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“Master of Arts (M.A.)” at Leiden University:

**“Chinese youth volunteers in Ethiopia:
What role do they play in China’s soft power strategy in Africa?”**

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0. Table of Contents

A. Introduction	2
B. Chinese youth volunteers in Ethiopia: What role do they play in China’s soft power strategy in Africa?	3
I. Current state of research	3
1.) Introduction.....	3
2.) Soft Power Theory: hard power vs. soft power	5
3.) China’s soft power strategy.....	9
4.) Preliminary findings.....	11
II. Theoretical Framework	12
1.) Soft power.....	12
2.) Foreign policy and people-to-people diplomacy	15
3.) Volunteerism & International Volunteering	17
4.) Policy analysis and policy networks	19
III. Chinese youth volunteering corps in Africa	19
1.) Historical background & objectives.....	19
2.) Actors and incentive structures	22
3.) Interviews: Chinese youth volunteers in Africa.....	23
IV. Answering the Research Questions & Concluding Remarks	34
C. Cited Works	37
D. Appendix	45
I. Appendix I: Interviews	45
II. Appendix II	105

A. Introduction

China's expanding economic clout and its growing presence on the global stage, have put its international activities under scrutiny. Since 2006, China is officially dispatching Chinese youth volunteer corps to developing countries, including Ethiopia in East Africa. A lot has been published about China's role in Africa as a donor of foreign aid in the past decade. However, a comprehensive study of China's international youth program is missing. China's economic activities in Africa have been welcomed as a good opportunity for increased economic development by a number of African state leaders. At the same time, these activities have also raised criticism from different sides. Besides the notion of China seeking to secure its growing need for natural resources, there has reportedly also been protest by African local populations with regard to the practices of Chinese companies (see e.g. Power & Mohan, 2008; Brautigam, 2009; Adem, 2012).

Most of the scholars who have written about the Chinese youth volunteering programs have argued that they are mostly serving a purported Chinese soft power strategy in Africa, aiming to improve China's international image. However, none of these publications has provided an analysis of the content and organization of these international youth volunteer projects. Further, they have not critically discussed the applicability and implications of the concept of soft power. This research will therefore focus on the theorization and meaning of the concept of soft power, as well as exploring whether the Chinese government's volunteering programs can be understood as being part of a soft power strategy.

This study will revolve around the following questions: (1) How can we define and measure soft power? (2) Does China have a specific soft power strategy in Africa? (3) How are Chinese youth volunteers organized by the Chinese government and what is the volunteering projects' set-up and content? (4) Assuming these volunteering projects are serving a Chinese soft power strategy, the question remains whether this strategy is effective? To what extent can the government control people-to-people encounters between Chinese and Africans?

The overall aim of this study is to uncover how Chinese international volunteering programs are organized by the Chinese government and to what extent this plays a role in a purported Chinese soft power strategy. The methods used to answer these questions will include observations, structured and unstructured interviews, and case studies. Seidman has pointed out that social issues are abstractions based on the concrete experience of people. Thence, investigating how an individual makes sense of this experience can give access to the most complicated social issues. The purpose of qualitative interviewing is to understand the world

from a subject's point of view while trying to minimize the interviewer's personal opinions and biases (Seidman, 2013: 7). By conducting interviews with Chinese youths with volunteering experience as representatives of the Chinese people, I therefore aim to generate a better understanding of China's international volunteering program. In addition to the general literature review, policy documents and official websites will be reviewed.

Through the above-mentioned methods, the project will contribute qualitative findings to the research on China's foreign policies, with a special focus on people-to-people diplomacy as part of a possible soft power strategy.

B. Chinese youth volunteers in Ethiopia: What role do they play in China's soft power strategy in Africa?

I. Current state of research

1.) Introduction

The Chinese government only started sending youth volunteers to Africa since 2004. Compared to the international development charity Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) or the American volunteer program Peace Corps, who have been sending volunteers to Africa since the late 1950s and the early 1960s, Chinese voluntary service to Africa is a relatively recent development. Despite the image of the Chinese government's diplomacy in Africa being focused on resource acquisition and commercial opportunism, Ethiopia neither produces raw materials crucial to China's economy, nor does it have large-scale bilateral trade with China. Although Ethiopia has undergone a rapid population boom in recent decades, it is still considered one of Africa's poorest countries. Furthermore, Ethiopia offers no direct access to the sea. Nevertheless, China has sought and is continuously seeking to deepen its ties with the East African country: a relatively large amount of Chinese workers and youth volunteers is currently residing in Ethiopia (with estimates ranging up to 10,000), many high-ranking Chinese officials have visited the country and Ethiopia is one of the top three recipients of Chinese official development assistance (see AIDDATA). Scholars have pointed out, that the Chinese government's people-to-people volunteering program contrasts sharply with the predominant image of Chinese aid: state-owned companies in the field of construction with compounds of taciturn workers living behind a fence (Brautigam, 2009: 124)).

Chinese international voluntary service is frequently mentioned in Western academic publications (see for instance Brautigam (2009), Adem (2011)) as a tool of Chinese soft power. However, hardly any research has been done on the Chinese government's volunteering projects'

set-up and content and how Chinese youth volunteers are organized by the involved Chinese government agencies.

Besides, the Chinese government's volunteering programs are frequently associated with a so-called Chinese soft power strategy (see e.g. Kurlantzick (2007, 2009), Brautigam (2009)). However, most publications do not discuss the broad concept of soft power and its implications critically. Political science scholar Joseph Nye has coined the term "soft power" in the 1980s, during a time when US power seemed to be in decline. In *Bound to Lead* (1990) Nye argues that the US may have lost world dominance in terms of traditional economic and military ("hard") power, but that it still had a great advantage "over [its] competitors" in terms of "soft" power, which is the capacity to convince and influence others by being endearing. In other words, soft power is the capability of a nation to achieve its objectives through diplomatic persuasion or attraction. Since then, the concept of soft power has drawn significant attention in academic and public debates on foreign affairs. For instance, some scholars have discussed its usefulness (Ferguson (2003)) and Gallarotti (2010) have argued that, notwithstanding all scholarly attention, the concept itself has evolved little theoretically since its introduction (1990a; 1990b). In China, the term has first been mentioned in an academic publication in 1991 (Wang & Lu, 2008), but only started to become a hot topic among Chinese scholars and policy makers in 2002.

As mentioned above, the Chinese government's volunteering programs are frequently connected to a so-called Chinese soft power strategy. However, a critical discussion of the concept of soft power and the implications of a purported Chinese soft power strategy is missing in the literature on Chinese foreign policy in Africa. Further, the way youth volunteers are organized as well as the projects' content and set-up has not yet been thoroughly investigated. To be sure, scholars have explored topics that involve these volunteering projects. For instance, Ceccagno & Graziani (2016) have offered an analysis of the drivers, developments, and implications of Chinese youth volunteering programs abroad. Brautigam (2009) mentions the particular cases of two youth volunteers in Ethiopia; however, both anecdotes are based on newspaper articles by the *China Daily* and the *Christian Science Monitor* (Brautigam, 2009: 337). Thus, a comprehensive study that explores the ways and extent to which the Chinese government organizes Chinese youth volunteers and how it connects with a purported Chinese soft power strategy has not yet been designed.

In this literature review I aim to develop an understanding of the key academic publications, debates, and gaps relevant to the topics of soft power theory (in China and in the West), China's supposed soft power strategy and the role Chinese volunteering assumes in

China's foreign policy strategy. These three topics and the debates that accompany them will provide relevant background information for my own research about Chinese youth volunteers' in Ethiopia and how the Chinese government organizes and motivates young people to do voluntary work, using the framework of soft power theory. Since no scholars have yet written on the combination of these topics, I will address them thematically in this literature review in the order mentioned above.

Even though I have encountered more relevant sources than presented here, I will only include the most relevant aspects. The aim of this literature review is to develop a comprehensive theoretical and methodological framework in order to allow this research to be a relevant and valuable contribution to the on-going scholarly debates.

2.) Soft Power Theory: hard power vs. soft power

Political sciences scholar Joseph Nye has coined the term "soft power" in the 1980s. Back then, US power seemed to be in decline. Nye contended this pessimistic view with his book *Bound to Lead* (1990) in which he argues that the US may have lost world dominance in terms of traditional economic and military power, but that it still had a great advantage "over [its] competitors" in terms of soft power. This he contrasts with 'hard' or 'command' power, which is the ability to change what others do; on the other hand, 'soft' or 'co-optive' power is the ability to shape what others want (by being attractive). According to Nye, this attractiveness rests on intangible resources, such as culture, ideology, and institutions, which could help to legitimize a given state's power and policy in the eyes of others. In Nye's view, an important type of soft power is the ability to frame the international agenda and set the rules of the game (Nye, 1990). In *Soft Power* (2004), Nye further elaborates that a country's soft power rests upon the attractiveness of its culture, its domestic political and social values, and the style and substance of its foreign policies in the past decade. Since 2000, the term soft power has gained currency in public and academic debates.

2.1. Chinese perspectives on soft power

The Chinese academic discourse on soft power shows a variety of interpretations, some of which do not correspond with Nye's definition.

On a more abstract level, Chinese scholars define soft power as intangible, non-quantifiable, non-material or spiritual power (see Wang & Sun (2005b), Xu (2004) and Huang (2004)). More specifically, Chinese analysts view soft power as the ability to persuade others with reason, to convince them with moral principles (see Zhai (2004)).

Many equate soft power with the power to “subdue the enemy without a fight”. Some scholars describe soft power as similar to what Mencius called the kingly way (Wángdào 王道) as opposed to the hegemon’s way (Bàdào 霸道) in which the former requires governing by moral example whereas the latter involves governance by brute force. At this abstract level of theorizing soft power, Chinese understanding of soft power is consistent with, though broader than Nye’s definition: soft power not only applies to nations, but also regions, organizations and even individuals. This conceptualization goes beyond a country’s ability to influence other countries through its attractiveness to include, for example, the ability to generate compliance in a society by moral example and persuasion.

With regard to the question, “Where does soft power emanate from?”, the Chinese discourse suggests that culture, domestic institutions and values seem to be the most notable sources of soft power in the international arena. Some scholars hold the view that cultural competition is an increasingly vital part of international competition (see Wang (1994) and Jiang (2004)). More specifically, soft power lies in Chinese cultural traditions such as language & literature, philosophy, medicine, cuisine and martial art. Some scholars argue that as one of the oldest civilizations in the world, China possesses unique characteristics (historically, Chinese influence radiated throughout East and West Asia and even reached Africa and Western Europe). Besides, some Chinese scholars argue that the emphasis on harmony (which is rooted in Confucianism and other schools of thought of ancient China) makes Chinese culture widely appealing; moreover, it promises a counter-balance to the “self-centered value system of the West and offers an attractive alternative to the confrontational approach to the world that has come to characterize Western, especially American, diplomacy” (Zhan & Haijun (2003)).

However, some scholars believe that although China already enjoys considerable respect and influence amongst developing countries, it still enjoys very little soft power in the West. Jacques for example has argued that this was due to China being still “a relatively poor developing country” and “the absence of a multi-party democracy” (Jacques, 2012: 609). Although Nye argues that soft power primarily rests on three resources, namely a country’s culture, its political values and its foreign policies (Nye, 2004), Jacques points out that economic power, although often defined as ‘hard power’, was a “pre-condition for most soft power” (Jacques, 2012: 610). Here, the lines between the two categories of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ power seem to not be clearly distinct.

Domestic institutions and values also feature prominently in the Chinese discourse about soft power. Chinese analysts agree with Nye that American ideology and institutions constitute

an important part of American soft power around the world. This leads to the suggestion that successful models of economic development can be a source of soft power for China and other developing nations (see Zhang (2004), and Wang (2005b)). Chinese scholars also emphasize the importance of superior diplomatic skills and styles in enhancing soft power as well as sophisticated public relations strategies and tactics that can create a positive image of a country on the international stage (thereby improving the soft power of a nation). A popular example among Chinese analysts is Zhou Enlai's refined diplomatic skills (such as his crucial role as an important foreign policy advisor and negotiator in establishing diplomatic relations with the U.S. in the early 1970s (see Maden, 1995)) that helped improve China's status in the world from the 1950s to 1970s. Chinese scholars argue that in the contemporary era, it is China's independence in its foreign policy strategy (more precisely, it is China's resistance to outside pressure, China's freedom from alignment, acting non-ideological and non-confrontational) and its orientation towards 'peaceful rise' that have made it appealing (see Zhang & Li (2003)). However, how this increased "appeal" is theorized and measured exactly (e.g. to who is China more appealing?) remains unclear. Moreover, even if we assume that China is more appealing (e.g. by hinting towards the fact that China has dramatically extended its foreign relations since the late 1970s), sufficient evidence that this is clearly connected to the above-mentioned foreign policy principles (such as resistance to outside pressure and freedom from alignment) is missing.

In a nutshell, the Chinese discourse includes three sources of soft power

- culture (Nye's focus on pop culture vs. Chinese emphasis on traditional culture)
- domestic institutions and values (Nye's focus on American political institutions and values (democracy, human rights) vs. China's focus on economic development¹)
- substance and style of foreign policy.

According to Wang & Lu (2008), Chinese policy circles embraced the American-born concept of soft power so readily, because this theoretical framework touches upon some of China's fundamental issues regarding international governance. First, the discourse about China's rise as opposed to America's decline (see e.g. Beeson 2009, Jacques 2012) raises questions regarding the conceptualization of a great power. Second, historically, empires build on hard power alone collapsed soon (for example, the collapse of the Soviet Union). Third,

¹ Although the Chinese literature claims that in the realm of domestic institutions and values China focuses on economic development, it should be pointed out that China, since its opening and reform in the late 1970s, has been increasingly active in international political institutions, such as the UN, WTO and IMF.

Chinese policy makers and analysts are aware of the suspicion and concern China's fast development has created in the international community. Developing soft power might alleviate fears of an aggressive, assertive China. On the other hand, China has arguably been acting relatively cooperative in the context of international institutions (for instance, during the negotiations for China's accession to the WTO). However, there still is a dominant discourse on China just participating in international institutions in order to gain economic benefits (see Wang & Lu (2008) also argue that Nye's concept of soft power has not gained currency in China alone. It resonates with the general intuition that power does not only lie in material resources, but also has a strong social and psychological dimension.²

2.2. Critiques of soft power theory

Many scholars have evaluated the usefulness of the concept of soft power in guiding diplomacy as being limited. Most of the scholars associated with the neorealist school of thought in international relations, such as Waltz (2010) and Trachtenberg (2012), dismiss the concept of soft power as they assert that actors in international relations only respond to two types of incentives: economic incentives and force. Soft power is defined as the ability to influence others based on one's attractiveness to them. Nye, however, does not provide a reliable way to measure attractiveness directly, only offering measures such as per capita usage of information technology, number of patents, R&D expenditure etc., that have been used as indirect indicators (Gallarotti, 2010).

According to Wang & Lu (2008), there is also a questionable link between attractiveness and ability to influence others. They argue that this link might exist between individuals, but they hold the view that states are not unitary actors. They point out that some target objects might be attracted, others not. Also, it plays a role that the attracted objects are able to influence policy-making, and if so, to what extent they can influence it. Although this argument seems convincing, important actors in the shaping of China's foreign policy, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), may still follow something one might call a soft power strategy. For instance, if the Chinese government organizes volunteering programs in Africa, the government agents involved in this endeavor might describe it as a way to improve people-to-people relations between the Chinese and the respective locals. Different authors (such as Kurlantzick (2009)) have argued that China's recent soft power strategy includes the goal to build a broader public appeal in Africa, by especially focusing on improving

² Here, authority and legitimacy are concepts of contemporary studies of international relations that capture important intangible elements of international relations.

people-to-people contacts. Kurlantzick argues that Africa, as compared to Southeast Asia, where countries have a longer history and more experience of interacting with China, and where local ethnic Chinese communities tend to dominate people-to-people interactions with China, offers more opportunity to actively shape these people-to-people contacts. However, one should take into consideration that the Chinese citizens going to Africa will most likely follow their personal agenda (e.g. economic interest); moreover, the cultural differences and varieties between the respective Chinese and the respective African locals should also be taken into account. Therefore, it seems questionable whether it is relatively easy for the Chinese government to actively shape direct contacts between Africans and Chinese.

3.) China's soft power strategy

Some scholars believe that although the discussion of soft power has been mostly academic, there are two important indicators that Chinese policy makers are taking this concept seriously. First, they believe that since Chinese publishing industry is under close government scrutiny, and therefore would not have allowed opinions contradicting or even diverging official position to flourish. The extensiveness of discussion might even indicate official interest (Wang & Lu, 2008). However, it is worth mentioning that the Chinese publishing industry has been increasingly commercialized during in the past decades. Today there are over 500 publishing houses. Therefore, the mere fact that a lot has been published about the topic of Chinese soft power, still does not prove official interest in applying this concept in the foreign policy making process.

Second, scholars have suggested that the Chinese government has become increasingly dependent on experts in policy-making process (especially on experts from official or semi-official think tanks (see e.g. Saich, 2015). Also, there is a stronger emphasis on development and promotion of Chinese culture. A growing emphasis on promoting Chinese culture and language overseas (Confucius institutes; increased popularity of language proficiency tests, such as the HSK) as part of China's cultural diplomacy has been pointed out (Wang & Lu, 2008, 439-440). According to Wang & Lu, Chinese government officials have begun speaking of a Chinese development model (2008, pp. 440). They show that China has spent more on lobbying (e.g. in the US) with the goal to improve China's ability to persuade the US on issues of importance to China (Wang & Lu, 2008: 439-440). Furthermore, China has been organizing an increasing amount of "high profile summits" in recent years, such as the second and the ninth BRICS summit in 2011 (Hainan) and 2017 (Xiamen) and the 2000, 2006 and 2012 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) summit (Beijing).

3.1. Chinese volunteers in Ethiopia as part of China's soft power strategy

As mentioned above, there is a range of scholars arguing that China's cultural promotion is part of a broader effort at public diplomacy. In general, public diplomacy has been described as the cultivation of public opinion in other nations. By cultivating this public opinion abroad, states arguably can more effectively pursue their national interests. According to Rumi Aoyama, since the end of the Cold War, China moved away from a "pure propaganda" toward more nuanced public relations (a clear example is changing the name of Party's Propaganda Department to the Publicity Department). Moreover, China has pushed a number of reforms to integrate more strongly into multilateral institutions, peaking with its accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001.

Kurlantzick (2007) states that the overseas volunteering activities of the China Association of Youth Volunteers are part of China's aim to develop its public diplomacy. According to him, Beijing has created a Chinese version of the Peace Corps to send young idealistic Chinese on long-term volunteer service projects to developing nations like Laos, Ethiopia, and Burma. Kurlantzick also describes Beijing's "China Association of Youth Volunteers as a Peace Corps-like program designed to bring young people to countries like Ethiopia on agriculture and language projects" with the aim to enhance China's image in Africa by means of people-to-people diplomacy (informal people-to-people contacts, e.g. academic exchange). Ceccagno & Graziani echo this view, arguing that Chinese international volunteering programs are best understood as social engineering efforts, with China's soft power as their main objective (2016, p. 297). However, this implies a that the Chinese government has relatively strong control over these people-to-people encounters. With regard to that, the question remains, how successful a soft power approach, that is strongly guided by a government can actually be? A soft power strategy arguably needs 'soft actors'; one important aspect about people-to-people diplomacy is its informal character (see Yamin in Young, 2010).

China's international voluntary service derives from government-sponsored domestic volunteering programs that center and build on several decades of experience to mobilize volunteers on the domestic level. Both China's voluntary service in China and China's presence in Africa have been the subject of debate among scholars (Ding (2005), Brautigam (2009), Fijałkowski (2011), Hooghe (2015), Zhang & Smith (2017), among others). However, the topic of Chinese international volunteering is still underrepresented in academia.

In their study of the drivers, developments, and implications of China's volunteering activities abroad, Ceccagno & Graziani criticize that Chinese academic elites do not question

the top down character of the state's soft power strategies focused on international volunteering (2016, p. 300).

Although Chinese Youth Volunteering is frequently mentioned in academic publications dealing with China's foreign relations, and more specifically, its soft power approach and foreign aid, none of these works offers a comprehensive overview of the actors involved in this enterprise, their actual projects and how the government motivates young Chinese to participate.

4.) Preliminary findings

As outlined and explained in this literature review, I have encountered several interesting and relevant academic debates in the preliminary research for my thesis. However, this review identifies gaps that stand out as more striking: I have given a brief introduction to three major gaps in the existing literature. Until today, neither the ways in which the Chinese government organizes volunteering projects abroad, nor to what extent it exerts control on the outcomes of these people-to-people encounters between Chinese and Africans has been investigated. Furthermore, a detailed network analysis of the actors involved in the design of the volunteering projects (led by the Chinese Youth Volunteers Association programs and other NGOs and GONGOs) has not yet been conducted.

In the case of the first gap, analysts have not yet investigated the organization and content of the volunteering projects in Africa. With regard to the second gap, I conclude that qualitative interviewing has not been applied to the case of Chinese volunteering in Africa. By applying the research method of qualitative interviewing to Chinese volunteering programs in Africa, I hope to provide an insight into how the government designs and executes these projects. This coupled with a network analysis, which will be an analysis of the actors involved in the international volunteering endeavor and the review of policy documents and official websites, will ideally give insight into purportedly positive aspects and shortcomings of what Ceccagno & Graziani (2016) call "social engineering efforts, with China's soft power as their main objective". This can provide us with a better understanding of the level of importance of international volunteering in China's assumed soft power strategy. Thence, it is likely that a network analysis of Chinese international volunteering programs and a review of official documents and websites as a ground for qualitative interviews with Chinese volunteers currently working and living in Ethiopia, will allow me to investigate how the Chinese government motivates its young citizen.

By relying on this methodology, my following thesis will be an attempt to move beyond these gaps and the limitations in the existing literature. This research will therefore seek to fill

the identified gaps in the academic literature, as well as to hopefully provide further evidence to support arguments in other related debates.

II. Theoretical Framework

In order to discuss the role of Chinese international volunteering programs in China's soft power strategy, this chapter will define the concepts of soft power, foreign policy as well as volunteerism and international volunteering. Besides, an introduction and explanation of the common research method of network analysis, which originally comes from the political sciences, will be provided. Thereby, I will define the meaning of these abstract and sometimes ambiguous concepts with regard to the specific context of this paper and therefore will be able to discuss and answer my research questions in a transparent and coherent fashion.

1.) Soft power

Soft power, as the name already indicates, is a certain type of power. But first of all: what is power? Gallarotti defines power as "an embedded social quality in which the direct interaction between bargaining agents is itself conditioned by some greater constellation of social relations" (2011: 12, footnote 13). Berenkoetter (2007) identifies four faces of power in the existing power literature; they will briefly be explained in the following:

- (1) The first face contains the conventional view on power, in which power is a contest between actors; here outcomes of the bargaining process are reflective of the relative distribution of power.
- (2) The second face is labelled as agenda control, and locates power in a contest over the agenda (e.g. in international institutions), with clear winners and losers.
- (3) This third face sees power as the manifestation of empowerment through the process of co-optation. This logic is inspired by Gramscian hegemony, which in turn develops Marx's idea about the ideological legitimization of capitalism. According to this view, the process of co-optation imposes ideas that are against the objective interests of the groups being co-opted.
- (4) The fourth face of power brings up the relation between Foucault's (2000) vision of power and the idea of soft power. Both visions eschew ideas of conflicts of interest to a far greater extent than the third vision. In Foucault's vision, the limited conflict reflects the greater difficulty of escaping pervasive power networks in order to

determine what objective interests would be. In the case of soft power, limited conflict reflects the proximity of interests between the dictates of prevailing social relations and the interests of the society at large. Also the understanding of the realization of power differs: according to Foucault power is omnipresent, thus representing an “all-encompassing undercurrent of norms, values, ideas and knowledge that inspire the very processes of socialization at the most general levels of human interaction” (Gallarotti, 2010: 19). Soft power, on the contrary, manifests itself in more specific contexts. Thus, it has to do with the relationships between the actions and policy objectives of particular nations as well as the responses to these actions and objectives of other nations.

Defining soft power

In *Bound to Lead*, Nye introduced his idea of “soft power” as the ability of a state to influence the behavior or interests of others by making the preferred outcomes attractive. In *Soft Power*, Nye further elaborates on the concept as the capability of a nation to achieve its objectives through diplomatic persuasion or attraction. Soft power is thus juxtaposed against hard or coercive power, such as military power. Nye argues that culture, political values, and foreign policies are new important aspects of international relations; they are not directly dependent on the hard power of economics and military might.

