. However, this is not only cultural. I was amazed that also in Mozambique you see the slums next to the villa’s. That is the case everywhere.” – Board C

6.3.3 According to the volunteers

Contrary to the sending organisation, the volunteers talked about relationships with four groups, namely children, volunteers, community and staff.

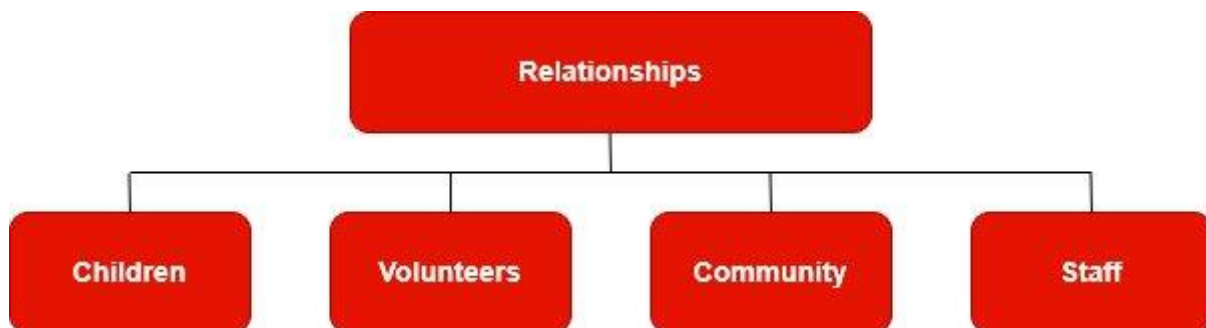


Figure 13. Dimensions of the theme 'relationships' for volunteers.

The volunteers experience the relationship with the children as something very special and valuable. What amazes them is that the children went through difficult times, but are still capable to open up to strangers and establish connections. Most of the volunteers mentioned a special connection with one or more of the children. These special connections are not only felt by the volunteers but they also saw it in the behaviour of the children. They would also go looking for the volunteer they had the best connection with.

“I never forget that at a certain moment the group of teens, and I think that that is my favourite moment of the trip, came to me and said we want to teach you something, and then I have learned a bit of afro house. That was fantastic you know, because at first there is still a distance between you and the children and in that moment we came so close. I really felt that dancing connects. At first we were constantly doing what I came up with, but then the children came to teach me something. That was fantastic. That is my favourite memory of the trip, that there was some sort of openness that they taught my something of their culture and dance there, and that is very special. It also could have been the case that they would just follow my lessons, but now it became interesting because it became an exchange. As a teacher, that is the most awesome thing you can get.” – Participant F

In some cases these connections weaken but in other cases the volunteers feel strongly attached to these children also after the short-term mission. There is a possibility to stay in touch with the older children via Facebook once the short-term mission has ended. Especially the young adults added the children on their social media. However, there is no frequent contact with the children and it often does not go further than “Hey, how are you?”. Volunteers that decide to sponsor a child also have the possibility to send a card or gifts every once in a while, mostly when other volunteers are going to

Mozambique. The following quote describes the bond that can arise between a sponsor, an adult, and a child.

“We thought, what is nicer than us going to Mozambique and sponsoring a child beforehand, because then we can see that person. If you start sponsoring afterwards, you cannot choose anymore because you want them all. We got Lucas¹⁰ and he obviously did not know anything. The first time we met him it was very special to us. He did not understand that he got that much attention from us and we had also brought something along for him. That was very special. The second year you wanted to see him and then you had to wait upstairs and that was very unpleasant. When we were finally allowed to go downstairs, and I will never forget that. The children heard that we were there and then Lucas came running and he shouted: Peter! That is my husband and Lucas jumped at him and hugged him. It was so emotional to see that he still recognised us. That was so special.” – Participant J

During the interview the participant expressed her frustrations regarding the way sponsors are notified regarding reintegration of their sponsor child and the fact that they cannot get in touch anymore once a child leaves the orphanage. She was happy for the child, but felt sad that they would lose their contact. She would not return that easily anymore, because the children that they bonded with are all gone from the orphanage. By expressing her frustrations, she showed the bond that she had with the child.

There are mixed views on having to say goodbye to the children and leaving them behind. Some volunteers still struggle with the fact that they had to leave the children and are wondering what impact this has on a child, whereas others see saying goodbye as something that is natural and a part of life. People in the Western world also have to say goodbye, so it is not necessarily something negative.

“My most memorable experience is the attachment of the children. The love they give, actually unconditional from the start. If you think how screwed up the children are, if you know their backgrounds, and that they can still live life the way they do, they can come and cuddle you, have fun. I found that very, very, very special and meanwhile also very poignant, because when you leave you see the spark in their eyes, that has appeared when we arrived, disappear. It was confronting to see that go away. You can only temporarily give them something, but it is not permanent. And that is what the children want. In the end you cannot give them what they long for most. So that is a confronting thought actually.” – Participant E

The volunteers come up with a couple of justifications for their participation despite the fact that they wondered what the effect on the children would be. The justification that is most frequently mentioned is that being there for the children temporarily is still better than not going at all. Now they are able to give the children some love and show them.... Other justifications are that the project was originally a three-year project and that most of the volunteers would come back, and that there is a possibility to stay in touch with the children. A goodbye did not have to mean that they would not be in touch anymore. However, one of the volunteers put as a condition that the volunteers should be aware of the possible negative effects and that the children should be prepared in such a way that they know that the volunteers are there only temporarily.

Besides a bond with the children, the volunteers also got a bond with each other. When asked what they have gotten out of the trip a lot of them say new friends. This was especially the case for the second group, that consisted of mostly strangers. The group became strong and the volunteers felt lucky with their co-volunteers. Every night in the orphanage that would organise fun activities for the

¹⁰ Fictitious name

group, like salsa dancing and a puppet theatre. They do not see each other frequently after the short-term mission. Some people have made new friends that they see regularly, whereas like to bump into their co-volunteers and have a chat, but that they do not really plan to meet. But also the first and third group volunteers recognised that the group became friends. Now they have gone through fun and tough times together and that adds to the friendship. They said the following about it:

“It was already a nice group, but after such a trip. You are of course stuck with each other for four weeks, it is very special what you go through and that makes the bond only stronger.” – Participant A

The contact with the local community is limited to a minimum. The volunteers say that the short-term mission is not organised in a way that they would leave the orphanage. In the morning, two people from the group would get bread at a local bakery, so there is some contact with the local baker. Other local people that the volunteers have spoken are at the local building stores and the workers at the coast. These conversations often happen through gestures, because the volunteers do not speak Portuguese and the local people do not speak English.

“I liked meeting the people at the holiday park at the coast. They serve you a coke, then an ice tea followed by a sprite and you are eating and they are probably going home with 10 euros, while you have payed 15 euros to sit there with 30 people, so I thought that was hard.” – Participant H

One of the participants also thought in a more reflective way about the contact with the local people and at the moment when they were there he felt like everything went well and communication went very smoothly, but now that he was thinking about it again that might not be a strange thing because there have been South Africans living in the area for quite some years now. This means that the volunteers were not the first or amongst the few white people they encounter.

Lastly, the relationship between the staff and the volunteers does not entail much. Most of the tia’s do not speak English and therefore the contact is limited. None of the volunteers spoke about regretting that they missed out on more contact with the tia’s. However, the volunteers admire the dedication of the tia’s.

“That they dedicate their lives to the children, that costs a lot. It is so good that they feel called to help and that they get strength from it. It is beautiful to meet such people. There is so much love in that. That was very beautiful.” – Participant H

6.3.4 Comparing the different perspectives

What is interesting is that, according to the Mozambican manager, the tia’s would have loved to have more interaction with the volunteers so that they could learn from them, whereas the volunteers do not regret having missed out on a relationship with the tia’s. The main reason for this might be that the volunteers had the goal to help the children and the tia’s were not on the top of their priority list. Additionally, none of the volunteers spoke Portuguese and the tia’s hardly spoke any English, so having a conversation was challenging.

Building a relationship with the children, on the other hand, could be done by doing fun activities with them. This is in contrast with the relationship with the tia’s, because talking might have been more required there. Additionally, the children spoke some English and therefore short conversations were possible. Some of the volunteers had worried about their bond with the children, because of the damage it could create when they had to say goodbye. However, this did not hinder them from building relationships with the children. Eventually it was more important for them to show them some love, than to not show them any love at all. The sending and the receiving organisation think about the issue in a similar way. They also add that the children do have people in their life that stay with them and

take care of them daily, so they do not have to say goodbye to people that played a central role in their lives. The volunteers are extra friends and they find it normal that you have to say goodbye to those. Thus, the stakeholders value the positive effects over possible negative effects and possibly, in the case of the volunteers, also their own joy over the children's. The volunteers are wondering about the negative impacts, but decided to go on the short-term mission regardless. However, the children are not heard in this research and therefore solid conclusions including their opinion cannot be drawn.

The other two relationships that are discussed are the relationship of the orphanage and the volunteers with the local community, and the relationship between the volunteers and the staff. The local community does have ties with the orphanage and when help is needed they provide this. According to the local management, the community is also happy with the arrival of the volunteers, because they can provide help that they are not able to offer. However, there are no further ties between the volunteers and the local community. Finally, the relationship between the volunteers and the managers of the receiving staff is an important one, especially from the side of the receiving organisation. Now that the groups have not been there for some time, they have been feeling like they are missing their friends. Even though the group is different every time, it is the feeling of interaction and the energy they bring that they are missing. It is thus not about a specific relationship, but about what a group can bring. This also explains why the volunteers are less focussed on a bond with the receiving organisation. Also for them, the managers of the receiving organisation are more people that help them to get where they are coming for, the children and construction, and not the people they plan to build a relationship with in the first place.

6.4 Staying at the orphanage

6.4.1 According to the receiving organisation

The Promise Centre is built in such a way that it can accommodate visitors upstairs. The rooms are shared with a lot of people, so they live in similar circumstances as the children. Previously, the Promise Centre belonged to someone else but right before the short-term missions started All Nations Mozambique took it over. Thus, it was not the choice of All Nations Mozambique to have the visitor area upstairs, but they do think that it is important that the volunteers can stay so close by. The two main reasons why the receiving organisation thinks that it is important that visitors sleep in the orphanage are flexibility and bonding, see figure 14.