Gallarotti has pointed out that it has become all too common to equate soft power with the influence emanating from the seductive cultural values created by media and fashion, while “soft power is much more than that” (Gallarotti, 2010: 20). He locates two general sources: (1) international sources (foreign policies and actions); and (2) domestic sources (domestic policies and actions). Both main sources contain multiple sub-sources; since my research focuses on international volunteering as part of China’s soft power strategy in Africa, I will not further elaborate on the domestic sources of soft power, which are listed in the following.

International sources of soft power are

- (1) pronounced respect for international law, norms, and institutions;
- (2) fundamental reliance on multilateralism, and disposition against excessive unilateralism;
- (3) respect for international treaties and alliance commitments;
- (4) willingness to sacrifice short-run national interests in order to contribute toward the collective good;
- (5) liberal foreign economic policies (Gallarotti, 2010: 20-21).

The first source, according to Gallarotti, is the principle source of international soft power, and the sources that follow are “more specific elements of this more general orientation” (Gallarotti, 2010: 20). However, this concept of soft power appears rather based on liberal political and economic values. All these points resonate with the foreign policy doctrine of liberal internationalism; the goal of liberal internationalism is to achieve global structures within the international system that are inclined towards promoting a liberal world order. To that extent, global free trade, liberal economics and liberal political systems are all encouraged (Joyce, 2016). An interesting question that remains is whether Nye’s definition of soft power is suitable to the Chinese case? In the past 30 years, China has become an increasingly important actor in international institutions. China’s economic growth and its international influence have been rapidly gaining momentum since its accession to the WTO in 2001. The leading role that it has assumed during the global financial crisis in 2008-2009 has further emphasized its enhanced position on the international stage (Beeson, 2009: 720-731). With regard to point (1) pronounced respect for international law, norms and institutions, and point (2) fundamental reliance on multilateralism, and disposition against excessive unilateralism, China’s development of the past decades could then arguably be seen as a source of soft power. However, it seems noteworthy that China’s economic development and its growing presence in international institutions, such as the WTO or IMF, has also raised suspicion about China’s motives and whether it has really been socialized into the international community (see e.g. Han (2002)).

Some scholars have suggested, that the concept of soft power is actually much older. According to Lathinen, soft power was a strategy used in ancient China (Lathinen, 2018: 35); however, the modern concept of soft power in foreign relations was coined by Nye in the 1990s and then soon introduced in Chinese academia. As an example, Lathinen names Sun Tzu’s *Art of War* and the strategy to “confuse rivals and throw them off balance, and ‘to win victories without striking a blow’ [...] and that it has served Chinese leaders for centuries” (Lathinen, 2018: 35). As mentioned in § I.2.1., the Chinese academic discourse on soft power also contains the view that the modern concept of soft power resonates with ancient Chinese thought, such as Mencius’ kingly way (*Wángdào* 王道) as opposed to the hegemon’s way (*Bàdào* 霸道) in which the former requires governing by moral example whereas the latter involves governance by brute force. These references seem rather vague and are based on generalizations (such as when Lathinen claims that “soft power was a strategy in ancient China” and that Sun Tzu’s *Art of War*, as reflecting this strategy, “has served Chinese leaders for centuries”). However, there is clearly a tendency in the Chinese political discourse to acknowledge less coercive and hard

elements of power (see § I.2.1. “Chinese perspectives on soft power”).

Still, one of the biggest challenges of soft power remains the difficulty to measure it. And while China’s willingness to participate in international institutions has certainly increased, China’s economic clout has at the same time also evolved dramatically. China’s massive US dollar reserves were the reason many governments turned their heads towards China for help during the Global Financial Crisis in 2009 (See e.g. Beeson, 2009).

2.) Foreign policy and people-to-people diplomacy

During the FOCAC summit in Beijing in 2006, Hu Jintao announced that China would send 300 youth volunteers to Africa between 2006 and 2009. Since then, other Chinese state leaders have repeated the objective to send youth volunteers to Africa, within the context of this Sino-African multilateral forum. Further, the official website of the FOCAC forum is run by China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). This could suggest that the international volunteering programs are part of China’s foreign policy strategy in Africa. In the following, I will therefore elaborate on the implications of the term foreign policy. More specifically, I will define and explain the term people-to-people diplomacy as a foreign policy tool, which has been associated with China’s soft power strategy in Africa (see e.g. Kurlantzick, 2007, 2009).

The term foreign policy includes the general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. Domestic considerations, the policies or behavior of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs are important factors in its shaping and development. The German historian Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) emphasized the primacy of geography and external threats in shaping foreign policy, but later writers emphasized domestic factors. Diplomacy is the tool of foreign policy, but also war, alliances, and international trade may all be manifestations of it. According to Yang (2015, p.353), “the dynamic process and outcomes of foreign policy depend on the interplay of various factors”. Chinese international volunteering has been described as part of China’s soft power strategy, more precisely as a tool of people-to-people diplomacy.

How to define people-to-people diplomacy?

The *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace* defines ‘people-to-people diplomacy’ as follows:

People-to-people diplomacy is a transnational conflict-resolution strategy, underpinning the role that private citizens may play in mitigating hostile interstate relations. Official contacts trying to resolve deep-rooted and intractable conflicts often do not provide the necessary

space to accommodate the other side, to compromise over issues, and to generate creative solutions. [...] To overcome these barriers, people from all parts of society are encouraged to act as individuals or as group bridge builders across historical, cultural, and political divides. (Yamin in Young, 2010: 513)

With regard to the objectives, people-to-people exchanges or projects internationally are designed to supplement government-level exchanges and to serve as confidence-building measures at different levels of the state as well as in society in general. These contacts or networks are rather informal (Yamin in Young, 2010: 513). The conflict resolution lexicon refers to official negotiations as *Track One Diplomacy*, to give citizens the formal opportunities to complement these efforts as potential catalysts of change is known as *Track Two Diplomacy* (Yamin in Young, 2010: 513). The phrase “Track Two Diplomacy” is sometimes interchangeably used with citizen diplomacy and people-to-people diplomacy, although the process does not always focus on deliberating over issues that are of immediate concern to the governments (Yamin in Young, 2010: 513). People-to-people diplomacy rather describes a diversity of venues for cultural, social, economic, and scientific cooperation for people in hostile territories being made available by the state. Different groups of society, such as youths, schoolchildren, farming communities, women, and environmental groups are thereby given incentives to involve themselves in building unofficial relationships that are “critical for the peace-making across existing political and other divides” (Yamin in Young, 2010: 513).

What could potential catalysts be in the promotion of people-to-people contacts? Bilateral relaxations in visa policies, opportunities for participation at sports and cultural events, tourism, and exchange programs, especially educational ones, are initiatives that promote an environment conducive for people to come together to network and seek opportunities for “sustainable development” (Yamin in Young, 2010: 513).

Civil society is also seen as an important sector that can achieve a constructive transformation in conflict dynamics, because it serves as an interface between policy makers and grassroots communities and individuals. Therefore, it may be instrumental in promoting a shift in attitudes at various social, economic, and political tiers. Professionals, scholars, scientists, business people, journalists, and religious leaders are therefore usually at the forefront of such people-to-people exchanges. (Yamin in Young, 2010: 513).

Economic cooperation, academic seminars as well as international conferences and other gatherings are given as examples of people-to-people diplomacy (Yamin in Young, 2010: 514). Such initiatives may or may not be explicitly geared to resolve core political disputes; if

there is no mention of outstanding issues, they are expected to create prospects for the development of stakes for the communities on both sides to mend interstate relations. This might lead to the building of social and commercial ties that can have a positive effect on state policy to resolve contentious issues.

Shortcomings of this conflict-resolution strategy might be that people-to-people contacts, “unaccompanied by a strong political will to compromise and a clear program that makes equitable structural adjustments, are not likely to bring about the desired outcome” (Yamin in Young, 2010: 514).

3.) Volunteerism & International Volunteering

According to Prince & Brown (2016: 3), volunteerism is often considered to be an unmitigated public good. However, the position of voluntary action as a mode of engagement with widening global and national inequalities, and within development and humanitarian emergencies, calls for critical scrutiny (Redfield, 2012 in Prince & Brown, 2016: 3). Volunteering is emerging as a key site of encounters ‘between privilege and poverty’ (Muehlenbach 2013: 300) within a ‘global moral economy of compassion’ (Mittermaier 2014: 518). If considered as a moral act, volunteering is tied to religious sentiments as well as political projects (Holden 1997; Allahyari 2000, Mittermaier 2014).

How to define the volunteer and volunteering? Both are tied to particular political eras, religious trajectories and economic developments, hence, they are “historically specific” (Prince & Brown, 2016: 5). The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines volunteerism as “[t]he use or involvement of volunteer labour, especially in community services”; a volunteer is (1) “[a] person who freely offers to take part in an enterprise or undertake a task” or (2) “[a] person who works for an organization without being paid. ‘Voluntary’ as an adjective is defined as “[d]one, given, or acting of one's own free will” (OED). ‘Voluntarism’ is “the principle of relying on voluntary action (used especially with reference to the involvement of voluntary organizations in social welfare)” (OED). This definition places the emphasis on the freedom and choice embedded in the act of giving: it is an act of will (Latin: *voluntas*) which involves ‘the act of offering free help’, ‘of doing something by choice’ and ‘without being asked’ (Prince & Brown, 2016: 6).

Mauss (1954) argues that there is no such thing as a free gift and that giving is always embedded in social relations of obligation and reciprocity (Mauss in Prince & Brown, 2016: 6)). Yet volunteering is idealized as altruistic action that helps others beyond any expectation of return (Prince & Brown, 2016: 6). However, these assumptions do not always hold, such as

in the case of volunteers who have economic motivations and volunteering might benefit the giver as much as the recipient. According to Prince & Brown, acts of volunteering are embedded in particular economies (and political contexts) and are shaped by a range of motivations.

International volunteers have been prominent in Africa since the early 20th century and were drawn there by both political as well as religious motivations (Prince & Brown, 2016: 19). First, a sense of Christian vocation and a desire to spread the gospel led Europeans to volunteer in Africa for missionary societies. Until today, committed volunteers undertake works of charity (including social work and later medical intervention). Christian ideas and practices concerning voluntary action as being bound up with charity, compassion and love inform the practices of much voluntary work in Africa (see Holte, 2016). Voluntary work also informs the practices of both national and international churches, meanwhile many of the large Western-based NGOs, such as World Vision or Christian Aid, have Christian roots and some continue to have an explicit Christian ethos (see e.g. Bornstein, 2003).

With its roots in humanism and the late colonial concern about the welfare of colonized peoples, international development emerged after the Second World War alongside humanitarianism and human rights (see Redfield & Bornstein, 2010; Prince & Brown, 2016). In the immediate post-colonial period, volunteers were motivated to build a fairer and better world, alleviate poverty and bring development, as well as a desire for adventure. International volunteering has generally been associated with international NGOs (charities such as Oxfam or World Vision). Alongside, during the 1970s and 1980s, European and North American government-lead organizations such as Peace Corps or Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) organized the provision of youth volunteers to the developing world. The development of media and increasing mobility have aided international volunteering by citizens of wealthy industrialized nations to the global South (see Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011).

Apart from the continuing activities of international voluntary organizations, there has been a proliferation of different kinds of groups or channels allowing volunteers to work on projects in the global South – from ecological and environmental projects, to building schools, to providing professional medical services and technical assistance. The issue has been raised that these projects often blur the line between volunteering and tourism, leading to the growing literature on “voluntourism” (see e.g. Doerr & Davis Taïeb, 2017; Richter & Norman, 2015).

As Baillie Smith & Laurie (2011) have pointed out, the development of media and increasing mobility have aided international volunteering by citizens of wealthy industrialized nations to the global South. The topic of Chinese youth volunteers in Africa, as part of South-

South cooperation as an alternative to traditional North-South cooperation, is still relatively new.

4.) Policy analysis and policy networks

Policy analysis deals with the state's different policy fields, such as industry or foreign policy; this branch of political sociology and comparative political sciences attempts to explain the circumstances of government action (Schmid & Buhr, 2015: 178-179). A basic approach to policy analysis is to, first locate policy fields; fields of government influence can then be analyzed in more detail via policy networks. Structurally, according to Schmid & Buhr, different policy fields can be understood as networks (Schmid & Buhr, 2015: 181) and their analysis offers the following dimensions:

- the actors involved,
- their role and structures and
- the distribution of power within a policy field.

In the following, network analysis will serve as an analytical tool in order to get clearer image of the complex political and social structures of Chinese volunteering projects in Africa, with a focus on Ethiopia. By locating the different actors and their role in this endeavor, this will provide a background for discussing what role international volunteering plays in China's soft power strategy in Africa.

III. Chinese youth volunteering corps in Africa

1.) Historical background & objectives

According to Brautigam, the Chinese Language Council has for decades sent Chinese teachers to work in African schools and universities to teach Mandarin (2009: 123). The youth volunteer program, however, is the first attempt to send Chinese youth abroad to assist in various development fields. The youth volunteer program resulted from a domestic volunteer program, "Go West", which was organized by the Chinese Communist Youth League³, out of concern for rising levels of unemployment and the potential for instability among young unemployed

³ The Communist Youth League (CYL) is the Chinese Communist party's youth organization for children and adolescents from fourteen to 28 years. It has been described as the 'cadre training unit' for Chinese government leaders.

university graduates in China's underdeveloped frontier regions (Brautigam, 2016: 123). Then, at the November 2006 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Summit in Beijing, Chinese president Hu Jintao announced that China would send 300 youth volunteers to Africa between 2006 and 2009. According to Brautigam, the first set of volunteers for Africa passed through three months of tests and hurdles before being chosen out of tens and thousands of applicants.

After the Communist Youth League sent the first batch of youth volunteers abroad (to Laos and Burma), the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) took over funding and coordination of the program in 2005, launching trial operations in eight countries, including 12 young Chinese volunteers to Ethiopia. According to Kurlantzick (2007), on the other hand, "Beijing's version of the Peace Corps" (Kurlantzick, 2007: 63) is run by the China Association of Youth Volunteers, that belongs to the Chinese Communist Youth League.

Brautigam (2009) also points out that in comparison with "traditional youth volunteer programs" (Brautigam, 2009: 123), such as the US Peace Corps who have a standard two-year commitment, the Chinese youth volunteers were only posted for six months. However, there are other volunteering programs that cover shorter periods of time: The *European Voluntary Service*, for instance, enables young Europeans to go abroad to volunteer from two up to ten months. Furthermore, Brautigam mentions that the volunteers get only two weeks of training in local languages and customs. The MOFCOM paid for the volunteer's travel costs, health and accident assurance, and provided a monthly allowance of \$200. Also, only volunteers for state-owned enterprises were selected, a major reason apparently being that the organizers preferred to have people who would be "politically reliable"⁴ (Brautigam, 2009: 124). Another reason would also be that state-owned companies could be asked to continue to pay the volunteers' salaries while they were abroad, and give them back their jobs upon their return.

In early 2007, the Seychelles were the second African country to receive volunteers (ten people went there); a year later more than a hundred youth volunteers were sent to five African countries. Back then, China's volunteering program was still relatively small; the US Peace Corps by contrast has over 8,000 volunteers working in over seventy-four countries.

Chinese president Hu Jintao announced at the November 2006 FOCAC Summit in Beijing that China would send 300 youth volunteers to Africa between 2006 and 2009 (State Council, 2006: 3). In 2009, at the Opening Ceremony of the 4th Ministerial Conference of FOCAC, prime minister Wen Jiabao mentioned the young volunteers in his speech, but without giving any clear figures:

⁴ However, it is not elaborated further what is meant by "politically reliable".

“The Tanzania-Zambia Railway, the Chinese medical teams and the young Chinese volunteers in Africa are vivid examples of China’s selfless assistance to this continent [...] (FOCAC, 2009).”

In Hu Jintao's speech at Fifth Ministerial Conference of FOCAC in 2012, there is no mention of the youth volunteers. In the 2015 Johannesburg Summit’s action plan, volunteers are mentioned twice. § 4.4.5 says:

“The Chinese side will work with African countries and relevant institutions to launch joint research projects, offer consultancy services on poverty eradication policies for African countries, and send experts and/or volunteers for technical support (MOFA, 2015).”

Further, §5.4.5 states:

“The Chinese side will continue to send young volunteers to African countries (MOFA, 2015).”

Although the plan to continue sending volunteers is frequently mentioned, exact figures or a detailed outline (going beyond the promise to send experts for technical support, as stated in § 4.4.5 of the Johannesburg summits action plan (MOFA, 2015)) is missing. There is no account of the scope of Chinese government-lead volunteering projects in Africa available via the official websites of the leading Chinese government organs.

By conducting a network analysis (see § II.3 of this paper) to locate the actors involved in designing, organizing and shaping Chinese volunteering programs in Africa, and also their respective role and structure as well as the distribution of power, the following section will provide a better understanding of the complex structures of foreign policy and economic policy making. Further, the purpose of Chinese volunteering programs will be discussed. In §II.2. I have mentioned that the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has officially announced the objective to send youth volunteers to Africa. This could arguably suggest that they are part of a Chinese foreign policy strategy in Africa. However, some scholars (e.g. Brautigam, 2009) and my own research suggest that the Ministry of Commerce⁵ takes the lead in organizing the volunteering projects. By conducting a network analysis, I aim to illustrate the involved actors’ role in the Chinese government’s international volunteering projects in Africa. In a second step,

⁵ The Chinese Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) is a cabinet-level executive agency under the Chinese State Council. Amongst other things, it is responsible for formulating policy on foreign trade, export and import regulations, foreign direct investments, as well as negotiating bilateral and multilateral trade agreements. Scholars have pointed out that the MOFCOM takes the lead in China’s foreign aid projects in Africa (Brautigam, 2009).

I will then discuss the implications this has on the role of international volunteering in China's soft power strategy in Africa.

2.) Actors and incentive structures

2.1. Actors involved in organizing the volunteering programs

As mentioned in §III.1., according to Brautigam (2009), the Communist Youth League sent the first batch of youth volunteers abroad (to Laos and Burma), the Ministry of Commerce took over funding and coordination of the program in 2005, launching trial operations in eight countries, including 12 young Chinese volunteers to Ethiopia. According to Kurlantzick (2007), however, "Beijing's version of the Peace Corps" (Kurlantzick, 2007: 63) is run by the China Association of Youth Volunteers, that belongs to the Chinese Communist Youth League. However, he offers no concrete evidence that substantiates this claim.

As mentioned in §II.2., the aim to send Chinese youth volunteers to Africa has been mentioned during all but one⁶ FOCAC ministerial meetings since the FOCAC summit in Beijing in 2006, when Hu Jintao announced that China would send 300 youth volunteers to Africa between 2006 and 2009. Since then, other Chinese state leaders have repeated the objective to send youth volunteers to Africa, within the context of this Sino-African multilateral forum. The official website of the FOCAC is run by China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)⁷. This could suggest that the international volunteering programs might be part of China's foreign policy strategy in Africa.

In an interview with a social entrepreneur in Kenya, I was hinted at the fact that the China Foundation of Poverty Alleviation (CFPA)⁸ also organizes and executes international volunteering projects. Later I was able to establish contact with a Chinese woman who works for the CFPA. In a WeChat⁹(in Chinese: 微信 *Wēixìn*) conversation she explained, that they are working under the Ministry of Commerce, on the same level as the Chinese Youth Volunteers

⁶ During the Fifth Ministerial Conference of FOCAC in 2012, there is no mention of the youth volunteers.

⁷ The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), is a cabinet-level executive agency under the Chinese State Council. The agency is responsible for formulating foreign policies, decisions, foreign affairs documents, and statements with regard to the foreign relations of the People's Republic of China (PRC). It further negotiates and signs bilateral and multilateral foreign treaties and agreements and dispatches foreign affairs representatives to other countries.

⁸ The China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation (CFPA) was founded in 1989. It is registered under the Ministry of Civil Affairs and according to its own website, it covers following tasks: "raise, accept overseas donations, poverty alleviation and development, emergency relief, international cooperation, exchange of training as well as advisory services (see: <http://en.cfpa.org.cn/index.php?file=page&cid=1>)".

⁹ WeChat is a popular Chinese instant messaging application for smart phones. Although it has a broader set of functions, it can be compared to the instant messaging application WhatsApp.

Association (see Appendix II). That is to say, that they are both responsible for sending youth volunteers abroad. However, according to the woman who works for the CFYA, they both organize independent projects and select their own participants (this is explained in more detail in § III.3.4. in a case study about the CFPA's projects in Ethiopia).

So, apparently the main actors in dispatching Chinese youth volunteers are

- the MOFCOM (who is responsible for the funding of the volunteering projects),
- the CFPA (who is selecting and coordinating volunteers for their development aid projects),
- the Chinese Communist Youth League (who is apparently also selecting and coordinating volunteers for projects in developing nations).

2.2. Fields of voluntary work

According to Deborah Brautigam (2009), the first batch of Chinese youth volunteers was involved in different kinds of projects in different developing nations. With regard to volunteering projects in Africa, she names a Chinese agricultural student, who worked with the Ethiopian department of Rural Development to teach subsistence farmers and displaced refugees vegetable cultivation (Brautigam, 2009: 123) and another one teaching secretarial skills at an Ethiopian ministry.

On the CFPA's official WeChat account articles about their on-going projects in China and abroad are regularly posted. With regard to Africa, they have only written about projects in Ethiopia. As shown in more detail in § III.3.4., the CFPA's development programmes are two kinds of projects: those that offer vocational and career training to women, and another one that provides schoolchildren from poor families with daily breakfast and lunch (CFPA, 2016 a, 2016b; 2017b, 2018c).

3.) Interviews: Chinese youth volunteers in Africa

3.1. Set-up of the interviews

The literature frequently mentions Ethiopia as an important place to which the Chinese government sends its volunteers. After trying to get into touch with volunteers or organizers of these government-led volunteering programs turned out to be rather difficult in the beginning, I chose to extend my search by including Chinese youth volunteers in Ethiopia that are volunteering via Chinese NGOs or other non-state actors, such as the Christian church. In the

course of getting into touch with Chinese adolescents with volunteering experience in Africa, the scope of my research focus extended from Ethiopia to other Eastern African countries (Kenya and Tanzania).

First, I interviewed one Chinese Christian volunteer and one British theology student with a broad experience in volunteering in Ethiopia (both were at the time of the interview residing and working in Addis Ababa). Then, I interviewed one Chinese woman who has co-founded different social enterprises (*shèhuì qǐyè* 社会企业)¹⁰ in Kenya, one of them employing numerous Chinese adolescent volunteers. Following that interview, I also interviewed a German bachelor student who has been volunteering along different Chinese youths with one of these social enterprises called “China House”. Via an alumni network of the Shanghai Jiaotong University, I also got into touch with a data analyst, who has been volunteering in Tanzania and Zambia.

Although none of these volunteers or experts is or has been working with the Chinese government’s volunteering program, I was hoping that they still might indirectly provide me with insights into the government volunteering programs. They all took interest in doing voluntary work and I assumed that they therefore might know about the existing international volunteering options in China, which then could also include government-affiliated projects. I chose to interview the British theology student, because she had been working as a volunteer in Ethiopia in different places for over four years and therefore might provide insights into the volunteering activities in different regions.

3.2. The current state & challenges of Chinese government’s international volunteering programs

According to Annie, the co-founder of “China House”, a social enterprise, which started to organize volunteering projects in Colombia and Kenya in 2014, there is a growing interest among Chinese youths to volunteer abroad. At the same time, the possibilities to volunteer with Chinese organizations, that are similar to student volunteering networks such as AIESEC¹¹,

¹⁰ A social enterprise, according to the European commission, is an operator in the social economy whose main objective is to have a social impact rather than make a profit for their owners or shareholders. It operates by providing goods and services for the market in an entrepreneurial and innovative way and uses its profits primarily to achieve social objectives. Further, it, ideally, is managed in an open and responsible manner and involves employees, consumers and stakeholders affected by its commercial activities (European Commission).

¹¹ AIESEC is an international student network that was established in 1948 after WWII, with the goal of building cross-cultural understanding across nations. Today the organization is active in over 120 countries, with over 37,000 members. They offer an international volunteering opportunity (“Global Volunteer”) with which students can volunteer in a development country via an NGO between six and twelve weeks. For more information see: <<https://aiesec.org/>>.

seem to be steadily growing (Interview III).

When asked about Chinese government-led volunteering programs, specifically about the Communist Youth League's volunteering activities, Annie replied that she knows about them and that they are “volunteers who are dispatched by the government” (*guójiā pài chūlái de zhìyuànzhě* 国家派出来的志愿者), such as the American Peace Corps or British VSO (*Měiguó de Peace Corps huòzhě shì Yīngguó zhīchíde VSO* 美国的 Peace Corps 或者是英国支持的 VSO).

Interestingly, she said that the Chinese Youth Volunteers Association is responsible for one part of the government international volunteering projects.

The other part of the projects is organized by Chinese foundations, such as the China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation (CFPA). That is to say, that they “coordinate and launch (*lái xiétiáo ránhòu lái luòdì* 来协调然后来落地 (see Interview III))” the international volunteering projects initiated by the Chinese government. According to her, the foundations then make use of “networks such as AIESEC¹² to select volunteers (*xuǎnbá de xìtǒng jiùshì tōngguò AIESEC zhè zhǒng* 选拔的系统就是通过 AIESEC 这种”.¹³

The woman working in the department of the China Foundation of Poverty Alleviation (CFPA) that coordinates these projects confirmed this. She added that the Chinese Communist Youth League's volunteering association is organizing their own projects abroad, while the CFPA works together with different NGOs on site (Appendix II).

Apparently the Chinese Communist Youth League dispatches their volunteers for a longer time (at least one year (Interview III)). She said they are mostly recruiting volunteers via universities and cooperating organizations (Interview III):

The Chinese Communist Youth Leagues projects are mostly relatively long. Their requirement is at least one year, then they are mostly via universities or via a few cooperating organizations selecting [their volunteers]. For instance, [...] the China Association of Poverty Alleviation [...] will launch projects for example countries like Nepal, Myanmar or Ethiopia. Then they will select [the volunteers] via cooperating organizations, not via the government.

¹² However, Annie did not give concrete examples which similarities between Chinese student networks and AIESEC she was referring to. This could be investigated further.

¹³ When searching for youth volunteer networks on WeChat, once can find a variety of different student volunteers associations.

Zhōngguó Gòngqīngtuán nàgè xiàngmù zhǔyào shì shíjiān huì bǐjiào zhǎng. Tā yāoqiú zhìshǎo yī nián de shíjiān, ránhòu tā zhǔyào shì tōngguò gāoxiào tōngguò jiùshì tāmen hézuò de yīxiē zǔzhī lái jījí xuǎnbá de. Pìrú shuō, [...] zhōngguó fúpín jījīn huì [...] tāmen yǒu luòdì de, pìrú shuō zài Níbó'ěr huòzhě shì shuō zài Miǎndiàn huòzhě shì zài Āisàier bǐyǎ zhèxiē guójiā de xiàngmù. Ránhòu ne tā búshì tōngguò zhèngfǔ dànshì shì tōngguò tāmen hézuò de zhèxiē NGO huòzhě shì foundation yě hǎo lái xuǎnbá de.

中国共青团那个项目主要是时间会比较长。它要求至少一年的时间，然后它主要是通过高校通过就是他们合作的一些组织来积极选拔的。譬如说，[。。。]中国扶贫基金会[。。。]他们有落地的，譬如说在尼泊尔或者是说在缅甸或者是在埃塞尔比亚这些国家的项目。然后呢它不是通过政府但是是通过他们合作的这些 NGO 或者是 foundation 也好来选拔的。

Challenges

According to Annie, the government's international volunteering projects are still limited in scope (the variety of countries they are sent to) and the amount of dispatched volunteers, compared to programs like the American Peace Corps, is still relatively small (see Interview III). She described the projects as being “[in a] process, in which the government is currently extending its know-how, so that in the future they will have more and more funding and supporting policy know-how [and] then the amount of people will increase. (*Yī gè guòchéng, zhè shì zhèngfǔ xiān yào mùqián zài jiādà duì zhè kuài de zhīshì, suǒyǐ hòumiàn huì yǒu yuè lái yuè lái duō de zījīn hé zhīchí zhèngcè de zhīshì, nà rénshù huì zēngjiā.* 一个过程，这是政府先要目前在加大对这块的知识，所以后面会有越来越多的资金和支持政策的知识，那人数会增加. (Interview III)).”

With regard to the statement that the Chinese international volunteer corps is still limited in scope and number, she made a comparison with the Peace Corps. According to her, the Peace Corps has “a steady funding [and] it incorporates a rich know-how about volunteering (*tā shì yǒu bèihòude yíxiliède zījīn, ránhòu bāokuò jiù shì duì zhè xiē zhìyuànzhe de hòushide zhīshide* 它是有背后的一系列的资金，然后包括就是对这些志愿者的厚实的知识的 (Interview III)”. Further, the Peace Corps is also concerned with the financial situation of the volunteer and that “every volunteer has a fixed allowance (*měi gè zhìyuànzhe yǒu yídingde bǔtiē* 每个志愿者有一定的补贴 (Interview III))”.

According to Annie, the Chinese youth volunteer corps is at the moment still different

in that regard: the ability to support the youth volunteers (financially and with practical knowledge) is still limited (Interview III).

3.2.1. Presence of the Chinese government's international youth volunteering in Addis Ababa

When asked about how aware she is of Chinese volunteering projects in Ethiopia, 21-year old theology student Iona, as a representative of Western youth volunteers, said that she knows “Chinese business people” and “Chinese missionaries who volunteer in Christian communities”, but that she does not know about “Chinese volunteers who are not religious” or “that have come through the government” (Interview II).

In about 20 informal interviews with Ethiopians, Germans, Swiss and Americans with a background in volunteering or development aid (conducted in Addis Ababa), none of them was aware of Chinese volunteering projects in Africa, not to mention Chinese youth volunteers who were dispatched by the government. When reaching out to scholars from Leiden Institute of African studies who are doing research on development aid in East Africa (with a focus on Ethiopia), they said that they are not familiar with these Chinese government projects either.

This suggests that the Chinese youth volunteer corps is not yet very visible. Therefore, their influence in having an effect of China's image in Africa, or more specifically Ethiopia, can likewise be viewed as limited.

3.2.2. The Peace Corps & the Chinese governments international volunteers

The existing literature on Chinese development work in Africa frequently compares the Chinese government's international volunteering program to the American Peace Corps. As described in §III.1., Deborah Brautigam has first made this comparison in 2009. By explaining the Peace Corps history and activities in Africa briefly, I will show that there are different aspects, which arguably make this an unsuitable comparison.

According to the official website, the American Peace Corps volunteers in Ethiopia work with communities on projects that deal with education, the environment, and health. During their service in Ethiopia, volunteers learn to speak local languages, including Afan-Oromo, Amharic, and Tigrinya. When I last checked the website on 14 July 2018, 123 Peace Corps volunteers were residing in Ethiopia, to date 3766 volunteers in total have been dispatched there (Peace Corps). The Peace Corps is an independent federal agency, which was founded in 1961 by US president John F. Kennedy, in response to the Cold War. The stated mission of the Peace Corps includes providing technical assistance, helping people outside the United States to understand American culture, and helping Americans to understand the

cultures of other countries; their work is generally related to social and economic development. Each program participant is an American citizen, typically with a college degree, who works abroad for a period of two years after three months of training.

Volunteers work with governments, schools, non-profit organizations, non-government organizations, and entrepreneurs in education, business, information technology, agriculture, and the environment.

The program was established by “Executive Order 10924” on March 1, 1961, and authorized by the American Congress on September 21, 1961, with passage of the Peace Corps Act (Pub.L. 87–293). The act declares the program's purpose as follows:

“[T]o promote world peace and friendship through a Peace Corps, which shall make available to interested countries and areas men and women of the United States qualified for service abroad and willing to serve, under conditions of hardship if necessary, to help the peoples of such countries and areas in meeting their needs for trained manpower. (The White House, 1961: p.612).”

From 1961 to 2018 more than 225,000 American citizens have served as Peace Corps volunteers in over 141 states (Peace Corps, 2018: i).

In a nutshell, the Peace Corps is an institutionally laid down volunteering program with close to 60 years of experience in voluntary work, during which they have become a professionalized bureaucracy. The government provides them with a sound annual budget¹⁴ and they provide their volunteers with excellent training and guidance before and during the volunteering experience. The Chinese government’s program on the other hand is relatively recent (it started in 2007). As shown in III.3.2., the Chinese government’s international volunteering program faces difficulties such as a lack of sufficient funding and organizational as well as human resources issues. In general, the set-up and the organization remain quite opaque. Contrary to the Peace Corps official website, which includes current data and clearly explains the application process for volunteers, the Chinese Communist Youth League does not offer a website with recent data.¹⁵ The CFPA does offer insights about ongoing volunteering projects in Burma and Myanmar (CFPA, 2017a). However, this is not the case for international volunteering projects in Africa. Further, there is not one website that offers a clear overview of

¹⁴ The annual budget for 2018 is 432 million US\$ (Peace Corps, 2018: 3).

¹⁵ The Chinese Youth Volunteers Association’s website offers a blog about Chinese international volunteering programs. It has had its last update in June 2008.

the history or the past and on-going projects. This suggests that China's international volunteer corps is still in a phase of trial-and-error.

3.2.3. Fields of voluntary work of volunteers not affiliated with the Chinese government

According to Annie, China House organized volunteering projects in the fields of wildlife conservation, education, youth empowerment as well as offering the Chinese expat community help to integrate into the local community.

In the field of education, China House they set up the Africa Tech Challenge (*Fēizhōu Zhíyè Jìnéng Tiǎozhànsài* 非洲职业技能挑战赛¹⁶ in 2014:

We selected a few students from universities in Kenya and provided them with this kind of vocational training. Then we let them compete in these tasks [...]. It was a project in which Kenyan adolescents were helped to get a job as well as told about these kind of social skills [needed] in order to get a job.

Zài Kěnyà de xuéxiào lǐmiàn xuǎnbá yìxiē dàxuéshēng, ránhòu gěi tāmen tígòng zhè zhǒng zhíyè jiàoyù de péixùn, vocational training, ránhòu wǒ zài gěi tāmen duì jué zhèxiē gōngzuò [...]. Shì yí gè jiù shì cùjìn Kěnyàde niánqīngrén de jiùyè yǐjí gào tāmen de jiù shì zài shèhuìde zhè zhǒng jiùyè jìnéng de yí gè xiàng mù.

在肯亚的学校里面选拔一些大学生，然后给他们提供这种职业教育的培训，vocational training，然后我再给他们对决这些工作 [...]. 是一个就是促进肯亚的年轻人的就业以及告他们的就是在社会的这种就业技能的一个项目 (Interview III)。

Eva, who is a former volunteer at China House, said that in the field of integration they organized trips for the Chinese expat community to national parks in Kenya to show them how to behave properly (e.g. to not throw cigarettes on the ground randomly, or how to treat the animals with respect). Here the focus was on explaining to the Chinese expat community how to behave in particular public spaces in order to avoid conflict (Interview V).

Alvin, a volunteer with the Chinese Christian Church in Ethiopia said that the Chinese Christian church's volunteers were mostly doing social work with Chinese expats as well as trips to local communities in Ethiopia to bless the community (Interview I). Besides, they were

¹⁶ For more information about the Africa Tech Challenge, see: <https://africatechchallenge.wordpress.com/>.

visiting orphanages to spend time with the orphans and present them with little gifts (Interview I).

3.3. Chinese private initiatives and NGOs as people-to-people diplomacy

All of the interviewees had experience as or with volunteers (either they organized their voluntary activities by themselves, via international organizations, Chinese NGOs or social enterprises or, in one case, via the Chinese Christian church.) Since the term ‘people-to-people diplomacy’ rather hints towards these informal contacts, a point worth investigating further could be to what extent the Chinese government has set incentives in the recent years to facilitate these kind of initiatives, that are established and organized by non-state actors. As mentioned in § II.2., “ordinary citizens, youths, schoolchildren, farming communities, women, and environmental groups [can] be given incentives to involve themselves in building unofficial relationships that are critical for the peacemaking across existing political and other divides (Yamin in Young, 2010: 513).” To what extent the Chinese government has set incentives for these non-state actors can be examined by investigating any change in visa policies for this group of actors (e.g. relaxations in visa policies).

Alvin, one of the interviewees, who is a theology student in Addis Ababa and does voluntary work with the Chinese Christian church in Ethiopia, states that the Chinese government facilitates the process of going to Africa to do voluntary work for Chinese Christians (see Interview I). According to him, obtaining a visa to do voluntary work in Africa as a Chinese citizen affiliated with the Christian church does not pose any obstacles. The volunteers of the Chinese Christian church in Ethiopia mostly do social work with Chinese expats as well as organize trips to local communities in Ethiopia to bless the community. In his view, the Chinese government is supportive of their activities, because they help Chinese expats to deal with social challenges that are related to the fact that these expats are predominantly males who come to Ethiopia to work, while their wife and children stay behind in China. The Chinese evangelical church is part of the international evangelical church that hosts all kinds of internationals, as well as locals.¹⁷ Therefore, Chinese Christian volunteers also offer expats a link to get into touch with the local community.

According to Alvin, another important goal besides blessing the local community was:

¹⁷ During my field trip to Addis Ababa in the first two week of June 2018, I visited the Sunday service of the International Christian Church in Sarbet twice. There were around 300 people attending the service and at least half of them were locals.

[The voluntary work] can further improve our reputation. Because you know, the locals might be upset and their [views] on Chinese people are not good, actually not good at all. I know that and we also heard about it, [their view on Chinese people] is actually not good at all. So, if we can do a few of these projects, which are beneficial to the society and this can really help some of them, truly help them, then I think that is wonderful.

[Zhìyuàn gōngzuò] yě kěyǐ tíshēng wǒmen xíngxiàng, the reputation. Yīnwèi nǐ zhīdào hā, kěnéng zài dāngdìrén de xīnmù dàn bù'ān, tāmen duì zhōngguó rén de bǐng bùhǎo, bǐng bù shì tèbié hǎo, wǒ zhīdào, wǒmen yěyǒu tīngshuōguò, bǐng bùshì tèbié hǎo. Suǒyǐ rúguǒ shuō wǒmen nénggòu zuò zhèyàng yīxiē shèhuì de gōngyì xiàngmù, kěyǐ hěn bāngzhù dào yīxiē, zhēnzhēnxìngxìngde qù bāngzhù dào tāmen, wǒ juéde fēicháng hǎo.

[志愿工作] 也可以提升我们形象, the reputation。因为你知道哈, 可能在当地人的心目荡不安, 他们对中国人的并不好, 并不是特别好, 我知道, 我们也有听说过, 并不是特别好。所以如果说我们能够做这样一些社会的公益项目, 可以很帮助到一些, 真真性性地去帮助到他们, 我觉得非常好 (see Interview I)。

The way Alvin talks about their endeavor implies that there is a motive behind his and arguably his fellows' voluntary activities to help local communities (when he says that if their work can „truly help them (*zhēnzhēnxìngxìngde qù bāngzhùdào tāmen* 真真性性地去帮助到他们”, he considers that to be very good). This also resonates with the Christian virtue of charity. However, he is apparently also concerned with the Chinese reputation. This is obvious when he says, that the voluntary projects can also improve the Chinese' reputation, which he describes as “actually not good at all (*bǐng bùshì tèbié hǎo* 并不是特别好)”.

In his view, this was also the reason why he believed that the Chinese government had an interest in the Chinese Christian church's activities in Ethiopia:

My personal guess [is that] the [Chinese] government should hope that we do these things, because if do these things, that can improve China's reputation, right? They want us adolescents to go out here and help the locals, [because] this then improves Chinese peoples' reputation.

Wǒ gèrén de cāicè, [Zhōngguó] zhèngfǔ yīnggāi huì xīwàng wǒmen qù zuò zhè xiē shì, yīnwèi wǒmen zuò zhè xiē shì néng shízài tíshēng Zhōngguó rén de xíngxiàng, duì ba? Xiǎng wǒmen niánqīngrén chūlái, bāngzhùdào dāngdì rén, shì tíshēng Zhōngguó rén de xíngxiàng.

我个人的猜测，[中国]政府应该会希望我们去做这些事，因为我们做这些事能实在提升中国人的形象，对吧？想我们年轻人出来，帮助到当地人，是提升中国人的形象 (see Interview I)。

When talking about Chinese NGOs in Africa, he said that he believed that this trend is “just in the beginning stage” and that there are not many NGOs who have a strong international network (see Interview I). This is why, according to Alvin, the government could be more supportive of NGOs volunteering activities, because they could “build a bridge between people” and connect the Chinese with the locals (see Interview I).

3.4. Case study: China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation (CFPA) in Ethiopia

A review of the articles posted from 13-03-2016 until today on the official WeChat account of the CFPA indicates that they are predominantly active in China, Nepal and Burma. Of 650 published articles, six are related to projects in Africa. All of these Africa-related projects are about CFPA projects in Ethiopia.

Three of the articles are connected to a CFPA programme called “smiling children (*wēixiào értóng* 微笑儿童)” which provides free breakfast and lunch for children from poor families (CFPA, 2016a, 2016b, 2018b). In an info box about the project it says, that it “helps children from families with (financial) difficulties to grow up healthily and at the same time boosts the non-governmental contact among Chinese and Ethiopians (*bāngzhù Āisāi kùnnan jiāting értóng jiànkāng chéngzhǎng, tóngshí cùjìn zhōngguó yǔ āisāi de mínjiān jiāowǎng* 帮助埃塞困难家庭儿童健康成长, 同时促进中国与埃塞的民间交往 (CFPA, 2016b))”. Further, one of the articles explains that this project helps over 3000 schoolchildren in 42 public schools in Ethiopia’s capital Addis Ababa (CFPA).

The remaining articles are related to a project called “Women Economic Empowerment Project (*Āisàibǐyà fùnǚ jiùyè péixùn xiàngmù* 埃塞俄比亚妇女就业培训项目 (CFPA,2017b,2018a,2018c)). Interestingly, the Chinese name of the program has a different meaning than the English official title; it could be translated as “Ethiopian Women Career Training Project”. Compared to the Chinese title, the English title seems more idealistic, because it suggests that it enables women.

None of these articles mentions Chinese international volunteers. However, I found another article that briefly introduces the successful applicants for a 1-year volunteering program in Nepal and Myanmar.

The article introduces some of the participants as well as the program. In an info box, it says that the project was responding to the “Belt and Road” initiative¹⁸ and that “entrusted by the MOFCOM (*shòu shāngwùbù wěituō* 受商务部委托)”, the CFPA together with the China Volunteer Service Federation (*Zhōngguó Zhìyuàn Fúwù Liánhéhuì* 中国志愿服务联合会), the China Volunteer Service Foundation (*Zhōngguó Zhìyuàn Fúwù Jījīnhuì* 中国志愿服务基金会), as well as the China Volunteer Service Federation of Beijing (*Běijīngshì Zhìyuàn Fúwù Liánhéhuì* 北京市志愿服务联合会) organized volunteering projects in Myanmar and Nepal to dispatch 10 volunteers for a year to do voluntary work (CFPA, 2017a).

Also, the article says that over the course of several months, after having conducted personal interviews with the applicants, a panel of specialists reached a mutual decision and finally chose 10 participants for the “first round of international volunteers representing China’s citizens (*dì yī pī dàibiǎo Zhōngguó de mǐnjiān guójì zhìyuàn zhě* 第一批代表中国的民间国际志愿者)” (CFPA, 2017a). Apparently, these participants have been selected out of 202 applicants.

The proclaimed goal of the program is that each of these volunteers “enter Myanmar’s and Burma’s local communities and lives, works and reflects together with the local communities (*shēnrù Miǎndiàn, Níbó’ěr dāngdì shèqū, yǔ dāngdì rén yīqǐ shēnghuó, gōngzuò, sīkǎo* 深入缅甸、尼泊尔当地社区，与当地入一起生活、工作、思考) (CFPA, 2017a). Their duties included teaching English, to help disabled people and providing IT support.

The woman from the CFPA department I talked to, who is responsible for the volunteering projects abroad, said that the “foreign aid volunteers (*yuánwài zhìyuànzhě* 援外志愿者)” of the “Communist Youth League’s Central Committee 团中央” began in 2002 and since then have been financially supported by the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM). Then in 2015, the MOFCOM decided to “extend the channels to dispatch volunteers, that can be somewhat more innovative and therefore reached out to the CFPA to try and dispatch foreign aid volunteers together with the Youth League’s Central Committee (*tuòkuān zhìyuànzhě de pàiqiǎn qúdào, nénggòu yǒusuǒ chuàngxīn, suǒyǐ cái zhǎodào Fúpínjīnhuì lái chángshì hé Tuánzhōngyāng yìqǐ lái pàiqiǎn yuánwài zhìyuànzhě* 拓宽志愿者的派遣渠道，能够有所创新，所以才找到扶贫基金会来尝试和团中央一起来派遣援外志愿者 (Appendix II))” .

¹⁸ The initiative, formerly known as *One Belt, one Road* (OBOR), was coined by president Xi Jinping in 2013. It spans across the region from Singapore, north through Malaysia, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam, crossing west to China’s Xinjiang Province, then on through Central Asia and Pakistan, linking to the oil fields of Iran, and into both the Middle East and Africa.

However, at the moment the Communist Youth League is dispatching their own volunteers, but they are still following “the same accompanying policies [and] standards (*zūnxúnde zhèngcè, biāozhǔn* a 遵循的政策, 标准啊 (Appendix II))” .

IV. Answering the Research Questions & Concluding Remarks

As this study has shown, the term soft power strategy is quite broad and ambiguous. Besides, it is difficult to measure. Describing Chinese volunteering programs in Africa as part of such a soft power strategy hence does not provide a clear picture of what that entails. Therefore, it seems more suitable to say that Chinese volunteering programs in Africa might follow the goal to improve people-to-people relations between Chinese and Africans. However, the outcome of the encounters between volunteers and locals is influenced by a variety of factors. Ethiopians, for instance, are ethnically highly diverse, with the most important differences on the basis of linguistic categorization; Ethiopia is a mosaic of about 100 languages that can be classified into four groups (Britannica). Language barriers, local conditions (Africa is a vast continent with 54 independent states; even within a state the ethnic diversity can be overwhelming) and the volunteer’s personal motivation might have an influence on shaping people-to-people interactions. Moreover, a soft power strategy arguably needs ‘soft actors’: one important aspect about people-to-people diplomacy is its informal character. The Chinese discourse on soft power emphasizes the importance of superior diplomatic skills and styles in enhancing soft power, as well as sophisticated public relations strategies and tactics that can create a positive image of a country on the international stage. However, this does not necessarily imply that Chinese government agents, who are involved in designing the international volunteering programs, follow this view about soft power.

Besides, the volunteering program’s scope still seems to be relatively small. The Chinese volunteers and foreign aid professionals that I have interviewed, all pointed out that the government’s programs seem to face a variety of challenges, such as lack of sufficient funding, a well-running internal system as well as qualified human resources. All volunteers mentioned that their general impression was that most Chinese adolescents are reluctant to live for a longer period in regions with poor health and living conditions. Overall it was difficult to get into touch with representatives from the international volunteering projects organized by the Chinese Communist Youth League. Further, the official website about the international volunteering projects has not properly been updated since 2008.

A woman working at the China Foundation for Poverty Alleviation (*Zhōngguó Fúpín*

Jīn huì 中国扶贫基金会, CFPA) revealed that the MOFCOM in 2015 decided to assign the CFPA to organize international youth volunteer projects. The CFPA apparently works with universities and cooperating NGOs in choosing their volunteers and designing their projects. A case study of the CFPA's articles posted on their official WeChat account shows that with regard to their projects in Africa, they have only written about projects in Ethiopia. Moreover, they just make up a small share of the foundation's projects altogether (only six out of 650 articles are on Africa-related CFPA projects). This again suggests that the scope of the Chinese government's youth volunteer corps is still rather limited.

According to the interviewees, Chinese NGOs that organize volunteering projects in the field of poverty alleviation, technical assistance and social work still seem to operate on a rather grassroots, trial and error basis. Even if they have a positive influence on the way the respective locals perceive China, the government's control on who participates and the way the projects are organized is certainly limited.

So, does it make sense to view the Chinese government's international volunteering program as part of a Chinese soft power strategy in Africa? Assuming that these projects can be seen as part of a Chinese transnational conflict-resolution strategy, more specifically as people-to-people diplomacy, one could argue, following the Chinese discourse on soft power, that this might fall into the category of 'substance and style of foreign policy' as a source of soft power (see § I.2.1.). According to Nye's definition of soft power, international volunteering projects as a diplomatic tool of people-to-people diplomacy might then fit point two, 'fundamental reliance on multilateralism, and disposition against excessive unilateralism'. However, the question then still remains, if this actually enhances China's soft power in Africa and how one could measure this increase.

It can be viewed as questionable whether it seems suitable to describe these government-initiated volunteering activities as people-to-people diplomacy. An important aspect of people-to-people diplomacy is the informal character of the contact it establishes between people of different nations. With regard to the Chinese government's volunteering programs, this remains to be decided. Since the selection process as well as the organization of the youth volunteers remains rather opaque, it is difficult to determine the degree of control Chinese official state agencies (such as the MOFCOM or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) have in this selection process.

Further, this research also implies that the volunteering projects led by the Chinese government are operating with a variety of actors (such as the CFPA and other local and international NGOs and student associations). The variety of actors, also implies that the degree of government

control is limited.