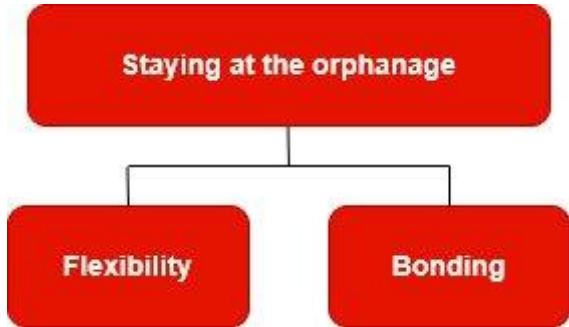


Figure 14. Dimensions of the theme 'staying at the orphanage' from the receiving organisation.

The first reason, flexibility, is a very practical reason. Having to commute between the sleeping place and the orphanage takes a lot of effort and time, and therefore it is more convenient to stay at the orphanage. Whenever a change in the schedule needs to be made, it is easy to accommodate. Secondly, it is easier to build relationships when the volunteers are staying at the same place as the children. This results in spontaneous activities that are good for bonding.

“As you know, we’ve accommodated the groups in the promise centre, because the people that designed the promise centre, designed it to accommodate people upstairs. We have had groups in the last years that didn’t stay in the centre for different logistical reasons. It is always a challenge when a group doesn’t stay on site, because they miss the interactions and the activities that happen, and it also creates transport problems, because you would need to move from your accommodation to your place of work. As things go slow and traffic is big in Mozambique, a lot of time is wasted just to move between different sites. It is nice also to sleep with the children, and in the same premises, and have this relationship of living also with other people.” – Daily management B

6.4.2 According to the sending organisation

One thing that the sending organisation thought was very important was that the short-term mission participants would get a glimpse of what living in Africa looks like.

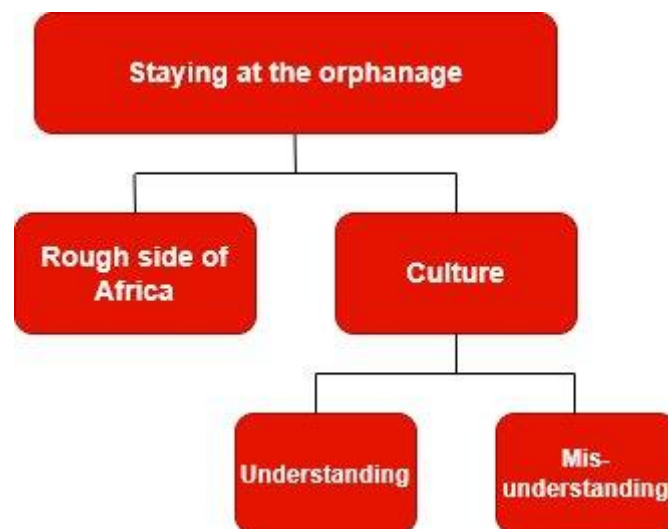


Figure 15. Dimensions of the theme 'staying at the orphanage' from the sending organisation.

I spoke to the founders about what they would think when young adults would come and experience what the situation is like, and then Pieter said: “I would find that so valuable. They can experience Africa.” To which I responded, because maybe some adults would join, including me, I said in my excitement as a Dutchman, despite my experience in Africa: “Maybe we can find a hotel or hostel in the area that we can rent out.” To which Pieter responded very firmly: “No. They have to experience the rough side of Africa.” In other words, let them come and experience what it is like to live amongst the children, to live like the children. As it is, the rough side of Africa. Let them experience it. I have never forgotten it and in hindsight this was so extremely good. People have experienced what it is like when you are running out of water or electricity. That you sometimes have to walk through unsafe neighbourhoods. There can be danger from animals on the road, but also from drunken drivers. Africa is a completely different story from the Netherlands and by experiencing that, I noticed, within me, but of course I have already worked in Africa for years, so I knew, but also at the young adults that have joined, I saw the blinders drop. As a young adult in the Netherlands you live your life and it is all fine. This is what life is like. But people, in general people that travel, but also people that have worked in Africa or somewhere else in the world, have gotten a different worldview and that is something that I value.” – Board A

Besides the living conditions, the volunteers also get to experience the culture. Staying in the orphanage creates understanding, but what is even more frequently mentioned is misunderstanding. One of the things that is not understood is planning by the day. Organiser B mentioned that people in

the Netherlands are used to plan way in advance and living by the moment is not in their system. When he asked why that was, the answer that he got was that it just works like that in Mozambique.

“When you have been there a few times, three year in a row, then you start to understand that it truly is the way it works here and you can try to change that as a Westerner, but that needs generations.” – Organiser B

These misunderstandings also taught them things. At first, the fact that there is no strict planning annoyed the volunteers, but later on letting go of the time also worked liberating. There was less rush and stress in their lives in Mozambique. They appreciated this feeling, but once back home the strictness with time returned.

6.4.3 According to the volunteers

The participants highly valued staying at the orphanage because they could get much closer to the people and the way of living there. Someone even called it the best decision they had made. The things that were discussed in the interviews are ‘the rough side of Africa’, ‘cultural understanding’, ‘closer to the children’ and ‘group bonding’, see figure 16.

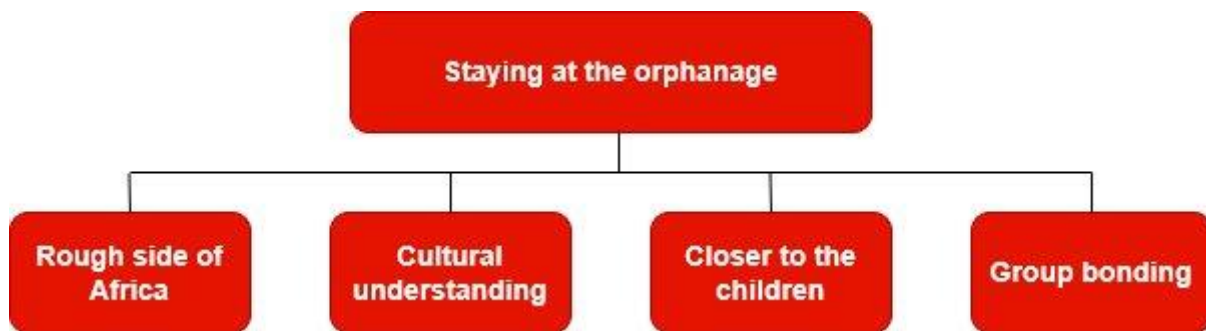


Figure 16. Dimensions of the theme 'staying at the orphanage' from the volunteers.

The volunteers are doubting whether they would call sleeping at the orphanage an experience of the rough side of Africa. They all agree that the conditions in the Promise Centre are different from the conditions they are used to at home. However, some people are perfectly fine with the accommodation because they have stayed at similar conditions before whereas others would describe the accommodation as primitive. Most of the volunteers immediately start to describe the living circumstances which shows that it was a completely different experiences for them. The most striking conditions where the fact that they had to share one bathroom which had one toilet, which could not be flushed after a pee and otherwise they had to use a bucket filled with water, and two showers. Additionally, the bedrooms had to be shared with a great amount of other people and dining had to be done sitting on the couch. For some it felt like there was a lack of privacy. However, despite these conditions and the fact that some volunteers thought it was primitive, the volunteers did not feel like this was the rough side of Africa. They had food and a roof above their heads. Additionally, they felt safe in the orphanage. Therefore, they felt like it was still quite luxurious for Mozambican standards.

The orphanage is in the middle of the community and therefore the volunteers pick up some cultural habits of the Mozambican people. Time is something that means different things in the Mozambican and the Dutch culture. The volunteers are used to working efficient to save time whereas they felt like the Mozambicans work at a slower pace that causes that things take more time. Also, when they have an agreement with someone to do something at a certain time, they hope the other party will come in time. At home, an agreement is almost set in stone and in Mozambique you hope it is. Often things would not arrive at the agreed time. At the right day, but not at the right time. The volunteers also feel like the Mozambicans live more day by day. They take it as it comes and do not plan ahead. They were

advised to pay the builders day by day and not a week in advance because then they will have an amount of money that is so big for them that they will not show up for work anymore until the money is gone. It is also a different attitude towards money. The volunteers have wondered why these differences exist, but could not find a reason. They think it is probably a cultural thing. One of them had wondered whether this is because they are lazy.

“The way of life. At home it is all so rushed and you need to have time. You live by the clock and there you live day by day. You do things, but you have lost track of time. That was nice, to lose the awareness of time.” – Participant A

The volunteers would want to be a bit less rushed in their daily lives as well, but this is so much interwoven in the culture that it is hard to change. You easily fall back into your old patterns because everyone around you is still moving quickly.

Staying at the orphanage also means staying closer to the children. There was only one floor in between them. This resulted in fun moments with the children when the volunteers would go downstairs at night. A lot of the volunteers bonded extra with the children at the Promise Centre because they were so close and they could do something with them more often.

Not only did the stay at the orphanage brought the group closer to the children, it also brought the group itself closer. They were forced to stay at the same place instead of all going separate ways by going to their own hotel room.

“Actually, for me it was normal that we would sleep as close as possible to the children. I would have found it more strange if we would go and rest in our hotel room after spending the entire day with the children. That would not have been appropriate and I think that staying together at such a small place brought value to the group because you shared literally everything. From waking up in the morning, to going to bed at night, that has so much more value and it was of importance for the rest of the project. Because if you would all go back to your hotel room, you do not have that moment in which you look back, reflect, together, these moments that are also very valuable for such a trip.”- Participant H

Of course, sharing everything also caused some irritations but these do not weigh up to the bonding.

6.4.4 Comparing the perspectives

The main reason to stay at the orphanage was because the founder of All Nations Mozambique wanted the volunteers to experience the rough side of Africa. If they would stay in a hotel, they would still stay in luxury conditions and not live a more basic life like the inhabitants of Mozambique. However, the volunteers themselves did not have the idea that they experienced the rough side of Africa. The orphanage was quite secluded and therefore they felt like they have not experienced rough circumstances. Especially because the children in the orphanage were well taken care of and had enough to eat. Some of the volunteers mentioned the basic circumstances in the orphanage, but it was not something they were too bothered by. One could say that there is a discrepancy between what the receiving organisation feels are rough circumstances for the volunteers compared to what they actually think is the rough side of Africa. This is probably partly caused by the car drives that the volunteers have taken in Mozambique, because during these drives they saw worse circumstances.

Additionally, the receiving organisation mentioned that the group is more flexible when they stay at the orphanage as well as that they could do things with the children outside of the scheduled moments. This is something the volunteers also valued because the bonding with the children mostly happened outside of the scheduled hours and during the evenings. Something that the receiving organisation did

not mention, but the volunteers did was bonding within the group. In a hotel, everybody would have gone to his own room, but now they were forced to do things together and thus spend time together.

Finally, something that the receiving organisation also did not mention, but what was important for the volunteers and the sending organisation was cultural (mis)understanding. Being surrounded by Mozambican people taught them a lot about the culture and they all had the idea that this would have been different would they have slept somewhere else. Some aspects of the culture were understood whereas others were not. The receiving organisation might have overlooked this aspect because their own, South African, culture is more similar to the Mozambican one than the Dutch culture. Dress code is a cultural difference that the receiving organisation was highly aware of and where they prepared the volunteers for, but other misunderstandings might have been less accounted for and therefore a better understanding of the culture was not a motivation for them to provide the volunteers with a stay in the orphanage.

7. Views on development, volunteering and daily life

7.1 Views on development

7.1.1 World views

The trip to Mozambique has helped in changing the worldview of the volunteers that had not been on a similar trip before. The volunteers had an image based on the way they live in the Netherlands and what they see on TV, but experiencing different living conditions in real life shaped their image. The images that the volunteers had of Africa is that there is a lot of poverty and that they live in the middle of nowhere. Instead of talking about Mozambique as a country, the volunteers always referred to Africa when they spoke about the situation. Additionally, there was an expectation that the local people would want to change their lives.

One of the volunteers said that she expected to go to the middle of nowhere, and that there would not be much comfort. In the end, she said, that they did go to the middle of nowhere, but that the conditions were easily doable. Another volunteer also said that he thought that the living conditions were okay. But he might have also thought that because he has seen these circumstances before and he tries to focus on people instead of on their problems. The wooden huts that they visited were a phenomenon that none of the volunteers had seen before and they were shocked that these kind of living conditions still exist. The same accounts for the garbage belt that they had seen and where people live on. This made them realise that not everybody has the same future as they have.

“I noticed that I was surprised by the fact that the poverty is so high, I mean, I knew that it existed, but I did not know that it was this bad. You grow up in a Western society and you get a Western view on society. But when you look outside, you see that there is so much more. At a certain moment we were driving through places that were in the middle of nowhere. You would have nothing for kilometres and then suddenly a hut. That people that live in these huts their entire life. I found it bizarre to understand that that is live for those people instead of going to school, go to work, go to college. Just all these things that we have, they are not self-evident. So what is normal to us, my world of college, work and friends, is the opposite for someone that lives there. Actually, all the plans that we have are not so self-evident.” – Participant A

“It has definitely changed my world view on how good we have it here. I always thought that was normal, but it is just not normal.” – Participant K

The last quote already shows that the volunteers started to feel that they are privileged for the way they grew up. These narratives are similar to narratives by volunteers from a previous study by Verardi (2013). She describes that the volunteers acknowledged the existence of poverty prior to their trip but that they did not know it was this bad. Similarly to the volunteers of Moz Kids, these participants felt privileged with what they have and started to realise that their circumstances at home are not normal for everybody. They felt like it was unfair that some people have to live like this. Also the Moz Kids volunteers start wondering how it is possible that even today these differences in the way of living are still that big.

“Seeing everything enriches your worldview and then it also raises the question why this still exists. Why are they not capable to grow more towards our standards, why can’t they organise themselves so they will have asphalt roads, as a matter of speaking, why they do not have a sewer in their house, and these kind of things. Then you see the poverty but also the unity of the people at the one hand, and on the other hand the corruption and chaos of the government. I think mainly the last thing makes that things will only change really slowly on the long term.” – Participant G

Where participant G reflected on the local government as a catalysator for poverty, other participants reflected on global interconnectedness causing poverty. Most of these reflections were linked to colonialism, as discussed in the next section, but two participants also reflected on the current interconnectedness. They realised that the current wish for cheap products and big revenue streams are created in Africa. Similarly they recognise the land grabbing politics that are currently happening. They find this a strange phenomenon in which there suddenly is money to help the poor because they want something from that country, whereas there is way less money available for development aid on its own.

The volunteers have seen the huge inequality in the world but some also feel like these people have a rich life. They seem to be happy and appreciate all the little things in life. Where the volunteers and people in the Netherlands often forget to appreciate the little things, in Mozambique people are thankful for small things. This also makes that not everybody is looking for help and they are not helpless. One volunteers said that he previously always thought that people in these countries do not have a choice in whether they want to live like that or not. But he has now seen that they also have a choice and despite people helping them, they can still make a decision that is not good for them, which he feels is actually similar to the Netherlands. He really felt that not everyone was open for help, but that did not make him doubt his decision to help:

Not really, because you notice that the people for who you come that they are really open to your help. It does something for them and they are super happy with it. So eventually people that do not want you come do not make that you stop doing it. You do realise that some people are just not looking for help and feel like everything is fine. Those are also the people that plunder and sexual harass girls, these things are normal there. That is just the case and that is a pity, but it is not the case that you would do less development work because of them.” – Participant K

Also the image that the children are different from Dutch children and are less lazy and extremely motivated is not confirmed. One of the volunteers that has been there for a longer period of time mentioned that the image that we, Westerners, have that African children really want to learn and are really motivated is not true. At least not for the children that are living in the orphanages. In that sense they are just like children in the West. In the end they will appreciate the fact that they have been able to go to school but there are always feelings of demotivation during the school period.

“The image that everyone has that African children really want to learn and that they are motivated contrary to us. I found that that was definitely not true there. They are like children we know. The African children are not very different from other children. They have less chances, but they can also be rebellious.” – Participant D

Also during the lessons the volunteers realised that the Mozambican children are the same as Dutch children. Some children are easily bored with a handicraft that they are making, whereas others take their time and are very precise. However, you do see the difference in the level of involvement. In the Netherlands, boys are less likely to participate in a creative activity and teens often find themselves too old for these kind of things, whereas in the orphanage everybody participated in these activities, even the tia’s. That is where you see the difference between the way people are raised.

“When we would make a handicraft, they [the tia’s] would work harder than the children. The first year we decorated a bag and then suddenly they all wanted to decorate a bag as well. So the second time we went, we came prepared. We made baseball caps and photo frames and they wanted it all as well. At home, this is of course definitely not the case, but they were just as childish as the children. So yeah, the tia’s were happy as a child at the activities we did.” – Participant E

7.1.2 Responsibilities of the West

The volunteers feel like they have bigger drive to help others after they came back from Mozambique. For some this means helping out in a poor country, but for others this also means helping out in the Netherlands. They feel that also in their own country there is inequality and people could use some help. This became extra visible during COVID-19. Volunteers have said that going to Mozambique made them even more convinced that the West should bring help. Participant I also felt like they could do something different:

“What I find difficult, hopeless, that when you go to Casa Gemma you drive past a garbage belt. That you think why is it like this. Why are we as world not capable of providing these people with a proper living so that they do not have to look at the garbage belt for plastic or whatever to create a living. That we are not capable as world, a bit of impotence, to change such a situation. I think that that is pure injustice in the world. I have been working in the business world for years, for big companies that are successful, and I have brought them to many successes, so why are we as humans not capable to take such horrible poverty away from the world. I find that very difficult. Difficult is a bit of impotence, that we as human race, and I as a person, that we maybe do not take enough initiative to change that situation. Sometimes that is urging me to do something different. Are you even doing something good in your current job? You are working to make a Western company successful while maybe with the same capacities you could achieve something for the people in the world.” – Participant I

Part of the reason why people feel like the West is responsible for the world is because of the Western history with slavery and colonialism.

“When were in South Africa I had found out that the Dutch were the first to conquer the country and to make everyone a slave. When you walk in the museum in Cape Town you see the bad role we have played in those days. We suppressed them, drove people away and turned them into slaves, and we benefitted. We created something that the English took over later on, they had conquered the area from us. What the English have created and the word ‘apartheid’ is a Dutch word that is internationally known is special. Then I think, our role in the past has not been good.” – Organiser B

Even if the West would not want to help in the interest of others, they might want to help because it is also in their own interest. Economic inequality and unemployment also serves as a motivation for people to leave their country and to find their luck in Western countries where they feel everything is better. In general, Western countries do not want to take all the refugees in, so improving the position of these people in their own countries will help to stop them from coming. This is in short what Participant B said regarding the topic. In the literature, this is called using development aid as a remedy for migration. However, this remedy is seen as a myth and highly criticized. When development aid is successful, there is initially a higher migration movement. People are generally enabled to have higher aspirations when a region develops socially and economically (De Haas, 2005).

Something that is frequently recognised is that it is not always necessary for the Western government to undertake action, but that the individual can also achieve a lot. One of the organisers gave an example of how government help did not work out:

“Sending money does not help. It is like filling a bucket with holes. You can send things or money, but we have an example of the fishing boats over there. Europa had given 70 or 80 fishing boats to Mozambique. Pieter took us one day and showed the four remaining boats and the others were gone. Incredible, how is that possible. The society is so corrupt that there is theft in all layers and people cover up for each other. That is though. Then, you could better start at the bottom, at a personal level, than at governments. If governments need to sponsor governments it often ends up at the wrong person.

Therefore I believe in organisations that sponsor projects that directly benefit the local people.” – Organiser B

The volunteers that have a specific idea of how development aid should be arranged, have similar ideas. They prefer to work with small organisations that do not focus on sending money but on immaterial goods. Projects should benefit the local population directly and not the government or other highly ranked people.

Not everybody feels like the West has a responsibility to take care of developing countries. These volunteers feel like the people in these countries might also be okay with the life they have. They feel like the local population is happy and does not feel the need to change. When change is not wished for, the West should stay out, is their opinion. They value the opinion of a country’s population and feel like help should not be offered when it is not asked for. In that case, the West does not need to help except for times of crisis.

7.2 Views on volunteering

7.2.1 Volunteering in general

Volunteering was defined by most of the volunteers as doing something for someone else without getting financial benefits in return. Often the volunteers want something immaterial in return, like satisfaction. The short-term mission has not resulted in a different view on volunteering in general. Most of the volunteers already had a history with volunteering or an interest for volunteering and therefore their view on it remained the same. Only two of the volunteers mentioned that while being there they realised that volunteering is also really useful in the Netherlands. Also the people in Rotterdam-Zuid need love and attention, she said. She does not necessarily have to go all the way to Mozambique to help the weak. This is also still a problem in the Netherlands as well as loneliness. The problems might look different than in Africa, but there are also problems here. Additionally, one participant said that not only volunteering is useful but also by making certain lifestyle choices in the Netherlands the lives of others can be positively impacted.