Another aspect worth mentioning is China's growing integration into the international system (as represented by China's accession to the WTO or its enhanced role in fora of international governance, such as the UN or G8) that accompanied its remarkable economic development of the past 40 years. Most industrialized nations provide international volunteering opportunities for their citizens (besides America's "Peace Corps", there is Japan's "Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers, Britain's "Voluntary Service Overseas" or the Germany's "International Youth Services (IJGD)"). The logic behind Chinese international volunteering program therefore might well be understood as part of China's socialization into the international community

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D. Appendix

I. Appendix I: Interviews

Interview I

Date of interview: 10-06-2018

Place: Café in a hotel in Addis Ababa

问： 好。那你大概是个学生，我明白了 (before starting to record our interview, we had discussed that he is not to be considered a missionary, since this was a politically sensitive term).

答： 我的身份是学生。My ID 是学生的签，[就是说] visa, student visa。

问： 是因为你能来非洲。

答： 对，对，对。My ID。Student Visa。And。。。 I am serving a Chinese church here under this international church。So。。。。

问： So，你。。。怎么说。。。你没有。。。你跟中国共产党[有]没有那么关系。

答： 我不是通过中国政府派过来的。No，不是通过中国政府派来的，不是的。是自愿。

问： 那你觉得你是一位志愿者吗？

答： 嗯。。。。

问： 我觉得志愿者这个字比较。。。。

答： 看你怎么定义。对啊，how to define this word。什么是志愿者。

问： 在这里我觉得这些政府 —[在中文]怎么说 organised，恩，安排 — 通过[意思应该是：参加]这些项目，奇怪的就是以前这个 volunteering 的注意就跟你自己觉得你想帮助别的人有关系，但是在这儿有可能他们也想帮别的人，但是政府有一个很大的影响，是因为我想发现。。。[如果]（有可能）中国政府 [有可能]用这些项目[来]改变[或]改善中国在外国，在非洲的。。。。

答： 形象。Reputation。

问： 对，呵呵。

答： 哼，ok，我先讲我，好吧？我先讲我做的这些事情，然后再我可以推荐给你我所知道的其他的中国的 NGO 像在这边，可以吗？

问： 好。

答： 如果你有兴趣的话，也可以去采访他们。也可以。

问： 他们有可能有比较深刻的知识。

答： 对。他们。。。我觉得他们就是这样，是 NGO 嘛。他们是 NGO，他们应该做的就是应所说的这些志愿者项，所以如果兴趣的话，也可以采访他们，也可适值帮你联系联系。

问： 好，谢谢。

答： 不能确定他们会答应，没关系。所以我呢，哼，我给你讲就是我们主要事情是做这种 church ministry。我们指示，focus on，中国群体，中国人群体给他们一些属灵的关怀，spiritual caring, 属灵的关怀。还有就是呢，给他们一些这种道德上面(Alvin had mentioned this before starting to record the interview)的引导，你知道中国人在外国他们的生活是非常 corruption [corrupt],是非常不好的。大多数的中国人在这边都是单身，single，他们。。。

问： 他们。。。

答： 他们并没有，我的中文你能理解吗？

问： 对，可以理解，可以。

答： 那就非常好。如果不清的话，我可以用英文，都可以。

问： 我会问你。

答： Ok, 就是他们都是单身。然后他们收到很多的这种挑战，性的挑战，sex 挑战，所以如果他们。。。

问： 它【性的挑战】的意思是什么一性的挑战？

答： 就是。。。

问： 他们不能找到。。。

答： 恩，因为他们是单身过来的没有家庭，老婆，妻子没有过来。你像一个单身人子海外，所以有很大的这种失态，他们可能会去交哪一个小姐，但是这些事情在我们看啊呀不对的，是不好的。不但但是中国人看不到，埃塞尔比亚人，当地人也开含蓄不好，这会，这非常的不好。这是一个方面，所以我们期望能过给他们一些道德上面的一些指导，一些指引，让他们指导这是犯罪，这不对。还有更重要呢就是给他们一个信仰，**faith**，给他们信仰。那就是一个方面我是做中国的社工，另外一个方面呢我们希望，我们希望这个教会会成为一个平台，中国教会可以成为一个平台。这个平台呢，可以更多地去祝福到当地的市区，埃塞尔比亚的市区。也就是说你说了这种志愿者这个项目。我们教会也可以做这种慈善的项目。

问： 慈善是什么？

答： 慈善就是 **charity**。通过教会这个平台去帮助当地人，比如说我们教会有这样的一个项目，就是探访孤儿院的这个项目。我们孤儿会组织教会的这些会众网，**congregation**，我们会组织教会的会众，我们会探访孤儿院。那我们以前已经有过来，就是跟他们说我们是中国的基督徒，**Chinese Christian**，跟他们说我是中国的基督徒，然后我们给这些孩子送礼物，然后帮助他们，给他们一些拥抱。这些小孩儿需要拥抱，所以我们组织过很多次。就是去做这些项目。

问： 那你的目的就是。。。

答： 目的很简单，就是希望我们中国人也可以祝福到当地的人。**We want to bless the local[s]**。我们希望我们中国的人也可以祝福当地人，当然还有一个目的，就是也可以提升我们形象，**the reputation**。

问： 对，对，对，我们已经提到的。

答： 因为你知道哈，可能在当地人的心目荡不安，他们对中国人的并不好，并不是特别好，我知道，我们也有听说过，并不是特别好。所以如果说我们能够做这样一些社会的公益项目，可以很地帮助到一些，真真性性地去帮助到他们，我觉得非常好。

问： 有意思。

答： 在未来呢，我们现在已有计划，我们现在只是探访一些孤儿院，还没有很多其他的项目。在未来我们打算下一个项目，就是说可以再学校里面，当地的学校里面给他们一些帮助。比如说，我们可以领养这些上不起学的孩子，给他们提供一些经费，就是说他们上学。

问： 经费是什么？

答： Supporting their school fee, school fee。

问： 啊，ok。

答： So we can, 我们可以支持他们。不但但是通过这边。。。

问： 这个通过教会做志愿者。。。

答： 是中国教会的，对。

问： 不是个人的？那比方说，你想帮助这些孩子，让他们去读书，[我个人能捐钱吗]？

答： 这个钱的来源有两个渠道。第一个渠道呢，是我们在埃塞尔比亚的这些中国的基督徒我们可以募捐，fund rising，就是埃塞尔比亚的基督徒，这边的基督徒我们可以跟他们讲，让他们奉献。

第二个渠道呢，是从国内[意思就是中国]的教会，我们可以跟国内，跟中国国内的教会让他们支持。有两个渠道。但是因为考虑到埃塞尔比亚的政策，the spiritual ministry policy，他们不允许叫会做这种 charity 的项目，不允许叫慈善项目。你不知道哈？

问： 我不知道。

答： 对，教会是不能够做这种社会公益项目，不能做的，所以我们需要跟 NGO 联系。

问： 啊，你们。。。

答： 对，教会，church and NGO 我们需要联系合作。所以是这么的关系，是这么的关系。也不是说，所以我们不能说。。。so we cannot say, 'the Chinese church are doing these kind of things, no, we cannot say like this。

问： So, it's via the NGOs.

答： Yeah, we just help, associate with the NGO to do the social charity。所以基本上我们这个教会的角色就是这样。教会的角色就是这样。那我在这边搜索的这些事情，也就是这样。

问： 就是你的工作的一部分。

答： 对。就是这样嘛。所以你还有什么要问呢？

问： 对，如果你去别的地方也有一些人他们想要帮助这些当地人， local people， 改变，改善他们日常生活，比方说让他们避免生病等等。这些东西不是你教会工作的一部分？

答： 是的，是教会的一部分。我刚才跟你讲了，我们教会的。。。我们教会的。。。我们教做 program。

问： 但是这些 program，那你还没介绍你们的工作怎么样？这些项目的内容到底是什么？也有这些 technical assistance, hygiene。。。。

答： 现在我们这个教会呢，有这个社会公益的 program。我们去探访孤儿院，这是一个。这是他们孤儿院，这是没有其他的。

问： 就是你刚刚告诉我你去这儿，你们聊天一下，给他们[孩子]一个拥抱，就是这种项目，但是不是比方说别的 NGO 他们想发展当地的经济，让他们的 agriculture 发展。

答： I understand。我明白。但是现在我们没有。

问： Ok。

答： Because our Chinese church is a very small church。我们现在还没有这个能力。但是我们有这个我们想要做 mission。 We have this kind of mission。 So we want to bless the locals through these kind of programs; maybe in the future we will do these kind of things, but now: no。现在我们只是探访孤儿院，还有下一步我们计划的划，就是去做这个学校的项目。

问： 也有意思，但是你们支持他们去读书，但是你们没有教小孩子的人，比方说教他们。。。。

答：没有，现在没有，现在因为我们可能，我们只能给钱，我们还不能够给人。哼，没有这样的人。

问： 你对这些活动感兴趣吗？

答： 我们是有兴趣，我们非常感兴趣，非常感兴趣。如果有机会的话，如果有机会的话，我们会去做的，因为我们国内的教会还有很多像我们这样的年轻人。他们都希望能够祝福到当地人，所以如果一旦有机会的，然后国内有人他们愿意出来，应该是可以的。所以就是说我们就可以跟国内教会的讲，国内教会的人可以派过来，做这样的志愿者。但是这个对我们目前的能力来说呢，还大不够，我们还没有这样的能力。因为就需要长大的资金的支持。还有就是需要国内的有这样的，有这样能力的人，比方说你要去教书哈，你要教书的话，你需要有这个资历啊，certification。This kind of credential，所以现在我们还缺少这样的人，我们没有这样的人。

问： 那你什么时候决定你想去非洲？

答： 什么时候？

问： 对。

答： 什么时候？啊，二零一四年的时，二零一四年的时候，有过来的，就在埃塞爾比亞。

问： 那你怎么发现有这个机会；是因为在你的教会里面有人告诉你？

答： 对，教会，就是通过教会，知道有这样的教会。埃塞，这个国家有大的教会，叫做 Kyle Hill，这个教会是很大的。是一个 protestant church，我们是通过他们过来的。是这样。他们帮助我们过来；其实我们主要的这个目标呢，还是说，给中国人传福音，就是我们主要的目标。也是我的个人目标。

问： 就是帮助这些中国 expats。

答： 就是。。。

问： 就是说你刚刚说到的这些性挑战。

答： 对，对，对，就是帮助到这些。

问： 你说过有这些问题。

答： 有啊，很多，很多。

问： 还有别的吗？

答： 有啊。比方说啊，比方说啊，这班中国人，他都不会说英文，这边的中国人大多数都不会说英文，然后他们不了解当地文化，就埃塞的文化不了解。所以他们在一起在合作的时候，常常会有很多的矛盾，有矛盾，所以我们就想帮助他们解决这些矛盾。这是我们的一个目标，就解决这些矛盾。当地人跟我国人，怎么让他们能够换文化，cross-cultural communicate。怎么让他们能够碰还是交流合作，这是我们的一个责任。还有一个就是。这边的中国人呢，他们理想北京，就离开自己的国家，离开自己的亲人到这个地方来。很多的时候是很孤独的，很孤独，所以他需要有一个家，一个 home，一个 fellowship。但是这边没有啊。可能如果没有教会的话，如果没有这个 Christian home, Christian fellowship, 他们可能会去酒吧，去赌场，所以这个我们就希望能够给他们一个 fellowship, 提供这样的环境，互相帮助，养中国人在一起能够互相帮助，互相慰藉，comfort。

问： 那但是你最大的目的就是中国人，是吗？是因为他们也是中国人。。。你是一个中国人，所以觉得。。。就是你的民族人，是因为你感这些。。。

答： 这个其实根据需要来的，是根据需要来的。就哪里需要，我们就去那里。这样说吧，其实刚开始的时候，我们并不是说要去关注这班中国人，没有。我们刚开始一四年，二零一四年来的时候，我们是说要去当地人的，去关心当地人的。但是呢，这个 Kyle Hill 的教会，这个当地的一个最大的，他们就跟我们讲：‘你们是中国人，你们会说中文，你们了解中国文化，这么多的中国人在这边，一间教会都没有，就是说一间中国教会都没有，你们为什么不做中国人，要做当地的人？因为当地人已经有很多的教会，埃塞尔比亚有很多的教会，有很多的 NGO, 很多的 charity, 但是这边中国人一个都没有。怎么办？所以说我们那个时候决定呢我们先，首先，做中国人的工作。

问： 我觉得这个很有意思，是因为那我刚刚提到的这个 China Youth Volunteers Association, 恩，就是。。。以前就是一个国内的组织，但是然后他们发现在外国有可能也有这些问题，有可能也是这些项目的一部分，我不知道；但是也是以前在国内工

作的一个组织，有这个帮助人的需要，比方说在中国的西部没有那么多的工作，所以很多年轻人他们不能找到工作，是因为这个 China Youth Volunteers Association 这个组织去西部帮助他们，所以好像这些活动的目的跟这个需要有很大的关系。

答： 就哪里有需要，那里就去。

问： 所以有可能。。。我想如果我能找到这些跟政府有关系的志愿者，有可能他们最后做的工作跟他们以前想做的不太一样。你明白我的意思吗？

答： 我明白，这个我就不清楚。

问： 就是你的经验，是吗？因为你以前想跟当地人工作，但是现在就是一半是当地人，另一半是中国人。

答： 我现在是就是做的，就是亚巴[亚的斯亚贝巴]当地人工作，或是说 cross-cultural 工作，换文化的工作，跟中国人的工作怎么把它联合在一起？所以我现在所想就是这个：怎么把[fang?]文化工作跟中国人的放两个在一起？所以我刚才跟你讲的那一个中国教会做一个平台祝福当地人，就是两个在一起的一个方式，就是这个意思。

问： 那，你觉得如果我想找到这些和中国政府来的志愿者，你有些注意怎么找到他们呢？

答： 我给你看一个微信。。。恩 [so here Alvin showed me the WeChat profile of a Chinese platform for Chinese NGOs called ‘Love without borders – 爱无疆’；在埃塞有一个叫做供养会的公公益机构，他们介绍自己说他们是埃塞尔比亚 第一个中国国际民间因基柱院队，公益慈善租住，他们本着知趣人生公益帮扶的理念，欢迎各位热心公益慈善，是刚刚建立的]。

问： 那你在中国念国家的大学吗？

答： 我在中国没有读本科，我读的是神学，theology。

问： 是在中国教会读的呢？

答： 在中国教会读的 theology。

问： 跟这个国家的大学完全没有关系，是吗？

答： 没有关系。

问： 我想研究的这个组织跟政府有关系。

答： 这个应该有，我跟你讲的这个供养会，我觉得这个跟政府有关系。

问： 但是我觉得你的工作很有意思嘛。

答： 如果你了解中国的宗教政策的话，你应该知道啊，中国政府是不支持教会的到外面去工作的。

问： 在历史上有些困难。

答： 所以我们跟政府呢，就是没有太多的联系，所以我们都是算是民间组织，然后教会组织。

问： 对，就是一个比较敏感的。。。

答： 但是现在还好，没有关系。为什么呢？因为我们在国外，我们也会祝福到一些当地人，可以提升中国的形象。这对中国政府来说，是好事。他们喜欢，他们很喜欢。

问： 我刚刚想一想，如果你想做这些事情，有可能也表示中国政府想你做这些事情。有可能他们。。。

答： 他们没有。。。我个人的猜测，政府应该会希望我们去做这些事，因为我们做这些事能实在提升中国人的形象，对吧？想我们年轻人出来，帮助到当地人，是提升中国人的形象，对中国政府已有面[字]。

问： 那如果中国大公司的工人他们有喝酒赌博的问题的话，可能也会影响大公司的 business，好像就是一个比较 utilitarian 的看法。因为中国政府没有这个基督教的概念，所以我觉得他们的看法比较实际。

答： 是这样的。

问： 那你教会没有这么大的问题做你现在做的项目呢？

答： 没有问题，他们很支持，都非常支持我们。

问： 那就是说，如果你们。。。你想收到一个 visa 中国政府会不会帮助你呢？

答： 他们其实，他们提供，给我们提供一些帮助，但是具体怎么去做还令我们自己去。所以他们就是帮助我们，然后我们自己去。他们的能力也有限，资源也有限，所以主要还是我们自己在这边去联络一些人，联络当地的人，移民，自己去做。所以就是这样的。

问： 那你刚刚提到二零一四年你来了这儿。在这个时候这些项目大概开始呢？

答： 没有，这个时候没有。

问： 什么时候开始呢？

答： 我们在二零一四年的下半年，大概是九月份。九月份那个时候我们就跟这个 IEC 教会开始这个 small fellowship。然后来慢慢地就是一直就救援一直到现在。

问： 所以你就是这个 new experience, the start of this part of the church coming to Ethiopia。那就是你刚刚提到的是因为你们想帮助当地的人，就是这个项目开点的原因吗？就是这个中国教会你们为什么决定去别的国家，去非洲？

答： 为什么呼哈？这个就说来华商，首先呢因为我们是基督徒，我们相信上帝爱人，神他爱每一个人，

嗯，我们中国呢中国是被上帝祝福的，特别是在很久很久以前有很多西方的传教士去到中国。

问： 从意大利。。。

答： 从英国，从美国，从韩国去到中国传福音。然后呢有很多的人贤者是死在的中国。They died there, in China。 So we felt the Chinese church is blessed so much by God, 所以我们中国教会呢现在呢中国教会需要把这个祝福也带给世界各地的人，这就是为什么我们来过了非洲。我们不但当在非非洲，可能在其他很大的地方。

问： 但是在这儿一定有很多相信基督教的人，所以已经发现他们跟上帝的这个关系。

答： 所以这解说为什么我们现在做中国人的事。这就是说为什么，嗯，为什么我们现在做中国的 shigong

问： 你在这儿发现情形就这样，然后改变你们的目的。

答： 对，但是呢这边的当地人他们也需要什么呢，他们需要技术，他们需要，嗯，一些 practical，怎么说呢也实际上的一些帮助，需要人帮他们。我们中国人现在可以建工厂，可以有一些 agricultural technology，可以帮助到他们，所以我们中国教会能就可以在在这些方面来帮助到当地的基督徒，是这样的。

问： 对，我昨天看一篇文章，现在这个当地的政府他们想，怎么说，他们计划这些跟中国比较一样的 industrial parks，这些发展的地区，所以我觉得中国跟埃塞尔比亚的合作关系很密切。就是因为你们也发现在这儿有可能有些需要。

答： 对，其实我们也鼓励从国内来的基督徒，他们可以在这边建工厂，建工厂呢可以给当地提供救援的机会嘛。

问： 建工厂就是。。。我不太明白它的意思。。。

答： 建工厂就是 ‘start an industry’。 So we are calling the Chinese Christians in China to come here and start an industry, so that the locals will be higher in that industry. So we give them opportunity.

问： 所以你让你的教会人来这儿。

答： We are calling them to come, but it is difficult. It’s very difficult for them to come.

问： 对，因为在这里的生活挑战很大。那你现在想待在这儿吗？就是你的 calling 吗？

答： 对，所以我会继续的在这个地方。我今年就毕业了， so my graduation will be next June. So after the graduation I will try to stay here, continue to do the mission here. So, yeah...

问： That’s very exciting.

答： Yes!

问： Well, I hope we can keep in touch.

答： Yeah, sure we can. And I will try to contact the person and I will let you know.

问： Thanks for your insights, I think it’s very helpful.

答： Ok, I hope so.

问： Do you think if I go to China, because I am applying for a scholarship to go to Beijing, this fall... do you think it's easy to get access to get access to these kinds of associations or are they very closed?

答： Yeah, there are many this kind of associations in China.

问： ... that are also helping the volunteers to come here [to Ethiopia]?

答： But for now, you know, the Chinese NGOs going outside the country [this trend] is just in the stage of beginning. I don't think there are many Chinese NGOs that have this kind of international network, I don't think so. So, maybe just a few of them are interested in outside ministry, a foreign job.

问： Well, I can also imagine that the government is [just] starting to open up, I mean allowing them to go abroad.

答： Yeah, yeah, yeah...

问： But what seems to me from what you say is that they allow these kind of things [means: volunteering activities] to happen.

答： Actually they promote [the volunteering abroad].

问： Do you know why they promote it?

答： I think it is to help others, to help people.

问： For example help the Chinese that live here?

答： Yeah. And also to be a bridge, to bridge the people between the local and the Chinese. So if we have these kind of volunteers in a local country, so the relationship between the Chinese and the local will be connected.

问： They make a contact, so they are not isolated so that the Chinese are living together and the locals, but that they know each other.

答： It's good for them, it's good for the Chinese community, also it's good for the locals and also it's good for the Chinese reputation. So, the government would like to see the volunteers outside the country, but you know for the Chinese youth now it's difficult for them to go out. You know the one-family policy, the one-child policy? The families they just have one or two children.

问： So, they don't want them to leave, to go abroad?

答： Yes, they don't want them to leave and also, because there is no religious background, those children, those youths, Chinese youths, they don't have the religious background, so I don't think they have enough motivation to go out.

问： So, you mean in general it's difficult.

答： Yeah, it's difficult.

问： They lack a [strong] motivation?

答： Yeah, it's difficult, materialism.

问： A lack of motivation? But that is actually something why I think, for example these government [volunteering] programs, maybe if you have an incentive to go to Africa a couple of years, then you come back and maybe then you have a better job opportunity?

答： Yes, the Japanese do it that way.

问： But do you think that is also part of the Chinese [programs]?

答： I don't know, sorry.

问： You don't know. But your church is apparently different, because you have a very different motivation?

答： Yeah, our motivation is come from God, is come from God, the love of God. So, I don't know what about others.

问： Yeah, but it's interesting. It's developing and to what extent it [meant: volunteering programs organized by the Chinese government] are also made to solve maybe certain problems; social issues, political issues.

答: Yeah, yeah, right.

问: Well, I thank you a lot.

Interview II

Date of interview: 15-06-2018

Place: Café in Addis Ababa

Liliane: So, now it's working, now we are starting the interview. Hi, thank you for participating.

Iona: It's ok.

Liliane: Would you mind first just quickly introducing yourself and saying who you are and what you are doing in Ethiopia.

Iona: So, I am Iona (laughs). I study theology here and I also have a small charity registered in the UK. And we work in Ethiopia to fight against poverty caused by lack of education or health care. And I teach English.

Liliane: But is that voluntary?

Iona: Yes, so, em, ok, half of the teaching is voluntary, half of it is paid, so I can survive (laughs). And then there's all the stuff for development, that's all voluntary. I don't get paid at all for that.

Liliane: Ok, so that would also had been my next question, [namely] if you have experience as a volunteer; so apparently you do...

Iona: Yes, I have when I first arrived here, I volunteered in a children's home for almost three months altogether, em, so I lived there for three, I had to buy the food and donate money to the orphanage to help it run, em, and I taught the children there that grew up in the orphanage, mostly HIV orphans. And then, em, experiences in Ethiopia, right?

Liliane: Uh-huh, also if you have others, so in general...

Iona: Ok, so I volunteered in India for four months, then I volunteered in the Philippines for four months, and then I came here and I volunteered here. So, in India and in the Philippines it was mostly administration stuff or also with children; and then here, it has been the same,

similar with children or with teaching English for free. And, eh, yeah, so now I am just working with a family to open a school in the south, so that's like I am volunteering, but I am paying them through the charity to do it, cause they really... they don't have any money. So, that's what I am doing, but then here, but I am volunteering my time and money and effort into this, yeah.

Liliane: Ok, but it's also your charity, so you are not just going via the charity, because you have to organize everything.

Iona: Yeah, because it's my charity. I have to do everything, all that (laughs) everything.

Liliane: Are you also, well you cannot say, the employer but do you host other volunteers via your charity?

Iona: Em, we have done we had people come out to be with us, em, well we hope once the school is officially set up, we'll take people for like six months or one year to like teach in the school, hopefully as a volunteer, and they can live on the side and volunteer in the school, that's our hope. But they'd have to stay at least... short-term volunteers would be okay for visiting, but I think if they want to teach, it'd be good for them to stay a period, so the children can just have them for a year, rather than just a couple of weeks. That'd be the hope.

Liliane: So, what is then the reason to have [a stay of] six to ten months.

Iona: That would be like either a semester or a year. So, the reason would be for like stability for the children, because I think if they just come in to be play people, for people to play with them, then it's okay to just come for a little bit. But I don't want to damage the community and also you can't always trust volunteers that come like, maybe they are going to be more of a problem than... so they come with their own problems and issues and things, and they come to a really difficult place, it's a rough area, em, they might find it harder, so, we really have to do a lot of interviewing processes before they came, to understand expectations and also give training, because once they are here, they are already here. Em, so that would be... so, if they came for longer, they could make more of an impact and help with the school, kind of more... it would be better I think.