“We take so much for granted here and once you have been there you realise that we complain a lot about unnecessary things. We are privileged to be born here, that is not something you should take for granted, but something you have to act upon. You have the privilege to be born here, so you have to use it. You can do that in the form of development aid by helping there, but you can also show it in other things. I do that in the commission. When you have the possibilities here to work on sustainability, because you have the means and the money than you should tackle the problem here instead of there [Africa] where the problem is just as big but the means are lacking.” – Participant K

Having participated in the short-term mission did not change the way the participants look towards short-term missions or voluntourism. Most of the participants have started to appreciate these things even more because they saw the inequalities that still exist in the world. The opinions on the effectiveness of short-term missions are divided. The majority of the participants feels that short-term missions are always useful. Everybody has their own talents and they can use them to improve a situation. The size of the effects differs, but according to them you can always leave something behind. Also a small drop can be important for the person that benefits from it. On the other hand, there are a few participants that say that short-term missions are not always effective for the people who are supposed to be the beneficiaries. They feel like when there is no exchange of knowledge, the help is temporary and does not lead to anything permanent. Investment in the people should be a goal of such short-term missions.

“I do not think that it always has an effect on the local community. It always has an impact on the people that undertake such a holiday, so a short-term mission might not answer the goal of the local people, but it does answer the goal of the people that execute it. They might get a more nuanced or broader world view than before. I am convinced that orphanages that receive huge amounts of volunteering groups, also from a Christian perspective, are not always beneficial or maybe even adverse. That is why I thought it was important that we would not only go once, but build something structural, but also by building up a relationship with the organisation where you provide help. A visit to an orphanage in Africa should not be like a trip to a holiday park in France. Reciprocity is very important to me.” – Participant G

The participants confided in the organisation and therefore they were not afraid that the orphanage would be used to make money from voluntourists. Other critiques like exposing the children to a lot of new people that only stay for a short amount of time, as discussed in the relationship section, are countered by their feeling that giving them love for a little while is better than not giving them any love at all. Most of the volunteers did not feel like they took over the job from a local person or that the money they had spent on the trip could have been better spent on local builders. They valued that the project employed local builders during the time they were there and when they were gone, so they only saw themselves as an extra pair of hands. Only one person felt that the money could have been spent in a better way:

“If we would have used the money that we together spent on the trip, to hire building experts in Mozambique, than they would have achieved more than the people from Europe that were working there. You have to realise that. It is a bit crazy, because when it comes to money and means it is more efficient to hire local people to build and pay them for it. That is the strange side of charity trips. However, it does give a good feeling when you are working there.” – Participant B

This shows that the volunteers also want to get something out of the money they spent. Hiring local people to do the work would not be as satisfying as doing the work themselves and therefore the volunteers decide to go on a short-term mission. The receiving organisation also recognises that a lot of money is wasted on the trip, like costs for accommodation and plane tickets, but eventually the same amount of money will be raised because there is more awareness due to the short-term mission.

“About this monetary thing, there are a lot of people, and also about the interaction, and that is maybe why we still prefer groups to come, because some people would calculate it and say you are 10 from Holland coming, you come for three weeks, your plane tickets cost this, your money, okay you had actually spent 2000 euros per person to come here. If we multiply that by 10 it is 20.000 euros and then you come here and you paint two walls, while if you have sent us 20.000 euros we could have done a huge project. But we are very realistic to know that we would never raise 20.000 euros if nobody comes here. So I think that is for some of the organisations and stakeholders, there is sometimes a delicate balance, to decide whether it is really worth to take 20.000 euros just to get people here. I have always wanted people to come here because the investment is not only in the painting of the wall, it is in the personal relationships and the message that goes from there, that individual reaches 100 people that in the end does raise another 20.000 euros over a year or six months for the projects.” – Daily management B

Lastly, by organising short-term missions the idea that white people are rich and have more power than black people might be confirmed, according to the participants. To them, it felt like people thought that they had money. However, they do not think that this image is only strengthened by them coming to Mozambique. The same image is spread on the internet and the children now that other people grow up in better circumstances. At best, the coming of the volunteers can change the view

Mozambican people have of white people because they show them that not all white people are the boss.

“In Africa, in Mozambique, the country is mainly populated by black people. A white person is always special there. Often rich, often the boss with a huge authority relationship. These children see white people coming and those white people are happy and are willing to play with the children. That is almost a culture shock. That is not how a white person is supposed to act in Africa. I can remember that Timo asked something for the second time to a black man. He wanted to get a task to keep him busy and he asked the black man what to do at which the African man starts laughing. It was not normal that a white person would ask that to him. That is a culture shock. To us, it was not strange to ask, but it would show them that not every white person is the same white person as you expect from your own cultural context. They can also be kind and warm people that want do something with you, play with you, play soccer who has fun with you instead of being a bully.” – Participant G

The volunteers did not think that the receiving organisation saw them as superior because they came to help. They felt that the people at the orphanage were happy with the help and did not question the intentions of the volunteers.

7.2.2 Volunteering for Moz Kids

Except for two people, the participants of the short-term mission feel more involved with Moz Kids since they have undertaken the trip. They feel a bond with the children and they like to stay up to date regarding their developments. The volunteers follow information via Facebook, WhatsApp and the newsletter. Additionally, these volunteers also support the foundation in a physical or financial way. Whenever there is a fundraising activity that is organised by the foundation, the volunteers either help out at the activity or participate in it and donate money in that way. Some volunteers have decided to sponsor a child by paying a monthly sum or by donating for other causes, like new school uniforms. One of them also became a board member after the short-term mission. His motivation to become a board member was to stay connected with the children. He is now more informed about everything that is going on at the orphanages and that is bonus for him.

7.3 Changes in daily life

7.3.1 Concrete changes in daily life

The participants can be divided into two categories when it comes to changes in daily life. There is one group that has not made any changes at all and one group that has made small changes. Both groups have experienced a different way of thinking and they are more conscious about the luxury they have but for one of the groups that is it. They have not made any concrete changes in their daily lives.

“My husband says no. We still live as luxurious as before. You are back and in the beginning you have to make that switch and you think “oh what a difference with there”, but you quickly fall back into your old ways of living.” – Participant J

The group that has made changes has only made minor changes. Table 6 below shows the categories in which changes have been made and how many volunteers have made that change.

Type of change	Frequency
Changes in consumption patterns	III
Meeting with people from other cultures	I
Changes in the relation to food	III
Using less water	II

Table 6. Changes in daily life.

Changing in consumption patterns appear in two ways. The first one is that people find themselves less materialistic after the trip and they try to buy less things, especially less clothes. This either results in spending less money or in spending more money on experiences and activities that are done with friends. Secondly, one participant also mentioned that he is now trying to buy more locally instead of at the big chains. He has seen the need for local support in Mozambique and is trying to keep the same line in the Netherlands.

“I think that I am buying less and spending more money on things like having drinks and fun activities with friends. I have become less materialistic. I have seen in Mozambique that the experience that you share with people and the conversations that you have are worth so much more than all other things. It is funny, but because of that I am judging people less easily and I am more often going for a coffee with people from the university that are from Pakistan or similar countries and that are looking for Dutch friends. At the beginning I thought I have my own friends, it is fine like it is, but now I am more open to it and actually it is quite fun. I have many interesting and fun conversations in these meetings and I have become more open towards these things.” – Participant D

The quote above also shows a concrete example of how a participant changed her behaviour in daily life with regard to opening up to people from different cultures. The changes that are made in relation to food also differ. For some participants throwing away food has become a no go. It might happen occasionally but the goal is to not throw anything away. This goal is reached either by eating leftovers another day or by being creative with “old” products. Another participant is now trying to eat more basic and less extensive/luxurious.

“You see it very practically in the fact that I throw less food away. An old slice of bread can become a grilled cheese sandwich or a sop in pan, as a matter of speaking. I also have it a lot at work. When a child is complaining that it does not like the food that the parents have packed for him, I always tell them to pack it again and take it back home, and to not throw it in the bin. Then I always need to be really careful to make sure I do not say: “the poor kids in Africa do not have food and have it very hard.” I do not say that. That is what I feel a lot.” – Organiser A

Changes in water usage stem from showering less often or less long, closing the tap while brushing your teeth or from reusing towels and things like that so that water can be saved from washing less often.

However, time plays a big part in whether concrete changes are made for all participants. Some of the participants that said that they have not made any changes at all had made changes in the beginning but have fallen quickly back into their old patterns. Participants that have made changes also sensed this time issue. Changes have become less strict or occur less often. All participants have returned two or more years ago. There is no difference between the people that have gone two, three or four years ago.

7.3.2 Changes in thinking

Besides changes in thinking that lead to concrete changes in daily life, there are also changes in thinking that are not explicitly reflected in the daily life of the volunteers. Table 7 shows the changes in thinking and how often this changes come across.

Type of change	Frequency
Better understanding of others	IIII
Taking care of others / more open for other people	III
Worry less about little things	IIII
Awareness of what the volunteers have	IIIIIIII

Table 7. Changes in thinking.

The volunteers struggled a lot with prejudices and discrimination. They come from a country where the majority has a white skin colour whereas in Mozambique they are an absolute minority. Being white resulted in a different treatment and they felt discriminated. A reference was made multiple times to the refugees that live in the Netherlands. The volunteers have now felt what it is like to be from a different ethnic group and they had felt the burden of it. You can try your best to fit in and come in touch with other people, you stay a stranger.

“What I found the most impressive the first year was that I felt reversed discriminated. That was really special to experience. This happened especially the first time when I went with my son and husband. I could suddenly imagine what it was like for those few refugees at our village to live in our village. We were warned that white people are put under a magnifying glass. Pay attention that you do not get involved in a conflict, because as a white person you will get the blame. Someone literally told us just that because they had experienced it. Somebody wanted to provide assistance for someone who was hit by a car. That became an entire happening because they thought that that person was the one behind the wheel and he could not proof the opposite. So that was something I really had to get used to.” – Organiser A

Besides the issue with the refugees, another current issue shaped the lessons the volunteers had learned from their time in Mozambique. In the Netherlands, we live in a pretty individual society. What the volunteers loved about the Mozambican people is that it is a very open culture and that people take care of each other. People take care of each other and think about each other also when they are in tougher times. There were many examples of people sharing the things they got with each other:

“You know, I find it very beautiful to see that in such a country the poverty is shared. But also the little pieces of affluence. I thought that was very special. The little kids, Anna¹¹ sat there and Sofia was standing next to her and she got a present from me. My daughter, who is her sponsor, had asked me to buy that for her. It were two pieces of underwear and two shirts. It was all tied together because that was how it was sold in the store. Anna was sitting next to Sofia when she opened the present. And I felt bad. Shit, you know. But Anna was shining and kept on repeating: present for you, oh wat nice, oh wat nice. And Sofia had opened the present and Amelia held the clothes in front of Sofia, saying: you are so beautiful, you are so beautiful. Truly, my heart was pouring. That child was genuinely happy with the present that someone else got. After which Sofia started walking and looking for something to untie the clothes so she could share them with Anna. Then they both put the clothes carefully in their own

¹¹ Anna and Sofia are both fictitious names.

closet. And I thought, what Dutch child would do such a thing. At my school they are already fighting when they have the wrong colour of bubble blower. I gave the boy a pink package while he wanted a blue one. They do not know that in Africa. That was very extraordinary for me.” – Organiser A

Also the fact that they were welcomed with a smile by many people made the volunteers think. This was a way of thinking and living that was appealing to them. The volunteers that spoke about these features are now happily embracing the change that is going on in the Netherlands now Covid-19 is a serious issue. They appreciate the initiatives that are there to help others and they try to contribute to that as well. Some help by doing groceries whereas others make soup for elderly. They have seen in Mozambique what help can do for other people and in these days they are again trying to help where they can.

Another thing that changed in the thinking of the volunteers was that they should not stress about the little things. In Mozambique, and Africa in general, people take the time and, for example, when something is not finished in time, it is okay. You can continue another time, because it is not a matter of life and death. In a similar vein, there are a lot of examples that show how they worry less about the little things and the volunteers are taking this attitude along.

“I have learned to not worry about the things that you cannot change. I think that that is the biggest thing that I have learned. Before, I could always worry about what other people would think and say about me or what I do. And now I accept it, things are as they are. If I cannot change it, I am not going to worry about it. It is funny actually, because I often hear from a lot of people that have been on a trip further away that they say if it is not life changing, I am not going to worry about it. You see it a lot in the behaviour of those people.” - Board member B

After the short-term mission the volunteers were really aware of what they have and how well everything is arranged in the Netherlands. They appreciate that they can go to school and are able to go abroad for a vacation or even to move to another country. Also the fact that they still have their parents and can talk to them at the end of the day became something that was more appreciated during and after the short-term mission. But, with the awareness also comes the guilt in some cases. It is a matter of where you are born, how affluent you are in your life. Questions like *“What have they done to deserve this?”* are popping up, but there is no answer. Some volunteers accept that they have a wealthy life and appreciate it, whereas others start to feel guilty.

“At the beginning I felt guilty because I was able to go back to university again, but at a certain moment it started to feel normal again. That did happen. You do continue with your own thing. Also that I am now here in Aruba and that I have moved here, while the children will not come further than a neighbouring village in Mozambique. But I think that when you are aware hereof it is okay.” – Participant H

However, also in the case of changes in thinking, the longer it has been since the participants have left Mozambique, the more normal everything becomes again. To speak with the words of Board member A: *“It is time that I am going again. Everything is becoming normal again so quickly.”* It is interesting to hear this from her, because she has worked for years as a nurse in several countries in Africa. She has experienced a lot over there and her way of thinking is determined by these experiences, but still she also fell back into old habits and old ways of thinking. This shows that it is difficult to change someone’s mindset. One of the volunteers recognised that this holds true for developing a country as well. You start slowly, but it takes generations to change. People are used to their way of living and it takes time to change that, even when they are wishing for change.

8. Contribution of the short-term mission to the development goal of Moz kids

8.1 Development goal of the sending organisation

The website of Moz Kids says that their mission is to: *“voluntarily, with all the strengths that they have, make the difference for children in the orphanages in Mozambique. This by means of a financial contribution, but also through the sponsoring of a child and the building of a relationship with this child.”*¹² When talking with the board, the same aspects arose. The main goal is to create a network around the children as a continuous form of support. As one of the board members puts it: *“As a person from the Netherlands, you want to be a scaffolding around the orphanages, to be the frame that provides extra solidity to prevent everything from falling apart. We do that not only by, and we are very wary of that, supporting them financially, but also by creating a social network around them and sending people to experience the circumstances under which the children have to live, but also to let them enjoy the joy of the children.”*

8.2 Contribution of the short-term mission to the development goal

The short-term mission definitely adheres to the social aspect of the Moz Kids mission to create a social network around the children. Several participants of the study have said that they are sponsoring a child because of their visit to the orphanages. They have gotten a special bond during the short-term mission and this guides the choice for a specific sponsor child. The aim of the founders of All Nations Mozambique and Moz Kids is to create a personal bond besides the financial support. Sponsors can send their sponsor child a card or personal message, and sometimes when people from Moz Kids are at the orphanages, they get a personal message back from the kids. The organisations try to update the sponsors about the highlights in the lives of the children. The communication has been a bit of because of the leadership changes, but it will be picked up again. However, as one of the participants noted, the relationships only last as long as the child is in the orphanage. Once a child leaves the orphanage and it does not yet have a phone and social media, the relationship with that specific child ends. In the orphanage, the children that are old enough get their own phone which results in accounts on several social media. The volunteers are allowed to add the children on Facebook and then the volunteers and the children can decide themselves whether they will stay in touch or not. For most of the volunteers this results in a short conversation about how they are doing every once in a while, but that is it. Mostly the young adults felt the need to stay in touch via social media, whereas the adults were okay with not having contact at all. To them, the relationship continued more to be a financial one in which they sponsor a child or participate in other fundraising activities from the organisation.

“I am still surprised that Moz Kids has become so big. How many people have eventually been to Mozambique, because we just had the idea when we were 18 to have a look in Mozambique and by accident ended up at the orphanage. I think it is beautiful to see what it does to other people and what it does to the children. Children that talk about sponsors, that are happy, get cards that they keep under the pillow and show with pride. That is just super cool.” – Board member C

¹² Translated from Dutch: Onze missie is om vrijwillig, met alle krachten die we hebben, het verschil te maken voor de kinderen in de weeshuizen in Mozambique. Dit doormiddel van een financiële bijdrage maar ook het sponsoren van een kind en met dit kind een band op te bouwen.

Financially, the short-term missions have also contributed to the goal of the sending organisation to provide financial support for the children. Internal documents show that the short-term missions caused a 25 – 30% increase of the foundation’s income. The following table has been provided by the sending organisation to show the positive financial effects of the short-term missions. The first and the second group consisted of new people which shows that the foundation relatively gains more from groups of new people.

	2016	2017	2018
Via Stichting Moz Kids bank account	€12.000	€7.000	€3.000
Via short-term mission bank account	€11.000	€4.000	€3.000

Table 8. Positive financial effects of the short-term missions (rounded of by €1000).

The financial numbers that were shared go from 2014 – 2018 and therefore no conclusions can be drawn about the continuity of the increased financial support.

9. Discussion

9.1 Interpretation of key findings

This research has explored the narratives of short-term mission stakeholders on development, their contribution to development and the influence participating in a short-term mission had on their daily life. Non-profit organisation Moz Kids has served as a case study and their board members, organisers and volunteers have participated in the study.

9.1.1 Narratives on the volunteers' contribution to development

For most of the volunteers, the main goal of the short-term mission was to help the children, either by building or by taking care of / entertaining them. They feel like they can make a difference for these children. 'Making a difference' is a phrase that comes up frequently in the voluntourism literature. Smithson (2014) also describes that the volunteers are eager to make a difference. They want to help, even if it is just a small thing, to improve someone else's situation. The question is whether the help actually has effect for the people who they are going to help. Some volunteers question the effect they had on the children, because they could only be there for a short amount of time. Therefore, they were not able to teach them something or equip them with something. Others, on the other hand, felt like they could contribute something by giving the children some love. The receiving organisation acknowledges that the volunteers can help the children by coming there and loving them, and by broadening their world perspective. According to one of the daily managers, bonding with the children did help them in their healing process. Interestingly, this is in contrast with the frequently mentioned worries on voluntourism and short-term mission saying that connecting with the children can damage them, because their relationships are frequently disrupted (Guiney, 2018). Both the sending and the receiving organisation acknowledge that the goodbyes are sometimes difficult, but they also feel like it is part of life. Every child, also children not living in orphanages, have to deal with goodbyes and therefore they find it a normal phenomenon. The only thing that differs is the people through whom the children are grounded. Most children are grounded through their parents whereas the children in the All Nations orphanages are grounded through the managers and the tia's. These people do not go away either and form their basis. The volunteers are seen as extra help to entertain the children and not as care takers, they do not take up a job within the orphanage, and that could possibly make a difference as well in terms of attachment. The sending organisation has a remedial educationalist amongst them, so they are aware of what can happen with the children and both organisations keep the critiques in mind at all times. However, all of this information comes from the organisations that are involved and no actual research on the effects on the children has been done. Not in this study, but also not in the wider literature. Therefore, it is not possible to say whether the children also perceived the help of the volunteers as this positive.

Another one of the critiques that is frequently heard in the voluntourism sector and that was also addressed by the daily management is that if you add up all the money that the volunteers spent on the short-term mission it is a large amount of money. This could money could be used more effectively to hire local people to do the work of the volunteers (Writer, 2019). However, as discussed with the daily management, they feel like that amount of money will eventually come to the organisation. The short-term missions help to create more awareness amongst the volunteers and people that hear about their trip, and who then often become permanent or occasional sponsors. Therefore, the financial contribution needs to be sought much more in the ongoing financial flows between both countries that are generated by the short-term missions. The financial numbers, as presented in section 5.2.2, show this. Narratives of the volunteers can actually play an important role in this. A good example hereof is the story of the founders of Moz Kids. They accidentally stumbled upon the orphanages in Mozambique and after volunteering there for a while they started the foundation when

they came back to the Netherlands. Their enthusiastic stories have caused a snowball effect which eventually led to the financial stream that is going from the Netherlands to Mozambique, and the volunteers visiting the orphanages. Besides that, an ongoing relationship between the Netherlands and Mozambique has been created. Thus, solely looking at the financial expenditure and gain from the short-term mission itself provides a too narrow view of the financial streams that are around these trips. A possible explanation for this is that the short-term mission is organised by a foundation that focusses on the first places on providing financial support for the partner organisation and not by a foundation that is focussing on the provision for short-term missions to different projects for as many people as possible, like for example World Servants. These large organisations often work on differing projects, whereas the project of Moz Kids can always be supported because there are multiple options to financially support All Nations Mozambique via Moz Kids. Also the fundraising activities that are organised by Moz Kids throughout the year often keeps the volunteers and their acquaintances connected to the foundation and with that an increasing stream of money that can be used for the care of the children.