Liliane: Yes, so, em, so that's something that seems to be important to have a careful selection process. Did you find that out by your own experience, or is that something you also learned from bigger organizations?

Iona: I think from bigger places, because, well, actually when I've been in the volunteering field, I volunteered alongside other people, so I have seen some people come out just for a couple of weeks and then, if they are just here to do like a football camp, sometimes it's good because the kids have memories and they really enjoy it, but sometimes they... sometimes kids can feel like, I was once with children and they said they felt like zoo animals because they came in and out, in and out, in and out, taken photos, and they were like, we're just like, they felt like they were just there for being photographed, and they didn't like that. So, I think that you need to make people understand that they're coming into peoples' lives, and also, that they can't change the world by just coming for a week, or two weeks. Cause some people come and they get upset, that they can't really do anything, so I think they need to understand that they are coming more for just a kind of visit, than to make a difference in that short time. But I think also, I've seen people freak out in place, or people who have never really been to a place, and so then they are having their own emotional problems which impact the people that they've gone to help. So, I think that it's really important that you can pick people who have some kind of knowledge, or if they don't, make sure you really train them before they come, because then that lessens the chance of them having a freak-out time (laughs) or a panic, yeah.

Liliane: So, em, yeah, these trainings, that's also an interesting aspect, I know that in Germany they often have like an accompanying training, also in order to process your experience. Have you gone through trainings yourself, do you know what is a best practice there?

Iona: Train people?

Liliane: Yes.

Iona: Ah, I haven't really, I just kind of learned as I over the past couple of years, maybe three, four years now, as I been doing these kind of stuff, I've learned the hard way, but I am also quite adaptable, so that helped a lot, because I can just adapt to whatever the situation is. But I had a mission guy, who I knew trains missionaries, so he didn't officially train me but we met a couple of times just for coffee and stuff, and he told me all about like this cycle of when you go to a foreign country, it starts off like the honeymoon phase, you have all these different phases, so as I started hitting the panic stage of like 'Oooh, this isn't fun anymore, I don't like this', then I didn't quit, because I knew, oh, this will last couple of months, so then I'll get through it, for if I have not been told that, I would have thought, 'oh, there's something wrong with me, I can't live in a country like this'. So, I think him just saying things, even if it wasn't, I did not pay for the training, it wasn't official, it was just like a friend almost, but he had a lot

of experience, em, I think that really helped me being told those things. And also, you have to realize just because it's different, doesn't make it wrong. And I think if you live by that mentality, you'll be fine. Because when it's so different, I don't know, you see things happening, you don't think, 'ooh, this is so bad, this is so bad', no, it's just different and then you are okay. So, I think training would be really important. It's something that I really hope to do more with people before they come and also when they are here, like for the first couple of weeks, em, yeah. I think I'll be good.

Liliane: Yeah, also to prevent a culture shock. It's probably more of an issue, if you go abroad to volunteer.

Iona: And just to make people aware of what culture shock is, because I think it's a natural thing, that people just think, they just say, 'oh, it's a culture shock'. Cause some people they get very sick, or stressed, they can't eat, or they are physically ill, but I think it all comes down to the stress of being in a culture that they really don't understand.

Liliane: And they think they have to understand everything.

Iona: Yeah.

Liliane: What I also found interesting, you mentioned that you would tend to have longer programs, also because you don't want to kind of change the local communities too much. Have you had experiences where you saw that there was some influence because people would come for short amounts of time?

Iona: Yes, I think in the orphanage here people would just come for weeks, so I think that the children stopped seeing the white people or the Westerner's as people, and just like a group of like people with a lot of money, and a lot of fun. So, they just would be like, 'ooh', they didn't really see them as an individual person, they just saw you as, 'oh, you've just come here to give me stuff and have fun', so, which isn't bad necessarily, because when you're a child in an orphanage, it's kind of nice to have someone to come and brighten up a few weeks, that's fine. But I think, also, but sometimes volunteers, because I am Christian, but then when they are non-Christian, they also come and they do a lot of clubbing, so when they go into rural areas, and they go out drinking and behaving in these ways that they may behave at home, it really damages the communities and it really makes a negative view of Westerners. Em, so I think, that would be part of the training; you can't do what you do at home, because it's not home. So, I think, em, yeah and I also think that when if it's like a child, or if it's like a rural community,

and people coming in and out, it's hard to... maybe one person does something in certain ways, so maybe they even teach in a certain way, and then they are gone; and then next week someone else is here, and they do something in a certain way. The kids don't have like any security, or anything, and they can't adapt to a certain person, so they just end up being quite badly behaved, because they know, whoever comes for the first few days or week until they get their grounding. So, I think if someone comes for a year, the kids will get to know, 'ok, this is the rules' or 'this is the way', and I think it's better. Because even in Western school you have teachers that come for a year maybe, and then they go, it's kind of normal. But I think a year is long enough to, especially for older children, it is long enough to just spend that year and then you know someone else will come, maybe. So, I think it's, yeah, obviously more challenging to find someone that wants to come for a year, and then it would be for a few weeks. But I think, if you had the right conditions, people would come, I think, because I would do it.

Liliane: So, what would you describe as the right conditions?

Iona: Like somewhere clean and hygienic to live, with water and electricity most of the time, em, I think water is a big thing. Especially, in rural areas you need water. And, em, food that is healthy, I mean you won't get sick from. Either someone who can cook that food for them or just a place they can buy food. And if it means bringing food stuff from Addis to the rural areas for them to eat, then I think that's necessary because, yes, the local people survive on local food, but we are not local, our bodies are different. So, if we just ate some of the food we probably get sick.

Liliane: Yes, because your immune system is not used to it.

Iona: Yes, even the water as well. Em, yeah, I think even teaching people how to stay healthy in a place like this is also important, also mosquito nets, I don't know, all the things like that.

Liliane: Washing your hands more often than you would probably do it at home.

Iona: Yeah, that's important. And I think sometimes, I think my auntie's actually one person who says, oh, but you have to live like the locals. So she went to Tanzania for two years, she burnt out, she got really sick, she lost a lot of weight. And she ended up going back to the UK very, very stressed, so I think that's not a healthy way to do it. Whereas if you come here and take care of yourself, you can stay here and be way more beneficial to a community, if you are healthy. Em, so things like that.

Liliane: So then that also kind of poses the question about those really, like, difficult areas where people suffer a lot and maybe there are also security issues at hand, because there are conflicts between different tribes. That would probably make it harder to create such an environment...

Iona: It would be harder. I think then you either have to have them live in a place that you know is safe and then they travel to the community. Or you have to pick certain individuals that can handle a harder life style, like some people are up for a challenge or adventure to live in a conflict zone, eh, so I think I wouldn't mind doing it, so I think if you could find people similar, they could, em, then it would be okay. But you have to really have an even more careful selection process. And also with people with experience, because you can't bring a first-time volunteer to a conflict zone. So, maybe keep them in Addis for a while, then slowly bring them in. But I think it needs to be someone who understands what's going on. Em, yeah, also that you can't interfere. You might see a lot of stuff happen, but you can't interfere, because, either you risk getting hurt, because we don't understand the conflict, so for us we have a Western way of how to deal with it. But that's not how... we don't understand. So it has to be someone who understands their place and what they are there to do.

Liliane: So then in general it is important to have like culture trainings, so that you know what the local customs are. You might not be able to understand everything but you have to be aware that there are different ways of handling things. Em, yeah, again this selection process seems to be very important, also if you try to allocate people to the right [meaning: most suiting their interests and skills] places. But what for example would be your tip for, let's call them start-up NGOs, that just have this idea they want to change something, but they go to places that are very different. So, what would be a good thing to do?

Iona: I think first they need to, before trying to do anything, they need to just live there. So, it's like without interfering, without trying to set up anything, without trying to do anything, just live there, either get a job somewhere, or just live in the country. Maybe in the city first, then move slowly outwards. Because I have been here two years and I still feel like I don't know anything. I am learning a lot every day, but I still feel like I got a lot to learn. And I think you have to understand that we have feelings, we feel things or we show our feelings in a way, but it doesn't really matter how we feel but it matters how we are understood. So, if we do something or say something in a certain way, and culturally that means something else, we are not entitled to do what we want, because that's how we feel or that's how we are brought up.

We have to behave how it's okay to behave in the culture. So, I know like eating here, for example in Addis, if you have food you can't just eat the food, just on the street, because it's rude, you need to share the food. So whenever you have food and you're with people, you have to eat together. Or if I was just to walk along eating like a sandwich, it would be classed as like, 'oh, she has just got too much money'. Or, 'she doesn't care about her health, otherwise she would sit down and eat', or, 'she is just strange', or, 'why isn't she offering the food?'. So, I think I've had times where, even on transport maybe, I have eaten something, and someone else has said, 'wow, you're so rude, why would you not offer that to everybody?', but then for me, it was just like lunch, so I didn't think I had to offer the food to everyone on the bus as I should have done. I think little things like that, for a Westerner coming in, as a volunteer, or even other African countries, you would never expect to have to... you know, you would never know and then you might feel like, 'but yeah, it's just my food', but then, here it's not just your food, it's everyone's food. So, you have to understand that. It's not about how you feel, it's about how that you are perceived. You know what I mean?

Liliane: Yeah, and also it might be very important, if you try to connect to people.

Iona: Yes, yeah... and I think you need to try and learn the language, that's important. When you come here, especially Ethiopia, you have to learn Amharic, because a lot of people don't speak English, unless they've got a reason to. And also, em, yeah what did you just say?

Liliane: Em, well that...

Iona: Oh, yeah, connecting with people.

Liliane: Yeah, if you want to get into touch with people.

Iona: Yeah, yeah, you have to lose a lot of yourself, em, in order to connect to people. So, em...

Liliane: And what about staying within your group of peers, like people from your country and people that are from a Western country? Do you think that has an effect?

Iona: Yeah, I think the best thing to do, because when you're with Westerners without even knowing it, you will just continue to be Western. So, I didn't have to but I ended up living with a family for ten months and that for me, it was challenging, really challenging, because they weren't the friendliest family. Sometimes you get really lovely families, but this family was not very friendly. But I learned a lot about the culture, also some places they didn't speak Amharic, they spoke Tigrinya, so it's different, but they... I learned a lot there, and I didn't have any

Western friends for four months, so, em, I was forced to change myself to connect with people, otherwise I was gonna be really lonely. So, that was really good, because it's really uncomfortable, and some missionary organizations don't let you do that, because they think it's too extreme, but I would say, if you can't survive that, you're not really gonna survive in the country very well, because it's a lot of foreigners here that just keep themselves in compounds of people of their own country and the Ethiopians just see them as, 'oh, that's were the foreigners live', and they won't connect with them. But if you're forced into a family, they have to get to know you as an individual, and then you have to get to know them as individuals, and you are forced into the culture more. And it's hard, it's not fun all of the time, because especially in Ethiopia people get very attached to you and then they don't want you to come back after like 6 pm, they want to make sure you are always okay, that's also cultural and also they want to, I don't know, even with the food, with different things, you're forced and it's really hard but I think, but it's definitely worth it in the long run, em, you learn a lot of things quickly.

Liliane: So, this experience of these four months where you stayed with the local family that was here in Addis?

Iona: Yes, yeah, yeah. It was ten months all together, but it was just four months with no foreign friends, so after the four months I started to connect to different people in the city, because I started to join a church and things like that, but it was in Addis, it was ten months in Addis.

Liliane: But how was made sure that you would not connect with Western people? I mean, what was your day like or how was it set up that?

Iona: Oh, I was in the outskirts of Addis almost, I was working at a school, from 9 till like 5 every day. And there were no foreigners in the school, apart from me and in the area, it wasn't like this area. Like here, there's loads of foreigners, whereas in the area where I was in, there was no foreigners, and also, I didn't know anything about the country. So, I was trying to figure it out myself, cause no one was really showing me. So, em, yeah, so I did not really see anyone, because I did not really leave the area, it was a really weird time. But then now, I am here, there's like, as you can see, there's foreigners everywhere. So, this is different, because this is like the diplomat part of the city, so there's a lot of people. So, yeah...

Liliane: So, these four months, was that then organized by yourself or was it organized by your church?

Iona: No, I came out here to volunteer by myself, with the orphanage. When I was in the orphanage, there was a Japanese girl, who wanted to write a book and publish it. She couldn't speak English, so I helped to do that and then the book went to a school and then that school contacted me and was like, 'will you come and work with us?'. So, first I said no and then I said yes. I reconsidered, like: why not? So, they found me here. So, we kind of arranged a deal, like, how it would go, what they would provide, and what I would provide, things like that. But then when I came, because they said, 'oh, you'll have a little house by yourself, and then when I came they said, 'sorry, none of that is here, you'll have to live with us', which I didn't mind at all, but they weren't... I never felt like a part of them and they always made that, like, 'you don't understand our culture', so it was quite challenging, because I really tried, they just didn't really... I was more just to their benefit, eh, they were not using me, but they were kind of using me for the school. So, they didn't really care about becoming friends, it was a business. Whereas other families are so nice. I know other people that have lived with families, they adopted them, they gone to all the weddings, and they've gone to everything. It just depends on who you're with.

Liliane: And that means then that, I mean you say that's actually a very good thing to do, just to be around local people for some time, but that was a coincident then? So, it's not part of a program you were...

Iona: No, that was just a total coincidence. There's a program called "Projects abroad" that works here and they put you with families. Em, so that's part of the package of coming here. They put you with a family and you live with them. So, whether you're for two weeks, or whether you're here for six months, you'll be with a family.

Liliane: During your volunteering experience?

Iona: Yeah, during your volunteering and I think that's really good. But most of those families are used over and over again. So, they used to, maybe they had like ten, twelve, fifteen people stay with them. So, it's kind of normal.

Liliane: So they are also adapting to the foreigners?

Iona: Yeah, and they also wait to see who comes; if they're friendly, they'll invite them to be part of the family, and if they're not, they don't really care, because they get paid to have them in their house. So, yeah...

Liliane: So, it's not a voluntary thing for them to host these youth volunteers...

Iona: No, no, they get paid, they get supplies for everything they need for that person.

Liliane: With "Projects abroad" they can also stay for just two weeks. So, that would be actually what you said earlier isn't such an ideal thing to do maybe?

Iona: It's more of a holiday, I don't know, it's like a volunteering holiday.

Liliane: But that is something that recently really seems to become quite big, I heard about an app where you can look on a world map for people who offer volunteering opportunities, for example help building a church. Then you can, the idea is, it's a bit like 'work and travel', so they are for example in Kenya, and then they want to go to Ethiopia, and they see that there is being a church build somewhere, so they can go there for some weeks and stay there in return for their voluntary work and get food. The only thing they would have to carry are the travel costs. What are your impression about these things?

Iona: I think, eh, I don't know... I think people are not really, [I think], they are coming for themselves. They are not really coming for the project. I think they can try and tell themselves they are coming for the project, but I really feel like they are coming for themselves, like, they want an experience, so I think, em, some people pay a lot of money, like thousands of thousands of dollars, to go on experiences where maybe they help build a school, but they also ride camels and ride elephants, and they are also on a holiday, but they do something nice to have photos for Facebook or a reason to show, 'look, what I am doing', but it's more... it depends, it depends on the person. But I think if you really want to help people, you'll come here for longer. I think if you got a really passion inside to help development or help people or serve somewhere, you will take longer than two weeks, but I know people are busy, but if you really have a passion, you will stop being busy to come and do it for longer, that's what I think. Because I think for two weeks, it's more of just a, I don't know, a nice holiday, where you are doing something nice; but it's also a holiday, because would you do it in the UK, or would you still do it, if it was in France? Or is it because you're in the sun and you're in a foreign place? I don't know, I think it depends on the person, really depends on the person...

Liliane: But I mean it could also be that people... they don't really know what they are expecting, so maybe two weeks is a time to explore, but then it might also be used in another way...

Iona: I have friends that say they come for two weeks, and in these two weeks, they might get inspired to do something more in the future. So that's definitely a thing, if you are using it for that. But, em, so, yeah... but I also think in two weeks, which is quite a common amount of time, how much can you really learn, because you're just only gonna see the puppy side, like, 'oh wow, oh wow'. Then, once you get here, when you hit like two months, three months, four months, then you start realizing, 'oh, it's difficult'. But I don't know, like, I think holidays are fine, if you come here to go on holiday, I think that's totally fine. But I think, to come here for just two weeks to volunteer, I don't know, it just depends on the person. And I do know people that was inspired during those two weeks, who came back for two years. So, that's a... yeah, it depends on the person.

Liliane: In that case, it is beneficial then you could say. Because they might not have come here, if it was only possible to come for a longer amount of time.

Iona: I think if you are coming with the view to come back again, then it is definitely okay to come for like a short time. But if you are coming for just a hot round in Africa, you need to think about, I don't know, the people that you are going to, yeah, I think sometimes it can be good.

Liliane: You know what my master thesis is about, that it actually about Chinese volunteering, and I am going to ask you again; so, how aware are you of Chinese volunteering projects?

Iona: Not very, I know Chinese business people, I know Chinese missionaries that volunteer in Christian communities, but I don't know any Chinese volunteers that have come through like the government or even just Chinese volunteers who are not religious coming here to volunteer. Koreans, I said before, Koreans, I know some Koreans. But I don't know any Chinese. I don't know, haven't met any. Em, and even the Chinese people that I know, they don't know any Chinese volunteers either. So I am sure they are here, but no one knows what they do or where they are. But they could be together somewhere, I don't know. I don't know, ha-ha. Like on a compound, scared, ha-ha. I don't know, I don't know.

Liliane: Yeah, and that is actually something... because I spoke to your friend Alvin, who is Chinese and also a Christian volunteer, and, em, my impression is that people in general are very religious [here in Ethiopia], I mean it is obvious that most people are going to church [regularly].

They also seem to believe in God, but they really live and practice their belief. So, that's my impression.

Iona: I think everyone is aware of a good, but I think that the thing is, most of the younger people, unless they are actively going to a church, they would wear the cross and they say that there is a God, but they don't really know what that means. They would go night-clubbing, like, all the time, they'll drink a lot, they even smoke, some of them, it's not a very typical religious life-style; but then I think they... but I think even the day-to-day people... Muslims are slightly different, but you get a lot of Muslims and Christians marrying, just because people are not taking the religion very seriously, it's just a name, like, I am a Muslim, I am a Christian. So I think you get some people who are practicing it, and you do see that. So it's like a very Christian country, old Christian country. Now it's becoming... Muslims are almost taking over, gradually taking over. But I think, em, a lot of people, maybe half of the people are genuinely practicing the religion, the other half are just kind of, like, yes, I am Christian, but then it doesn't impact their life in any way whatsoever. It's just what they are. They might say [Amharic], 'praise to God, thanks to God', everything is about God, but then when you get down to it, they don't really have a religion, or the faith, there's not any faith there about day-to-day life. It's just their title for who they are. I didn't realize that until I started meeting a lot of young people, and they were all wearing a cross, and they were like, 'yeah, I am Christian' and they I started to talk about Jesus, or about, like, the bible, and they just kind of was blank-faced and they were like, 'oh, you take it really seriously'. So they... that was really interesting for me, em...

Liliane: But would you say it plays a role, or have you experienced it plays a role in voluntary work?

Iona: You mean for foreigners? Oh, foreigners absolutely. Yeah, I am talking about Ethiopians.

Liliane: No, but also I mean in voluntary work in order to allow to be successful. In order to maybe also get closer or get a connection with the people.

Iona: Yeah, I think if you've got a religious motivation, or a faith-motivation, you do it in a totally different way to if you don't have a faith motivation. Because I think if you're motivated, if you're Christian and you are following the bible, it really clearly says, fight for the poor and oppressed, look after the widows, look after the orphans, so I think if you really believe in the bible, you are going to definitely... must be a huge motivation or reason to come and volunteer, definitely. Even Muslims, I know Muslim NGOs, here and in Kenya, who are motivated by the

Koran, in the part it says look after oppressed people, so, em, I think religion plays a huge, huge part. But then you also get unreligious people, who just believe in humanity, and who believe in just fighting for humans. So I think, yeah, but I think if you're going on that approach, in my opinion, when you start to realize that there's a lot of corruption and a lot of difficulty, and the reason the country's so poor is probably because of corruption, then you start to lose the faith in humanity, you are like, everything's just so corrupt. Like I got to that point a lot. Whereas your faith is in God, it doesn't matter what people do, because God is God.

Liliane: Because you are not referencing it to the institution, to the people but to your own conviction.

Iona: And you are not doing it for the glory of the people, or just for the people, you are doing it to serve God. So in God is good, we believe. So I think that's the difference.

Liliane: So, could you say what your impression is of maybe is the majority or half, or a minority of the volunteers you met Christian?

Iona: Em, not the Chinese, just generally?

Liliane: In general, because you have not really met Chinese [volunteers], so just the people you encountered, when you did voluntary work here.

Iona: Yeah, I think when I was in the school, we had some volunteers come, no one of them was Christian, apart from one guy, em, and I met quite a number through "Projects abroad", and most of them are non-Christian. A lot of them are just looking for an experience, or some are looking for to give back into the world, so that's what they were doing. Because now I am linked to the church, I know a lot of Christian people. So a lot of them are volunteers, but they are not really volunteers, it is more they are missionaries, so they get salaries paid, through mission's organization's to be here, so I wouldn't really say that's a volunteer, because they have a lot of support coming from [the church]. And they don't get a salary paid here for being a teacher, but they do get like a couple of thousand dollars coming in a month from mission's support, so that's not really volunteering as such. So, I think saying that, most of the volunteers...

Liliane: So, then the incentive could also be money then?

Iona: Well, I don't think they make enough money for the incentive to be money, but I think they are definitely comfortable here. They are not, like, most of them aren't roughing it, you

could say, ha-ha. So I think volunteers are probably fifty-fifty, fifty percent religious, fifty percent non-religious. Particular Ethiopia is quite an unusual country to come to, it's not the typical country to volunteer. Well, it depends, because here you get a lot of hippie people, who are more like into... 'cause you got a lot of Rastafaris in Shashamane. So you get a lot of alternative people, who believe in, like, nature. So they want to come to Ethiopia, to kind of like, be with the humans. So it's kind of like, you get a lot of unusual people. So you get like, I think it's fifty-fifty, as like Christian or Muslim or in other words religious, and then you get people who are alternative things coming... So, it just depends.

Liliane: It also depends on the region then.

Iona: Yes, I think in Addis, there's a lot of Peace Corps people, and they... so they are Americans, they do really well, they have a really good reputation in here, so when I speak to old people, young people, they are like, 'oh, Peace Corps, they come to us, they live among us, they are with us'. So I think they really do live with/ near locals, when they go into villages. I think Addis is the base of them, I am not really sure, but then they come to like rest in Addis, and then they go back into the villages, but they got a really, really strong reputation, and that's because as they go, they live with locals, they behave like local people, em, so that's really interesting. So, it's done in a very good way, I feel. I can't say all the time, but I feel like the ones I've met and the stories I've heard of Ethiopians, they really like Peace Corps.

Liliane: The American Peace Corps is also originally non-Christian.

Iona: Well, the ones I have met here, they are not religious people. So, they are all non-Christian.

Liliane: I think it is organized by the American government.

Iona: I think so, yeah. So, that was really interesting for me to meet people so passionate, but yeah, only about... and they've come for a year or two years, three years. So they are not just here for 6 months, most of them they are here at least a year, if not more. And they are really passionate about teaching and about [unclear]. Sometimes they get into some conflict, cultural conflict, where they can't understand why something is happening, and so they leave or they call out, but most of the time they can overcome it. They do really good, they really make impacts in communities.

Liliane: Well, that is definitely something worth looking into, em, but yeah, how do you rate the set of skills that you bring, so for example, if you teach: do you think it's important to

already have a certain experience? And also in other fields, like in the medical field, if you assist there, is there a thumb rule... when can you say you are relatively well prepared skill-wise?

Iona: So, you mean should people have experience before they come here? I think it depends, because I think if you're coming out here to look after kindergarten children, but you have some experience with younger relatives, I think you can probably come out here and look after, like, hang out and play and spend some time with kindergarten children. But I think if you're coming for medical reasons, as well as teaching reasons, you should know what you're doing. 'cause I think in the past, people have made a mess by thinking, 'oh, it's Africa' or 'oh, it's Ethiopia', thinking, 'oh, they are really underdeveloped anyway, so they should just be thankful for whoever comes'. And I think that mentality is quite damaging. It's hard for a first-year teacher to come out here and teach. My friend is a first-year teacher; she is qualified but she came out and she is like, 'I would never recommend it to anybody to come out here and teach on their first year', because you got the culture shock, you've got stress, you've got all the cultural stuff and relationship problems and then you've also got... you don't really know how to teach yet, which is more stress. But she is like in an accredited school, so it's a bit different to like, eh, a non-official school. But I think you should have some experience, definitely, because, em, you want to make a good impact by doing quality stuff. You don't want to be doing a half job, just because maybe the structure isn't here. You should still know what you're doing, but I think it's better to have people who have one-year experience, I think. But it also depends, because if you are coming to, I don't know, yeah. But I think if you're gonna come to build something, you should have building experience. I think it should be people who know what they are doing.

Liliane: ... or at least be well-trained.

Iona: Yeah, I think so. But I have kind of learned... because I have been teaching since I arrived, so I did TEFL [Teaching English as a Foreign Language], so I had the course, but I hadn't really got any strong experience in teaching before I came, em, but the school still took me. So, I learned as I went, em, and it worked out ok, I think. So, it maybe depends on the individual, but that's about teaching, but I did have a course behind me. I think if I hadn't done TEFL, I would have not known what I was doing. Em, because it's challenging, I think.

Liliane: You also mentioned that the Peace Corps, they are quite popular among the people here. So, what do you think: to what extent can volunteering, if it's connected to or organized by a

specific government, can it have an effect on how people [as representatives of two different countries] see each other? Why?

Iona: International relations? Like, because of the nationalities.

Liliane: Yes.

Iona: I think so. Em, I think so, because I hear people here in Ethiopia, they say things like, 'oh, the British people, they are good, they are smart', and then, 'oh, but these people, like, I don't know, the Chinese, or someone else, 'oh, they are not smart'. Or, 'oh, the French, they are good', because they have known a French person, or, 'the Americans, they are good at this, but they are not good at this'; or, 'they are very proud, but they are good at this'. So, but I think they are only basing these assumptions on one or two people that they've met. So, I think really it can, if you go into a community and you're American, it makes people think, 'oh, America is like this person'. So, I think it does make an impact, em, on, yeah, it does make an impact. But I think it's very small, because the typical person in a rural community is not gonna have much impact on the country's international relations with another country. They are just gonna have their own thoughts. But I think when you start, if they start coming into, I don't know, more academic settings or more in Addis, I think then it could have an impact. Because if you got someone who is the, I don't know, higher up, it could make a difference. I think on the lower level it will make the community think of a country in a certain way, but like I said the impact for the countries' relationship, I don't know about this.

Liliane: So, you think it's also useful to have like a study exchange, for example. Or, what do you mean with academic setting?

Iona: Yeah, I just, if you're like becoming a principle of a college, you're gonna be very well known. And if you're good, people are gonna think, 'oh, this person's got good morals, maybe it's because of their culture, or the country that they are from'. But I think student exchange things could be really good, em, if that happened here. But the problem is, once people experience a developed life-style in a developed country, some may not want to come back to Ethiopia, because for the person coming from, I don't know, America here, it's gonna be interesting, but then they know they can go back to the security, whereas when someone goes and studies in America and then they come back to Ethiopia, they might not feel as happy about that, but it might work out fine. Again, you have to prepare people, I think.

Liliane: Can I ask one more question, or are we running out of time?

Iona: No, no, I think it's okay.

Liliane: Yeah, well, what I find really... well I noticed here in Addis [Ababa] is that it seems really there is a certain divide between the Chinese locals, and the Ethiopian locals. And I am wondering, do you have any ideas how to bring peoples closer in such a situation?

Iona: Yeah, I think, when I teach English, because I teach English to Chinese people. Another thing I do is teach them culturally and how to behave, because I think that's a main barrier. Even Chinese people who come straight from China, who speak English, they present, the way they behave, it is so off-putting for an Ethiopian. Because the culture, like, the Chinese people are loud, they shout a lot. For Ethiopians physical contact is very important, everyone's hugging or kissing or touching each other, and then Chinese people, they don't do that. So, a Chinese person who doesn't shake someone's hand or hugs someone, they are seen as rude. So, these things, they need... so, I think people need to be trained in different cultures. So, and Ethiopians need to be made aware that... cause there's now a class at college and almost 99% of the people are Ethiopian. There are some Chinese guys who are explaining Chinese culture. And when Ethiopians learn about Chinese culture, that behavior changes towards the Chinese students, because when they just come in and sit down and don't say 'hello', the Ethiopians, they are like, 'they hate us'. But then the Chinese, they don't hate them, they just are getting on with what they've got to do. So, I think when the Ethiopians understood, 'ooh, oh, that's just their way', they were much more friendly. And now I hear some of them, 'oh, it's fine, they are just different to us'. So, I think it's, at ETC [Evangelical Theological College] when you have Chinese and Ethiopians side-by-side, it's people like Alvin, who are friendly and engaging and more shake peoples' hands, that really... he is really connected to local people. But I think, so, there needs to be more of a understanding of each other, I think. And also, even just having events where you explain different things, like, when the Chinese students really explain about themselves and the history, it was really... because Ethiopia's got a long history, China's got a long history, so when the Ethiopians could see where the Chinese people have come from, it really made a big difference. Em, and then also for Chinese people to understand Ethiopians, the relationship is really important. So, when they... I have two friends that make special effort to always built relationships or to get to know the family. That means a lot for an Ethiopian. So, I think this kind of thing. It's all about education really, isn't it? Training people before they come, training people when they are here, making people aware, because if you are not aware, if you are an Ethiopian who has never left Ethiopia and you got some strange Asian person coming and being rude, culturally being [perceived as] rude, you just think, 'they are weird,

they are rude, they are loud, they are messy, even the way they eat is different'... and I think they just think that it's really strange. Whereas if they are made aware, that there is a whole country where people behave like this, just like Ethiopia, it's just different. It's just education, I think.

Liliane: So, but who do you think is responsible for organizing this? Because the Chinese companies that come here, I think they mainly pursue business interests, that's how companies work.

Iona: But then the companies who are here for business, are the ones that are more successful in business, or the ones that develop relationships with local people. Em, so I think even for businesses, it's in their best interest to have cultural trainings before they send their employees here, because some of them, as even our friend [Mr. Joseph, who is the COO of a Chinese big international company and a Chinese citizen], who said, 'for four months, I hated it here', whereas if he had had training before he had come, he would have been more aware of what to see and what to know. So, I think, even the governments or the companies themselves, there should be a requirement for them to at least do some sort of cultural training. Whether it's having Chinese speaking Ethiopians go to China and explain, 'this is us', in Chinese. Or when they come here, having like Chinese people who have already adapted to the culture explain to Chinese people, 'this is the culture'. Either way, they have the chance to understand what they are coming to. I think it's even beneficial business-wise, because business is all about relationships at the end of the day. So, if you don't have good relations, I think your business will be harder to do, unless you are working with Chinese people here.

Liliane: So, where would you locate the role of volunteering in this endeavor?

Iona: Ah, so the training?

Liliane: Yeah, what role do you think it can have or what role does it have in Ethiopian-Chinese relations? If you see it in regard to other tools of bringing people closer.

Iona: Volunteering? I think, if you had some Chinese people trained really well, that came here to volunteer, but they were going into local parts of the community, I think, eh, that could work. So, you could have volunteers come to improve, but they need to be like, almost speak Amharic, they need to be willing to go to different areas, not just stick together. They need to separate and do a lot of things. I think that could work. But I also think if you had just volunteers, who volunteer to be their cultural trainers, that could also work, because then it's not the people that

are being trained, they are not inspired to be here, but then to get people who would want to do that, it has to be a special kind of person, who would want to do that.

Liliane: So, it also needs the peoples' motivation, the volunteers' motivation.

Iona: Yeah, unless they are provided with something, like, that's not financial, but something while they are doing it. Em, yeah. It's very interesting.

Liliane: But in the end it still seems that with these volunteering projects, the conviction you have or the motivation just play a big role. Just seeing it connected to maybe a career, for example, or a financial benefit, might maybe not be enough to thereof go to difficult areas.

Iona: Yeah, yeah, I think it's, it does come from a personal motivation. Not really spiritual, but I think it comes from a... it has to be something within you that wants you to do it. Because when things get hard, it's all about what you fall back on. Because volunteering can be quite challenging, because if you are doing it in a sense to, like, improve a place... I mean you can do it as a career thing, there's volunteers with African Union. But that's because they are hoping to get a really good job in the future. So, that's inspired by money or a career...

Liliane: How do they volunteer in the African Union?

Iona: They'll just work for a project but it won't be paid for. So, like an intern.

Liliane: Ah, okay, I see.

Iona: I guess that's different. But they, yeah. I think volunteering in the sense of, like, teaching or being a doctor, you have to have a personal [motivation]. There are surgeons here who volunteer, but that's because they made a lot of money in their past life [means: past job] and now they are like, 'let me do something good'. So, they want to do something good, haha. So, yeah, that's interesting.

Liliane: They still have a motivation to do something good.

Iona: Yeah, that's the motivation.

Liliane: Maybe that is easier to have, when you come from a stable economic environment?

Iona: Definitely!

Liliane: It can also be provided by the church in a way.

Iona: Yeah, that's what the nuns and the priests do here. They are gonna get supported by the Catholic church when they retire. They don't have to worry about the future. Whereas a typical Ethiopian or other African person who hasn't come from a rich background, they have to develop their own stability, they don't have a country to fall back on. Whereas even me, I don't have a lot of money or savings, but I know I can go back to the UK, and I will have... there is a welfare system that I know I can fall back on. Whereas, even Ethiopia, I mean when you don't make your own money, no one is gonna help you. It's also harder to get jobs here, like part-time jobs, things like that. As a barista in a café, you get, like, I don't know, 30 pounds a month, something like 1000 Birr. That's not enough to live in Addis. Em, so you need to be educated to get a good job.

Liliane: Yes, it's very interesting. Thank you so far.

Iona: I don't know if it's useful.

Interview III

Date of interview: 01-07-2018

Place: WeChat phone call

问： 那在你的，恩，社会企业有志愿者，对吧？

答： 有志愿者，就没有拿报酬然后来做一个就是公益心志的项目。我们有这样的人。

问： Ok, 他们怎么发现有这个机会？

答： 我们当时有一个就是 Social Media 的 platform, 然后就是通过像 WeChat 这种方式来做一些招募, 然后本来我们自己就是我们超市人是在中国有这个 Chinese Youth Network, 我们以前做过这种面向中国年轻人的这种 youth network 或者是 youth platform, 就是年轻人的基础了。就是如果我们有项目, 有一些公益项目我们会通过 WeChat, 然后来传播, 很多的是通过新媒体来传播。

问： 那你们现在有哪一些项目？

答： 嗯, 我现在已经就是把我的那个方向调整, 就是说我两年前做的事情

(chuckles), 啊, 然后我可以介绍一下我看到的一些事情, 就是我现在不在那个机构, 就是我亦即离开了, 但是我传你的这个机构。

问： 啊, 谢谢。

答： 然后我，对对对，然后我现在在做的事就是 **business set-up** 有关的事情，所以就是我介绍的是之前我一四年到一六年[2014-2016]的时候的一些事情，就是我已经观察到就是我在肯亚了解到了一些情况事样子。我们当时做过就是 **wildlife conservation**，然后做过 **education**，就是做过那个 **youth empowerment** 的项目，就是年轻人的这种青年的这种赋权的项目。

问： Ok, 嗯。。。

答： 也是闹保护 **wildlife conservation**，然后一个是那个就是 **youth empowerment**, 针对年轻人，对当地的这种年轻人的培训呀，然后还有另个就是教育相关的项目。

问： 那，请你简单地介绍一个项目，比方说，我不知道，但是有可能是一个 **academy**。

答： Ok, 我们当时在肯亚一四年的时候办过一个 **African Tech Challenge**，就是非洲职业技能挑战赛，然后在肯亚的学校里面选拔一些大学生，然后给他们提供这种职业教育的培训，**vocational training**，然后我再给他们对决这些工作，就是给他们生 **[unclear]oppurtunity**。如果是比赛或是那队还有可能给他们对决是订单，给他们一个 **contact**，然后他们可以审查一些设备可以就是养过自己。所以是一个就是促进肯亚的年轻人的就业以及告他们的就是在社会的这种就业技能的一个项目。

问： 那这个组织主要在高科技的领域吗

答： 主要是做就是 **vocational training** 就是做 **C&C machine** 工程机械具排的一些培训，是一个类。然后第二年的时候就是一五年的时候我们做那个 **mobile application** 这种 **challenge**，这是开发手机全序就是 **tech** 这块的。

问： 那在这个时候也有些中国年轻人当志愿者，对吗？他们支持这些项目，对吧？

答： 对，对的，他们主要就是来 **facilitate** 这个项目，然后志工一些就是，嗯，翻译的服务，然后在公司里面身创这个活动，然后来选拔就是肯亚的能力的学生参与这个项目。

问： 那他们在肯亚做这些志愿者工作大概多长时间？

答： 嗯，一个月到三到六个月。

问： Ok, 那你们怎么选择谁能来，有没有多要来的年轻人还是比较少人想来？

答： 我们当时因为我们的 **network** 在中国覆盖个个城市，所以招募还是比较容易，因为我们也面上在海外读书的中国人，所以当时这个项目有 **volunteers** 是从加拿大过来的。加拿大，但是他是中国人，

所以当时没有遇到什么样的招募的问题，还挺多人报名的，然后我们还有可以挑选，挑选主要是要看他们的语言，就是 English 怎么快哪么适应当地的这种工作环境，然后他们有没有这是要求具备的一些能力，嗯，对。

问： Ok, 那。。。

答： 时间也是一个方面，我们要求至少之时只好是有两个月或者是以上的人，所以时间也是一个考量。

问： Ok, 但是没有从大陆来的年轻人？

答： 哦，有啊！一般一般吧，一般是从海外过来的，就是美国英国，然后还有。。。还有什么。。。嗯，德国，我们有招过德国的学生，有英国，有加拿大，对。

问： Ah, ok, 所以你们不只是中国人来，也有从别的国家来的年轻人，是你的意思吗？

答： 大部分，大部分都是中国人，就是在海外读书的中国年轻人，然后我们当时招过几个欧洲的外国人，德国人，然后美国人。

问： 但是你觉得从大陆来的中国年轻人他们常常对这些志愿者的活动不那么感兴趣，有可能如果他们在。。。

答： 我觉得不是这样的，嗯，我觉得现在的中国的年轻人他们有越有多的机会就是接触海外的志愿者的这种方式，特殊中国像 AIESEC 可致人机构，你应该也有一些了解吧。是 AIESEC 这种大学生的志愿者组织，谁他们其实有很多的机会组出来，但是可能我觉得和强强欧洲或是美国的年轻人相比可能父母对安全的担忧会便多，所以他们海外组织的志愿者没有那么的容易或者是他们父母不会有一下次就开始支持，所以里面有一个过程，是这样子。

问： 那我也听过到这个方面，就是父母不想他们孩子去非洲，是因为不那么安全的，美元那么怎么说 hygienic，就是他们对非洲的形象，嗯，但是我也听说到这个共青团的志愿者的组织，就是 China Youth Volunteers Association, 那你听说过吗？

答： 嗯，有共青团就是类似于就是国家派出来的志愿者，像美国的 Peace Corps 或者是英国支持的 VSO，有而且我还接触过负责这个项目的人，对，所以现在中国政府也在希望就是可以派出更多的中国年轻人去做志愿者。

问： 那但是你已经见过通过中国政府来非洲做这些志愿者工作的人吗？

答： 我自己没见过（哈哈），这种项目一般都是通过像中国扶贫基金会或是中国[54]基金会，这种基金会来协调然后来落地的，然后选拔的系统就是通过 AIESEC 这种还有一些不一样的，当然他们也在借鉴这种民间机构或者国际组织的经验。

问： 我没完全地明白你的答案。那你自己认识这些通过中国政府来的志愿者。

答： 我认识通过中国共青团出来的这些人，我说的是这两个的选拔的系统，然后包括就是运作的方式只有不一样的。

问： 那差异，区别大概是什么？

答： 因为中国共青团那个项目主要是时间会比较长，它要求至少一年的时间，然后它主要是通过高校通过就是他们合作的一些组织来积极选拔的，譬如说，我刚提到的中国扶贫基金会或者[59]他们有落地的，譬如说在尼泊尔或者是说在缅甸或者是在埃塞耳比亚这些国家的项目，然后呢它不是通过政府但是是通过他们合作的这些 NGO 或者是 foundation 也好来选拔的。这个和那个 AIESEC 这些还不太一样。AIESEC 就是通过 AIESEC 这个组织拔和对劲给当地的这些合作的机构。时间方又不一样，然后选拔的那个 criteria 就是跟这项目也会不同。

问： 但是你觉得年轻人的动机大概一样吗？

答： 我觉得政府那个 process 还挺严格的，它选拔的时间还比较长，然后另一个是怎么说它对完切的时间要求比较高，然后还有一个就是他一定的政府的这个背景的项目，所以和只是民间组织运作的是不太一样的。

问： 有可能你已经提到了：你以前自己做志愿者吗？

答： 我以前做过 NGO，对，所以可以说，我在大学的时候一直有做。但是我是在国内，就是在中国。

问： 那你通过怎么样的组织做志愿者？

答： 我们自己有 NGO，我们在广州有一个注册的就是针对留守的机构，然后我们在中国农村开加这种志愿者的活动。

问： 但是这个组织是国内的组织，是吗？

答： 对的，是国内的组织。

问： 那，你们为什么决定参加这些活动，对你来说有什么原因？

答： 我觉得组织[unclear]是我们自己认识社会的一种方式就是让我们知道这个社会还有很多不完美的地方，然后同时在参与过程当中你就知道你自己其实有内需改变一些事情的，所以这一点很重要，对我来说是一个就是认识社会的，然后参与社会问题去

改善这个问题的一个途径，所以从大学开始的时候我自己就在做这块的事情，然后到后面如果说出来就是来到肯亚做[unclear]就是认识世界，然后是参与这是国际发展的一些问题，然后通过自己这种亲善参与改善一些问题，这样的一个概念，对啊。然后另个我觉得做志愿者的过程当中可以认识很多[?]，因为大家可能都[?]了比较，嗯，出发点是希望这个世界变得更好，然后这些通过志愿者或活动认识的朋友会更加的那个[?]就是我很任意去和这些就是心念商量的人做朋友。

问：那你现在在肯亚工作的时候常常跟当地人一起合作吗？

答：没有很多适合当地的项目，对。

问：那这个时候你们怎么联系，你们怎么说话，用英语吗？

答：肯亚是，官方语言是有英语的，所以有英语就是沟通没有问题。他们的英语很好，比我好（哈哈），然后也有斯瓦希里语，所以我们会学一些，这样更容易和他们贴近，就是更容易和他们沟通，他们很开心如果你讲当地语言。

问：那你觉得中国人跟肯亚人的关系大概怎么样？有可能这个问题比较难回答，但是你的印象怎么样？

答：我觉得我们这件也一直都在其实关注中国和非洲的关系，我觉得从真题上还说我觉得中国和肯亚的关系还比较良心的，然后有啊，我觉得有很多的肯亚人会认为这是中国在非洲的这些参与和实践给肯亚另一种选择，这是这种选择是。。。就是通过世界应或者是说就是 IMF 或者这些国际援助机构以外的 alternative 方式，所以呢我觉得这种是比较积极的想法，当然在这个过程中也会有一些摩擦，就是譬如说就是，嗯，因为中国人的语言比起官方语言不是英语，所以有很多沟通上的障碍，然后要出现一些就是[?]上的障碍，包括这就是事业方式上譬如会有一些负面的声音，但我自己在这边四，五年的感受敢说我觉得总体障碍是比较极细的。然后是不是会惹事挑战？然后要大家通过沟通，通过就是共同 [?]解决。

问：那你觉得语言以外，在日常生活中有哪些挑战的方面？

答：嗯，我觉得的 mindset/message 不一样，是随方式譬如说，嗯，中国人是一个，中国可以说是一个比较勤奋的民族，然后譬如说我们会接手加班这种 work ethics 是和当地人很不一样的，因为这边其实它的气候很好，他可以非常 relax，然后它可以享受生活，然后那其实中国公司这边来就会遇到这种挑战，如果是工程项目不要下班什么的，是不希望的，所以在这些文化生活有一些冲突。对，大约看问题的方式也会有一些不一样。

问：那如果你们选拔志愿者，以前你们有这些做志愿者的人，他们来非洲以前，怎么说，他们收到一些特殊的信息，一些培训训练，让他们知道当地的情况怎么样，有可能在文化有比较特别的方面，他们以前受到一些帮助吗？

答：我们会有一些培训，这培训会集中在比如说安全方面的，因为在非洲做志愿者 safety 是一个很重要的问题。然后另一个就是对文化的包容和以及融入当地这一快，我们会。。。但跟很多的时候是通过这种 mentor 的关系，所以我们给志愿者一个 mentor，然后完的时候 mentor 会和他们在项目上配合，所以他能够，这些 mentor 通常都在这边工作有一段时间，然后对本地基比较了解，这样子有一个就是能够给学生 support 的这样一个工作氛围，有很多的时候其实我们会在招聘的时候持着一些表征，就比如说我们希望[?]的志愿者他都是比较开放的心态，然后而且他能够接受不同的文化，就他对别文化包容比较高的样子，适应当地的情况，另一个就是他比较乐于和[unclear]社构，这些都是非常重要的特质，这样子有领域他去做好志愿者的工作。

问：那你觉得如果有这样的准备的很好的中国志愿者可以印象，可以改善非洲跟中国大部分的关系，有可能会改善非洲对中国的形象吗？

答：我觉得肯定是有很大正面的作用的就是。。。我觉得年轻的就是中国志愿者在非洲其实一定深度上是一种代表，就是是中国的一个代表，然后他们因为这些年轻人他们比较怎么说呢比较乐于融入当地，然后而且他们做的事非盈利的活动，所以特当地的活动会比较多，因为主要事是给当地提供一些服务，比如说教育的，比如说医疗的，还有一些这是生活保护的，这些方面都能够对中国的这种形象有所改善，同时我觉得这种印象也是双互的，双边的，就是真值在做的过程当中他们也更加理解本地人，然后也能够学欣赏非洲的文化，非洲的一些做事方式，所以我觉得是一个互相交流和促进的一个过程，就是不一定说是中国的这种工作的思维是最好的，这些过程当中他们也像我现在非常喜欢就是肯亚这种工作和生活坚固[unclear]，在工作的时候也能够像生活这样的一种[?]文化，我自己是说也很多的。

问：但是你也觉得中国政府对这些项目有一个特别的看法？就是说他们的态度对这些志愿者活动怎么样？

答：我觉得如果是国家的项目的话，都是他有他自己的。政治目的不论是美国的，还是英国的，还是中国的，就像 Peace Corps 它有这样的那个国家的政策指示的时候，它也是希望能够美国和这些国家的关系有改善，所以我觉得国家的这些志愿者的这种政策背后它都是有他自己的这个意图，然后中国政府目前其实他们也在努力地去了解

国家的这个做法，然后呢，西方就是记得中国志愿者这做出的这样的一个政策，然后他们也在加大这几块的资金还有知识，政策上的支持，所以估计越来后面有更多的就是更多的支持，然后有更多的人通过这是政府的这种方式做出来，但是现在目前还是有很大差距，就是说派出使的人还有他的规模就是比较有限。

问： 意思是什么？他们的观念有限？

答： 我说是通过政府的项目做出来的志愿者人数还是很少的。

问： 但是原因是什么？

答： 原因没有什么，就是只是一个过程，这是政府先要目前在加大对这块的知识，所以后面会有越来越多的资金和支持政策的知识，那人数会增加。

问： 那你的意思是现在这些政府安排的项目还比较少，没有那么多人通过政府来，是你的意思吗？

答： 对，是的，美式对比像 Peace Corps 那个数量就是像中国政府的共青团排出来的人数这个数量还是比较少的，就是说是一个对比来说的。

问： 但是你觉得他们让越来越多中国人参与这些政府的项目吗？有可能跟美国对比相比没有那么多人，但是比以前多了吗？我觉得他们大概二零零七年开始了，所以你觉得比以前多人能来还是没有那么多？

答： 我觉得以后越来越多，然后它每年都在改善。

问： 但是你不知道背景是什么？他们怎么改变，他们怎么决定多少人能来？

答： 我觉得人数这个块是其实如果是政府的角度来说的话，就是从这个制度试试就是譬如说那 Peace Corps 来组这个案例，它是有背后的一系列的资金，然后包括就是对这些志愿者的厚实的知识的，他不是单单是让它来做志愿者，穷 ok 了，其实美国政府给每个志愿者有一定的补贴，然后让他们能够在这个国家有这种生活上的保障，而另个就是它有这种专业上的培训，然后这些都是有一个团队(team)来支持他们的，包括就是让他们志愿者做完两年的这个 Peace Corps 之后他回到美国，他的职业的精神，人能够先业，那这个其实是一个系列性的活动，一个 system。它不是单单是把人送出就是可以了，它有很多的这一块的 support 在里面的，对中国目前的情况来说就是说现在能够指示的就是它的自己还是比较有限能够支持送出去的人，还是比较有限，但是未来后面会越来越的就是支持再者里面，所以能够让这个普遍的更大。

问： 那你自己认识一些怎么说支持这些政府的项目的人吗？

答： 我认识就是这些项目落地这个就是把志愿者送出的一些基金会的人。

问： 啊，对比起我没听清楚，他们的工作是什么？对不起，我们也可以使用英文，这个部分我没听清楚。

答： 没事，其实就是了解当地的这些非洲国家的这个需求在哪里，然后呢来实行募完的时候，他们要实行一系列的培训，培训完的时候，他们要负责这个整个的体系以及就是志愿者在这个活动过程当中一些评估，那后回来之后还会有一些后视的执行，就是一个整个的过程。

问： 但是你自己认识一些参与这些项目的人吗？

答： 我参加组织这个项目的人，对。没有直接和志愿者大脚[道]的。

问： Ok, 那但是你有可能会有一个我怎么可以。。。那我想问知道参与这些跟 Peace Corps 一样的项目的人他们，那中国政府怎么安排，怎么组织这些项目，那如果我想发现这些方面，你有没有注意我怎么可以联系到这些人？

答： 我可以为你向对方人，然后如果他们有意愿的话，我可以给你做介绍。

问： Ok, that would be very nice! 那但是你觉得这些中国政府的项目比 NGO 这种组织的项目比较少？你觉得现在越来越多年轻人通过 NGO 做志愿者，就是说比政府的项目多？

答： 我觉得这个很难却，我觉得我说的就是我的那个想法会比较直观，我觉得通过 AIESEC 组织出来的人您应该可以通过就是访谈 AIESEC 的传播就是中国的那个总部的人，然后了解他每年的数字，然后共青团那边的人数，具体就不是很清楚，所以我不太清楚这是。。。不是很清楚这个具体的数字对比是怎么样的。对，但是你是有趣获得这些数字的？

答： 那我的意思是，那你觉得越来越多年轻人想做志愿者，但是你的印象是有比较多人通过 NGO 还是有可能 social enterprise 来非洲做这些活动？我明白政府的这个项目不太清楚，不太清楚他们排出来的人多少，但是大概可以说也有比较多 privately organised 的志愿者的项目，你的印象怎么样？

问： 对，现在就是 private 这种民间的这种还挺多的。然后也有通过就是也有中国人起创立的 NGO 在海外权利的 NGO，然后来招募志愿者，我觉得其实两个就是政府的和内民间的就在增加。就是以前是通过国际组织，然后做志愿者，但是现在也有一些就是一些中国年轻人自己创立个 NGO。然后来做这种招募。项目在肯亚我们只有朋友在贫民窟[slum]已经地四五年了，他们仅创立这个研究机构，然后每一年都会招募一批志愿者从中国或者从海外招了中国人过去。

问： Ah ok, 那如果是通过国际组织的话, 比方说是 Amnesty International 还是 UN 也有这些。。。

答： UN 和那个 international organizations 会有很多, 然后我说的是由中国人自己创立的 NGO。

问： 对, 但是他们大概没有国际组织那么大的, 他们比较少,

答： 对, 还是比较 grass roots。

问： Ok, 嗯, 我还记得你提到了这个 China Youth Network, 就是一个网站吗?