Still, this has only little effect to development overall, because the project is very small-scale and individual and does not tackle root causes. However, the research has shown that the effects are wider than local development, because the short-term mission was a learning experience for the volunteers. The following section describes how the volunteers talk about development.

9.1.2 Narratives on development

Even though the volunteers have been to Mozambique, they have mostly spoken about Africa when they talk about their experiences and not about Mozambique. In doing so, they overlook the differences that exists between the different countries that together form the continent of Africa. This is a common trait from people from the West. Africa is often described as one, little country instead of a diverse continent with different languages and cultures in every country (Williams, 2010). Additionally, the way the volunteers talk about development is typical for Dutch narratives. Previous research on Dutch discourses in primary school history textbooks show that such books talk about the poor Africa that needs help from rich countries (Weiner, 2016). The Dutch offer a lot of development aid to “help the poor countries” and sending volunteers to build something is a common thing do. The books only speak about teaching the African community something or doing something for them instead of with them, and therefore it ignores the indigenous knowledge that exists in these receiving countries (Weiner, 2016). In the global context of inequality and postcolonialism, this so-called helping language is based on the history of the domination of the West (Palacios, 2010). Going to a poor country to help is the dominant discourse and therefore it is not illogical that the volunteers talk about the short-term missions in a similar way. They have been taught that volunteering to help others is what is needed from the rich countries and in doing so, they ignore the historical context and root causes of the problem, as well as the diversity within the global South and roles of local institutions.

Most of the respondents that have participated in this study have participated twice in the short-term mission. The second time, the volunteers also had the goal to help. The participants still felt like it was necessary to go a second time. In that sense, the short-term mission had reinforced the existing narrative of helping, and therefore the dominant discourse was reproduced. Religion also plays a role in this, because the Bible says that Christians should take care of other people and especially orphans, and some of the participants have brought these teachings up as a motivation to volunteer. But, as studied by Lim & MacGregor (2012), the religious community itself also stimulates volunteering and helping others. Congregations form a place in which people can get acquainted with volunteering possibilities. In the case of Moz Kids, presentations were held in the churches they are connected to, in order to find people that were willing to join the short-term mission. Being able to go to

Mozambique together really stimulated the participants to join and, in some cases, to go again. Thus, this also motivated churchgoers to do volunteering work abroad while they probably would not have done it without the group.

However, according to Palacios (2010), when cross-cultural understanding and intercultural learning take place amongst volunteers, positive effects can take place. There is a potential for a strengthened global civil society, promotion of inclusive participation, and motivation for alternatives to development aid (Escobar, 2005; Palacios, 2010; Sherraden et al., 2006). The three stakeholder groups have all spoken about intercultural learning. The short-term mission groups stayed at one of the orphanages and therefore the volunteers felt like they could pick up a lot from the Mozambican culture. In that way, the volunteers can understand development through tourism and higher levels of engagement with the local community can result in an increased understanding of local communities in a developing country and more intercultural exchanges between the tourist, the volunteer in this case, and the local community. This intercultural learning can lead to reversed helping by teaching the volunteers something. In the case of the Moz Kids, this happened for only a few people. They had become more aware of the damage that the West has done by colonising and exploiting African countries. The visit of a history museum in Cape Town raised this awareness. These volunteers feel responsible, but therefore they also feel that the West has responsibilities in terms of development aid regarding the countries in which they have caused damage.

When two cultures meet, they can enrich the other (Wearing & Grabowski, 2011). The volunteers have learned several things from the Mozambican people, namely being a bit less strict with time and planning, appreciating little things, and to worry less about small problems. Besides that, intercultural learning often reduces the Othering, of the local community (Wearing & Grabowski, 2011). In two cases, this was the case and the volunteers realised that the children are just like Dutch children. They can get easily bored and also African children are not always extremely motivated to go to school or do homework. In another case, the volunteer also realised that not every local person is eager to receive help from people from other countries, whereas others felt that help is always needed. Especially seeing people searching the garbage belt for usable products and people living there made a deep impression in the minds of the volunteers. It made them wonder why the West was not able to help and to narrow the gap between them and the Global South. In this case, the stereotype of Africa that is poor and needs help, is reinforced, as is the idea that the West is the one that should provide help. There are many studies that have a positive view on intercultural learning, but Raymond & Hall (2008) also recognise cross-cultural misunderstanding and the reinforcement of stereotypes. They advise the sending organisations to do three things to help guide cross-cultural understanding, namely the work should fit the volunteer, there should be moments of reflection, and the volunteers need to be exposed to the local community. The volunteers had all felt like they could contribute something to the project and there were daily reflection moments. Exposure to the local community outside of the orphanage did not happen much, except for the people from the shops and the holiday parks, and the builders, the volunteers did not have contact with people outside of the orphanage.

In terms of development aid, the volunteers and organisers of the short-term mission value small-scale projects supporting local people that are not about just sending money but also about providing mental and physical help. This is something that they have mostly developed during their time in Mozambique. By supporting local projects, the volunteers feel like the help ends up at the right place and by sending money it is more uncertain where it goes to. Before the short-term mission, the volunteers thought less about the way development aid should be organised. It is like one of the organisers has said, experiencing something is different than hearing about it, and thus it can set people to think.

9.1.3 Narratives on daily life changes

Changes in the daily life can be made because of the participation in a short-term mission. The volunteers reflected on their daily life changes two to four years after their short-term mission. Many of the things they had changed in the beginning, faded after they had been home for a longer period of time. Changes in consumption patterns and changes in relation to food were mentioned most frequently and were also the changes that remained the strongest over time. Previous research on the effects of short-time study experiences abroad also shows that whether students learned from their time abroad was more dependent on how they acted after they returned home than on what they did during their time abroad (Rowan-Kenyon & Niehaus, 2011). To actually turn a transformative learning experience into a change in daily life is difficult to many people for several reasons. One needs to be emotionally strong to deal with the challenges of incorporating change. If a person is overwhelmed by the process of integrating the change, they can stop implementing it. The same holds true for people that are not supported by the people surrounding them (Rowan-Kenyon & Niehaus, 2011). The volunteers of this study gave a similar reason, namely that it is hard to make a permanent change, because the people around them are continuing to live life the way they volunteers did before their short-term mission and therefore it is easy to fall back into old habits.

Additionally, short-term missions are said to be strengthening the participants' faith and to be a stepping stone for the young adults for long-term missionary work (Ver Beek, 2006). Whereas this indeed happened for one of the board members of Moz Kids in a previous trip, the volunteers, and especially the young adults, had perceived this differently. Faith was not something they paid more attention to than at home and it also did not play a significant role in their experience with the children. A possible explanation for this is that the young adults were also less active in their faith in daily life at home and none of them were thinking of becoming a long-term missionary. The non-believers that joined the trip also did not become believers after their short-term mission. Some of them appreciated the meaning of faith for some people, but that was all. A possible explanation hereof is that despite the hopes from the organiser and the receiving organisation that the volunteers would come closer to God, the emphasis on faith was not explicit enough. Most of the things happened implicitly, for example through taking care of the orphans which is written in the Bible.

9.2 The role of the case study in the findings

Arguably, the case study was determining for the narratives found in this research. There are many types of volunteer work that short-term missions can undertake, for example projects on environmental sustainability or animal welfare. In that case, the findings are likely to be different. When talking about their experiences, the children of the orphanage play a central role in the narratives of the volunteers. The children are the ones that unconsciously taught the volunteers a lot regarding appreciation of what they have and worrying less about small things. Projects that include less interaction with local people might lead to different insights. Additionally, the children are the main motivation for the volunteers to keep the bond with the sending organisation as well as the receiving organisation. Most of the people that returned had mostly given 'seeing the children again' as main return motivation. On the other hand, having an impact on the local community is often a motivation to participate in a short-term mission and therefore the main motivation will be similar for most types of volunteer work (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2010). Finally, inequalities and historical root causes hereof might be more visible in other projects. The orphanages are a quite secluded environment in which not all inequalities are visible. The children grow up in relative luxury compared to where they are coming from and therefore most volunteers did not feel like they have seen poverty

or poor living circumstances in the orphanage. Projects in which there is more contact with people from outside can create a better visibility of inequality.

Secondly, the type of organisation can also be dependent for the findings. Moz Kids is a small-scale organisation that is in close contact with the volunteers. At Moz Kids, there is a possibility for the volunteers to have a say in the organisation of the short-term mission whereas larger sending organisations have a fixed way of organising the short-term mission. Therefore, participants in the short-term mission of Moz Kids might have a more positive experience, because they can have a say in the process. Additionally, Moz Kids and similar organisations might create more involvement with the organisation after the short-term mission, because the project continues. The volunteers can still concretely help the organisation after the short-term mission by helping at fundraising activities, by sponsoring a child, or by making a donation.

Lastly, the location of the short-term mission, Mozambique, also played a part in the findings. One of the board members, who had also participated in a short-term mission to South Africa after her first volunteering period at the orphanage, and she felt like the situation in the townships in South Africa was pretty good. One of her friends that had participated in the same short-term mission also recognised the same thing once he came to Mozambique with the last group. He could finally understand that there was no shock when that board member arrived in South Africa because the situation in Mozambique was worse. Additionally, one of the volunteers that had travelled a lot mentioned that Mozambique was the first country where he saw people living in huts and that that made an impression on him. Therefore, the location and the surroundings in which the project is situated also influence how the volunteers experience the project and the need to help. Projects that are situated in a country with lower living standards could make a bigger impact and make people think more about the inequalities than projects in countries where the living standards are higher.

9.3 Limitations of the data

The limitations of the study have already been discussed in the methodology section. However, when reading the results and the discussion it is important to take into account that socially preferred answers could have been given for several reasons. It is important to look critically at the results and to realise that narratives are influenced by others or by the wish to keep everybody happy. Additionally, the volunteers have undertaken their short-term mission four to two years ago and therefore recall bias could have occurred. There is a possibility that they do not remember every aspect of their short-term mission, but it is likely that the most significant moments are remembered.