答： 这是我们之前做过的一个网站, 对, 但是这个项目在[二零]一六年, 一五年的时候没有在。

问： 啊, 现在没有?

答： 嗯, 现在没有, 但是网站还是 life 的。

问： 但是那你觉得如果我想发现中国年轻人怎么找到有哪些做志愿者的组织或 NGO, 他们用哪些渠道?

答： 一个就是官方的渠道, 官方的网站, 然后一个是有一些就是 WeChat 的 platform, 对, 所以还有就是通过像 AIESEC 这么做的机构, 然后他们。。。 [end of the call due to poor internet connection]

Interview IV

Date of interview: 09-07-2018

Place: WeChat phone call

问： 你好, 你今天怎么样?

答： 还可以, 不太忙。

问： 啊, 不太忙。那很好。对我来看很好。那么, 我先想问你会不会介意如果我录音我们的访谈, 可以吗?

答： 不介意, 没事!

问： 好, 那我已经告诉你这个访谈大概会花三十分钟, 可以吗?

答： 可以的。

问：我先想请你简单地介绍一下自己。

答：好，大概关于那一方面？

问：什么？

答：关于那一方面介绍自己，就是从哪里来？年龄吗？学习吗？还是大概什么情况？

问：对对，这样也好。

答：好，你好，我是 XX 三十四岁，以前在荷兰读书，现在在上工作，关于志愿者的老师我曾经去过非洲的坦桑尼亚的桑给巴尔。差不多这样。

问：那你现在做的工作是什么？

答：现在做技术设计工作。

问：跟你以前当志愿者的活动有关系吗？

答：没有关系。

问：OK，那你什么时候当志愿者？

答：我一共去过三次。第一次是 2012 年，第二次是 2014 年，然后第三次去是 2016 年。

问：OK，那你一共在非洲多长时间当志愿者？

答：第一次去了三个月，第二次去了一个月，第三次去了一个月。

问：OK，那你每次都去了桑给巴尔，是吗？

答：第一次与第三次去桑给巴尔，第二次去了坦桑尼亚的北边。

问：你是通过一个组织还是不一样的组织吗？

答：第一次是通过我以前。。其实三次都没有通过什么组织。第一次是通过我的同学的一个介绍，以前在那边做志愿者。他也是[unclear]。他说那个学校需要老师，然后我直接跟那个学校联系，所以也算一个组织吧。这个学校就是那个 Tourism Institute。然后第二个组织就是，啊第二个就是搞笑啊，第二个就是我和第一次志愿的时候在非洲碰到一个我以前在荷兰的同学。他是坦桑尼亚人。他在那个 Frankfurt Zoological Society

(FZS) 工作，然后他，我们成为朋友，然后他给了我一个 offer 在那边去做志愿者，就是第二次。第三次的时候是因为在那边又认识了一个朋友，是教汉语在一个汉语学校，所以第三次是去了我的朋友们的汉语学校。所以三次，每跟都不一样的组织。

问：那，就是说你第三次你教过汉语，但是以前你教跟你的专业有关系的事情，是吗？

答：是的。

问：OK，但是每次你，那些项目他们，谁把这些项目组织，就是哪一个组织给你这个机会？有可能你不通过那个组织去过了，但是谁安排这些项目呢？

答：是自己安排的。

问：啊，所以你自己决定去那个学校教汉语等等。

答：对对，就是因为我是知道他们当地的人，所以并不是我去把个人去搜一个 voluntourism 的一个什么项目，而是我个人联系的。

问：很有意思，那这个动机，这个注意在荷兰，就是第一次想我想做这样做。不是一个以前想要做的计划吗？

答：我回到中国以后，才有这样的想法。

问：OK，那就是说，你什么时候决定参与这些志愿者的活动？

答：2014 年，第一次去的时候。

问：OK。

答：其实第一次去是 2013 年，不是 2014 年，2013 年吧。

问：OK，那这个时候我听到了，我觉得你说过了一个朋友给你推荐这个。。

答：对，但是第一次其实我不认识他。他只是我以前在荷兰的同学，他同样是学那个专业的。我们都是学这个 leisure tourism and environment。他也是这个专业的，所以我们有一个 alumni，他说他去过那个地方，在那里的学校还需要这样的老师，所以看到这个信息，直接跟学校联系的。

问：啊，我明白了。那他也是中国人吗？

答：应该是荷兰人。

问：OK，那你为什么决定去非洲呢？第一次可能是因为你听说有机会但是以后你也选择去非洲。

答：因为第一次之后的经理我觉得特别好，就是桑给巴尔这个地方也很美，然后人很友好，然后我觉得这个事情还是很有意义的，所以我再回来之后也一直在找这样的机会去做志愿者。

问：OK，但是第三次是坦桑尼亚，对吗？

答：其实第二次是坦桑尼亚，第三次是桑给巴尔。

问：那，第二次在坦桑尼亚跟桑给巴尔的志愿者活动比起来怎么样？

答：第二次就是跟教育没有什么关系啊。就是第一次和第三次都是学校，第二次是 Frankfurt Zoological society，就是一个做 conservation 的一个组织。我在当地要负责一个游客中心的市场宣传工作和当地的采访：游客为什么来？这个地区参观，他们对这个地区的反馈是什么？

问：那你的意思是，因为我不知道这个 society 他们是 wildlife conservation 吗？

答：我发给你他们的链接吧。

问：谢谢你。他们是国际组织机构吗？

答：是国际机构。你们的总统。。

问: Angela Merkel?

答: 不! Angela Merkel 是 prime minister。当时的德国总统，他也去过这个组织。我在坦桑尼亚的时候那个总统也来参观我们的组织。

问：真的吗？哇，很厉害。那，这些项目都不是跟中国志愿者的组织完全没有关系，是吧？都是你自己安排的。

答：完全跟中国没有关系的。嗨，也不是！第三个有一点关系吧。第三个又回来桑给巴尔，就是因为有一个在那边的老师。他以前是孔子学院的老师，在当地教了四年的书。然后他工作结束以后自己在桑给巴尔开了一个学校。然后我帮助这个老师在当地教书。所以第三个是跟中国有一点关系。

问：那这是一个教中文的学校，是吗？

答：对。

问：在这个地方有很多中国人当志愿者吗？

答：不太多，但是中国人挺多的。

问：在这个时候你对于桑给巴尔人对中国人的形象有什么影响？你觉得中非关系怎么样？

答：首先觉得中国在非洲的投资特别多：机场，大桥，体育馆，很多都是中国人造的。然后也在那边碰到很多中国的游客，也是挺多的。中国应该是在非洲最大的投资方吧，现在。

问：但是这个志愿的活动，你觉得对中非的关系有什么影响？

答：我觉得有，就是事实上我说的，在非洲有很多中国人，很多事做生意。其中我觉得主要有两个部分：一个部分是西北边有中国的政府援助非洲的一些项目，所以他们可能并不是自己想去非洲的而是国家派他们去非洲进行一些基础设施的建设。比如说修一些机场，桥梁，酒店啊。这都是中国的政府派的。另外一部分：有很多中国人去那边做生意。比如说卖手机，卖摩托车，开餐厅。但是其实个人行为从中国去非洲确实不多。所以我觉得做志愿者这样的，其实在那边也有很多志愿者，但是是国家安排去的。比如中国的医生，在桑给巴尔有一个江苏的医疗队。每年都会有从中国到桑给巴尔去那边当医生。他们应该不是，哈哈，志愿吧。不是自己愿意去的，而是国家安排他们去的。

问：啊，但是这个不是共青团的志愿者项目，是吗？

答：什么是共青团？

问：共青团，他们从 2007 开始安排年轻人。大概跟 peace corps 一样，你知道吗？

答：啊，那这个不是。

问：所以就是说这个项目不真的是志愿者的项目。

答：对，应该是像工作一样的。

问：对，大概是外援助。OK。

答：想这个，德国的叫什么？

问：你的意思是 GIZ 吗？

答：对！差不多的。

问：OK，但是你在桑给巴尔当志愿者的时候你没见到这些通过政府志愿者组织来的年轻人吗？

答：很少，但是比如第三个我去了桑给巴尔那个老师他自己是志愿者。啊，我应该把他推荐给你！他还在桑给巴尔。他有很多可以讲的。他以前是孔子学院的老师，但是现在开了一个汉语学校。

问：OK 谢谢你，很有意思。那在桑给巴尔有很多想要学中文的人吗？

答：很多，就是因为中国开了很多的公司，然后游客也特别多，所以如果会中文的话他们可以做导游，做翻译，然后在一些工厂工作。

问：那，你觉得这些年轻人他们比方说去桑给巴尔读中文，但是他们当志愿者。就是说，他们的动机不是赚钱。那么，你觉得他们为什么做这些志愿者的工作？

答：其实我不太知道，因为我不认识其他的志愿者。

问：所以在那个汉语学校没有那么多的吗？

答：只有我一个人和那个老师，所以我可以把那个老师的联系方式给到你，可以问他。

问：OK，谢谢你。但是有可能你知道，这个中国年轻人去非洲当志愿者的趋势。你觉得是一个比较大的趋势吗？就是说越来越多年轻人想去非洲做这样的活动吗？

答：我觉得应该是越来越多的，因为我一直认为做志愿者和经济输入是有相关的。就是富有的国家会有更多的人愿意做志愿者帮助别人，贫困的国家就会相对少一些。那为什么世界上大部分的志愿者是从欧洲，美国，日本，其实很大一部分因为他们有时间和钱。并不是只是一个 goodwill，就是大家都会觉得：哇！你很好，帮助别人！不。如果你有这个心性，回国以后还能找到工作。不用担心没有饭吃的话，你就会有时间做一些 voluntourism。因为我上学的时候老师跟我说过这个 volunteer, voluntourism 差不多欧洲中产阶级的旅游产品。如果每个人都去过伊比沙岛，都去过希腊，然后你跟别人说：“明年我去肯尼亚去做 volunteer”他们会说：“wow cool!”对吧？是中产阶级家庭的一个 game。当然不是百分之百这样，但是很多情况下我认为能去做 volunteer 的人，都是因为他的家庭条件还不错。所以为什么我觉得有更多的中国人去选择做这个事情，就是因为中国的生活水平在提高。大城市的，北京，上海，广州等的年轻人，他们也对未来有更好的预期，所以他认为当每个人都去过巴厘岛，都去过了 Phuket，有的人想我现在想要一个和别人不同的经历。所以，我认为会更多的。

问：很有意思，但是也有这些政府的项目。在这个时候你觉得有什么动机呢？

答：中国在非洲有很多的建设。一部分是为了。其实，这个不知道你能不能明白，就是因为中国的产能过剩吧。就像以前为什么德国在中国开了那么多公司，也是因为它要把自己的 Volkswagen 的车在欧洲已经卖得差不多了，所以要找到一个新的市场，所以来中国卖，去美国卖。那其实中国生产的那些钢铁，石油还有建材，就是在国内已经差不多用完了，所以她需要一个新的市场取用这些 raw material。所以中国希望在非洲增加更多的投资。这个投资以后也可以换来一些政治上面的帮助，比如说在非洲还有一个国家跟台湾有外交关系。所以很多时候中国通过在非洲的政治支持在世界上增加自己的影响吧。我觉得这方面也能理解。

问：对，但是这些项目的影响到底多大？就是说，有一些人他们去别的国家做这种的志愿工作。你觉得真的能影响比如说非洲人对中国人的看法吗？

答：会的，因为我认为在非洲大部分的人，也不能说非洲吧，我觉得只举坦桑尼亚吧，它的活着是从国家派来的，或者是他们来做生意的。那，他们就会认为中国人来这儿是为了挣钱，对吧？那，如果有个人的志愿者来去他们国家的话，他们也会在个人上建议觉得感情，会互相了解一些。总比那些国家派来的更好。因为国家派来的志愿者

没有什么 motivation, 因为是必须要来的吧。但是如果有个人来的话, 他们可能会更积极的与当地人打交道。

问: 那你觉得这些政府的项目大概多长时间? 比如说, 你自己要安排的时候你大概一到三个月当志愿者, 但是这些政府的项目他们要花多长时间呢?

答: 一般是一到两年的。

问: 所以你自己不认识的志愿者吗?

答: 我只认识一个。

问: 就是这个孔子学院的老师吗?

答: 对, 孔子学院的那个。我觉得你希望再采访另外一个人, 对吧?

问: 我对这种项目很感兴趣, 因为我以前大部分跟通过 NGO 去当志愿者的人做过采访。

答: 对, 但是很多 NGO 也是, well, 其实我觉得这个无可厚非啊。就是 NGO 也需要。They have certain costs to open their organization, 对吧? NGO 也需要收费的。所以我觉得 NGO 没有什么不好的看法, 但是我也认为有很多 NGO 只是为了运转, 所以他们要花很多钱给那些明星去拍个广告。

问: 对, 就是一个很大的问题。

答: 很大的问题, 一个不简单的 topic。

问: 没错, 但是我觉得现在在中国有很多比较小的 NGO, 他们的规模现在还比较小。所以, 数量很高, 但是一大部分不那么积极, 他们说我们在非洲, 但是其实他们的活动没有那么的, 所以, 对。但是我觉得在欧洲应该也这样。那, 如果你可以帮我跟你以前的老师联系应该很好。那, 我谢谢你跟我分享你的经验。

答: 别客气。

Interview V

Date of interview 17-07-2018

Place: Café in Berlin

Liliane: Und bei dem Projekt an dem teilgenommen hast, waren das dann außer dir nur chinesische Jugendliche?

Eva: Genau, halt vor allem chinesische Studenten und halt ein Amerikaner, der dann irgendwann während meiner Zeit dazu gekommen ist, aber ansonsten halt alles chinesische Bachelor- oder Masterstudenten oder -absolventen. Eine Schülerin war dabei, die war 16 Jahre alt, aber sonst alle in meinem Alter, also so Anfang bis Mitte 20 und älter.

Liliane: Aber schon eher Studenten, also es ist niemand dabei gewesen, der schon eine abgeschlossene Berufsausbildung vorweisen konnte und schon Berufserfahrung mitgebracht hat?

Eva: Doch, davon eigentlich auch viele. Also, ein paar Studenten und dann die andere Hälfte waren Researcher, also auch chinesische Researcher und, äh, auch Masterabsolventen, also eigentlich so eine gute Mischung.

Liliane: Und, ähm, also das was du jetzt beschreibst, also du hast dann an den Projekten in Kenia teilgenommen. Also waren das unterschiedliche Projekte an denen du mitgearbeitet hast?

Eva: Genau, wir hatten ja wie gesagt viele verschiedene Projekte und ich hab dann mein Hauptprojekt dann gehabt in der Landwirtschaft, aber auch immer wieder bei den anderen dann mitgemacht.

Liliane: Und du warst jetzt in dem Bereich Landwirtschaft, weil es deinen Vorkenntnissen entsprach oder wie wurde das entschieden?

Eva: Meine Dozentin in der Peking-Universität, die hat dann irgendwie gesagt, dass sie das wichtig findet und dass sie deswegen hat sie mich glaub ich verkauft, also, ähm, der Hong Hongxiang, dass ich dann in dem Bereich etwas mache und mir das auch empfohlen, weil sie halt meinte, dass sie glaubt, dass gerade Landwirtschaft in den Ländern für China irgendwie ziemlich viel Zukunft hat und, ähm, das Interessante war ja auch, dass es tatsächlich chinesische Bauern gibt, die halt in Kenia dann Landwirte sind und auch Supermärkte aufgemacht haben, und Farmen haben und alles Mögliche von lokalen Gemüsesorten bis hin zu Tee irgendwie anbauen und verkaufen, und dass tatsächliche dafür glaube ich auch... das war ein Bauer, den

wir kennengelernt haben, aber ich glaub, dass es vielleicht schon sein kann, dass manche Leute sich umschauen.

Liliane: Also, umschauen im Sinne, ob man sich in Afrika selbstständig macht, also chinesischer Bauer?

Eva: Ja, ich glaube nämlich, vor dem Praktikum war ich in Tansania bei einer Summer School of Development. Ich weiß nicht, ob du die kennst, das ist eine Kooperation zwischen der University of Groningen, der Mzumbe University in Morogoro und der Agriculture University in Peking. Das waren dann chinesische, holländische und tansanische Studenten, die daran teilgenommen haben. Dort wurde natürlich der ländliche Bereich und die Entwicklung dort und auch viel die Landwirtschaft thematisiert, weil ja alles davon abhängig ist. Ich hatte das Gefühl, dass halt gerade die Agriculture University sich da irgendwie umschaut. Eine Kollegin bei China House, die von der Uni war und über diese Uni dann davon erfahren hat. Und da meinte nämlich auch die eine Dozentin dann, die hatten dann bei der Summer School Leute von den verschiedenen Unis, die dann Vorträge gehalten haben, also niederländische, einheimische und chinesische Dozenten. Und die chinesische Dozentin meinte dann, dass es irgendwie auf dem Programm steht, dass sie dann Entwicklungshilfe leisten, um dann in Zukunft da dann vielleicht das so ein bisschen zu sichern, dass dann vielleicht das irgendwann dann nach China exportiert wird.

Liliane: Also, dass die Entwicklungshilfe wirtschaftliche Interessen verfolgt und dass deshalb auch Interesse besteht in diesem Bereich zu kooperieren oder das voranzubringen.

Eva: Ungefähr, ja. Also, sie meinte dann, dass Afrika China ernährt, das war so ihre Aussage damals, aber das war halt auch 2015, ich weiß nicht, was der aktuelle Stand ist.

Liliane: Also, ich weiß zum Beispiel, dass das so das neueste Thema oder die neueste These von Deborah Brautigam ist. Bei „The Dragon's Gift“ ging es noch die Infrastruktur-Projekte, aber das jetzt eben halt auch viel im landwirtschaftlichen Sektor investiert wird, weil das eben auch den zukünftigen Bedarf der chinesischen Bevölkerung an Lebensmitteln decken soll, was dann damit einhergeht, dass die chinesische Regierung anstrebt, ihr BIP verstärkt über den tertiären Wirtschaftssektor zu generieren.

Eva: Es war auch ganz kritisch, weil die ganzen europäischen Studenten sich natürlich aufgeregt haben und dann, aber ja, das ist eine andere Geschichte.

Liliane: Ok, also du bist dann auf Empfehlung deiner Dozentin in diesen Bereich gekommen. Aber es gibt dann auch noch andere Projekte. Was waren da noch für Bereiche mit vertreten?

Eva: Also, das eine waren auch diese CSA-Projekte (CSA: Corporate Social Responsibility) mit AVEC international, was ich vorhin erwähnt hatte, mit den Unis, die diesen Tech Wettbewerb ins Leben gerufen haben, dass die Studenten dann diese Apps entwickeln, aber auch andere Sachen. Das Motto von China House war ja Chinesen zu helfen sich in Afrika zu integrieren. Das war dann auch so, dass am Wochenende zum Beispiel Familien oder chinesische Touristen, vor allem aber auch chinesische Expats in Kenia, dass wir dann zusammen halt Sachen veranstaltet haben oder den National Park besucht haben und da dann den Leuten beigebracht haben, wie man sich da sensibel verhält, weil den Chinesen bei China House bewusst war, dass es da immer mal wieder Probleme gibt oder auch Reibungen. Dann wurden so Aktivitäten veranstaltet, dass wir zum Beispiel am Wochenende mal zum Giraffen-Gehege oder zum Giraffen füttern oder zum Löwenkäfig ausmisten im Nationalpark waren.

Liliane: Das hat dann auch China House organisiert mit dem Ziel eine bessere Integration zu schaffen?

Eva: Genau. Und, ähm, da gab's noch also halt auch noch die Kooperation mit lokalen NGOs. Wir hatten auch ein paar gute einheimische Freunde, die dann irgendwie zusammen was gemacht haben. Also einer, der hat zum Beispiel Kurse an Gymnasien in Nairobi angeboten, so Computer-Kurse. Das war dann noch mit einem Dritten, der Computer gebracht hat und dann hat da zum Beispiel wie man auf Microsoft-Word einen Lebenslauf schreibt unterrichtet.

Liliane: Und das wurde dann schon nach Vorkenntnissen ausgewählt? Gerade wenn es um technischere Themen ging?

Eva: Also inwiefern?

Liliane: Gab es eine bestimmte Vorgehensweise wie die Freiwilligen unterschiedlichen Projekten zugeteilt wurden? Und nach welchen Kriterien?

Eva: Ah, ich glaube das ging im Vorhinein mit der Bewerbung, dass man nach Interesse zugeteilt wurde. Eine Kollegin, die hat sich im Vorhinein vor allem um das Soziale gekümmert, weil sie in dem Bereich was machen wollte. Und die hat dann auch, was war das, es ging da um Frauen und Kinder, in Kibera, einem der größten Slums der Welt, zur Rehab zu bringen. Und da gab's so ein christliches Haus, das war von der evangelischen Kirche, und da hat sie viel

gemacht.

Dann gab's eine andere, die hat sich vor allem für Wildlife Conservation interessiert. Und dann natürlich die Researcher, die hat ja alle ihre eigenen Bereiche. Zum Beispiel der eine, der hat dann vor allem im Bereich Infrastruktur recherchiert und ist zum Lamu Port. Das war schon ziemlich fachspezifisch. Vor allem was einen selbst interessiert hat, das hat man dann meistens gemacht. Das war eigentlich nie so, dass man was gemacht hat, was man nicht wollte.

Liliane: Und die Kollegen, die du jetzt genannt hast, dann waren dann auch Volunteers?

Eva: Ja, ich habe das nicht ganz verstanden das ganze System. Bis drei Monate war man Fellow und danach waren das dann Angestellte, die dann auch Geld bekommen haben. Es gab da natürlich auch einzelne Projekte, wie zum Beispiel Übersetzung, wo man dann doch etwas bekommen hat. Und sonst, ähm...