10. Conclusion

10.1 Conclusion

The way people think about development co-constructs their development efforts and therefore this thesis looked at the narratives of volunteers that were involved in a short-term mission. The main research question was as following:

What are the narratives of volunteers on their contribution to development, development and the influence participation in a short-term mission has on daily life after contributing to a short-term mission?

The volunteers feel like they have contributed to development by taking care of the children and building a baby house for the orphans to come. Critiques regarding damaging the children and the money for the trip that could have been spent better are not relatable for the volunteers, sending organisation or receiving organisation. The children open up because of the visits and this amount of money would not have been raised if the groups would not have gone to Mozambique. Indeed, a lot of money is spent on the travel itself, but by creating more awareness about the situation in Mozambique and Moz Kids that is becoming more known through the fundraising activities and stories of the group, the amount of money will eventually come. The volunteers themselves have also become more involved with Moz Kids after their participation in the short-term mission, either through participating in fundraising activities or by becoming a sponsor. Therefore, the short-term missions generate broader financial flows and linkages between the countries.

The helping language is central in the way the participants of the short-term mission talk about their experiences. Their main goal is to help by building the baby house or by entertaining the children. This helping narrative is similar to the narratives found in Dutch textbooks, that also speak about the responsibility of the West to go to the poor Africa to help, and therefore completely overlooking the root causes of the problem and the local institutions. This helping narrative is partly reproduced by the short-term mission, because the volunteers have seen the poverty and feel the need and responsibility to help. The opposite accounts for the receiving organisation that mainly focusses on a learning goal. To them, the goal is threefold, because they want the volunteers to experience the work of God, to create advocacy for the children and to have an impact on the lives of the volunteers. The sending organisation is right in the middle with goals related to helping and learning. Both goals contribute to development in their own way. The help that is given by the volunteers is seen by them as a drop in the ocean, but a golden drop for the child they have been bonding with. On the other hand, according to this thesis, the learning aspect of the short-term mission can create a wider effect on development. When intercultural learning takes place, the volunteers become more aware of inclusivity and they develop an idea of how they want development cooperation to look like. Ideas regarding inclusivity stem from the fact that the volunteers felt like an outsider in Mozambique and realised what it must be like for outsiders that come to the Netherlands. Therefore, they are more open towards people from other cultures. Additionally, some of the volunteers have become more self-reflective on the ways they can do something meaningful. These reflections are about sustainability at home and global interconnection.

Regarding the daily life changes, changes in thinking as well as the concrete changes can be distinguished. Changes in thinking appear most frequently. Examples that are frequently mentioned are the improved understanding of the point of view of refugees or other strangers in the Netherlands. Also, the Mozambicans were very welcoming and open, and they realised that that is something they could learn from. Additionally, the volunteers feel more aware of what they have and they appreciate it more than before now they have seen that the situation they live in is not normal for everybody.

Lastly, the volunteers worry less about small things. They have seen the difficulties that some Mozambican people face and realised that small problems that won't cause them much damage are not worth worrying about.

When it comes to practical daily life changes, the volunteers can be divided into two groups, namely the group that made no changes at all and the group that made only minor changes. There was no straight pattern that could explain why some people made changes and others did not. Some changes that are made are reduced water usage, changing food consumption, changing consumption patterns and increased meeting with people from other cultures. Changes in the daily life are prone to be forgotten after a while, because the volunteers feel like they are drawn back into their old patterns. Therefore, the changes made are mostly short-term changes.

To conclude, the narratives about the short-term mission are positive and the volunteers feel like they have contributed something valuable to the cause of the receiving organisation. The volunteers are still in favour of development aid and still feel like there is a need to help, and therefore one could say that the short-term mission has reinforced the stereotype of Africa that needs help from the West. Religion also plays a role in spreading the helping narrative. This research has shown that the church is the place where people hear about the possibilities of a short-term mission and because other churchgoers are joining the trip, the barrier for an individual to do volunteering work abroad is less big.

10.2 Contribution to body of literature and further research

Most of the scientific literature on short-term missions has looked at the perspective of the volunteers that often originate from North America. Also, very little has been written about the perspectives of the receiving organisation (Zehner, 2013), but comparisons between the views of volunteers, the sending organisation and the receiving organisations have hardly been made. What makes this research different is that looks at the issue from multiple perspectives. Furthermore, this research has created an insight in how volunteers think about development (aid) and the changes they have made in their daily lives after the short-term mission. This can contribute to the discussion about the usefulness of short-term missions. However, it would be interesting to get a more detailed insight in the daily life changes. This thesis could be seen as explorative research to find out in which direction daily life changes go, but it would be interesting to measure this quantitatively amongst larger groups. Additionally, such a study could try to explain why some participants of a short-term mission have not changed their behaviour in daily life whereas others have.

To get an even more comprehensive view of the different stakeholder narratives, other stakeholder narratives could be included. In the case of Moz Kids, it would have been interesting to also hear the thoughts of the local community and the children in the orphanages that are above eighteen years old. Which stakeholders are relevant to include differs for every short-term mission, but beneficiaries besides the receiving organisation are worth a closer look. In that way, both sides would be studied in-depth.

Another suggestion for further research would be to compare the narratives between volunteers of two types of organisations. For example a small, non-profit organisation like Moz Kids that focusses on supporting one project or organisation compared to a larger organisation that organises short-term missions to different projects. As already mentioned in the section above, some of the participants in this research had a more critical view on World Servants or other short-term missions and therefore it would be interesting to see if their narratives differ and what causes these changes.

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12. Appendix

12.1 Interview guides

This appendix includes all the interview guides that were used for the interviews. The interview guides formed a basis for the questions, but were not definite. Several other questions have been asked during the interviews depending on the stories of the participants. The order of the questions also differed per interview and the direction in which the interview was heading. All the board members of Moz Kids have been to Mozambique as well and some of them have also participated in one of the short-term missions. Therefore, they have also been asked the questions regarding experiences of the short-term missions or their visit to Mozambique.

12.1.1 Interview guide organisers

Introduction

Introduction	Introduce me
Purpose of the study	We will be studying narratives on religion, development and volunteer tourism
Anonymity and credibility	The interview will be anonymous, which means that your personal particulars will not be used or mentioned. Besides that, the answers given will only be used for this research.
Stopping early	If you wish at any given point of the interview to not continue further, you can let us know. We will then stop the interview.
Recordings	As already mentioned, the interview will be recorded. We will ask you now again whether you agree with this. Do you agree with recording the interview?

Informing questions

Topics	Questions
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Age• Level of education• Current occupation• Household size
Social networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Could you describe the community/municipality you grew up in?• How are ties with the other community members?• Are you part of any social group (e.g. sports club, church, etc)

Key questions

Topics	Questions
Volunteering	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• How would you define a volunteer?• Are you currently volunteering?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probe: type, organisation, length,• Why are you (not) volunteering (anymore)?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probe: intrinsic motivation, social group, upbringing• Are any of your friends/family volunteering?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Are you volunteering together?
Religion and development	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• How is religion involved in your daily life?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probes: upbringing• How do you see the role of the church in development aid?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Necessity, usefulness, duty, participation, religious teachings
Moz Kids	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Could you describe Moz Kids in your own words?• The goal of Moz Kids is to support the orphanages in Mozambique. How does the STM contribute to this goal? What does it add?• When have you started to organise these STMs?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probes: why, purpose, who do you take along• How is the management of the orphanages involved in the organisation of the STM?• Why do you think it is important that people participate in an STM?• How are the STMs organised?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probes: who are involved, how do you determine the goal, how often do you go• How are the STMS financed?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probes: where is the money used for, fundraising, who is your target group, student tariff• What does the STM look like?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probes: time at the orphanages, motivation for holiday week• Does the construction continue when the groups are gone? Do local people work on the project?
Volunteer tourism - experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Which aspects are important to you for a successful STM?• What is your most memorable experience?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Why, impact on you then and later on• What was your most challenging experience?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Negativity, least likeable• What was your role during the STM? Which activities were part of that?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ How do you think about that?• Which role did others have during the STM? Which activities did they undertake?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ How do you think about that?• What role did religion play in the short-term mission?

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- Probes: amongst the volunteers, with the children, with the community, where did it show most, would it have been different without it, examples

- How important was it for you to include religion in the short-term mission?
- Which positive effects have you experienced of the STM? Why?
- Which negative effects have you experienced? Why (not)?
- How does the STM differ from your regular vacations?
- What were your expectations before the STM and were these met?
- What have you learned during the STMs?
- Have you seen change within the participants?
- Are you still in touch with the participants and children of the orphanage?
- Are you more involved with the foundation after the STMs?
- Do you have a sponsor child?

**Volunteer
tourism –
narratives
on...**

- How did you experience Matola?
 - People, arrangements, habits, differences with home
 - Could you tell me something about the culture in Matola?
 - Probes: habits, values
 - What did you think of the Mozambican people you've met?
 - How has your participation helped you to understand the Mozambican culture better?
 - How has participation changed your understanding of the world?
 - Did the participation cause changes in your daily life? If so, what and why?
 - How did you think about development aid before participation?
 - How do you think about development aid after participation?
 - Probes: necessity, type of development, awareness
 - Why did it (not) change?
 - How do you think about volunteering before and after participation?
 - Probes: necessity, type of volunteering, frequency
 - What are the responsibilities of developed countries towards developing countries?
 - What do you think about short-term missions like yours in general?
 - Probes: effects on the place, effects on development, effects on the children, interactions between volunteers and other stakeholders, power relations, short-term vs long-term, unintended side effects
-

End

Interview closing	Is there anything you want to add to the conversation?
Expressing gratitude	I would like to thank you for your time and participation.
Sending research paper	If you want to have a summary of the study (in your language), I can add you to the mailing list.
Leaving contact details	In case you have any further questions later on, please let me know. You can reach me on the following e-mail address: k.deleeuw@students.uu.nl

12.1.2 Interview guide Moz Kids

Introduction

Introduction	Introduce me
Purpose of the study	We will be studying narratives on religion, development and volunteer tourism
Anonymity and credibility	The interview will be anonymous, which means that your personal particulars will not be used or mentioned. Besides that, the answers given will only be used for this research.
Stopping early	If you wish at any given point of the interview to not continue further, you can let us know. We will then stop the interview.
Recordings	As already mentioned, the interview will be recorded. We will ask you now again whether you agree with this. Do you agree with recording the interview?