Liliane: Aber, wenn man als Fellow dorthin gekommen ist, musste man das erstmal selbst finanzieren. Also, gab es in keiner Form einen Zuschuss für Lebenshaltungskosten.

Eva: Ähm. Nicht wirklich. Es war jetzt auch nicht so teuer, die Miete halt vor allem. Es gab da auch so kleine Projekte, die man machen konnte. Ich habe da mal für Oxfam was übersetzt via China House, da habe ich dann auch was bekommen, wo ich die Miete wieder raus hatte eigentlich. Und der Rest wie Essen, das ist ein kleiner Beitrag.

Liliane: Also, China House ist dann eine chinesische Social Enterprise.

Eva: Also, Annie und Hongxiang, die haben das glaube ich zusammen gemacht. Am Anfang war das alles selbst finanziert, aber die haben das geändert zu Social Enterprise, weil sie eben auch überleben mussten.

Liliane: Sie meinte, dass das auch legale Gründe hätte. Weil das eben auch schwieriger ist... dass die Gesetzgebung sich geändert hätte. Mein Eindruck ist, dass das eben auch oft ein Faktor ist; das ausländische NGOs nicht gerade erwünscht sind. Hast du davon [in Nairobi] etwas mitbekommen?

Eva: Ich kenne mich damit nicht wirklich aus. Ich habe da mal gefragt, aber das war für mich dann eher, ok, dann seid ihr halt so, ich mach dann mal.

Liliane: Ok, also war das dann eine chinesische Social Enterprise. Gibt es das in der Form auch noch? Sind die Projekte, die sie organisieren noch so ähnlich?

Eva: Ich habe da schon länger keinen Kontakt gehabt. Die haben dann auch viel so Wild Life Conservation gemacht. Hong hat dann auch CCTV eingeladen und diese andere Produktionsfirma aus München eingeladen. Diese große Doku über Elfenbeinproduktion, die dann ja auch auf Netflix. Da hat ja dann auch der Gründer von China House, der ist dann undercover nach Vietnam gereist, um diese Händler aufzudecken und hat dann auch viel in der Richtung irgendwie gemacht. Also, weiß ich gar nicht inwiefern es China House noch gibt und wie sich das dann entwickelt hat.

Liliane: Sie [China House] hatten auch eine Niederlassung in München?

Eva: Soweit ich weiß nicht. Ich weiß, dass der Plan... es fing ja irgendwie in Kolumbien an und dann war der Plan auch nach Ghana oder Nigeria, also dort auch nochmal sowas zu machen. Aber inwieweit das dann auch umgesetzt wurde, weiß ich auch nicht.

Liliane: Aber als du dort warst, war China House in Kolumbien und Kenia tätig?

Eva: Ich glaub nur in Kenia. Es ist auch immer wieder bei Gründern, wann du mal da und dann da was gegründet haben auch nicht mehr, ob das dann noch dazu gehört.

Liliane: Während meiner Recherche hatte ich eben auch den Eindruck: es gibt viele NGOS, aber viele sind eben auch inaktiv. Es werden Projekte gelauncht, aber es rentiert sich nicht, es ist schwierig das Ganze am Leben zu halten.

Eva: Ich weiß auch nicht, wie das Programm jetzt ist. Aber damals, als ich dort war [bei China House], war das der erste Sommer, wo die dann auf die Idee kamen auch Schüler einzuladen. Das war ja dann auch praktisch, dass drei Monate da einer kommt und wieder geht, dass es deshalb eben auch schwierig in Hinblick auf Personal sein könnte. Das war halt alles etwas chaotisch.

Liliane: Aber du bist schon mit dem Ziel dort hingegangen als Volunteer tätig zu sein?

Eva: Das war eigentlich als Praktikum gedacht. Und mehr halt auch, dass das eine Social Enterprise ist.

Liliane: Und wie war da so die Motivation bei den anderen Freiwilligen oder Praktikanten? Was war sozusagen die Logik dahinter das zu machen?

Eva: Bei den Chinesischen... also die eine zum Beispiel, das war die, die auch von der Agriculture University kam, ihr Bereich, der sie interessiert hat. Der andere, der hatte eigentlich

keinen Grund; ich weiß auch eigentlich gar nicht, woher die die Informationen darüber herhatten. Dann die eine kleine Sechzehnjährige, die war hyper-intelligent und hat sich für alles interessiert auf der Welt und wollte dann auch mal nach Afrika gehen und das kennenlernen und hat dann dort was gemacht. Vor allem war Interesse an dem Land...

Liliane: Also, um das mal kennenzulernen.

Eva: Zum Beispiel auch wie Deutsche dann halt nach Kenia gehen.

Liliane: Aber, wenn man das jetzt zum Beispiel vergleicht, die Amerikanischen Peace Corps haben ja Programme, die über zwei Jahre gehen und die Volunteers werden vorher auch richtig ausgebildet, z.B. in lokalen Sprachen und das ist denen auch wichtig, dass die Freiwilligen in dem Bereich, in dem sie dann tätig sind, auch Erfahrung sammeln, also z.B. im Unterrichten und das wird auch von der Regierung bereitgestellt. Das ist dann ja bei solchen Projekten, das ist ja dann alles auch kleiner, aber das ist dann wahrscheinlich auch pragmatischer und den Bedürfnissen mehr angepasst?

Eva: Also das Ding war halt, dass es ziemlich chaotisch dort zugeht, auch was die Aufgabenaufteilung anging, ob das jetzt Schüler, Studenten, Absolventen oder halt Researcher waren. Die hatten ja alle ganz verschiedene Motivationsgründe. Dass die zum Beispiel aus Interesse und als Gutmenschen sag ich mal hingegangen sind. Dann waren halt andere da, so die Researcher zum Beispiel, aus einem bestimmten Thema heraus. Und wie die dann halt auf ihr Thema kamen, das weiß ich jetzt auch nicht so genau. Die eine hatte einen Freund an der Tsinghua [in Peking], der dann halt aus Mali kam und deshalb dann über Mali und China zu schreiben. Halt alles Mögliche. Zum Beispiel der eine, der hat auch Brautigam persönlich gekannt, der hat zum Beispiel auch an der John Hopkins mal was gemacht und der hat zu Lamu Port halt was geschrieben gehabt. Also, deswegen, ja pragmatisch schon eigentlich, halt immer mal wieder spontan eine Aufgabe bekommen. Oder habt ihr Lust, da hinzukommen und wir: jaaaa.

Liliane: Das ist dann halt vielleicht auch dieser Start-Up-Charakter, der daher kommt, dass es halt noch ein relativ junges Unternehmen ist.

Eva: Der Durchschnitt war dann ja auch so Mitte 20.

Liliane: Hast du erlebt, dass es Leute dabei gab, die das gemacht haben, wie bei uns zum Beispiel, was man vielleicht auch nicht so direkt formuliert, aber dass das gemacht wird, um

gerade, wenn man etwas Wirtschaftsnahes studiert, eine soziale Komponente in den Lebenslauf zu bringen. Hast du das erlebt, dass welche unter euch das so beschrieben haben?

Eva: Es kann sein, dass es da einen gab. Der war dann auch nicht viel bei uns oder mehr auswärts. Die anderen waren dann nämlich auch viel dort und ich denke, dass sich dort auch wohlfühlen und das weiter machen wollen. Eigentlich war der Großteil der Leute schon so, dass die eine Leidenschaft dafür hatten. Für den Lebenslauf, vielleicht, dass sie in dem Bereich was machen wollten. Und der eine, den hab' ich in Peking getroffen, der war dann auch nicht mehr dort...

Liliane: Also, eigentlich hatten die Leute schon eher die Motivation das Land und die Bevölkerung kennenzulernen und etwas Gutes zu tun?

Eva: Das ist ja auch, was ich eben meinte, dass die Leute, die ich in Kenia kennengelernt hab ein anderer Schlag Mensch war, als die Leute, die ich in China an der Uni kennengelernt hab, die waren halt offen und hatten da, wie soll ich das sagen ohne, dass das komisch klingt. Nicht so dieser klischeehafte kleine Student, der irgendwie an der PKU Angst vor Menschen hat, sondern halt Leute die weltoffen und -erfahren sind.

Liliane: Die Erfahrung habe ich auch gemacht bei den Volunteers, mit denen ich gesprochen habe, das ist irgendwie auch nochmal ein anderer Vibe. Und wie war das jetzt bei denen bei China House. Würdest du sagen, die kamen aus einem relativ guten sozialen Hintergrund?

Eva: Ja, auf jeden Fall. Das ist ja auch extrem teuer. Ich meine die Flüge von China nach Kenia, Oneway war ja schon über 700 Euro. Und ich glaub, dass man überhaupt dann auf die Idee kommt dort hinzugehen. Ich glaube, die kamen dann schon aus einem wohlhabenderen Hintergrund. Das ist halt schon so ein bisschen Luxus eigentlich.

Liliane: Und hast du persönlich vorher schon Erfahrung als Freiwillige gehabt?

Eva: Ähm, nee.

Liliane: Und wie war das bei den anderen?

Eva: Ich glaube, die hatten da auch noch nicht so viel Erfahrung davor. Das war auch damals noch so ganz frisch, überhaupt das Thema China-Afrika, das war in den Medien auch noch nicht so präsent. China House war dann eine der ersten Plattformen Leute dort hinzubringen oder auf die Idee zu bringen das zu machen und dass das wichtig ist.

Liliane: Und ich welchem Jahr hat das begonnen?

Eva: Ich glaube, das war 2014 oder sowas. Damals [als Eva dort war] gab es das erst seit einem oder zwei Jahren.

Liliane: Das war 2015, als du da warst?

Eva: Genau.

Liliane: Würdest du auch sagen, dass es gerade in der Zeit dort... wie hast du es wahrgenommen, wie die Reaktionen der lokalen Bevölkerung auf jemand, der vermeintlich Chinesisch ist so waren?

Eva: In welchem Kontext?

Liliane: Ihr habt ja schon mit der lokalen Bevölkerung auch Projekte gemacht und wie war da so das Miteinander? Welche Herausforderungen gab es? Wie war da so dein allgemeiner Eindruck?

Eva: Ähm, ich weiß nicht, in den Projekten selbst war alles immer ziemlich freundschaftlich. Aber ich hatte das Gefühl, dass das... China hat ja auch einen bestimmten Beruf in Kenia und dass die vielleicht nicht immer so positiv reagiert hat. Aber meistens auch nur, wenn ich erzählt habe, dass ich mit Chinesen zusammengearbeitet habe, aber wenn man zusammen unterwegs war, hat man das meistens nicht so gemerkt. Aber zum Beispiel in den Projekten, mit den Studenten, das war alles ganz normal. Das war nicht so, dass man gemerkt hätte, dass es da einen Unterschied gegeben hätte... in Schulen war das auch nicht anders. Ich glaube, dass die Leute vielleicht eher dann so reden, aber in dem Moment war der Austausch ganz normal.

Liliane: Ich war bis vor drei Wochen für zwei Wochen in Addis Ababa in Äthiopien und dort ist mir halt aufgefallen, dass man viele Chinesen auf der Straße sieht und eben auch viele chinesische Bauprojekte. Und wenn man sich mit der lokalen Bevölkerung unterhält, hat halt auch jeder eine Meinung über „die Chinesen“, aber es schien auch manchmal so, als seien das Anekdoten, die man sich untereinander erzählt. Das sind nicht unbedingt persönliche Erlebnisse. Aber viele haben auch nicht unbedingt persönlichen Kontakt zu Chinesen. Hast du da eine Meinung zu, wie siehst du da die Rolle von Freiwilligendiensten? Deutschland hat ja zum Beispiel auch Austauschprogramme mit dem Ziel eine Völkerverständigung herzustellen. Glaubst du, dass das effektiv sein kann, um das Miteinander zu verändern?

Eva: Ich weiß nicht, weil das ist irgendwie schon ein schwieriges Thema, so allgemein. Also was mir halt aufgefallen ist, grundsätzlich, also in Deutschland in der Uni oder auch dort [in Kenia] oder Ausländer in China, dass das auch so eine Blase ist. Ich habe jetzt zum Beispiel in den drei Monaten mehr Chinesisch gesprochen, als in den drei Monaten in Peking. Ich denke, dass das auf jeden Fall etwas für die Völkerverständigung bringt, besser als gar nichts. Und, ähm,...

Liliane: War denn deine persönliche Erfahrung, dass du mehr in der chinesischen Gruppe geblieben bist, also dass du mehr Kontakt zu Chinesen als zu Locals hattest?

Eva: Also eigentlich fast nur mit Chinesen und es gibt zum Beispiel auch ein KTV in Nairobi, es gibt tolle chinesische Restaurants, also richtig einheimisch chinesisch und es gibt auch einen Supermarkt, wo auch nur Chinesen einkaufen, nicht nur, aber viele. Ich fand das schon krass, dass es so eine Art chinesische Subkultur gab. Ich meine das gibt es hier in Deutschland auch, aber ich fand das schon heftig, weil da manche Leute gar nicht mit den Einheimischen zu tun haben wollen. Zum Beispiel haben die das dann auch geschafft, dass die Haushälterin von China House jeden Tag chinesisch gekocht hat. Aber ich eben das Gefühl, dass Freiwillige aus Deutschland oder woanders dann irgendwie sind dann versuchen sich anzupassen, wo es geht. Das habe ich gar nicht gehabt das Gefühl in den drei Monaten.

Liliane: Und wurde darüber gesprochen? Hast du da mal nachgehakt?

Eva: Ja, aber ich verstehe das auch... Chinesisches Essen ist schon ein geiles Essen, ja dann kommt da: „Das schmeckt halt nicht.“ Ich kenne das auch bei deutschen Expats, dass die ihre ganze Clique haben. Das kann man auch, wenn man möchte mit Deutschen rumhängen, egal wo man lebt.“

Liliane: Da ist wahrscheinlich auch wieder die Frage, wie da die Zielsetzung ist und wie das organisiert wird. Also, mein Eindruck ist, dass es schwierig ist, also, dass man das schon gut planen und die Leute darauf vorbereiten muss, damit die auch bereit dafür sind mit der lokalen Bevölkerung in Kontakt zu treten. Ich glaube, das ist halt auch wirklich nicht einfach, wenn die Leute ein gewisses Bild davon haben, wie Chinesen sind. Ich habe das in der evangelischen Kirche in Äthiopien auch mitbekommen, dass da oft ein gewisses Verhalten in einer bestimmten Weise interpretiert wird, weil das halt eben im lokalen Kontext als unhöflich empfunden wird, z.B. dass Chinesen in der Regel nicht so körperbetont sind, das heißt man ist im Umgang eher distanziert und man umarmt sich nicht zur Begrüßung. Die Äthiopier sind halt eher herzlich

was das anbelangt. Und wenn das gegenüber eher distanziert und vermeintlich unterkühlt regiert, wird das als Ablehnung empfunden. Habt ihr da in irgendeiner Form ein kulturelles Training gehabt oder wurdet ihr da angeleitet?

Eva: Das Ding ist ja, dass das immer unterschiedlich ist. Ich suche gerade etwas Ähnliches. Auch gerade mit dieser Blase, eigentlich ist ja je nachdem, wer das ist, auch wieder anders. Es gibt dann auch doch viele einheimische Freunde im China House. Was halt diese Gepflogenheiten und so etwas anging, auf der Agenda war auf jeden Fall auch was so Höflichkeitsformen anging, ich habe da jetzt nicht mitbekommen, aber das kann schon sein, dass sie auch mal so ein Training oder Workshop mal hatten zu sowas, also dazu wie man sich verhält. Aber ich hatte nicht das Gefühl, dass das so ein Thema war. Die chinesischen Bauern zum Beispiel waren perfekt integriert, die konnten auch Swahili sprechen. Die Frau ist da jeden Morgen zum Markt gegangen und hat da irgendwie laut mit den lokalen Bauern und Händlern für den Supermarkt eingekauft. Und die waren da schon gut zuhause, auch besser, als ich mir das hätte vorstellen können. Ich glaube halt echt, dass das unterschiedlich ist, wer da kommt. Aber es auch immer wieder so Fälle, wo die sich untereinander Videos oder Geschichten erzählt haben, wie zum Beispiel einer ausgeraubt wurde oder wie die Polizei da schon wieder Geld wollte und da gab's halt viele Geschichten. Und da gab's schon so Workshops wie man sich gegenseitig gewarnt hat und dass man sich am besten immer anschnallt, nicht, dass die Polizei da einen Grund hat einen abzuziehen.

Liliane: Aber das ist dann natürlich auch die Frage wie das auf der anderen Seite (also bei den Chinesen) dann die Wahrnehmung prägt, wenn man nur mit bestimmten Geschichten und Erzählungen in Berührung kommt. Also eben, dass dann so Beispiel wie das, dass die chinesischen Bauern total gut in die Bevölkerung integriert sind, das ist jetzt nicht unbedingt etwas, was den Leuten so präsent ist, also der Expat Community aus China?

Eva: Ähm, wie meinst du das?

Liliane: Also, dass da eher das Bild dominiert, dass es da von seitens der Bevölkerung eher eine ablehnende Haltung gibt?

Eva: Es ging halt irgendwie nie um die lokale Bevölkerung so grob, das war halt nie so ein großes Thema. Das Ding war auch, das wurde immer so relativ arrogant über die lokale Bevölkerung gesprochen. Also auch ziemlich, also halt für, was ich halt so gewohnt bin als

Deutsche, war das halt teilweise schon ziemlich rassistisch. Da kam so Sprüche oder halt das, sowas wie, mir fallen da jetzt keine Beispiele eine, aber...

Liliane: Also, mir ist das auch aufgefallen, als ich mit Annie gesprochen habe, dass sie meinte, dass die lokale Bevölkerung relativ, dass es eben Unterschiede gibt und dass die Kenianer eben gut darin sind sich zu entspannen und dass die sich gern erholen. Da könnte man ja schon sagen, dass das ein relativ verallgemeinerndes Bild ist, dass die alle gern chillen. Aber was wurde dann, also ein Hauptziel von China House war ja schon, dass die Chinesen vor Ort sich gut integrieren können.

Eva: Das Ding war halt, das war das Ziel, aber selbst bei China House gab es Leute, die eigentlich recht tolerant und offen waren, aber dass es dann halt trotzdem so Sprüche gab, dass dann Sachen gesagt wurden, die rassistisch klingen, wo ich mir dann dachte, was heißt denn Integration eigentlich so für euch. Das war so problematisch. Ich glaube, es ging halt vor allem darum, dass es friedvoll verläuft und nicht so zu solchen Auseinandersetzungen. Und nicht dieses richtige Integrieren. Ich hab' da das Gefühl manchmal gehabt, dass die das selber nicht ganz verstanden haben oder das selber anders definiert haben, als ich jetzt Integration definiere.

Liliane: Habt ihr darüber gesprochen, was das bedeutet sich zu integrieren.

Eva: Ich weiß es nicht mehr. Das war auch so viel in der Zeit und ich weiß es auch gar nicht mehr, ob ich mir damals so viel Gedanken gemacht habe in der Zeit oder nicht. Oder ob das...

Liliane: Das ist ja natürlich auch manchmal schwierig, wenn man woanders ist und man ist dann natürlich auch mit seinen Aufgaben beschäftigt; da ist es vielleicht auch nicht immer so präsent, dass das eines der Hauptziele ist mit denen das gegründet wurde.

Eva: Ich bin da damals hin und dachte mir, ok, ich bin jetzt hier bei einem chinesischen Start-up und muss jetzt irgendwie gucken, was passiert. Deswegen habe ich mir im Nachhinein mehr Gedanken darüber gemacht und währenddessen war das dann manchmal so: „Oh, was hast du gerade gesagt?“

Liliane: Ja, aber das ist auf jeden Fall spannend. Weißt du noch, wie das dann genannt wurde? Ist das dann *jìnrù Fēizhōu* 进入非洲 oder *guànzhù Fēizhōu* 灌注中非洲.

Eva: Ich glaub halt vor allem mit Integration war mehr gemeint im chinesischen Kontakt, wie halt Chinesen nach Afrika kommen und dann dort zurechtkommen. Um dann Reibungen zu vermeiden, wie man sich verhält und man Sachen, die man halt lassen sollte, wenn man in

einem anderen Land ist. Dass man zum Beispiel, wenn man in einem National Park, da keinen Zigarettenstummel auf den Boden wirft.

Liliane: Aber das sind da ja auch Dinge, die eventuell rechtliche Folgen haben könnten, also das sind jetzt nicht unbedingt Fragen nach den Gepflogenheiten, was ist im Miteinander wichtig.

Eva: Genau, oder halt solche Sachen, wo sie selber meinten, wo Chinesen dann hingehen und sich benehmen wie sonst was. Wie mit dem Zigarettenstummel oder das man da eben nicht hingeht und Tiere quält. Halt so manche Sachen einfach nicht macht oder sich anders verhalten sollte, damit es da nicht so zum Konflikt kommt und dass man auf die Natur achten soll und solche Sachen.

Liliane: Aber das sind ja letztlich auch Bereiche, die dann eventuell ein negatives Licht auf China werfen könnten. Das ist jetzt nicht unbedingt so wie man das bei uns vorstellt, dass man nicht unbedingt versucht hat, dass auch für die persönliche Erfahrung angenehmer zu gestalten, dass man wirklich in der lokalen Bevölkerung oder in dem Land sich so integrieren kann, dass man mit den Leuten sich gut unterhalten kann und eventuell auch engere soziale Kontakte auch knüpft.

Eva: Also, darum ging es eigentlich nicht so, das war jetzt nicht so ein Hauptthema, also nicht, dass ich wüsste, dass das jetzt so ein Hauptthema war.

Liliane: Was ich auch interessant finde ist, dass das in der Literatur eben auch als People-to-people Diplomacy bezeichnet wird, aber was heißt das dann letztlich überhaupt? Auch gerade im chinesischen Kontext, klar ist das nicht immer genau definiert, was der jeweilige Wissenschaftler damit meint, aber kann man das dann wirklich, zum Beispiel bei China House, als engen Austausch mit der kenianischen Bevölkerung auffassen?

Eva: Eigentlich war die Zusammenarbeit schon ziemlich eng. Da waren einige einheimische Freunde bei China House und ich hatte schon das Gefühl, dass das dann doch ganz gut war. Zum Beispiel haben wir einmal eine Schule besucht und da ging es schon darum, dass man mit den Schülern und den Lehrern etwas macht. Da fand ich schon, dass das ganz gut war. Da gibt es natürlich auch immer Kritikpunkte, wie überall.

Liliane: Aber da hat dann schon ein relativ reger Austausch stattgefunden?

Eva: Ja, was ich jetzt meinte mit dieser chinesischen Blase, das war auch, weil wir da ja auch zusammengewohnt haben. Das war ja so eine große Wohnung mit einem großen Wohnzimmer,

wo auch das Buero war und oben halt so Schlafzimmer. Und das waren ja eigentlich alles Chinesen, außer der eine Amerikaner und ich. Und es gingen dann auch einheimische Freunde ein und aus. Eigentlich alle Projekte waren mit Einheimischen, weiß nicht was das war, einmal ein Zoo oder halt eine NGO und alles Mögliche. Das war dann schon eigentlich auch immer ziemlich persönlich dann.

Liliane: Auch, dass ihr dann über längere Zeit etwas mit denen zu tun hattet?

Eva: Ja, genau.

[Interview klingt langsam aus mit etwas persönlicherem Gespräch, dann geht es im Zuge dessen nochmal um die Summer School in Tansania]

Eva: Das war auch diese Summer School übrigens, die war auch ziemlich interessant. Es war auch manchmal so schwierig, weil du diese ganzen europäischen Ideologen hast, wie europäische Studenten halt so sind mit den chinesischen Studenten. Da gab es teilweise so Diskussionen, so laute Diskussion, wo dann die Chinesen so fertig gemacht wurden von den Deutschen und Holländern vor allem, die mega diskussionsfreudig waren, idealistisch dann. Und dann kommt halt irgendwie ein komischer Spruch von einem Chinesen und das sind halt auch Leute, die mit China nichts am Hut haben, das heißt es fehlt da komplett das Verständnis, dass es vielleicht auch Länder gibt, wo man nicht so erzogen wurde wie hier [in Deutschland].

II. Appendix II

Statement of the woman from the CFPA on WeChat (27-07-2018): “团中央的援外志愿者从2002年开始做一直是商业部资金支持的. 然后到了2015年了, 商业部希望说拓宽志愿者的派遣渠道能够有所创新, 所以才找到扶贫基金会来尝试和团中央一起来派遣援外志愿者. 那团中央还是派他的, 扶贫基金的方式有一点不一样. 所以, 我们只是模式不一样, 但是这个遵循的政策, 标准啊, 都是一样的.”