Informing questions

Topics	Questions
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Level of education • Current occupation • Household size
Social networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you describe the community/municipality you grew up in?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are ties with the other community members? • Are you part of any social group (e.g. sports club, church, etc)
Religion and development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is religion involved in your daily life? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probes: upbringing • How do you see the role of the church in development aid? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Necessity, usefulness, duty, participation, religious teachings

Key questions

Topics	Questions
Volunteering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How would you define a volunteer? • Are you currently volunteering? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probe: type, organisation, length, • Why are you (not) volunteering (anymore)? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probe: intrinsic motivation, social group, upbringing • Are any of your friends/family volunteering? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Are you volunteering together?
Moz Kids	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you describe Moz Kids in your own words? • What are the goals of the foundation? • What role does religion play in the foundation? • How did you get to know the foundation? • What did you think when they first talked about organising the STMs? • The goal of Moz Kids is to support the orphanages in Mozambique. How do the STMs contribute to this? What do they add? • What else do you hope to achieve with the STMs? • Why do you think it is important that people participate in a STM? • How is the board involved with the organisation of the STMs? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probes: who are involved, how do you determine what to do, why three times • How were the STMs financed? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probes: on what do you spend the money, fundraising, who is your target group • What do the STMs look like? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probes: time at the orphanages, motivation vacation week
Volunteer tourism - experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which aspects are important to you for a successful STM? • What is your most memorable experience? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Why, impact on you then and later on • What was your most challenging experience? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Negativity, least likeable • What was your role during the STM? Which activities were part of that? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How do you think about that?

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- Which role did others have during the STM? Which activities did they undertake?
 - How do you think about that?
 - What role did religion play in the short-term mission?
 - Probes: amongst the volunteers, with the children, with the community, where did it show most, would it have been different without it, examples
 - How important was it for you to include religion in the short-term mission?
 - Which positive effects have you experienced of the STM? Why?
 - Which negative effects have you experienced? Why (not)?
 - How does the STM differ from your regular vacations?
 - What were your expectations before the STM and were these met?
 - What have you learned during the STMs?
 - Have you seen change within the participants?
 - Are you still in touch with the participants and children of the orphanage?
 - Are you more involved with the foundation after the STMs?
 - Do you have a sponsor child?

**Volunteer
tourism –
narratives
on...**

- How did you experience Matola?
 - People, arrangements, habits, differences with home
 - Could you tell me something about the culture in Matola?
 - Probes: habits, values
 - What did you think of the Mozambican people you've met?
 - How has your participation helped you to understand the Mozambican culture better?
 - How has participation changed your understanding of the world?
 - Did the participation cause changes in your daily life? If so, what and why?
 - How did you think about development aid before participation?
 - How do you think about development aid after participation?
 - Probes: necessity, type of development, awareness
 - Why did it (not) change?
 - How do you think about volunteering before and after participation?
 - Probes: necessity, type of volunteering, frequency
 - What are the responsibilities of developed countries towards developing countries?
 - What do you think about short-term missions like yours in general?
 - Probes: effects on the place, effects on development, effects on the children, interactions between volunteers and other stakeholders, power relations, short-term vs long-term, unintended side effects
-

End

Interview closing	Is there anything you want to add to the conversation?
Expressing gratitude	I would like to thank you for your time and participation.
Sending research paper	If you want to have a summary of the study (in your language), I can add you to the mailing list.
Leaving contact details	In case you have any further questions later on, please let me know. You can reach me on the following e-mail address: k.deleeuw@students.uu.nl

12.1.3 Interview guide All Nations Mozambique

Introduction

Introduction	Introduce me
Purpose of the study	We will be studying narratives on religion, development and volunteer tourism
Anonymity and credibility	The interview will be anonymous, which means that your personal particulars will not be used or mentioned. Besides that, the answers given will only be used for this research.
Stopping early	If you wish at any given point of the interview to not continue further, you can let us know. We will then stop the interview.
Recordings	As already mentioned, the interview will be recorded. We will ask you now again whether you agree with this. Do you agree with recording the interview?

Informing questions

Topics	Questions
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Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Level of education • Current occupation • Household size
Social networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you describe the community/municipality you grew up in? • How are ties with the other community members? • Are you part of any social group (e.g. sports club, church, etc)
Religion and development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is religion involved in your daily life? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probes: upbringing • How do you see the role of the church in development aid? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Necessity, usefulness, duty, participation, religious teachings

Key questions

Topics	Questions
Volunteering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How would you define a volunteer? • Are you currently volunteering? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probe: type, organisation, length, • Why are you (not) volunteering (anymore)? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probe: intrinsic motivation, social group, upbringing • Are any of your friends/family volunteering? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Are you volunteering together?
Moz Kids	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did you become part of All Nations? • What is the goal of the organisation? • What role does religion play in the organisation? • The orphanages are part of All Nations. What is the role of Moz Kids? • Could you go back to the moment when you first heard about the ideas of a Moz Kids team coming to Mozambique. What thoughts went through your head? • Did you receive teams before? • How involved were you in the organisation of the trip? • What were you hoping to achieve with the teams? What were your expectations? How does that relate to the goal of the organisation? • Did you have any requirements for the teams? If so, which? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Sleeping in the promise centre, having a holiday week after the time in the orphanage, religion • What is the difference between receiving teams and individuals?
Volunteer tourism - experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which positive effects of the teams coming have you seen on the children and the organisation?

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- Which positive effects have you seen in the volunteers?
 - Have you also experienced negative effects on the children and the organisation?
 - Have you experienced negative effects in the volunteers?
 - Does a team also have an effect outside of the orphanage? Positive and negative.
 - How did the children experience the teams?
 - Volunteers said that saying goodbye was hard. How do the kids respond to saying goodbye?
 - Does the ability to keep in touch on Facebook help or not?
 - Have your expectations and wishes become true?
 - What is the difference between receiving teams and individuals? Preference?
 - How does the local community think about the volunteers?

**Volunteer
tourism –
narratives
on...**

- Before your work in Mozambique:
 - How did you think about volunteering?
 - How did you think about development aid?
 - Now you're back in Cape Town:
 - How do you think about volunteering? What caused the change?
 - How do you think about development aid? What caused the change?
 - Has your understanding of the world changed? What caused the change?
 - Have you undertaken changes in your daily life? If so, what and why?
 - What are the responsibilities of developed countries towards developing countries?
 - Many groups from countries like the Netherlands undertake similar trips to the one from Moz Kids. What do you think about short-term missions in general?
 - Probes: effects on the place, effects on development, effects on the children, interactions between volunteers and other stakeholders, power relations, short-term vs long-term, unintended side effects, view on Europe/people from Europe
-

End

Interview closing	Is there anything you want to add to the conversation?
Expressing gratitude	I would like to thank you for your time and participation.
Sending research paper	If you want to have a summary of the study (in your language), I can add you to the mailing list.

Leaving contact details	In case you have any further questions later on, please let me know. You can reach me on the following e-mail address: k.deleeuw@students.uu.nl
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12.1.4 Interview guide participants

Introduction

Introduction	Introduce me
Purpose of the study	We will be studying narratives on religion, development and volunteer tourism
Anonymity and credibility	The interview will be anonymous, which means that your personal particulars will not be used or mentioned. Besides that, the answers given will only be used for this research.
Stopping early	If you wish at any given point of the interview to not continue further, you can let us know. We will then stop the interview.
Recordings	As already mentioned, the interview will be recorded. We will ask you now again whether you agree with this. Do you agree with recording the interview?

Informing questions

Topics	Questions
Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Level of education • Current occupation • Household size
Social networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you describe the community/municipality you grew up in? • How are ties with the other community members? • Are you part of any social group (e.g. sports club, church, etc)
Religion and development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is religion involved in your daily life? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Probes: upbringing • How do you see the role of the church in development aid?

-
- Necessity, usefulness, duty, participation, religious teachings
-

Key questions

Topics	Questions
Volunteering	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• How would you define a volunteer?• Are you currently doing volunteering work?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probe: type, organisation, length,• Why are you (not) doing volunteering work (anymore)?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probe: intrinsic motivation, social group, upbringing• Are family/friends volunteering?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Are you volunteering together? Does that motivate you?
Volunteer tourism - experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• How did you find out about the organisation?• Could you go back to the moment you decided to participate and tell me about it?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Motivation, situation, intrinsic motivation, social group, upbringing• Why did you decide to participate a second time?• Can you tell me what the preparation for the short-term mission looked like?• How was the short-term mission financed?• Can you tell me about the short-term mission?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probes: type project (what did you do), goal of the trip, what did you hope to achieve, touristic activities, with whom• What was your role during the STM? What activities did you undertake?• Have you organised a lesson? Could you tell me more about that?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ How do you think about that?• Which roles did other participants have? What activities were part of that?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ How do you think about that?• What was the role of religion?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Probes: with the volunteers, with the children, with the community, where did it show most, would it have been different without, examples• How important was it for you that religion played a role in the short-term mission?• What was your most memorable experience?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Why, impact on you then and later on• What was your most challenging experience?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Negativity, least likeable

-
- How did this STM differ from your regular vacation?
 - What were your expectations beforehand and were these met?
 - What have you learned during the STM?
 - Did you see positive effects of your stay? Which ones?
 - Did you see negative effects of your stay? Why (not)?
 - Would you participate in a STM again? Why?
 - I want them to experience the rough side of Africa. Do you feel like you have?

**Volunteer
tourism –
narratives
on...**

- How did you experience Matola?
 - People, arrangements, habits, differences with home
- Could you tell me something about the culture in Matola?
 - Probes: habits, values
- What did you think of the Mozambican people you've met?
- How has your participation helped you to understand the Mozambican culture better?
- How has participation changed your understanding of the world?
- Did the participation cause changes in your daily life? If so, what and why?
- How did you think about development aid before participation?
- How do you think about development aid after participation?
 - Probes: necessity, type of development, awareness
- Why did it (not) change?
- How do you think about volunteering before and after participation?
 - Probes: necessity, type of volunteering, frequency
- What are the responsibilities of developed countries towards developing countries?
- What do you think about short-term missions like yours in general?
 - Probes: effects on the place, effects on development, effects on the children, interactions between volunteers and other stakeholders, power relations, short-term vs long-term, unintended side effects
- Are you still in touch with the children?
- How is your involvement with Moz Kids after participation?

End

Interview closing

Is there anything you want to add to the conversation?

Expressing gratitude	I would like to thank you for your time and participation.
Sending research paper	If you want to have a summary of the study (in your language), I can add you to the mailing list.
Leaving contact details	In case you have any further questions later on, please let me know. You can reach me on the following e-mail address: k.deleeuw@students.uu.nl
